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OF THE
# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Communications should be addressed to the Editor at Friends House.

## Editorial

RICHENDA SCOTT'S Presidential Address to the Society, on movements in nineteenth-century Quakerism, is the main article in this issue. The address was delivered at Friends House on 1st October, 1959, at a meeting held under the chairmanship of John Nickalls.

R. Wilfrid Crosland of Hutton-le-Hole, York, contributes some notes on Friends in Kirbymoorside and district. Dr. Marek Waysblum describes the plight of a Quaker shipmaster captured in 1677 by Algerian pirates, as reported in the Barbary states State Papers at the Public Record Office.

A useful guide to documentary evidence of the establishment and discontinuance of Friends' meetings during the major part of last century, is provided by Edward H. Milligan from Meeting for Sufferings and Yearly Meeting records. This number also contains a bibliographical notice on Isaac Penington by Miss Ruth Armsby (from her unpublished thesis at Friends House), and a further portion of the A. R. Barclay Manuscripts, continued from Vol. xlviii, p. 228.

* * *

This year, many people are celebrating the Restoration of the monarchy in Great Britain in the person of Charles II three hundred years ago. The year 1660 has a claim to Friends' notice, because, with the onset of organized persecution, Friends were compelled more clearly to formulate their attitudes to legal authority, to civil government, and to the legitimate duties demanded under the constitution.

In national politics, 1660 saw in turn the breakdown of republican authority in large parts of the country; sporadic rioting in the towns in the winter and early spring; the advance from Scotland of George Monck at the head of his army; King Charles's Declaration of Breda; the Convention Parliament in April and the triumphal entry of Charles into London on May 29; the uneasy summer, and then the Fifth Monarchy outbreak in the winter. The cry "King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates", threw the city into a panic, and the proclamation of 10th January, 1661, forbidding the meeting of "fanatics", linked Quakers, Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men all together.

For Friends, this period is noteworthy for the positions which Quaker leaders took up when securing the release of Friends from prison, where they had been thrown soon after the Restoration, and again by panic-stricken authorities in the upsets of the Fifth Monarchy rising. Two Declarations against wars and tumults were prepared in January, 1661. One was drawn up by George Fox and Richard Hubberthorne, but suppressed. A second, and probably similar one, was presented to the King on 21st January, 1661. It was published then, and has since been frequently reprinted, and appears at the head of documents reciting the development of Friends' peace testimony. These documents are evidence of a crystallizing and stabilizing period in an important field of Quaker thought. The printed *Declaration from the harmless and innocent People of God, called Quakers, against all plotters and fighters in the world* sets the tone for many succeeding documents in a long line of restatements of Friends' historic peace testimony.

# Authority or Experience

## John Wilhelm Rowntree and the Dilemma of 19th Century British Quakerism

THE nature of authority, the meaning and testing of spiritual experience as the guide in life and thought and action, are perennial problems to the Quaker. It is my purpose in this lecture to discuss those problems in terms of three significant movements of nineteenth-century Quaker thought in this country.

Of the first, the Evangelical, I can say little here, important as it is. From the latter years of the eighteenth century, and more specifically after the crowded and stormy sessions of the Yearly Meeting of 1836, increasing emphasis was being laid upon the Bible as the ultimate authority in all matters of faith. The Epistle of that Yearly Meeting makes it abundantly clear that the Society then accepted the Bible as the final arbiter from which there could be no appeal and that it is held to reveal the whole mind and purpose of God. Concurrently and implicitly ran the conviction that true spiritual life can only be attained by those who correctly realize and accept the meaning of Christ's death upon the cross as the propitiation for the sins of men; who see that death as the punishment exacted by the iron justice of God borne in Christ's body for all. "There was no other good enough to pay the price of sin." We must always remember that the Evangelical movement itself, in its impact upon the Society of Friends, comes as a rising tide of new life and hope and outreaching, sweeping an inert Quakerism from its still backwaters into the mainstream of social concern and endeavour, bringing a fresh realization of the importance of the individual, of the drama and significance of personal salvation. But by the mid-century the fire and vision of Joseph John Gurney and his immediate followers had cooled and died, and there was left a harsh and rigid scoria of credal thought which none must be allowed to challenge. So far had the reaction swung against the early teaching of Friends, that even the re-publication of Barclay's *Apology* by the Meeting

for Sufferings was strongly opposed, and in the Yearly Meeting of 1861 Isaac Brown could suggest "that it was time for us to discontinue the use of the term 'Inward Light', as it had been grievously misinterpreted out of the Society and was not found in Scripture". The preaching given Sunday by Sunday from the Ministers' gallery dwelt mainly upon the wrath and vengeance of God; "it is a hard gospel, not one of love" complained a Manchester Friend in the 'seventies.

Thus, at the outset, I want to stress how much Quakerism in this country had become an authoritarian faith, demanding an unquestioning obedience to the outward mandate of the Bible, conceived in the thought of the day as literally the record of the Divine utterances, uniformly inspired and infallible throughout its pages. The Ministers, Elders and Overseers of the Society exercised a rigid control of the Meetings for worship and for discipline, to maintain this doctrine, overriding if need be the judgment of the body of Friends as a whole in the Monthly Meeting.

Apart from the minority of conservative Friends, who clung to Fox and Barclay and the quietist mysticism of the eighteenth century, withdrawn from the teeming world of thought and discovery and outward change, the first valiant effort to break through the crust of evangelical doctrine (in its narrow sense), and reach back to the springs of spiritual life, arose in Manchester in the 'sixties. This movement has been largely forgotten, perhaps because it led to a minor secession, always a bugbear to Friends and more particularly since the split of the Hicksite controversy. There is no mention of it in Rufus Jones' *Later Periods*, nor in any of the standard histories, save for a brief paragraph in Edward Grubb's little book on the Quaker separations.[1] Yet so significant was it in the thought of John Wilhelm Rowntree that in the outline he has left for his projected history of Quakerism, there is a heading for one of the nineteenth century chapters—"The Rise of 'Modern Thought'—the Lancashire trouble." This is not the occasion to dwell for long upon the Manchester group of young men and women, the source of that "trouble", in their eager, relentless quest for truth, a truth that should be alive and real to themselves, in their passionate sincerity, and in the tragic outcome of their

[1] Edward Grubb, *Separations, their causes and effects: studies in nineteenth century Quakerism* (1914), pp. 124, 125.

revolt. All that I can do here is to indicate the first, crude statement of a religion of experience flung out as a challenge to the authoritarianism of the Evangelicals, breaking the ground for the later movement at the end of the century, which we generally recognize as marking the rise of modern Quakerism, and which is stamped indelibly with the impress of John Wilhelm Rowntree's thought and character.

In the year 1858 the Friends' Institute at Manchester was founded "as a place where young men could get what was needful and useful without leading them into temptation".[1] This is an oblique reference to the regrettable fact that after the Crewdson separation 25 years earlier, the young men Friends involved were in the habit of frequenting various public houses to carry on their discussions, and that those taverns became known in consequence as "Friends' Meeting Houses". By the early 'sixties a group of some 50 to 80 young men connected with Mount Street were meeting regularly at the Manchester Institute, listening to lectures on a variety of topics, including some of the burning and controversial questions of religious faith, talking, talking, questioning, arguing with one another and with the speakers by the hour together. It is sometimes my lot, as a member of Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting, to visit the Institute, now an empty place of echoing corridors and high-ceilinged committee rooms and meeting rooms. But to me it is always filled with those enthusiastic and excited young people, thronging the corridors to continue their wordy battles, loud-voiced in their eagerness (surely the young of every generation have tended to shout in the heat of an argument), fiercely dogmatic in statement while decrying all dogma, showing little sign of subjection to their elders, as some older Friends bitterly complained.[2] Their leader was one David Duncan, who had joined the Society from the Presbyterian church shortly after his marriage to a Quaker. He was a thoughtful, widely-read man, a strong advocate of social reform, of universal education, of large, and all-embracing views of humanity rather than of loyalty to a sect, class or creed, republican, that is left-wing, in his political views. Ideas poured impetuously from his active mind, so that the orthodox who entered into argument

[1] Friends House Library, MS. Box 9.5.
[2] *Ibid.*, MS. Box 9.4(3).

with him, found themselves borne down beneath the flow of his words and were no match for him in intellect. Duncan was a man of some 35 years of age when he came into prominence in the Society by a lecture given at the Manchester Institute in 1861 on the famous volume of *Essays and Reviews* published in the previous year, which had set the orthodox religious world in a ferment of denunciation of the "Seven against Christendom" who had contributed to the book. (The three most famous names amongst them were Frederick Temple, then Headmaster of Rugby, later Archbishop of Canterbury and the father of William Temple; Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Benjamin Jowett, later Master of Balliol and the translator of Plato.) The authors were tackling such questions as the light thrown upon the Scriptures by the Biblical researches of German scholars, the nature of their interpretation and of their inspiration, the relevance and credibility of miracles. David Duncan, in his quite penetrating address, suggested that:

> There is one feature common to all the Essays—the recognition of an inward light—and it is curious to remember that the attacks with which early Friends were assailed, were characterised by the same reckless assertions of impiety and heresy.[1]

A shocked and startled Society of Friends found itself, by this lecture, "the only section of the Christian Church which has furnished an advocate" for the detested book.[2]

To the young Friends of Manchester Meeting, David Duncan was both a fearless leader and a personal friend, ready to discuss their doubts and difficulties without surprise or scandalized feelings, always ready to open up or to pursue new avenues of thought, and, above all, one who, like themselves, was ever seeking for truth from whatever source it might spring. "Truth itself is greater than any form into which it has been fashioned", he proclaimed; life involves thought and the freedom to think boldly; "the spirit of fear is unworthy of a profession of the Gospel".[3]

[1] David Duncan, *"Essays and Reviews": a lecture, delivered at the Manchester Friends' Institute, on the 13th of 4th month, 1861.* (Manchester, 1861), p. 27.

[2] *Observations on a lecture delivered at the Manchester Friends' Institute, by David Duncan, entitled "Essays and Reviews."* By a Friend. [Anon.]. (London, 1861), pp. 28, 29.

[3] David Duncan, *"Essays and Reviews"*, p. 14, 15.

The position taken up at present by the so-called "Evangelical" friends of the Bible, is fatal to all spiritual life, and all faith in God and truth; it reduces men to slavery of mind and spirit; it openly preaches that God may have revealed Himself to the writers of the Old and New Testament, but that we cannot, and do not, expect such a revelation. This is to shut out God from the world.[1]

Charles Thompson, a close friend of David Duncan, though some years his senior, was a prominent member of the Institute, who maintained that men "were not to stand still" in spiritual things, "for there was as large, *or even a larger, amount of divine authority* and outpouring of the Spirit *now* than there was in the days when the Scriptures were written".[2] Joseph Brady Forster was another who played a leading role in the group, acting as secretary of the Institute Committee. He was likewise a champion for unrestricted liberty of thought and expression in religious matters, for approaching the Scriptures with the tools of reason and not in blind acceptance of all that was contained therein, and for a freshness of mind that was ready to change its ideas with growing experience. It was said of him by one of his critics that he appeared to change his views week by week and expected that they would thus go on changing throughout this life and the next.[3]

Their young followers often ran to extremes in this unwonted atmosphere of an almost reckless freedom. The group as a whole was woefully lacking in any historical sense, and therefore inevitably was weak in an understanding of the incarnation. The one guide they would acknowledge was a disembodied inward light, which they felt was sufficient to lead them into all truth. If each one followed his own light, they held, he could not go far astray; if he did err he would feel it in himself, and would be as careful not to repeat that action as the man, who has burnt his fingers, will avoid the fire in future. They sought to discover truth for themselves independently of any outward teaching; early Friends were not to be followed blindly any more than were the Scriptures; by turning to the light to which they had called us we should

[1] David Duncan, *Can an outward revelation be perfect? Reflections upon the claim of Biblical infallibility*, 2nd edition (1871), p. 25. The Advertisement to the 2nd edition is dated 5th month 1871. First published in 1863.

