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Contents

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Editorial

READERS in the Library at Friends House will have been many times grateful for the expert assistance upon which they have been able to call and for the warm friendliness of the atmosphere which greets them, once through that door marked "SILENCE". On 30th March, 1960, members of the Historical Society and friends listened to an address on the history of the Library, from its Devonshire House days at the beginning of this century up to 1959, by Muriel Hicks, whose work in the Library for forty years has done so much to make its name for friendly reference and Friendly research. The major portion of this address is printed in this issue, and, together with a note by John Nickalls on the work of Ethel Crawshaw (Morland), 1903-26, it provides a continuation of the history of the Library by Anna L. Littleboy which appeared in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. xviii (1921).

A. D. Selleck contributes a paper on the Salthouse-Halhead trial at Exeter in 1655, using the local documents to illustrate a case formerly known to Friends only through the accounts printed in *The Wounds of an Enemie*, Besse's *Sufferings* and the standard Quaker histories.

Dr. Muriel F. Lloyd Pritchard writes a short account of Alexanders Discount Company, now celebrating 150 years of existence and service in the London Discount Market.

Alfred W. Braithwaite contributes a paper on *Early Tithe Prosecutions: Friends as Outlaws*; and there are a number of bibliographical and other notes.

Portraiture of George Fox

HENRY J. CADBURY has called attention to a passage in William Tallack's *George Fox, the Friends and the early Baptists*, 1868, p. 148, which, if correct, would indicate the existence of a portrait of George Fox made in the seventeenth century. Tallack stated, regarding the frontispiece of his book, that the portrait "was first published in a separate form by Thomas Stackhouse, a Quaker bookseller of Bell Alley, London, who copied it from a plate in an old volume of the 17th century. That plate contained six portraits of eminent Non-conformists, as Baxter, Bunyan, and others. Five of these portraits were known to be faithful likenesses of their subjects, whence there is reason to conclude that the remaining one, that of Fox, is also a correct delineation."

Henry Cadbury asks whether the 17th-century volume can be found, and if so whether the authenticity of the other five portraits can be upheld. So far no such 17th-century work has been identified, but Geoffrey Nuttall has pointed out two works which have some similarities to the work Tallack describes. These works both contain a plate of several portraits of religious leaders, including Baxter. *A Sketch of the several denominations of the Christian world*, by John Evans, went into some eighteen editions between 1795 and 1841. At least eight editions of it between 1802 and 1839 contain as frontispiece a plate of nine small portraits (in one case eight). Baxter figures among these, but not apparently Bunyan. In some editions one of the portraits is Penn, but in none of the eight editions seen does Fox or any other Friend than Penn occur.

Evans acknowledges his indebtedness for portraits to Erasmus Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, 4 vols., 1779-86; but no George Fox is to be found in that work. The portrait in Tallack's book, however, is engraved after a portrait by Samuel Chinn.[1]

If we try to verify other points in Tallack's statement by reference to the extensive portrait collection at Friends House, we find that the first engraved publication known there of Chinn's portrait of Fox was by S. Allen in 1838. The portrait published by T. Stackhouse was not the Chinn portrait, as stated by Tallack, but one done after Thomas Fairland's lithograph and published by Stackhouse in 1824; and Stackhouse was not its first publisher. It had previously been issued by W. Darton in 1822 and possibly earlier, though undated, by T. Rodd, engraved by Sawyer.

Though not conclusive, these evidences do suggest that William Tallack may not have been accurate in his remarks about Fox's portrait, quoted above.

Can anyone trace a 17th-century work with a plate of six portraits including Baxter, Bunyan, and Fox?

JOHN NICKALLS

[1] See J. Nickalls, *Some Quaker Portraits* (Supp. 29 to *J.F.H.S.*), 1958, p. 8 and plate 8.

Friends' Reference Library, 1901-1959

Part of an Address given by Muriel A. Hicks to the Friends' Historical Society on 31st March, 1960.