[2] Frederick Cooper, *The crisis in Manchester meeting. With a review of the pamphlets of David Duncan and Joseph B. Forster*. Not published. (Manchester, 1871), p. 6.

[3] Friends House Library, MS. Box 9.6.

advance beyond them. Some of them claimed an immediate approach to God and saw no need for Christ at all, and felt that to worship him was a direct denial of the First Commandment.[1] (When one remembers that this statement was made to a Yearly Meeting Committee of considerable weight, which included Joseph Bevan Braithwaite the elder among its members, one can but admire the courage of the daring youth who made this statement, but I think he was an attender and not actually in membership.)

David Duncan himself deprecated these more extreme views, but to the stiff Evangelicals all were tarred with the same brush. The division created in Mount Street between the orthodox Evangelicals and the bubbling heterodoxy of the Institute group led to such tension and high feeling that a Yearly Meeting Committee was eventually appointed in 1870 to enquire into the difficulties. With a steady, quiet ruthlessness this Committee proceeded to root out what had come to be known as the Manchester heresy; David Duncan was disowned in 1871, and died, a year later, at the age of 47. Eleven members, including some of the most hopeful and intelligent of the younger men and women, resigned in protest, and two others a little later. Despite the loneliness and sense of desolation which beset them on the death of their leader (and which moved even one member of the Yearly Meeting committee to compassion), these seceders, together with many still retaining their membership in the Society, held together, joining in a separate meeting for worship, followed by a period of discussion, and in 1872 started a monthly paper, called *The Manchester Friend*, under the editorship of Joseph Brady Forster. Its purpose was to represent the liberal party within the Society, and, in sympathy with the Broad Church party everywhere, to stand for perfect liberty of thought and expression.[2] *The British Friend* was very sore at the appearance of the new paper, and accused its editor of trying to "palm" off the periodical as "identified with the Society of Friends", whereas in reality it and its advocates belong to "the Synagogue of Satan."[3] The Manchester group replies, quietly but confidently, "We think

[1] Friends House Library, MS. Box 9.5(1).

[2] *The Manchester Friend*, January 15th, 1872, p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* For *The British Friend*'s editorial comment, see the issue for 1.i.1872, pp. 14, 15.

that our little movement in the nineteenth century, *is* identical *in aim*, with that of Fox, Barclay, and Penn, in the seventeenth; but we do not regard either the one or the other as finalities."[1] *The Manchester Friend* was laid down after running for two years, because the group felt that its work was ended; a seed had been sown that was already firmly rooted and would yield a golden harvest even if none of them lived to see it.

Thus the Quakerism, which had passed from its early freedom into a religion of strict authority, dependent on the outward letter of Scripture, was first challenged by a handful of young rebels, conscious of themselves as a movement, openly in revolt, desperately sincere, with no very clear idea of where they were heading, save that it was to the open roads of untrammelled thought and inward leading. "I would die for the truth," said Duncan in his last interview with the Yearly Meeting Committee, and in a sense he undoubtedly did so. This early movement ended then in disgrace, and apparent failure and tragedy. But the ground had been broken, however roughly. Twelve years later came the publication of *A Reasonable Faith*[2] (1884), written by three men who were likewise searching for a faith that could meet the demands of the intellect as well as of the emotions, and this was followed shortly after by the far more scholarly work of Edward Worsdell (1852-1908), still a comparatively young man. *The Gospel of Divine Help* (1886) brought a storm of criticism upon a particularly sensitive nature, and Edward Worsdell was refused a post in the Friends' school at Lancaster because he was held to be unsound on the doctrine of the atonement. In the eighties also there was still stirring a tradition of revolt in Manchester against usages which a younger generation felt had served their purpose, including the recording of ministers. Vipont Brown,[3] and the slightly older John William Graham (1859-1932), are to the forefront here. And then, in the opening years of the last decade of the nineteenth century, a new and deeper note began to sound.

I do not think that John Wilhelm Rowntree was ever consciously a revolutionary, or that he set out to found a

[1] *The Manchester Friend*, January 15th, 1872, p. 18.

[2] By Francis Frith (1822-98), William Pollard (1828-93) and William Edward Turner (1836-1911).

[3] Edward Vipont Brown (1863-1955).

movement or to assume of set purpose the role of leadership that he acquired because he was so obviously a born leader of men. Yet, to any group he entered, it was as though a keen wind from the moors blew suddenly through the stuffy chambers of conventional piety, of cramped and lazy thought, sweeping his companions onward to new and undreamed-of energy of mind and spirit, to a clearer vision of the possibilities that lay before the individual who would risk the sacrifice of dedicated effort.

He was born in 1868, the eldest son and child of Joseph and Antoinette Rowntree of York. From his mother, who was of German birth, a Seebohm of Hamburg, he inherited I think his intense love of beauty, his penetrative understanding of the work of the Renaissance artists, particularly of Dürer, his sensitive insight into the condition and needs of those he encountered day by day, his own artistic gifts, which found particular outlet in his lifelong love of acting. (As a schoolboy, he dressed up as a middle-aged Friend and interviewed the headmistress of The Mount for some considerable time on the possibility of sending his daughter to her school, carrying the whole interview through triumphantly and undiscovered.) It was from his father, one of those stalwart Quaker pioneers in the fields of commerce and industry, that he drew the steady strength of purpose, the inflexible will that carried his handicapped body to triumphant achievement in many fields of thought and action—from his father came also the relentless honesty that must find the truth for itself, and never run out in words beyond experience.

There are two aspects of his life and character which are often forgotten, and that I want, therefore, to emphasize.

First, from the age of 17, when he left Bootham, till the age of 31, when declining health forced him to retire to a quieter mode of life, John Wilhelm Rowntree was actively engaged in the cocoa and chocolate factory, then housed in a haphazard collection of buildings in Tanner's Moat, York, and employing some 200 to 300 people. It must have been a severe test to a sensitive schoolboy, already handicapped by deafness, to be thrust straight from the schoolroom to the factory floor, learning the business the hard way, by working through the various departments without privilege. His flashing wit, his courage and his kindness quickly won the affection and regard of his fellow workers. Within a few years

his younger brother, Seebohm, and his cousin, Arnold Rowntree, also entered the firm, and these three young men, working closely together as they assumed more responsible positions, formed a lively, adventurous and critical group. They were given a large measure of freedom to try out new methods for themselves, to make their own mistakes and learn from them. While ready to adopt what seemed good to them in Joseph Rowntree's ideas, they had no hesitation in casting aside what did not. Before he was 19 John Wilhelm had begun to re-organize the cocoa and chocolate-making departments, and at the age of 21 he was made a director. Thus, from his very young manhood he was, day by day encountering the responsibilities, the disciplines, the anxieties and achievements of an active business life. He was kept closely in touch with the stubborn facts, the hard, down-to-earth questions arising constantly in any industrial concern, and was experimenting in those difficult and delicate adjustments of human relationships involved in any attempt at management.

At the same time, almost immediately after leaving Bootham, John Wilhelm Rowntree was plunged into the work of the Adult School, first in the city of York, later in the School which he himself built up in the suburb of Acomb. Here he met working men of varying age and outlook at a different level, and in the cut and thrust of discussion, in the keen and often crude questioning of his class members, in trying to meet their personal problems and crises, the young man was tested in a different way, but just as searchingly. Like ourselves, he lived in an age of rapid scientific discovery and industrial development, of constantly expanding horizons, of the questioning of all accepted standards, of rude challenges to faith in any form. "A general doubt is coming up like a thunderstorm against the wind, and blackening the sky", wrote the historian Froude[1] in 1863.

Joseph Rowntree compared the revolution in thought, which took place in the last 35 years of the century (especially after 1859, when the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* cut the great divide through human thought), with the upheaval which swept over Europe at the time of the

[1] J. A. Froude, "A plea for the free discussion of theological difficulties", in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1863; reprinted in his *Short studies on great subjects* (New ed., 1891, i, 237).

Renaissance and the Reformation. The years of doubt and searching which beset the young John Wilhelm Rowntree are well known to us, when his childhood faith slipped away, and for a period he was left alone in the grey mists of agnosticism. He himself has told us:

> I have known what it was almost to give up belief in God; I have certainly known what it was not to believe God in my heart, but only to believe in Him with my head. I have known what it is to believe that there was no reality in the Bible—certainly no reality in Jesus Christ.

There was no sudden, and dramatic conversion, but gradually a change was wrought. "These things have come back again to me along unexpected paths," he tells us.

> The Bible has come back to me, through difficulty, in modern theology. Jesus Christ has come back to me in ways which I cannot express in speech. This I do know—even that light from out of darkness comes at times—a heavenly light.[1]

It was because he had known these shaking and ultimate doubts that he could speak to the young men and women of his day with a fresh reality, could go with them into their own shadows of bewilderment and questioning.

The second point that I wish to stress is that, in our admiration for his life and work, I think we have been in danger of forcing his vivid personality into the mould of a plaster saint which ill befits it. The heroism of John Wilhelm Rowntree's life to me lies not so much in the courage with which he faced those major blows of a growing deafness and a threatened loss of sight, but in the persistent battle with his own difficulties of temperament and his mastery of them. He was naturally impatient, critical, hot-tempered and beset by the temptation of selfishness—a malady to which the young intellectual is particularly vulnerable. As a child he once bit a friend of his mother's so deeply in a burst of passion that she bore the scar for the rest of her days; at school he was noted for his quizzical criticism. He realized keenly the difficulty of discerning whether his thronging ideas and desires were merely the expression of his own active mind and will, ultimately therefore self-centred and loved because they were the children of his brain, or whether they were in

[1] From "To rise again—a sermon", 27.x.1901, Fourth and Green Streets, Philadelphia. Printed in *John Wilhelm Rowntree: Essays and addresses* (1905), p. 262.

truth part of a larger purpose, beyond the self—the promptings and intimations and leadings of the divine. He could write of the hell, the real hell, of selfishness.[1]

"Oh, doom beyond the saddest guess,
As the long years of God unroll,
To make our dreary selfishness
The prison of a soul."[2]

(The quotation is his.)

He could ask: "How far is our love of God merely the love with all our heart and mind and soul of our own social comfort, of our position in society, our reputation and our character?" "Can we really truthfully say that we love our neighbour as ourself? I for one have not attained unto it".[3] In the words of Gerald Gould:

"The big things are the enemies we know,
The little things the traitors."[4]

It is part of the measure of his stature that neither did he succumb to that betrayal nor falter before the major challenges that life threw down before him.

Again, the ready wit, the quick jest, are often forgotten where the weighty utterance is remembered, but as Anne Vernon, the recent biographer of Joseph Rowntree, has written of John Wilhelm, "To be a man dedicated to God, and at the same time an asset at any social gathering, is an unusual combination."[5]

In the spring of 1889, Dr. Richard Thomas of Baltimore, then a man in early middle life, visited London Yearly Meeting with a special concern to speak to the young men of that gathering, and it was almost certainly then that John Wilhelm met him and came under his influence. Richard Thomas was enabled to help the troubled and seeking young man to break out of the shadows towards his own vision of God. Very shortly after this visit, John Wilhelm Rowntree began to hold meetings among the young men of the Society

[1] *Palestine notes, and other papers* (1906), p. 100.

[2] Also in *Essays and addresses*, p. 409 (from *Present Day papers*, vol. 5 (1902), p. 92).

[3] *Palestine notes, and other papers*, pp. 117, 118.

[4] Gerald Gould, *The Journey* (1920), Sonnet xlvii (p. 91).

[5] Anne Vernon, *A Quaker business man, the life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925* (1958), p. 151.

in the north of England, to discuss religious problems and to share his own experience with them. He was often accompanied on these visits by Edward Grubb, then teaching in the north, and their concern was particularly for those who were indifferent or hostile to the prevailing beliefs in the Society, and who were sitting very loosely to their faith. "What chiefly influenced those who met" John Wilhelm Rowntree, wrote Edward Grubb many years later, "was the unfamiliar spectacle of a young man of his intellectual ability and artistic taste throwing himself heart and soul into work for the spiritual good of others".[1]

So electric currents of hope and expectation, of stronger thought and a new eagerness, began to run through the younger generation of Friends, a spark flashing from one to another. Thoughtful and imaginative men and women of an older generation, already mature in experience and established in life, were likewise stirred and enlivened by these fresh impulses, and turned both with sympathy and expectancy to John Wilhelm Rowntree and his friends. When he and William Charles Braithwaite spoke in the Yearly Meeting of 1893, to plead for a more vital and practical ministry couched in terms which were the current coin of the rising generation, and so to meet the needs of the younger thinkers within the Society, they met with a ready hearing, and there was a sense of the blending of the thought and desire of younger and older which alone made possible the Manchester Conference of 1895, and the Summer School movement in the succeeding years.

In the months following this Yearly Meeting, John Wilhelm Rowntree learned from a specialist that nothing could be done for his fading eyesight, but that he must expect the onset of total blindness before middle life. That news brought one of his deepest experiences of the enfolding love of God, and from this time there is a new depth and reach in his ministry and writings.

The Manchester Conference is one of the great turning-points in the history of the Society. It was there that the seeking, thinking, restive individuals from all parts of the country found one another, and in the sessions heard the voicing of many of their ideas and difficulties. From this time the "modern" Quaker movement becomes conscious of

[1] Edward Grubb in *The British Friend*, April 1905, N.S. xiv, p. 95.

itself as a group activity. In that conference, called by the Home Mission Committee, with the support of London Yearly Meeting, in November 1895, the two schools of thought, Evangelical and forward-looking, stand out in sharp contrast, but not with the old bitterness in the recognized division. It was the first time that the Society had made an effort to assess its position in the light of modern thought, and to attempt to meet the intellectual as well as the spiritual needs of its members, particularly of the young. The mystical, practical and experimental nature of Quakerism was once more clearly pronounced, after nearly eighty years of neglect, or lip-service, or open aversion. With this fresh realization many Friends understood that they could accept the new conclusions of scientific and historical research, without any loss of faith, that they could advance unafraid along the paths opened to modern thought and criticism. Most significant also was the dawning of a fresh realization of group responsibility for re-vitalizing the meetings for worship and discipline; of the need for members to share in the tasks of a teaching ministry that would help them build up together a richer mental and spiritual life.

Two years after the Conference, John Wilhelm Rowntree, on holiday in Switzerland, first met Rufus Jones, and after a day of climbing and talking together, both realized that a friendship of unusual depth and quality had taken root. Rufus Jones had just begun his study of European mysticism, in the mainstream of which he saw the early Quaker movement as an important current. John Wilhelm Rowntree, on his part, was delving into the records of the first generation of Friends, was visualizing the modern Quaker movement as an evolution from those tempestuous days of the fresh outpouring of the Spirit, an unfolding and development, carrying on from those creative years into the present and the future in as yet untried ways of faith and practice. Both saw at once how their work fitted together, and from 1897 till his death in 1905, John Wilhelm Rowntree and Rufus Jones met every year, in England or the United States, at Summer Schools and in private visits, to strike out the white-hot metal of their thought together, each to find inspiration, new avenues to explore, from the suggestions of the other. It was to John Wilhelm Rowntree that Rufus Jones turned for criticism and advice on his written work, or whose comfort

he sought at a moment of discouragement. When *The Friend*,[1] reviewing Rufus Jones' *Social Law in the Spiritual World*, somewhat tactlessly and unkindly suggested that so good a title provided a subject for "a competent expounder of the theme" to pursue in the future, John Wilhelm Rowntree wrote at once to Rufus Jones: "With regard to the review of your book in *The Friend*, I would not for one moment allow it to trouble you. Nobody worth talking about takes *The Friend* seriously on this side of the water!" It was John Wilhelm Rowntree who collected and sent over to the States a valuable library of mystical literature for the use of his friend; it still forms the heart of the Rufus Jones collection at Haverford, and many of the volumes came from John Wilhelm Rowntree's own bookshelves. To both men this gift of friendship was one of the greatest riches that life brought.

Meanwhile, in England, a growing circle was gathering about John Wilhelm Rowntree, and looking to him for leadership in the way forward. They were very diverse in personality, in age and in ideas. Edward Grubb, at this time strongly attracted by the Unitarian position, but already gripped by the interest and importance of theological study; Vipont Brown and John William Graham, those valiant "crusaders of the spirit", well away on the left wing of both social and religious thought, and much given to shocking their elders; Joan Mary Fry and Frances Thompson of Birkenhead, gripped by the early teaching of the Children of the Light and by their young leader's re-interpretation of it; William Charles Braithwaite, the scholarly young lawyer, six years older than John Wilhelm, but a close personal friend after the Yearly Meeting of 1893, studying the examples of spiritual guidance in the Society's history; Ernest Taylor, just embarking on his life-work in Quaker journalism, who found in John Wilhelm's address at the Manchester Conference a call to devote himself to the new movement of Quaker thought; T. Edmund Harvey, with his keen perception of the important social and political questions of the day, his scholarly approach, his deep inner experience; Henry Bryan Binns, quiet, many-sided, a figure with no silhouette, as he has been described, who led his companions so unobtrusively from one field of beauty to another that they were almost unconscious of their guide; Elsie Wright,

[1] 16.xii.1904, xliv, p. 829.

who is still with us, and then as a very young woman must have been a most lively, attractive and stimulating member of any group discussion, with a capacity for asking pertinent and awkward questions; Silvanus Thompson the scientist, the scrupulously careful and honest thinker, with his roots deep in the things of the spirit—these are a few whose names spring at once to mind as companions in thought to John Wilhelm Rowntree, strengthening, following, questioning, steadying him, as they plunged together, and often in his wake, into uncharted waters of mind and spirit.

The concern of John Wilhelm Rowntree, the focusing points of the new movement, lie in four main directions.

First, the need to think anew of the meaning and significance in the modern world of the Society's central experience and doctrine of the Inner Light.

"We stopped thinking in the seventeenth century", John Wilhelm Rowntree declared.

> The thought-stuff of Fox, Penington and Barclay was never properly worked out. We never understood the Inward Light.
>
> This throws us back on the Inward Voice as the ultimate arbiter even of the Bible. Is this to mean, as Lecky drily suggests, 'the deification of a strong internal persuasion'? . . . The question is not one to be hastily handled. The difficulties of the doctrine of Inward Guidance are . . . serious and practical. I would suggest that the solution lies in a deeper interpretation of the person and message of Jesus Christ.[1]

Note here the difference between John Wilhelm Rowntree and the Manchester group. He realises a problem of which they were not even aware, and the perils that arise if the inward light of the Spirit is not securely linked with the historical fact of the incarnation.

Secondly, he was concerned, throughout his life, with the acute and difficult problem of maintaining a living, yet free ministry. Consecration to him included the disciplined training of the mind,

> the combined potency of prayer and thought . . . To be spiritual is not to be slipshod . . . We want the imagination which springs from sympathy, and the freshness which springs from thought . . . To deal in the obvious because thinking is too much trouble is to offer unconsecrated ministry.[2]

[1] *Essays and addresses*, pp. 243-244 (from *Friends' quarterly examiner*, xxxix (1905), pp. 116, 117).

[2] "On lay ministry" in *Palestine notes, and other papers*, pp. 110, 112.

To meet this need he, with Rendel Harris, initiated the Summer Schools for Biblical, religious and social study, Schools which ran for several weeks in the summer of each year, starting with one at Scarborough in 1897. It is difficult for us to imagine what these gatherings meant to the Friends of the late nineteenth century. There was the intellectual stimulus of Bible study, using the apparatus of the modern, critical method and the greater understanding brought by recent anthropological studies and explorations of primitive religion; there was a more fundamental appreciation of the problems of practical, social life; there was the deepening of faith, and the vivid fellowship of those who are seeking and finding together. There was an exciting sense of opening doors, of keen eddies of thought blowing, of the recovery of the deeper truths of religion as real and personal to the young men and women of that day. Later came the idea of Woodbrooke as a permanent centre of such studies, with the hope that the Friends who shared in them might become in time the new type of minister, informed, thoughtful, more deeply spiritual in their approach to life, whom John Wilhelm Rowntree longed to see arising in the dead meetings up and down the country. He has left us his first idea of Woodbrooke as: "a small, residential reading party", from which other enterprises would develop—correspondence classes, evening lectures open to Birmingham Friends, social, experimental work in the way of practical study. The problem, as he saw it, was "How to train and equip without imparting a professional spirit and flavour, or exalting the intellect above the spirit."[1] So strongly did he feel on this subject that he believed the continuing life of the Society depended on the growth of such a ministry, which would be closely in touch with the needs, the discoveries, the changing thought of the day and so able to speak, in terms which they understood, to the men and women of the early twentieth century.

Thirdly, he realized the need for a knowledge and understanding of the history of Quakerism throughout the centuries of its existence. This he saw as vital to the fulfilment of the two concerns already mentioned. Only as Friends knew of the creative upsurging of spiritual life from which Quakerism sprang, could they realize their history as an evolution, could they see where the true unfolding and development lay, and

[1] Letter of May 1902 to Rufus Jones (Rufus Jones Collection, Haverford).

which were the blind alleys they had strayed into from time to time, and were still opening temptingly about them in the present. The history he had outlined would have been very much a study of the developing thought, the conflicting ideas, which had arisen since the days of Fox and Barclay.

Fourthly, he was sensitively alert to the weight of the social problem laid upon his contemporaries, and the need for all Christians to seek a fresh and constructive approach to these baffling questions. He was clear that philanthropy, so often the mere fashionable craze of the day, even among members of the Society, was not enough, and might be a very real danger. Like his father and his brother Seebohm, he demanded research into the causes of poverty, a different attitude to men of all classes. ". . . there is a notable stirring of the social conscience," he wrote.

> Poverty in its hideous shape is regarded not as a fixed institution but as a social disease, an evil too great to be borne. That the many should suffer a stunted life while a few enjoy the freedom of wealth and leisure is a contradiction of brotherhood that cannot be glozed over by the application of a few stock platitudes. So it comes about that the old party lines break down, and time-honoured political beliefs are seething in the melting-pot. In all this there is a great hope and a great peril.[1]

This then, in brief outline, was the message and programme of the modern Quaker movement. It was proclaimed in lectures and discussion groups, in the periodical which John Wilhelm Rowntree started and edited and which ran from 1898 to 1902 under the title of *Present Day Papers*, where religious and social questions were once more freely discussed; it was heard in the ministry of the meetings for worship. If at first sight there does not seem to be anything very revolutionary in it, more careful thought, I think, will reveal that it goes to the root of our existence as a religious Society, and the problems it faces are still with us. John Wilhelm was not a mere rebel, with a desire to destroy ruthlessly; he had far too keen an historical sense to seek the fashioning of all things anew like the Manchester group at the beginning of the unbroken trail. For all his rediscovery of the meaning of the Inner Light, he had no easy belief in the natural goodness of man. He stated clearly: "After all, we need what, to use an old phrase, is called conviction of sin."[2]

[1] *Essays and addresses*, p. 242 (from *F.Q.E.*, xxxix (1905), p. 115).
[2] *Palestine notes, and other papers*, p. 117.