ON the early issues of the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* was an emblem on which were the words, "the roots of the present lie deep in the past." Anna L. Littleboy in her Presidential address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1920, "A History of the Friends' Reference Library," covers the years from 1673-1901 and demonstrates, through the reading of early minutes, the conscientious care in the collecting of all records, which is still the foundation of this library. This paper is an attempt to survey the developments of the library through its Committee since the appointment of Norman Penney, the first librarian, in 1901, and of M. Ethel Crawshaw, first assistant, in 1903, a record of approximately 60 years.

When the librarian was appointed there was no especial room known as "The Library" at Devonshire House. There were, however, three strong-rooms under his care, one on the first floor opposite the "Meeting for Sufferings Room," the second on the ground floor in the yard, tucked away behind a small cloakroom, and the third below the Recording Clerk's Office, at the bottom of a flight of steep stone steps. The manuscripts and 17th century printed books were in one or other of these rooms, but bundles of manuscripts were also found in cupboards in the "Meeting for Sufferings Room."

The early days of the librarian were spent in the first strong-room upstairs, about 8 ft. × 20 ft. in size. The "Meeting for Sufferings Room," across the landing, had cupboards containing books published after 1700, but it was full of forms, with a long refectory table (now in the canteen at Friends House) and was reserved for other Committees besides Meeting for Sufferings, such as the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, the Home Mission Committee, and the Six Weeks Meeting.

Pressure of space for the librarian, working in a comparatively small room with poor lighting and ventilation, and the need for suitable accommodation for readers,

led the Committee in 1902 to send forward a recommendation to the Meeting for Sufferings "that owing to the more frequent use of the Reference Library (meaning the collection) the want of a suitable room in which Friends may read is increasingly felt. The observance of the rule that Friends shall not be left alone in either of the strong-rooms is often a serious drawback, involving inconvenience and loss of time to the librarian. The Committee feels that the time has come when it may ask the Meeting for Sufferings to allow the use of the Meeting for Sufferings room for the purpose of research and for the conduct of the ordinary work of the librarian, except when the room is especially required as a Committee Room. The Committee therefore suggests that in future the room is called the Library."

The next month the librarian was installed in what henceforth was to be known as the "Library" of the Society of Friends. The minutes of the Committee for some years onwards convey a feeling of excitement and enthusiasm.

The Catalogues

Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, published in 1867, was the basis for the catalogue of the library. An interleaved copy, which had already been used by Joseph Smith himself for additional entries, was continued and as items were found the press-mark was inserted in the margin of the page. In 1903 the Committee proposed there should be a card catalogue, "Smith's Manuscript interleaves being less useful," and in the following year, "one oak cabinet (meaning one drawer) for the catalogue" was purchased, to be followed by a second cabinet. This continued until two large trolleys on rubber wheels were built, to contain about seventy drawers. They were taken daily from the upper strong-room across into the library and back again at night and were the foundation of the present catalogue. Smith's catalogue was taken each day to a safe in the strong-room in the yard. Incidentally, the ventilation of this strong-room was also attended to daily by a member of the library staff. Fire precautions at Devonshire House were limited, open fires were in all the Committee-rooms and there were two in the library; the building in general was of course without any of the modern fireproof materials or safeguards, hence the necessity of taking such care of the catalogues.

In 1923, it was reported that there were 70,000 cards and some 200,000 author, title and subject entries.

In the lower strong-room, below the Central Office, wooden boxes contained the great mass of 17th century loose manuscripts, which were for the time being only numbered and placed in portfolios. "Gone through a collection of old manuscripts to be kept in a box labelled A.R.B.;" again in 1902, "Bundles of manuscripts concerning Finland Famine 1857, placed in a box marked 'Finland Distress', " and so on.

Mr. Francis B. Bickley, of the British Museum, was invited to Devonshire House to see the library and its contents. He advised that the binding should be in "½ morocco and buckram" for all the portfolios of manuscripts, and as for the printed collection, "avoid binding tracts of different sizes together; the dust collects." Advice on the durability of paper and typewriting inks was sought, an enquiry which was made again about forty years later. A small room tucked away was put at the disposal of a binder, a Friend, William Crump, who was a craftsman at his trade, and was set up with the necessary equipment to bind the portfolios of manuscripts and volumes of tracts, as his time allowed, a work which covered many years.