He could pierce the dead husks of Evangelical teaching to the living kernel of truth enfolded within, which many of the Evangelical Friends of his own day had forgotten.

Evangelicalism can neither be disproved nor dispensed with—for it expresses that which is of the essence of the spiritual life. The personal hold on God, the personal sense of His love and power, the personal call to His service, and the personal sense of sin,—this is Evangelicalism.[1]

The incarnation, the cross, personal salvation, the atonement, were not old superstitions to be flung away, but were to be realized deeply and passionately as living truths of experience which each generation must win to for themselves. Thus, in his thought, the dilemma of authority or experience is largely solved. For if the Spirit alone can reveal to us the truth, yet that truth is not a mere fact of inward feeling and knowledge but exists in history, objectively and outside ourselves, the revelation of God, the meeting of God and man, in Jesus of Nazareth. The ultimate test must be not only, Are we following the light we have? but, Is that carrying us to a growing recognition of the historic reality of Christ's life and teaching and of the meaning of the Cross?

The death of John Wilhelm Rowntree in 1905, at the age of 37, shook the Society of Friends in this country as nothing had done since the death of Edward Burrough in Newgate gaol in 1662. But the effect of that death upon his contemporaries is one of the most amazing witnesses to the creative power of John Wilhelm Rowntree's dedicated life. To all who have left a record of this time, it came as a challenge and a spur to increased effort, that the things for which he had cared and worked should be carried forward, and not die with him.

"His death, so unexpected and so moving, carried me farther perhaps than his continued life could have done," wrote Rufus Jones. "I felt at once that I had to live and work for both of us and no longer as one person. I felt his concerns laid upon me as though they were mine by birth."[2] "It rests with us to do what is in our power to further the work which he had at heart, and to keep alive the ideals and enthusiasms of 'One who never turned his back but marched breast forward', " said Lawrence Richardson.[3]

[1] *Palestine notes, and other papers*, p. 248.
[2] R. M. Jones, *The trail of life in college*, (1929), p. 198.
[3] *The British Friend*, April 1905, N.S. xiv, p. 94.

"Seebohm is perfectly wonderful, he thinks all the time of how John's work is to be carried on, and is full of plans for holding meetings to put the necessity before the younger Friends who are in sympathy with it," wrote Edward Grubb.[1]

"His sudden death has drawn us all together who knew him, and to many of us it has brought deep heart-searchings and aspirations after the higher ways," wrote Henry Bryan Binns.[2]

"His memory and life seemed not . . . to cast a bewildering gloom on everyone, but just the reverse; it seemed to stimulate and energize everyone," wrote Herbert Standing.[3]

His ideas were carried forward to flowering and fruition in the Quaker histories written by William Charles Braithwaite and Rufus Jones; in the growing Woodbrooke and its service; in the rise of the Young Friends' movement after 1905, culminating in its first phase in the Swanwick Conference of 1911; in the formation of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee for fostering thought and teaching and ministry, with Ernest Taylor as its first secretary; in the deepening vision of those first pre-war years of the message and purpose of the Society. Individuals were profoundly changed by that death; Rowntree Gillett,[4] to give one notable example, the gay, attractive, young man about town, was turned from those happy and careless vanities to a life of resolute purpose in the service of God; others have told me of the profound change in thought and direction brought by their contact with John Wilhelm Rowntree and his sudden passing from them. In our own day, the new interest arising among younger Friends for a serious and informed study of the Bible and other matters of the Christian faith, the concern appearing among Friends of all ages for a deeper understanding of the Inward Light and its relation to historic Christianity, the vital, thought-filled ministry heard sometimes in unexpected places in our Meetings for Worship, all I believe are witnesses that the work which John Wilhelm Rowntree began is still living, still puts forth new shoots of hope and promise.

The religion of authority, based on a Holy Book, has passed from us. Authoritarianism comes to us in different

[1] Letter of 21.iii.1905. Rufus Jones Collection (Haverford).
[2] Letter of April 16th, 1905. Rufus Jones Collection (Haverford).
[3] Letter of 21st May, 1905. Rufus Jones Collection (Haverford).
[4] Joseph Rowntree Gillett (1874-1940).

and perhaps more dangerous and subtle forms. The other trend, represented in the Manchester group of the "sixties", is with us still in little changed guise. There are still among us the followers of an unfocused inward light, conceived as an ineradicable part of the equipment of human beings—a bold, humanitarian faith. Perhaps the Society of Friends must be large enough in sympathy and imagination to contain them. Let us pray that the day of heresy-hunting is past. The rebellious, challenging, restlessly-seeking young will always tend to find an appeal in the brave claims of a divine humanity, with its unlimited possibilities of a growth into perfection; have not many of us passed that way? But the answer to the question, authority or experience, and what is their nature, is given ultimately, I think, in John Wilhelm Rowntree's words, as reported by Silvanus Thompson.[1] The two had taken a long walk together over the Yorkshire moors in the summer of 1904, and Silvanus Thompson has left a record of their conversation, which ranged from Balfour's recent address to the British Association at Cambridge, and the new concept of the impermanent nature of matter, to the Lancashire trouble of the 'sixties and 'seventies.

"He also spoke on his own views, as to which he said that he had of late seen somewhat more clearly", Silvanus Thompson continues.

> The central thought was that the Quakerism that is to progress must first realize the main Quaker position of the Divine illumination of the soul, and understand that there is neither infallible Church, nor Pope, nor Book; that it must then carry on the progress of the religious idea by outlining the relation of the indwelling God, on the one hand, to sin as a fact of human experience, and, on the other, to the other revelations of God. Abandonment of all external authority as authority, which this position involved, brought about the prime necessity of ascertaining, so far as we can ascertain, the nature of the contact which is felt between the human and the Divine. This in turn involved a clearer understanding of the terms "human" and "Divine". If with that clearer understanding we then perceive that Jesus Christ furnishes us (within the limits of human consciousness) with an identification or meeting-point between humanity and Divinity, between a perfectly human soul and the Eternal and Divine Spirit, we have a foundation for faith independent of external authority; and this is the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. It will be a Gospel not written in books, but in the collective illuminated conscience of the followers of

[1] *Friends' quarterly examiner*, xxxix (1905), pp. 258-268.

Christ, and it will necessarily and of itself guide men in conduct, while quickening them in every activity for their fellow-men.

I scarcely dare to set down more, lest I should distort the impression which his words left upon me. He seemed to see, as with a great power of inward vision, the gathering thought of the Quakerism of the future.[1]

It is to the realization of that vision, and its translation into reality, that we are called today.

RICHENDA C. SCOTT

[1] *Friends' quarterly examiner*, xxxix (1905), pp. 266-267.

# The Authorship of "A Word for the Common Weale" (1650)

THIS pamphlet is ascribed by Joseph Smith[1] to Penington's father, Isaac Penington senior.

His ascription seems improbable. Penington (junior) was writing in just such a vein at that very time, whereas his father wrote only in collaboration with others to defend the acts of his mayoralty in reply to specific charges brought against him and his colleagues.[2]

The reasons Smith gives for denying the authorship to Penington (junior) are two. First, that it is not mentioned in the review of his writings which form the second part of J. Gurney Bevan's *Memoirs of Isaac Penington*. But this is no argument at all, since this book was not written till a century later (1784), and then only in such terms as these: "Our author's next piece of which we have an account, and of which copies remain, is. . . ."[3] And there is an obvious reason for the omission, in that Bevan based his work on Whiting's catalogue,[4] which does not mention it (giving indeed nothing of his earlier than 1654). More impressive is the argument that for long he was accustomed to sign himself "Isaac Penington (junior)". But here again, we find that his earliest works were anonymous, and that it was only after the date of *A Word for the Common Weale* that he began to put "Isaac Penington (junior)" on the title page.

Accordingly, a possible theory seems to be that his earliest works were anonymous; that he then issued one—this *A Word for the Common Weale*—signed "Isaac Penington", and that when he found confusion as to the authorship resulted from that mode of signature, then, and then only, did he see the desirability of signing himself "Isaac Penington (junior)" for the future, to avoid further such mistakes. On his father's death, he returned to the old mode of signature.

There seems then no real reason for doubt as to the authorship of *A Word for the Common Weale*, which the British Museum Catalogue ascribes to him unhesitatingly. The internal evidence of style and sentiment is so strong as to seem alone conclusive, and the matter is settled by the discovery that a page advertising "books by the same author" at the end of the *Divine Essays* of 1654 (only four years later) includes *A Word for the Common Weale* among other books which are indubitably by "Isaac Penington (junior)".

RUTH L. ARMSBY

[1] *A descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (1867), ii. 334-5. [Wing: P1148].

[2] *A Declaration and Vindication of Isaac Penington*, Feb. 1642; *A Humble Remonstrance....in vindication of the Honourable Isaac Penington*, 1643 (O.S.).

[3] 1830 ed. p.138.

[4] *A catalogue of Friends' books*, by John Whiting (1708). It gives (p.124) nothing of Penington's earlier than *The way of life and death made manifest* (1654).

# "Meetings Settled, Discontinued or United."

## A Summary of Reports to London Yearly Meeting, 1834-1890

FROM the late seventeenth century until 1791 Yearly Meeting received annually from each Quarterly Meeting information on "meeting houses built and meetings new settled," and from 1792 until 1833 on "meeting settled, discontinued or united." This information was contained in the answers to the queries. In 1833 it was decided to discontinue the query on this subject and to replace it by the following minute in the Book of Discipline:

> The several quarterly meetings are to transmit annually in the Spring to the meeting for sufferings, information of any meetings which have been settled, discontinued or united in the course of the year, in order that such information may be duly communicated to this meeting.[1]

The information so transmitted appears annually in Meeting for Sufferings minutes in Fifth Month and in Yearly Meeting MS. minutes. It is reprinted in *Y.M. Proceedings* in 1857 and 1870-1890, and in 1869 is printed there in the report on the tabular statement. From 1891 onwards (significantly concurrent with the appointment of Isaac Sharp as Recording Clerk) it is systematically printed in *Y.M. Proceedings* as part of the summary of the tabular statement.[2] The information for the previous two generations is not readily accessible, and it is therefore felt worth gathering the material into the following summary.

The spelling of names is that given in the source quoted and the remainder of the wording of each entry, while not an exact transcript of the original, reflects the terms used in it.

The list gives the year date; the Quarterly Meeting concerned, and the alteration of the particular meeting recorded. References appear at the end of the list.

[1] *Rules of Discipline*, 1834, p. 129; *Christian Doctrine, Practice and Discipline*, 1861, 4to ed. p. 155, 8vo. ed. pp. 172-3; *Book of Christian Discipline*, 1883, p. 189.