On the purchase in 1903 of the Thompson Collection, collected by Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, father of Silvanus Thompson, which contained manuscripts, printed volumes and a large number of 17th century pamphlets, it was necessary to provide boxes for their safety. The first seventy-five boxes, each numbered, were purchased especially for a pamphlet collection. These were in red cloth. Twenty-eight boxes, in green cloth, for the "Adverse Tracts," each lettered in alphabetical order, were also provided, and guard books for the larger pamphlets and publications were used. The first shelf catalogue for all printed books was completed by 1907. This gave a record, shelf by shelf, of what was kept there.

Loans of Books

Just how early books were loaned to readers is not quite clear, but in 1901 it is reported that there were "more books gradually borrowed." Cards stating the conditions of loan were printed. It was then necessary that each borrower should have a member of the Meeting for Sufferings as a

guarantor, and the loan was for three weeks. After a few years this rule was dropped in the case of books but not pamphlets; by 1925 the loans reached to about 350 a year. In 1905 Rufus M. Jones requested the loan of books to America to write an article on Robert Barclay for the *Friends' Historical Journal*, "but the Committee does not feel its way to send books abroad," was the reply to that request.

With the gradual collecting of manuscripts, books and pamphlets, came a policy of thorough completeness, even retrospectively, and the necessity to consider the limits of space and expense did not arise for some years.

Every effort was made to interest Friends in the library and the care of records and to encourage Friends who had papers needed, or books, to present them to the library.

A list of books still required was printed on three different occasions and circulated to preparative meetings, in case copies should be found in a Meeting House library. "At Homes" were held in the library, inviting public librarians, members of the Society of Genealogists, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, as well as Friends. A special one was held to "celebrate the binding of the 500th volume of tracts." A pamphlet, "Preserve our History," was published in 1907, and in the same year a Meeting was held in the large Meeting House, where Thomas Hodgkin, Silvanus Thompson and others addressed the Meeting on "Quaker Literature and its Aims." Many exhibitions were also arranged, as opportunity occurred.

This determined effort to collect all material was extended to America. In 1901 Norman Penney wrote to Haverford College for back issues of American Yearly Meeting proceedings. Parcels of books, pamphlets and periodicals were sent each way across the ocean to supply the needs of the respective librarians.

In 1911 Norman Penney visited America and gave a course of lectures on Quaker history and naturally made it his business to contact Quaker libraries. In 1914 and in 1923, the then assistant librarians, M. Ethel Crawshaw and John L. Nickalls, also paid visits to the States under the auspices of a Young Friends visit, but again contacts were made with libraries.

Visitors recorded in the early visitors' book were at the rate of about one a month, sometimes not that, but the

subjects were very much like those today. "Welsh Quakers in America," "History of Adult Schools," "Music a Part of Worship," "Friends in Holland," "Quaker Women," "American Separations." Work on the "Rowntree Series" of Quaker histories was begun and naturally the Library was the place where a great deal of research was done, which lasted for some years. In 1910 Dr. Auguste Jorns, the first visitor from the Continent, of Freiburg University, Germany, arrived; she was sent by her Professor to get material for a thesis on the "Social Work of Friends."[1] The direction he gave her was, "to go to Liverpool Street Station, and having crossed the road to enquire for Devonshire House; if she went through a long tunnel and up some stairs, she would find a door with 'Library' on it. If she went in, some people would help her." The committee was still cautious as to what source-materials Friends could see for their research work. An American Friend came over, to work on a "Life of William Penn." He was allowed access to all Penn material, "but in case he should desire to use hostile literature, the request to be referred to the Committee."

A great deal of genealogical work was done. The registers were housed in the Recording Clerk's office, and had to be carried along the tunnel and up the stairs to the library, which was sometimes quite a heavy task.

As the years went by, the need for further equipment and space was evident. More forms were removed from the library, and book cases erected under the windows around the room. Collections of manuscripts were presented or purchased; for example, "The Thirnbeck Manuscripts," a collection of "Swarthmore Manuscripts" now described in the library as Vol. 7 of that collection, and most notably of all, the purchase, jointly by American and English Friends, in 1920, of the three volumes of Spence MSS., the first two of which contain the manuscript Journal of George Fox, the third a volume of letters. Meeting records from many Quarterly Meetings were sent to Devonshire House under the care of the library.

In 1910 the committee reported, "that notices of the library and some of its principal possessions have appeared in such books as the 'Guide to Manuscript Materials for United States History . . .' 'The Libraries of London' by the

[1] A. Jorns, *Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker*, Karlsruhe, 1912.

Goldsmiths' Librarian, University of London, and the 'Literary Year Book'; the work of this Committee has thus been brought under the notice of a wider circle."

A newscutting service was subscribed to for £3 3s. od. per year. This service gradually extended and became a shared interest for other committees. The picture collection began to take shape, along with the other collections; portraits, pictures of meeting houses, schools, etc., were all pasted into albums. The well-known collection of Spence etchings from George Fox's Journal began by the purchase, by subscribers, of thirty-seven of the etchings. In 1901 the Meeting for Sufferings had to give permission for a photograph to be made for publication of an item in the library! Friends were still very cautious in those days!

The committee, then known as the Library and Printing Committee, had under its care not only the cataloguing of books and manuscripts, but the preparation and seeing through the press of the Society's publications, *Yearly Meeting Documents in Advance*, *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, and the *Epistle*, *Book of Meetings*, revisions of the *Books of Discipline*, among others.

The Committee was also responsible for the "Free Grants List of the Meetings for Sufferings." In 1905 there were fifty-five books on the list. They were sent to Meetings in England and abroad, at their opening, to enquirers and to public libraries. The librarian was in touch with the "Continental Committee," and suitable books were translated into French and German. Copies of *Christian Practice* were given to Quaker Chaplains, for distribution to C.O.s in prison during the first World War.

Friends' books for sale in the bookshop (not then owned by the Society), were also part of the committee's work, and great thought was given to the supply of Friends' books that would meet the demand of the public in that way.

By 1918 the shelves in the library were full. There was no space for further book-cases and it was difficult to find space for books as they were added to the library. The files of periodicals and reports of Friends' schools and committees had also increased.

In that year a proposal for co-ordinating the literary work of the Society was brought before Yearly Meeting, and in the following year the Central Literature Council was

established. This actually relieved the library of the oversight of the Society's publications already mentioned. Some of it went to the new Council, and some to the Central Office. The Free Grants list went to the Literature Committee, which later became a sub-committee of the Home Service Committee.

The Library and Printing Committee remained a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings until 1925, when it became a sub-committee of a co-ordinating Literature Committee. Four years later it reverted and again came directly under the Meeting for Sufferings. Meanwhile the name was changed and henceforth it was to be known as the Library Committee.

The Move to Friends House

With the possibility of the move from Devonshire House, the expectations and plans for a new library were great. Hitherto there was no classification of books; to meet this, a decimal classification scheme, based on Dewey, was worked out by John Nickalls, the Assistant Librarian, and work was begun on the books a good year before the move in 1925.

A proposal was also made by him for a complete catalogue of printed books, based on the existing entries on the card catalogue, by the incorporation in it of the entries in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (1867). This was accepted, and a beginning made by each Smith entry being pasted on a card.

A new system for recording loans was introduced by John Nickalls in 1924; the necessity for a borrower to obtain a member of Meetings for Sufferings as guarantor was removed, and the books were available to all Friends. Moreover non-Friends, for the first time, could borrow books provided the necessary guarantee was made, and special arrangements were provided for borrowers abroad. This was encouraged largely through the establishment of the work of the Council for International Service, later merged with the Friends' Foreign Mission Association to form the Friends Service Council.