[2] In the 1906 revision of *Church Government* the instruction to report on meetings settled or discontinued was included as a subsidiary to the instruction to prepare the tabular statement.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1834 Bristol & Somerset | Illminster discontinued |
| | Northamptonshire | Wellingborough M.M. of ministers and elders dissolved |
| | Sussex & Surrey | Meeting settled at Hastings and constituted a P.M. |
| 1835, 1836 | None | |
| | 1837 Buckinghamshire | Aylesbury discontinued |
| | Durham | Norton discontinued |
| | Lincolnshire | Boston discontinued |
| | Sussex & Surrey | Hastings discontinued |
| | 1838 Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Warwickshire Middle M.M. discontinued and united with Warwickshire North M.M. |
| | | Berkswell Annual Meeting discontinued. |
| | Lincolnshire | Leak discontinued |
| | 1839 Northamptonshire | Raunds discontinued |
| 1840, 1841 | None | |
| | 1842 Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Hinckley discontinued |
| | 1843 Yorkshire | Knapton discontinued |
| | 1844 Hereford, Worcester & Wales | New Dale discontinued |
| 1845, 1846 | None | |
| | 1847 Durham | Middlesbro' settled |
| | Lancashire | Birkenhead settled |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Hartshill discontinued |
| | 1848 Lancashire | Liscard settled |
| | Durham | New Shildon settled |
| | Gloucester & Wilts | Thornbury discontinued |
| | Yorkshire | Lumbroyd discontinued |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Baddesley discontinued |
| 1849, 1850 | None | |
| | 1851 London & Middlesex | Gracechurch St. M.M. united to Devonshire House M.M. |
| | | Hammersmith discontinued |
| | Yorkshire | Guisbro' M.M. united to Durham Q.M. |
| | 1852 Devonshire | Torquay established |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Stow discontinued |
| | | Campden discontinued |
| | | Radway discontinued |
| | Bucks & Northants | Olney discontinued |
| | 1853 Bucks & Northants | Bugbrook discontinued |
| | Hereford, Worcester & Wales | Bromyard discontinued |
| | Kent | Sittingbourne established |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Rutland | Tamworth discontinued |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854 | Lancashire | Leigh established |
| | Yorkshire | Knaresboro' and Settle M.M.s united with Brighouse, except Darley which has been transferred to York M.M. |
| | Gloucester & Wilts | Devizes settled |
| | | Union of Gloucester and Nailsworth M.M.s |
| 1855 | Berks & Oxon | Burford discontinued |
| | | Wallingford discontinued |
| | Bucks & Northants | Buckingham discontinued |
| | Cumberland & Northumberland | Kirkbride discontinued |
| 1856 | Bristol, Somerset & Dorset | Milverton discontinued |
| | Durham | Crathorne near Yarm settled (see the minute)[1] |
| | Yorks | Newton discontinued |
| | | Thornton-in-Craven established |
| 1857 | Bristol, Somerset & Dorset | Mere established within Shaftesbury and Sherborne M.M. |
| | Bucks & Northants | Chesham discontinued |
| | Cornwall | Looe discontinued |
| 1858 | Bucks & Northants | Junction of Upperside and Leighton M.M.s |
| 1859 | London & Middlesex | Holloway established |
| | Devonshire | Modbury discontinued |
| | Yorkshire | Pickering & Hull M.M.s joined |
| 1860 | Devonshire | Barnstaple discontinued |
| | Durham | Durham discontinued |
| | Hereford, Worcester & Wales | Worcestershire and Shropshire M.M.s joined |
| | Westmorland | Cartmel settled every alternate week forming with Height a Preparative Meeting. |
| 1861 | Durham | Reeth discontinued |
| | Lancashire & Cheshire | Ashton-on-Mersey settled |
| | London & Middlesex | Southwark discontinued |
| | | Peel M.M. discontinued and area divided between Devonshire House and Westminster M.M.s |
| | Norfolk, Cambs & Hunts | Ives discontinued |
| | | Huntingdon discontinued |
| | Westmorland | Terril discontinued |

[1] No minute of the Q.M. has been traced in the Meeting for Sufferings Minute Book.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1862 | Cornwall | Tideford discontinued |
| | | Camborne discontinued |
| | Durham | Crathorne discontinued |
| | Hereford, Worcester & Wales | Cardiff discontinued |
| | Yorkshire | Addingham discontinued |
| | | Thornton in the Clay discontinued |
| | | Harrogate settled |
| 1863 | Lincolnshire | Sturton settled as an allowed meeting |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Stafford | Brails discontinued |
| 1864 | Derby & Notts | Nottingham and Mansfield M.M.s united |
| 1865 | Beds & Herts | Ware meeting united to Hertford |
| | Cumberland & Northumberland | Mosedale discontinued |
| | Norfolk, Cambs & Hunts | Tasburgh discontinued and its remaining members united to Tivetshall |
| 1866 | Beds & Herts Q.M. and Bucks & Northants Q.M. united | |
| | Derby & Notts Q.M. and Lincolnshire Q.M. united | |
| | Westminster and Longford M.M.s united | |
| | Yorkshire | Newhill discontinued |
| | | North Cave discontinued |
| 1867 | Bristol & Somerset | Yeovil discontinued |
| | Gloucester & Wilts | Frome discontinued |
| 1868 | Hereford, Worcester & Wales | Bewdley regular meeting discontinued; intended occasionally to hold one there |
| | Westmorland | Garsdale re-opened on First day morning |
| 1869[1] | Bedfordshire | Eydon discontinued |
| | Bristol & Somerset | Yeovil re-opened |
| | Sussex, Surrey & Hants | Godalming discontinued |
| 1870 | Bedfordshire | Eydon discontinued |
| | Bristol & Somerset | Yeovil re-closed |
| | | Junction of Bristol & Frenchay M.M.s |
| 1871 | Bristol & Somerset | Sodbury discontinued |
| | Sussex, Surrey & Hants | Alton and Poole & Southampton M.M.s united |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Stafford | Ridlington Park discontinued |

[1] In the Yearly Meeting minute book this information occurs in the report on the Tabular Statement, the names of the Quarterly Meetings being omitted.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Westmorland | Barrow allowed meeting opened |
| | Yorkshire | Thornton near Pickering discontinued |
| 1872 | Cumberland & Northumberland | Greysouthen discontinued |
| | Devon & Cornwall | Kingsbridge discontinued |
| 1873 | Bristol & Somerset | Olveston discontinued |
| | Derby, Lincoln & Notts | Gedney discontinued |
| | | Junction of Broughton & Gainsbro' and Spalding & Wainfleet M.M.s |
| | | Transfer of Retford allowed meeting to the M.M. of Balby |
| | Kent | Folkestone discontinued "except when required by Friends visiting during the Season" |
| | Norfolk, Cambs & Hunts | Downham discontinued |
| | | Hunstanton allowed meeting |
| | Western | Cardiff re-opened |
| | Yorkshire | Ilkley meeting for worship settled |
| | | Scholes near Cleckheaton Meeting for worship settled |
| 1874 | Bedfordshire | Hogsty End discontinued |
| | Suffolk | Haverhill discontinued |
| 1875 | Bristol & Somerset | Marnhull discontinued |
| | Kent | Rochester and Folkestone M.M.s united |
| | Norfolk, Cambs & Hunts | Wymondham discontinued |
| | | Downham re-opened |
| 1876 | Devon & Cornwall | Tavistock discontinued |
| | Western | Newport (Mon.) meeting for worship established |
| | Yorkshire | Keighley recognized as a settled meeting for worship |
| 1877 | Bristol & Somerset | Junction of North Somerset M.M. and Wiltshire M.M. |
| | | Somerton meeting for worship established |
| | | Redland near Bristol allowed meeting on First-day evenings established |
| | Devon & Cornwall | Penzance discontinued |
| | Lancashire & Cheshire | Eccles opened |
| | London and Middlesex | Hammersmith established as a settled meeting |
| | Yorkshire | Selby allowed meeting recognized |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1878 | Kent | Sittingbourne discontinued |
| | Yorkshire | Selby discontinued |
| 1879 | Bristol & Somerset | Devizes discontinued, the Friends there now meeting with those of Melksham |
| 1880 | Derby, Lincoln & Notts | Sturton discontinued |
| 1881 | Bedfordshire | Ampthill discontinued |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Stafford | Leek re-opened |
| 1882 | None | |
| 1883 | Warwick, Leicester & Stafford | Longbridge settled |
| 1884 | Durham | Laskill opened, once monthly |
| | Bristol & Somerset | Wilton settled |
| | Warwick, Leicester & Stafford | Uttoxeter discontinued[1] |
| 1885 | Essex & Suffolk | Stebbing discontinued, no Friends being now resident there |
| 1886 | Bristol & Somerset | Chipping Sodbury re-opened |
| | Devon & Cornwall | Spiceland discontinued |
| 1887, 1888 | None | |
| 1889[2] | London & Middlesex | Bunhill Friends meeting recognized by Devonshire House M.M. |
| 1890[3] | [London & Middlesex] | Bunhill Friends meeting opened |
| | [Durham] | South Shields opened |
| | | Staindrop meeting closed |

## References

The sources of information for the various years are as follows:

Meeting for Sufferings minutes. Vol. 44, p. 198 (1834), pp. 388-9 (1837), p. 511 (1838), pp. 574-5 (1839); vol. 45, p. 161 (1842), p. 227 (1843), p. 282 (1844), p. 509 (1847), pp. 575-6 (1848); vol. 46, pp. 173-4 (1851), p. 257 (1852), p. 330 (1853), p. 413 (1854), pp. 473-4 1855), pp. 542-3 (1856); vol. 47, pp. 2-3 (1857), pp. 79-80 (1858), p. 195 (1859), pp. 258-9 (1860), p. 348 (1861), p. 426 (1862), p. 503 (1863), p. 567 (1864), p. 514 (1863, Brailes), p. 623 (1865); vol. 48, p. 40 (1866), p. 110 (1867), pp. 180-1 (1868), p. 230 (1869), p. 312 (1870), pp. 371-2 (1871), p. 443 (1872), pp. 522-3 (1873), p. 588 (1874), p. 659 (1875); vol. 49, p. 83 (1876), p. 174 (1877), p. 246 (1878), p. 318 (1879), p. 382 (1880), p. 434 (1881), p. 540 (1883), p. 603 (1884), p. 658 (1885).

[1] The entry concerning Uttoxeter does not appear in the Meeting for Sufferings minute book.

[2] The report for these years has not been traced in the Meeting for Sufferings minute book.

[3] Information contained in the Summary of Tabular Statements; no record in Meeting for Sufferings minutes.

Yearly Meeting minutes. Vol. 26, p. 625 (1856); vol. 27, p. 75 (1857), p. 124 (1858), pp. 523-4 (1862), p. 573 (1863), p. 652 (1864), p. 718 (1865); vol. 28, p. 100 (1867), pp. 174-5 (1869), pp. 243-4 (1870), pp. 319-20 (1871), p. 369 (1872), p. 429 (1873), pp. 492-3 (1874), p. 613 (1876), pp. 664-5 (1877); vol. 29, pp. 61-2 (1878), p. 141 (1879), p. 234 (1880), p. 307 (1881), pp. 593-4 (1885), pp. 657-8 (1886); vol. 30, p. 153 (1889), p. 176 (1890).

*Yearly Meeting Proceedings*. 1857, p. 27; 1869, p. 9; 1870, p. 16; 1871, p. 29; 1872, p. 24; 1873, p. 30; 1874, p. 32; 1875, p. 69; 1876, p. 33; 1877, p. 25; 1878, p. 29; 1879, p. 32: 1880, p. 32; 1881, p. 29; 1883, p. 74; 1884, p. 79; 1885, p. 23; 1886, p. 28; 1889, p. 34; 1890, p. 7.

EDWARD H. MILLIGAN

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*I Have Called You Friends: the Story of Quakerism in North Carolina*. By Francis C. Anscombe, Ph.D. The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, U.S.A. 1959. Pp. 407; 12 plates.

This book is most valuable as a comprehensive record of Friends in North Carolina from the seventeenth century to the present day; the Index contains nearly 700 individual names. Some of these are only referred to incidentally, but in a great many cases there is a substantial biographical notice of the Friend concerned, mostly in connection with the account of the Quarterly Meeting of which he or she was a member. The "Conservative" and "Independent" bodies of Friends in North Carolina receive some mention, and also the interesting group of "near-Friends" known as the Nicholites, or New Quakers.