Weeks before the move to Friends House, we began packing in the strong-rooms. Waterproofed lined wooden boxes were provided, and the volumes of manuscripts, and seventeenth century printed books were carefully packed.

Each box contained a duplicate list of its contents. The main library was packed by the movers, and as we left that old room, the empty book-cases were being pulled down around us, bringing with them, it seemed, the dust of ages. Friends House was an uncompleted building when we moved, the library a mere shell, and most of the boxes were taken upstairs into the Institute, whilst the staff found temporary accommodation at the Penn Club (then in Tavistock Square), and later in the Institute. The precious interleaved volumes of Smith's Catalogue, used for reference work, were daily carried from the safe somewhere among the scaffolding at Friends House, to the Penn Club, and back again in the evening.

The actual instalment in the library was about Easter time 1926, and the thrill of placing books for the first time in a classified order, in the new book-cases, was not easily forgotten by us. Naturally, there were alterations and adjustments to be made, but gradually the staff settled down to their new surroundings. The move to Friends House brought with it the strong desire that the work of the Society should progress, and that the new building should be put to the fullest and best possible use, to make known the principles of Friends. Despite the great affection most people had for our old historic site at Devonshire House, it was uneconomic to run, and had many limitations. Now, there was a sense of freedom, even to experiment with new ideas. The Library Committee shared in this, and desired to make more easily available the use of the printed word, especially in a Religious Society which has no paid ministry. Suggestions were made that the library should broaden its scope and take more religious, mystical, devotional and social books. One result of this was that the Industrial and Social Order Committee's library was housed in the library, and later, that of the Penal Reform Committee, and the Marriage and Parenthood Committee, to be followed by others, including a section for "Enquirers" to borrow. Mutual arrangements for loan of books between this library and Woodbrooke were made.

Since coming to Friends House, the library had one strong-room, and shared a second, for deposited minute books. Although still some distance from the library, the convenience of everything being in one room was greatly appreciated. Easy access to these documents and economy

of space was essential, and many schemes were adopted to enhance this, including the refurnishing with steel cupboards.

After the move, the large picture collection from the London Friends' Institute at Devonshire House came under the care of the library. This added considerably to the collection, but still more important was the purchase of certain Quaker pictures as they came to the notice of the library. The care to establish the authenticity of any doubtful picture was the librarian's concern. No longer did the Committee apply to the Meeting for Sufferings for permission for an item to be photographed; indeed, if that were so, much precious time of that Meeting would be used for that purpose, so large has the demand grown. In all this development of the library, the Committee believed it was its main duty to "accumulate and make available material which may be mediated by students for the good of general readers, rather than appeal to these."

The rapid growth of the library during these years, plus correspondence and attention to visitors, with a small staff, was at times overwhelming. For some time the genealogical work was not done by the staff, but someone interested from outside was called in to do it and paid accordingly. Not for many years had the library reminded local Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of the duty to care for their local records, but now an informative document was circulated, enquiring and advising about the physical conditions under which these records were kept—the lack of ventilation and dampness and need of repairs, also the advisability of depositing the records in the local County Record Office, where their own local conditions were not suitable. This led to a great many documents going to the local archives office, by whom a full and detailed list is provided both to the particular Monthly or Quarterly Meeting concerned and to the library.

The War and After

The outbreak of World War II found the library prepared for action in the case of manuscripts and valuable printed books. It was the policy of the Committee that they should be placed in safe keeping, and four different places in the country were found. Some five hundred volumes were placed in that way, and some 1,000 books from the library taken to

the strong-room. Through the generosity of a Friend, a microfilm of the card catalogue and of certain irreplaceable manuscripts was made and sent to Haverford College. Once again Friends in America came to our aid and collected books, pamphlets and periodicals, to be preserved for the library when the war was over. The work of the library continued very much as usual, with fewer readers. Despite certain difficulties an exhibition was arranged in 1944, open to the public for four days, celebrating the tercentenary of the birth of William Penn. The demand for devotional and mystical books by borrowers increased during the war, and a member of the Committee provided a sum of money for several years which enabled such books to be provided, the Committee feeling that they did not come within their budget policy.

After the war was over, and the books and manuscripts restored to their places, the Committee was faced with the cry of all librarians for space and yet more space! The library was now half as large again as it was in 1924, and the loans increased from 400 to 2,000 a year.

With the sanction of Meeting for Sufferings, second copies of many editions of books preserved by the Committee under its original Minute, "two of all books written by Friends and one against them" were disposed of; this released some 2,000 volumes. Ephemeral periodicals and publications were discontinued, and a policy of careful scrutiny regarding the intake for all the collections, bearing in mind the permanent value of the material, was followed.

Wider Contacts and Co-operation

In 1947 an exchange of the Assistant staff of Haverford, Swarthmore and Friends House libraries was arranged: each American visitor worked two months here, and I worked two months in each of the American libraries. This valuable intervisitation was a stimulating experience, apart from the knowledge gained of the contents of each library and the methods used.

Mention has already been made of the microfilm. One of the outcomes of this exchange was the much wider sharing of the various Manuscript Collections of each library through the microfilm. To enhance this a microfilm reader was presented to the library by American Friends, "to the

Memory of Rufus Jones." American Friend colleges were not the only concerns interested in this process, but large numbers of manuscripts have been microfilmed for South Africa, Nigeria, Virginia and for many individuals and libraries. Moreover the loan of films to libraries has made it possible for readers to use the manuscripts in that way locally, rather than come to London.

The possession of a film not only safeguards against the complete loss of a manuscript, but has justified the loan of the original manuscript on occasions of particular importance. Thus, after 1949, as the European countries recovered after the war and contacts reopened, the British Council arranged an Anglo-Dutch exhibition in Amsterdam, to which a letter from Margaret Fell to William III was loaned. In this country, during the Festival of Britain, Volume 1 of the Manuscript Journal of George Fox was loaned for eight months to the Victoria and Albert Museum, being one of two manuscripts, in the field of religious literature, exhibited.

In 1928 the library became an "outlier library," to the National Central Library. This last opened the door to the outside world of libraries, and books were borrowed each way. It later became a member of Dr. Williams's Library, and joined the scheme for inter-library loans to reference and university libraries for special books and certain manuscripts, as required. In 1939 it became affiliated to the British Records Association and was also one of the original members of the Standing Conference of Theological and Philosophical Libraries.

A further contribution, in the more national sense, was the library's contribution of a list of well over 400 periodicals held here to the published *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals*.

In the last few years the proposal made to combine Smith's Catalogue with the main card catalogue, has been achieved. By the co-operation of the library, Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue* of English Books, 1641-1700 includes entries for works to be found at Friends House.

Various other schemes for the publicity of the library to Friends and the public were constantly brought forward by the librarian. The routine work with which we were engaged; the constant attention to an increased number of

long-term research workers, some of whom stayed for months, even years; the help given to borrowers; along with the constant planning and adjustment, made the work absorbing and full of interest. Days went far too quickly for the work that had to be done.

Two wars and a growth of interest in social questions has greatly increased the number of students doing research work for advanced degrees and diplomas. For Friends the library has provided the material for their especial interests as they have arisen, through the housing of the particular Committee's library and obtaining on loan books from other libraries. Throughout the years, however, Quaker biographies have been more borrowed than any other class of books.

Despite the amount of material now available and made so easily accessible, the output of Quaker books in this country has declined, for various reasons. The "pamphleteering" age seems to have returned, there are times when the library does not appear to be used either for historical purposes, or for borrowing books, to the extent that it might be, by Friends. In the early part of this century, the library was mainly used by members of the Society, now the far greater use is made by non-Friends, for research purposes.