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Among the bibliographies and theses accepted in 1959 at the University of London School of Librarianship and Archives (University College) are the following:

Sherriff, Peggy. *The Doukhobors.*
Newton, S. C. *Calendar of the Bright Papers.*

*The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 16, no. 4 (October, 1959), includes "The concept of democracy in colonial political thought", by Roy N. Lokken. The author shows how Pennsylvania as well as the other colonies, with whatever forms of government they began, tended to approximate to the English pattern—and to claim for their legislatures the rights of the Parliament at Westminster.

# Reports on Archives

THE National Register of Archives (Historical Manuscripts Commission) *List of accessions to repositories in 1958* (*Her Majesty's Stationery Office*, 1959, 3s. 6d.), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history.

Birmingham Central Reference Library, Birmingham, 1.

Collection of manuscript and printed papers written by, or belonging to, Mary Capper (1755-1845).

Birmingham University Library.

Letter: John Bright, 1878.

Bristol Record Office, Council House, Bristol, 1.

Account book of Nehemiah Champion trading with West Indies, c.1763.

Gloucester City Library, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

Transcripts of non-parochial registers for Gloucestershire.

Hertfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Hertford.

Society of Friends: Records of Baldock, Cottered, Hertford, Hitchin monthly meetings.

London County Record Office, County Hall, Westminster Bridge, London, S.E.1.

Dr. Thomas Young: notebook on Hebrew grammar, c.1787.

Northumberland Record Office, Moothall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1.

Quarter Sessions: register of Dissenters, 1688-1852.

Nottingham Public Libraries, South Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

Letter: Mary Howitt.

Shrewsbury Public Libraries, Castle Gates, Shrewsbury.

Records of Iron Bridge Trust, 1775-1948. (Deposited by Messrs. Darby & Co. (Birmingham) Ltd.)

Bury St. Edmunds and West Suffolk Record Office, 8 Angel Hill, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

Archdeaconry of Sudbury: registers of certificates of dissenters' meeting-houses, 1702-1881.

East Sussex Record Office, County Hall, Lewes, Sussex.

Society of Friends: records of Sussex and Surrey quarterly meetings.

East Riding (Yorkshire) Record Office, County Hall, Beverley, Yorkshire.

Society of Friends: minutes, sufferings, epistles, 1655-1791, of Elloughton and Cave, Kelk and Bridlington, and Owstwick monthly meetings, Bridlington, Owstwick and Welwick preparative meetings.

# Kirbymoorside and Hutton-le-Hole

## Notes on the history of the Friends' Meeting from the 17th to the 19th Century

By R. Wilfrid Crosland

"Of Kirby Moorside, I regret to report, the less said the better. I have gone through the Preparative Meeting books and they are a melancholy record of petty quarrels and the poisonous influence of perpetual gossip, that really terrible curse of little towns."

THERE could scarcely be a more sombre beginning to this short description than the above quotation from John Wilhelm Rowntree. It comes from a course of three lectures on "The rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire" which he gave at a summer school held in the Tolbooth at Kirbymoorside, in September 1904,[1] and it will serve to warn the reader at the outset, against expecting too many things from the following short notes. The account which is given here is based on a search in the minute books of the Friends' meetings covering this district, from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.

No record is known of the origin of these meetings. Early in 1652 George Fox visited Malton, where he spent some time, had many meetings, and "visited the towns thereabouts". He may have included Kirbymoorside. Certainly, there were many groups of Friends gathered in the district before 1660, although in 1669 the only Particular Meetings mentioned are those at Kirbymoorside and Hutton in the Hole.[2]

The earliest property owned by Friends was a patch of land at Lowna in Farndale, purchased in 1674, and in use well into last century as a burial ground. In 1690 another burial ground was bought at Kirbymoorside, and it is likely that a meeting house was erected in a corner of it before 1700. By that time, a meeting house was in use at Hutton,

[1] Printed in his *Essays and addresses*, 1905, 56.

[2] Before 1800, Hutton is always referred to as Hutton in the Hole. No definite record is known telling when this form was replaced by Hutton-le-Hole, but it has been suggested that the original Ordnance Surveyors were responsible for the change. From about 1820, Hutton-le-Hole is usual.

probably built in 1698. This last property was sold in 1859; the meeting house key is still preserved at Kirbymoorside, and tradition says that the datestone in the modern building on the site came from the old Friends' Meeting House.

A minute book survives which throws light on the meetings from 1702 to 1780. From the start it seems that the two meetings had a joint meeting for business, and from 1763 the preparative meeting was held in alternate months at Kirby and Hutton. Before 1734 never more than eight meetings are recorded in a year, April, June and September being omitted most years. The records are brief, sometimes recording only the place, date, and "Friends parts in unity".

Before 1732 there is little of interest mentioned. In that year, the last surviving trustee of the Kirby property died before arrangements had been made for a new appointment, and Friends had some trouble and had to pay £3 16s. 8d. to have things straightened out. The Meeting's books and papers at this time were scattered in private hands, so to bring them together, a "chist with two locks" was secured and the documents were collected. From that time, too, the minutes become more detailed, and from 1738 the names of persons appointed as representatives to monthly meeting are recorded.

The usual details of administration find a place in the minute books. There are many entries dealing with repairs to the meeting houses. Both buildings were thatched, and this had to be renewed from time to time. If the sums recorded are all that was spent, it seems that each meeting house was kept in condition at an average cost of about ten shillings a year. One year, a proposal to build a stable at Hutton was not carried out, as a Friend offered his if the meeting would maintain it. This provided stabling accommodation for the horses of Friends travelling from a distance. There are a few notes of payments "for strangers' horses"—provender for the horses of ministering Friends visiting the meeting.

In 1774 a house was purchased at Kirbymoorside for the use of the meeting, but it seems to have needed repairs to make it habitable. "It is agreed that the method of subscription be tryd to raise money to rebuild the house." The actual work took four months to complete, and £20 had to be borrowed at the end of it to pay the bill. This was probably

the house, now no. 79 West End, Kirbymoorside, at the end of the burial ground next the street.

A few small legacies to the meeting brought in a little income which was distributed to poor Friends. Occasionally the need was greater than local funds could meet, and then assistance was sought from the monthly meeting. One minute of 1752 reads:

> There being now a pretty deal of interest money, this meeting desires that C.F. should distribute some to the necessities of three objects belonging to the meeting, up to 20 shillings each.

Proposals for marriage occupied much time, and care was taken to see that all was in order. If all was not well, as when a Friend "got married by a priest", the matter was passed on immediately to the monthly meeting. A curious case came up in 1756. It concerned

> Wm. Scarth, Jnr. (who having sometime frequented our religious meetings and by that means has been looked upon as a member of our Society) who has someway clandestinely got married.

The two Friends appointed to enquire into the facts, reported to the next meeting—

> acquaints the meeting that they have spoken to Wm. Scarth and find that things are with him as hath been reported, *i.e.* the young woman being with child they took each other in a clandestine manner in a meeting house belonging to Thirsk Monthly Meeting[1] amongst some neighbours, and this meeting agrees that the affair be laid before the Monthly Meeting.

The outcome is not recorded. Friends in this case would find themselves in something of a dilemma: they could not but approve that the couple should marry, and that the marriage should not take place before the priest, but they could not allow a meeting house to be used for a clandestine marriage not authorized by the appropriate meeting for discipline; it would tend to bring all Friends' marriages into disrepute.

The meeting also dealt with other delinquencies. Some "got sprinkled" and joined the established church; a couple "have dismembered themselves and got sprinkled". In 1756 the gravestones were removed at Lowna, by order of the meeting:

> As it was ordered at our last mo. meetg. that the stones in Lownah Burying Ground should be removed [three named Friends] are desired to get it done and put them to such use or uses as they may think proper.

Several times during the winter quarter of the year it was

[1] Laskill Meeting House in Bilsdale.

not possible to send representatives to Guisborough Monthly Meeting, by "reason of rough weather", or "snow upon the moor". Very snowy times are mentioned in 1782 and 1784. The monthly meeting suggested in 1756 that "younger friends may be asked to serve as representatives, and if more business offer than they can well bear in memory they may minute it down"—to report to the more weighty stay-at-homes.

Following upon the large minute book, five exercise-book size minute books survive covering most of the years 1781 to 1800. One is inscribed "Kirby Meeting's Rough Minute Book", and it is possible that they may all be meant to be copied into a larger volume.

The meeting houses came in for consideration at this period. In 1785 repairs at Hutton cost 19s. 6d. and in 1788 4th mo. "It is agreed to allow 5s. a year for taking care of Hutton meeting house, locking and opening the doors, etc." In 1789 extensive repairs were put in hand at Hutton, at the same time as extensive work was done at Kirby. In 8th mo. 1788 the state of the fabric there came under consideration, and two Friends were appointed "to get it propd and stayd and do what seems necessary for supporting it at present." Then, in 2nd mo. 1789, the meeting received £30 for its share of the common rights on enclosure, and immediately asked for a report on the state of the two meeting houses. The following month, with the report before them

> Friends think it best that the meeting house at Kirby should be repaired where it seems to stand in need thereof, and the lesser end be made pretty comfortable place for the women to meet in and an open passage through the larger meeting house into the yard and some other alterations to which this meeting agrees.

A couple of months later, the report on the Hutton house was approved, and repairs ordered. By the end of the year the meeting had collected £72 towards the cost, but when the work was done and accounts made up in February 1790:

> It appears that the deficient for defraying the expense of building the meeting house at Kirby and the alterations and repairs at Hutton is about £65. It is therefore agreed that the matter be laid before the Monthly Meeting in order to obtain subscriptions from the other particular meetings to discharging the debt.

In June 1790 the Monthly Meeting authorized a second collection, and in September the meeting reports "The accounts respecting the building of Kirby Meeting house and repairs of that at Hutton are now all received and paid," at a total of

£171. Building was in the air at this time. In 1788 Kirby subscribed £9 14s. towards building Leeds Meeting House, £9 2s. for Devonshire House, London, in 1791, and for Sheffield in 1800.

In 1792 Monthly Meeting asked each Preparative Meeting to prepare and bring in a proper list of members. Near the end of our period, in 1855, the numbers had dropped to 17.

Pickering and Hull Monthly Meeting, of which Kirbymoorside and Hutton form part, was established in 1859. Kirbymoorside had originally been in Guisborough Monthly Meeting (one of the fourteen monthly meetings which formed Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting at the time of earliest record, in 1669) and this continued until 1833. In that year, Helmsley and Kirbymoorside (with Hutton and Lowna) were united with Pickering Monthly Meeting, which was amalgamated with Hull Monthly Meeting in 1859.

In 1869 Kirbymoorside Preparative Meeting was discontinued; Friends constituting it were united to Malton. From that date to about the end of the century, meetings were held only one Sunday in the month, one or more Friends from Malton usually attending. From about 1900 meetings have been regularly held. Whilst technically an "Allowed Meeting", the functions of a Preparative Meeting were gradually assumed during the 1930s, and full status was recognized in 1947.

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# A Quaker in Barbary

## Thomas Hutson in Algiers, 1677

IT was in June, 1677, that Mr. Samuel Martin, His Majesty's Consul and Agent in Algiers, was alarmed by the news that an English merchantman had been escorted into the port by the Dey's war galleys. The ship was the Barbados vessel *Patience*, bound homewards from England with goods of the Worshipful Turkey Company and under the command of one Thomas Hudson,[1] a Quaker.

[1] In Friends' records he appears as Hutson (or Huttson).

Thomas Hutson (Huttson), senr., died aged 73 on 14.viii.1697, buried at Southwark. At the time of his death he is described as of the parish of All Hallows, Lombard Street, London.