It has appeared that America, with its larger number of Friends, has supplied a greater proportion of recent books on Quakerism. It may be that in their membership there are a greater number of people more qualified than in this country. It surely behoves more Friends to make enquiries and to see for themselves what the library holds and the need it can supply, for there is much that can be used and put to great service.

LIBRARIANS:

1901-21	Norman Penney.
1921-26	M. Ethel Crawshaw.
1927-57	John L. Nickalls.
1957-	Edward H. Milligan.

CLERKS TO COMMITTEE:

1895-1906	Frank Dymond.
1906-47	Anna L. Littleboy.
1948-50	Reginald H. Robson.
1950-	Richenda C. Scott.

CONSULTING LIBRARIAN:

1921-33 Norman Penney

Ethel Crawshaw (Morland)

HER LIBRARY SERVICE, 1903-1926

WITH the appointment in 1901 of Norman Penney to be the first full-time librarian of the Society of Friends, the possibility of a much fuller use of the library (then at Devonshire House) was becoming clear, provided its largely untouched accumulations of over two centuries could be reduced to better order and to full accessibility by means of adequate cataloguing and the progressive filling of gaps in the collection. Within two years the librarian's need of an assistant was urgent.

Ethel Crawshaw was appointed to the post in 1903, and she made the library her work and interest for twenty-three years. She entered fully into Norman Penney's aims and learned his methods, sharing in the busy correspondence at home and abroad, sharing also the steady work at the great arrears of cataloguing, which were, year by year, reduced, as the catalogue grew from small beginnings to some 50,000 cards under their joint efforts. The card catalogue quickly became and was always maintained as the central point of reference for all information, whether the location of a book or the clue to some obscure person, fact, or event come across in the perennial task of indexing the works on the shelves, or in the course of other work; the result was a very important factor in the standing which the library gained.

Whereas Norman Penney was reserved by nature and most at home among books, Ethel Crawshaw excelled in making friendly contacts; and she was able to make especially her own the work of meeting the needs of the growing number of readers. She made enquirers welcome and encouraged them to feel that the library staff was there to hear what the reader's needs were and to satisfy them if possible, an attitude she inculcated in other assistants and successors. If the library has had this reputation in later years, it was originally due to the example of Ethel Crawshaw.

The Friends' Historical Society has always owed much to the hospitality of the library and to the help of the staff in getting the society's office work done. In a secretarial capacity Ethel Crawshaw for many years ably seconded the

work of Norman Penney who edited the *Journal*; and she used her opportunities to secure new members or contributors among library readers and correspondents.

During most of her years in the library the staff was a small team working closely with the librarian, two or three, or occasionally four, in all. Her knowledge and effectiveness grew therefore as her experience lengthened, so that when Norman Penney on account of ill-health retired from active direction of the library in 1921, Ethel Crawshaw was appointed librarian.

In this position she was able to maintain fully the policy entered upon twenty years before, and to provide valuable continuity when changes, unthought-out or not based on experience of the work the library was doing, might have been detrimental. During her librarianship the Society's decision was made to leave Devonshire House, and plans were made for the removal to Friends House, which took place in 1925. At that stage of inevitable changes Ethel Crawshaw shared her responsibility generously with the present writer who had been appointed an assistant in 1921 to succeed her in due course as librarian.

Throughout her years of service to the Society in the library, Ethel Crawshaw stood for loyalty, for being of service, and for friendliness in all her dealings. She regularly supported the week-day morning meeting for worship for the staff, held in the library in Devonshire House days, and later at Friends House. Her ability to make friends, from the youngest to the oldest among her fellow-workers, was a valued gift which helped to draw together those working in the offices of the various committees.

In 1926 Ethel Crawshaw left her work to be married to Alfred Morland. She continued to attend the Library Committee for several years, as an appointed member, after having in practice acted as its secretary for many years; and she kept her interest in the library to the end of her life. Ethel Morland survived her husband two years, and died on March 10th, 1960.

JOHN NICKALLS

The Trial of Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead

THE sufferings of Friends of the first generation have been faithfully recorded and their memory has remained a proud inspiration.