Friends' registers have records of the following children born to Thomas and Anne Hutson (Huttson, Hottson, Hudson, Hodson) of Shad Thames (alternatively, of Toolies, and of Olaves parish, Southwark):

(*Footnote continued on next page*)

The case was unusual, even in the turbulent seas of Barbary. The writ of international treaties ran as far as the Dey's authority could prevail with his pirate mariners, but it was not always easy for him to curb them and prevent them from interfering with vessels that happened to cross the course of their swift galleys. True, the English passport, backed by the English garrison at Tangier and the British Mediterranean squadron ready to uphold international law, was held in so great esteem that it commanded a high price on what might be termed the international black market of the Mediterranean navigation. So much was it respected, that commanders of Algerian vessels were ready to recognize its validity even in cases of manifest bad faith by the master of the vessel; and the lack of a passport would be overlooked if the Algerians were persuaded of the English provenance of the ship. Forbearance was going so far that the pirates mutinied against restrictions that were reducing their income and the revenues of the city of Algiers.

Just then, when the pirates were in an ugly mood, the *Patience* fell into their hands. Since she was a West Indian, not an English, vessel, and was carrying no indented passport, they regarded it as a rightful prize. Captain Hudson explained to the Consul his lack of a passport, saying "that hee could not have a passe where hee came from England without swearing, and that his conscience would not admit of."

The Consul hastened to the Dey, and appealed to him to abide by the treaty, by which the Algerians had promised not to molest vessels either from England or from English

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(*Footnote continued from previous page*

Emanuel 4.ix.1659; John 15.xii.1663; Thomas 13.i.1665/6; Josiah 3.x.1670; Mehetabell 7.ix.1672 (married Joel Gates, clothier, of George Yard, Lomard Street, 12.x.1695); Josiah 4.iii.1676 (died of teething, 9.i.1677, aged ten months). The following children's deaths are also recorded: Christian (1.ix.1665), and an unnamed child (16.iv.1669).

Thomas Hutson is described as a mariner in the records between 1659 and 1676, but there is no mention of occupation after that date. By 1695 he had quitted the sea and moved across the river into Gracechurch Street. In 1685 he sold canvas "to putt round the great bed where Friends lodge, yt are prisoners in ye Compter in Tooley Street" (see Beck & Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 232; *Jnl. F.H.S.*, ii, 132)—a possible indication of his trade ashore. In 1688 Horslydown Monthly Meeting named him the first of three Friends to go to claim the Old Park meeting house back from the military, who had been using it as a guard house (Beck & Ball, *op. cit.*, 220-221), and another indication of his standing is the fact that he was (in 1688 and 1689) one of the six London Friends "Intrusted for this Year with the Accounts" (Yearly Meeting printed epistles, 1688, 1689).

colonies, and in particular from the East and West Indies. The Dey valued good relations with England and recognized the force of the Consul's arguments, but he did not dare to adjudicate without his Divan. There the Consul encountered a storm of abuse from the honest pirates who indignantly refused to part with a rightful prize and their earnings. They had had more than enough of conciliatory policies—the more so because English merchantmen and privateers did not always play their part by discreetly respecting treaty rights. This time they would stand firmly on the letter of the law. "With a great deale of rudenesse and confusion they all agreed to unload all ships that hath not an indented passe. And soe they determined to doe by this Quaker without any regard unto whome sayd goods belongs to." However, after much haggling, "they promised to restore the shipp and company, and to pay the ffreight to the Master as they have hetherto done to all the shipps they have brought in."

And so, finally, it was done. Captain Hudson got 2,500 dollars for the Company's cargo, and cast off, minus most of the other goods, and with the painful prospect of facing the irate merchants, deceived of their profits, with the argument of his tender conscience.

Ironically enough, the Quaker's scruples resulted in strengthening the King of England's authority in the seas of Barbary, since the Dey, to prevent any repercussions from England, solemnly promised for the future to recognize and enforce the validity of English passports without any reservation as to the vessels carrying them or to the nature of their cargo.

As for Thomas Hudson, Consul Martin attempted to recover damages and even had some hope of success, but relations between Algiers and England again deteriorated, a war intervened, and before the case could be reopened the Consul died. Consul Martin's death finally closed the case of the Quaker captain's refusal to violate his conscience for the sake of his cargo.

M. WAYSBLUM

The documents concerned are in the Public Record Office. State Papers. Barbary States. SP 71/2. Despatches of Samuel Martin to Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, p. 656, 659 of 22.vi.1677, p. 661 of 13/23. vi. 1677, p. 675 of 20/30.vi.1677, p. 677 of 19/29.vii. 1677. Other despatches, p. 725 of 3/13.iii.1677/8.

# A. R. Barclay MSS

## Extracts. Continued from vol. xlviii, p. 228

*Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journals," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.*

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CXLI-CXLIV form a small group of letters from Pieter Hendricks to George Fox, giving news concerning Dutch Friends, events at Danzig (where persecution threatened, and was never far away), and the distribution of some of George Fox's works in Latin at the Conference of Ambassadors at the Hague, 1690. There is a great deal of printed material on Pieter Hendricks in the volumes by W. I. Hull in the Swarthmore College monographs on Quaker history.

### CXLI

### PETER HENDRICKS to GEORGE FOX. Amst[*erdam*], 11 5 mo. 1690

George Fox.

Deare and hartly beloved Friend!

I had hoped that John Hitchcock should be the bearer of the inclosed; but it came a littel to[o] late, beeing departed from Rotterdam: from whence it is again come to my hands. Since we have thine without datum, which was very acceptable unto us, and is readed upon our 14-days Meeting. We are very willing to communicate thy Latyn Bokes, which thou thaughts to send us by George Hyam, to the ambassadeurs gathered from severall Princes in the Hage, as also to send them to severall other places, and disperse them where we shall have occasion; but we kan do nothing before th[e]y are come to our hands, which is not yet, and therefore we shall expect them.

With Friends here and other places, for so much as I know is it pretti well, through the goodness of the Lord. But att Dantzigh, th[e]y begin there again to threatten Friends. The Burgemaster, Constantyn Ferber, did sent the 9. of the 4/mo. 3 messengers to their Meeting, which did say that th[e]y had ordres to bring some out of the midst of them to te Burgemaster. And soo th[e]y tooke with them

2 men that comes somtimes to the Meeting, and it seems that th[e]y are in measure convinced (saying of Nicolas Rust and Michel Mugge them two are us sure enough, we can have them when we please). When the 2 bevor mentioned men came before the Burgemaster; did he ask the one whose name is Claus Quire, of his trade—a Sayemaker. He did aske him from what generation he was; he did answer, of the Mennists, and that he was living not under his, but under another government; and so he let him alone, and was going away: And turned him to the other, Hans Slicher, being an Husbandman; and did ask him from what generation or out what religion he was, he did answer from Luther; whereover was seeming him self to amaze; saying, from Lutherus! and wilt thou go over to such a divilish faith! Saing further, if thou continuest going ther, then I shall proceed after another way with thee and bring thee to a place which shall not be well pleased unto thee. And did further command to the messengers to be diligent in their inspection.

What now farther will come to pass there, wee must expect. I have since written to them. The Lord Allmighty keep them faithfull to himself, and will be wit[h] them, to support them, to the glory of his great name, and their ouwn salvation: Amen.

Th[e]y have desired that their love should be remembred unto thee, and other Friends in England; and soo is our; and remember the same to all Friends, according to thy freedom; farewell; saith thy

very Loving Friend,
Pieter Hendrickes

Jan Claus, Jan Roelofs, B. van Tongeren, and Abraham Roosen, and their wifes and alsoo my wifes love is to thee and Friends

[address] For George Fox

## CXLII

PETER HENDRICKS to GEORGE FOX. Amsterdam the 29 7/mo: 89.

George Fox

Dear and truly beloved Friend, to whom my love flows forth, and that more then words can expresse. Thine dated Middelsex the 28 2/m: 89 i have received; which was very

acceptable to me and friends here, and have also send a copy to Friends at Dantsig, of that thou didst mention concerning them in that letter. But as to the letter to the magistrats themselves, seeing they were not going on with their hard persecution, we were more inclined to keep it back, till we see how things further will go, whether they their worke they have begonn will lett fall, or no. But if they had gone on therewith, we were resolved to send they[thy] letter to them, and perhaps have printed it also, and distributed amongst them and their citizens, etc. But to our comfort and our friends at Dantsig also, we heare that they quite have ceased of their persecution they have begonne to this time and not molesting Friends any more; but they enjoy their freedom as formerly, and their meetings peacebly, blessed be the Lord, and therefore we have not send thy letter to the magistrats at Dantsig, and we are right glad things were fallen out so that the Lord has limited that persecuting spirit, blessed be his name.

Yet the landlord of the meeting house, which is a kind to the magistrats has told the friend that lives in the house to he must[1] remove against the winter, and says also that he hath lett the house allready to another, and, if so, friends think it will be hard for them to gett another house to meet in. But we and they hope the Lord will prepare an opening for them against that time. Friends there often desire their dear love to be remembred to thee and other faithfull friends in Engeland as it comes to passe.

Some dayes ago we have also received thy printed letter of the yearly meeting at London, and also a book of thine called The antiquity of our faith, hope, way and gospel etc.[2] and one of Wm Catons journal[3] which we were glad off. And if it comes to pass, we should be glad to have some few more of Wm Catons journal, with one or other opportunity. And as concerning the free gifft of our brethren at London, in remitting of the 50 lb. stl.[sterling] to the relieff of our poor friends at Dantsig, we were also very glad of, and we hope also to take care in time to come, that there be no want amongst them. They acknowledge also very much

[1] "he must" interlineated; "to" has not been deleted.

[2] *Concerning the Antiquity of the People of God, called Quakers* (1689).

[3] Published 1689. See W. I. Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, 1938, 175.

the tender care and love of the Englisch and Holl. friends concerning them. About 5 weeks ago we have had our jearly meeting here, and friends were very much refresshed amongst one another, being all in good unity and love one to another, departed whith good satisfaction, being comforted one with another; blessed be his holy name.

Whith Friends here in Holland, Friesland, Hamborough, Frederikstatt and Embden it is generally wel, by the goodness of the Lord. John Claus father in law at Embden is latly deceased, and in his sikness he gave now and then a good testimony for the Truth and Friends, expressing sometimes his inclination to friends remarkably. Friends there enjoy still their meetings peacebly and the magistrats remain still affected to friends, desiring that more friends did come to dwell there.

Be pleased to remember my unfeigned love to dear Wm. Penn, and when he is freed from his arrest, we desire to hear of with the first opportunity, and if it does consist with his freedom, to write a letter himself to us, we should be very glad of . . . The love of many friends, and in particular of my wife is also to thee, and remember the same to other friends also according to thy freedom; and [*torn*] remain thy loving friend Pieter Hendricks

[address] To/William Crouch/Marchant/ Liveing in Grace Church Street. Crowne Court/London
For/ G: Fox.

[endorsed] Peter Hendricks to/ G: F: from Amsterdam/ Concerning Passidges/ ye 29th 7: mo: 89
Answered
This to bee Read in the/Second Dayes Meeting/ & Meeting for Sufferings

[postmark in a circle] IV / 30

## CXLIII

## PETER HENDRICKS TO GEORGE FOX. Amsterdam the 4. of the 11. month 1690

G. Fox.

Dear & well beloved Friend.

Thine of the 1. of the 8. month by George Hyam is well come to my hands. Since I hoope that thou has received mine

letter in which I give thee an account of the distribution of thy Latyn Bookes in the Hage to the Ambassadors, and since it is done to severall others of their number; as alsoe to the Earle of Berca the Ambassador of the Emperor; and we hoope to do our best to disperse them further wheresoever we shall find an occasion or have an oportunity. According to thy desire I do send some of thy bookes, which we have cased to be reprinted, by George Hyam unto thee.

Friends here in the generall are pretty well, through the goodness & mercy of the Lord, as alsoo in Friesland, and other places. Mathew Hutchinson[1] is gone to Friesland with Jacob Claus to visite Friends there in the love of the Lord; & we do expect them again the next weeke, to remaine for a time by us, and here about by Friens in Holland, and alsoo we hoope to have a meeting at Hooren & Twisk.

Dear Friend we are every time very glad to hear from thee; be pleased to remember us in thy prayers before the Lord. And soo with the remembrance of hartely & unfeigned love to thee and Friends there that know us: my wifs love is alsoo to thee, as alsoo dear John Roelofs, John Claus, B: V: Tongeren, Abraham Roosen, & their wifes, and more other Friends, their love is to thee and Friend, and so farewell.

I remaine thy very loving Friend

Pieter Hendericks

[address] To/George Fox/at/London.
[endorsed] Peter Hendricks/to G.F. from/Amsterdam the/ 4th 11th mo: 90:
Answered

## CXLIV

PETER HENDRICKS to GEORGE FOX. Amsterd[am]. ye 17th ye 10 mo. 1690 [N.S.][2]

G.F. dearely beloved Friend

I have signifyed unto thee by my last yt I did hope to have an opportunity to give thee a farther account concerning thy Latin books. We have reprinted it, and if thou desirest 50 or more of ym, they maye be sent unto thee. We under-

[1] Probably Matthew Hutchinson of Cotherstone, N.R. Yorks, who died 9.xi.1703 (Darlington M.M.).

[2] New Style is indicated by the abbreviation: Hol. Act., meaning 'as accounted in Holland'.

stand of Koolhans[1] of Rott: he has bene at ye Hague, and left a parcel of them with his sisters son there, who is one of ye Congress of ye Ambassadors of ye confederate kings & princes, who has taken it upon him to distribute those bookes among ye Ambassadors and other greate ones at ye Hague, and has alsoe performed it for ye most part alreadie. We weare glad of soe good an opportunitie; & have alsoe sent of ym to Friends at Frederikstadt, who are willing to sende them as from thee to the King of Denmarck and Duke of Holstein & to ye magistrates at Frederikst. Some of ye bookes are likewise gone to Dantzik, to be spread there and to be sente to ye King of Pooland and his court; and to Friesland to be delivered to ye Prinse and his court and mother and sister; alsoo to Franeker, Harlingen, Groeningen, Leeuwarden, Embden, Hamborrow, Collen, Crevelt, Meurs, Haerlem, Alckmaer and other citties etc., & one to Galenus. And we are willing to spread them further as we shall meete with openeings thereunto.

After Nicolas Rust had bene at home again at Dantzik some fewe weekes, he is shut up into priuson againe, haveing now ye papists ye cheife hand in it as we perceive, of which and of a shameless mad monks discourses with ye Freind, I gave a relation to deare Steven Crisp last post. Ye lord keep him in his holy feare, & be a wall about him, yt he may be kept faithfull to his testimony, to ye salvation and happiness of his immortall soule, & ye honour and magnifyeing of ye holy & worthy name of ye Lord.

Last fift daye we had our quarterly meeting. All was[2] well and Friends in love & unity. Unexpected we got a Friend in ye Ministry out of ye North of England amongst us two dayes before, in whose company we are refreshed. His name is Mathew Hudginson [Hutchinson], has bene amongst us once before, two years agoe; suffered shipwrack this time goeing from ye North towards London, upon Suffolk coast, and soe came hether in ye packet boat from Harwich; all ye men yt weare on board weare saved. He desires his love to be remembered to thee and Friends according to thy freedom. He intendes for Embden & Friesland and soe to come back to this place.

[1] For Tobias Ludwig Kohlhans, see W.I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly* (1941), 123-7.

[2] This word is repeated.

It is well still with Friends everywhere as to what we know, blessed be ye lord. Concluding deare Friend, our deare loves is to thee and Friends generally; it being desired by Friends and particularly my wife to signiffye unto thee, I am thy truely loveing Friend

Petter Hendrikes

[Postscript in the same hand, but signed Jan Claus. Printed in W.I. Hull, *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam*, (1933), 115-116.]

[address] To/William Mead/Marchant/
Liveing in Fan Church/Street/London
For G.F.

[endorsed] Peter Hendricks/& John Clauses/
Letter to G.F./From Amsterdam/
ye 17: 10: mo: 90/Answered.

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# Notes and Queries

CROMWELL AND FRIENDS

*The French religious wars in English political thought*, by J. H. M. Salmon (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959) deals with the influence of the 16th century civil wars in France and the political theories thrown up at that time on English political theory and argument, from the time of Elizabeth I to after the Revolution of 1688.

The events of the English Civil War and Interregnum did not follow the pattern of the French wars a century earlier, and even the Calvinist Louis Du Moulin, writing in England in the 1650s, recognized that a division of authority between the ecclesiastical and civil magistrates was impossible. "The attitude of both the Presbyterian and new sects such as the Quakers compelled Cromwell, the inferior [*i.e.* the civil] magistrate, to assume the position of the Politiques. He claimed no power to direct the consciences of Englishmen, but it was necessary for churches of all denominations to obey the civil magistrate in externals" (p. 108).

The Oxford dictionary definition of Politique, reads: "One of an opportunist and moderate party, which arose in France *c.* 1573, during the Huguenot wars, and regarded peace and political reform as more urgent than the decision by arms of the religious quarrel."

ISAAC PENINGTON

The *Friends' Quarterly* for October, 1959 (Vol. 13, No. 4) contains an article called "Early Influences in the Development of Isaac Penington," pp. 180-192, in which I attributed a pamphlet, *The Great and Sole Troubler of the Times Represented in a Mapp*

*of Miserie* . . (1649), to Alderman Penington, Isaac Penington's father. I did so on the basis of an inscription on the title page of the copy of this pamphlet bound in Tract Volume 598 in the Friends' Reference Library.

While "Isaac Penington" is printed on the last page of "To the Reader" no author's name is printed on the title page; instead "By Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London" is supplied there in MS., probably in an eighteenth-century hand. The authorship however, has generally been accepted as the younger Penington's and comparisons with his pamphlets of 1648 and 1650 show beyond doubt that *The Great and Sole Troubler* . . . is his, not his father's.

ANDREW BRINK

## RICHARD BAXTER AND WILLIAM PENN

*The Baxter Treatises:* a catalogue of the Richard Baxter papers (other than the letters) in Dr. Williams's Library, compiled by Roger Thomas, has recently been issued as Dr. Williams's Library Occasional Paper no. 8.

The following items occur (p. 15):

1674-75. "Notes on Mr. Pen's Spirit of truth vindicated." This, or a very close parallel, is the paper referred to by William Penn in a letter to Baxter (*Letters*, ii, 301, printed in *Monthly Repository*, xviii (1823), pp. 139-40, and in *Collection of the works of William Penn*, 1726, vol. i, p. 172) undated, but *c.* Feb., 1675.

1675, Oct. 5 etc. Conference and exchange of letters with William Penn. (See *Journal, F.H.S.*, xlviii, pp. 204 ff.)

## FRANCIS CUMBERFORD

"The account of the gentry of Staffordshire at the time of the Interregnum, showing their places of residence, age, value of their estates, personal ability, alliance by marriage, etc., etc.," forming MS. 100/1 in the Staffordshire Record Office, and dated between November, 1662, and June, 1663, is printed in *Collections for a history of Staffordshire*, edited by the Staffordshire Record Society. 4th series, vol. 2 (1958). On page 12 appears the following entry:

> "Bradley or Cumberford. CUMBERFORD, Francis. About 50. £200 pr. Quaker. Parts enough to doe mischafe."

The entry is followed by this note: "Francis Comberford of Comberford, ?5th son of William Comberford (sheriff 1642-3, royalist governor of Stafford) who is said to have died a quaker. J.P. 1649-53; commission: 1652A. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Skrymsher of Aqualate. *Staffordshire Pedigrees* (Harleian Society, vol. LXIII), 55."

Friends' registers record the death of Francis Cumberford, 1.i.1678, buried 3.i.1678, and the burial of Margrett Cumberford, 18.iii.1676 (both Shropshire M.M.).

## WILLIAM STOUT OF LANCASTER

William Stout's *Autobiography* was published in 1851 and has much information on economic conditions in Lancaster and district during the period of his long life, from 1665-1752. Professor T. S. Ashton has used some of this to illustrate his study *Economic fluctuations in England, 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1960). In the

eighteenth century economic life was still dependent on agricultural activity—even schooling was seasonal; Stout recalls "we made small progress in Latin, for what we got in winter we forgot in summer", working in the fields at plough-time, turf-time, hay-time and harvest.

Stout noted the industrial depression which followed the London financial crisis of 1720/21, the workers' prosperity in the years 1723/25, and the rise and fall of activity in the succeeding decade—the good harvests of the early 1730s (and the low price of grain), the 1739 winter fuel shortages when poor roads delayed transport, and the trade (£3,000 brought into Lancaster in 1716) which the soldiery brought to the shopkeepers.

Even the iron industry was dependent on the weather. Professor Ashton notes that the works at Coalbrookdale closed for eight or more weeks in summer when water was scarce.

### Ackworth Records

Among the Nostell papers (the archives of the Winn family, belonging to the 4th Baron St. Oswald) listed in the *Bulletin of the National Register of Archives* (Historical Manuscripts Commission), no. 10 (1959), are some "documents and an architect's drawing, *circa* 1763, of the Foundling Hospital at Ackworth . . . founded in 1758 with Sir Rowland Winn, the fourth baronet, as Chief Governor" (p. 22).

### Prices of Neath Abbey, Glam.

Letters from Peter Price (ironmaster, 1740-1826) and from his son, Joseph Tregelles Price (1783-1854), of Abbey Works, Neath, are included in *Iron in the Making: Dowlais Iron Company letters, 1782-1860*; edited by Madeleine Elsas (1960), Glamorganshire County Archivist.

### The Industrial Revolution

*Studies in the Industrial Revolution* presented to T. S. Ashton. Edited by L. S. Pressnell (London, Athlone Press, 1960). Essays in this volume mention Dr. Stephen Fell, Quaker apothecary of Ulverston, Quaker clothiers at Melksham, Wilts, in 1739, and a Quaker society in Nottingham formed for the relief of distress "by the aid of medicines, by the distribution of apparel, by temporary loans".

### Quakerism in St. Helens

*A Merseyside town in the industrial revolution: St. Helens, 1750-1900*, by T. C. Barker and J. R. Harris (London, Frank Cass & Co., 1959, 45s.), has a few passing references to Friends. By the middle of the nineteenth-century Quakerism seems to have died out, and the meeting house (seating 118) was not in use, but the Society appears as owner of coal beneath the soil, of the Black Bull Inn in Church Street, and of a field which provided the growing community with its New Market Place.

### Torquay Friends, 1878

"The Society of Friends established a meeting house in the Warren Road in 1854; it will hold 200 persons. There is a library connected with the Society, consisting of denominational works." (*The History of Torquay*, by J. T. White, 1878, p. 327.)

## Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., 2s. 3d., post 9d.

8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910-13. 4 parts. 365 pp., 7s. 6d., post 1s. 6d.

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., 2s. 3d., post 9d.

13. TORTOLA. By C. F. Jenkins. 1923. 106 pp., 5s., post 9d.

14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 7s. 6d., post 9d.

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 1s.

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. 1948. 68 pp., 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.

27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW." By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 1s. 6d., post 2d.

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 1s. 6d., post 2d.

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls, 1958. Illustrated. 3s. 6d., post 4d.

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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.

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