It is, however, comparatively rare to know the circumstances of arrest and trial in so detailed a fashion as in the case of Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, who were arrested by Plymouth magistrates in May, 1655, and brought to trial at Exeter Assizes in July, 1655. Quaker sources for this information are Salthouse's own pamphlet *The Wounds of an Enemie in the House of a Friend*, Sewel's *History* (1722), pages 114-18 and Besse's *Sufferings* (1753), I, pp. 146-7. These are confirmed and supplemented by the records of Devon Quarter Sessions at Devon County Record Office, where the original documents of the trial are excellently preserved.

Salthouse and Halhead were not the first "Publishers of Truth" to visit Plymouth. John Audland had preceded them by six months, but it was Salthouse in particular who was to become the "Apostle of the West" and the love and respect in which he and his co-worker were held is manifest in this brief reference in the minute book of Plymouth Monthly Meeting in June, 1680.

> On the 16th day of the third month in the yeare 1655, the Lord's good hand brought amongst us Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, who also came and preached the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ, and thorrow the Lord's mercie by there ministrie they reached and raised the wittnis of God in divers of us . . . By these two Friends were first our gathering into a meeting, and thorrow the Lord's good hand amongst us and with us through great perrells and sufferings have been to this day continuosly which is more than 24 yeares.[1]

Both men were from Westmorland. Thomas Salthouse had been a "steward" in the Swarthmoor household of the Fells and was convinced there by George Fox in 1652. Halhead, described by a contemporary as a "plain simple man," was, unlike Salthouse, married at this time. The Mayor of Plymouth in the deposition made out at the time of his arrest wrote:

[1] For a variant reading, see *First Publishers of Truth*, ed. Norman Penney, 1907, pp. 77-8.

"He is a married man and left his wife and three children at Kendall aforesaid about three months since."

Salthouse and Halhead had some difficulty in getting to Plymouth. The Penruddock rebellion had taken place in the Salisbury area in March and, trivial as it proved, the authorities were alarmed. Salthouse mentions in his pamphlet[1] that the guards were out at Honiton. There was indeed a general alarm, Plymouth had even put in hand the rebuilding of Civil War defence works. When the travellers arrived at Exeter they were gaoled as suspicious characters. Released after fourteen days, they made their way back to Bristol, where they were given passes by the Captain of the Fort and a Justice, which stated that they were persons well disposed to the Commonwealth. They were now able to proceed to Plymouth and were accompanied by Nicholas Gannicliffe, a Bristol Friend, born at Exeter.[2]

The travellers arrived in Plymouth on 16th May, 1655. In the next few days they held several peaceable meetings in the houses of Friends. On Sunday the 20th, they held a meeting at the house of John Harris, where, as Salthouse wrote:

> The Standard of the Lord being thus set up, many people flockt thereunto, insomuch that the house of John Harris, a friend near the Town . . . being not able to receive them, they went into his garden, and to them both in the fore and afternoon did they declare the truth . . . without using any inveighings against men or opinions, and were approved of by those that heard them, though severall came onely to hear some new thing.[3]

At the end of the meeting, however, a Presbyterian naval chaplain made his presence felt. Salthouse's account continues:

> Having both of them spoken, and finished what they had to say, George Brookes then Priest of the Nightingale Friggot, a man whom they knew not, spake to the people a pretty space of time, wholly in the praise and commendation of what they had said, affirming it to be the eternall truth, and exhorting them to perseverance, from that Scripture, *Take heed that yee receive not the grace of God in vaine*,[4] telling them that they must expect to suffer persecution; but the principle from whence he spake being seen in the light of Jesus Christ . . . Thomas Salthouse said that he had spoken many good words, and faire speeches, but asked him

[1] *The Wounds of an Enemie*, 1656, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[4] 2 Corinthians vi, 1.

> whether he lived the life of what he spake . . . and their friend who came with them from Bristoll as aforesaid, told him, he had spoken of a Trinity in Unity, and a Unity in Trinity, when as no such language was to be found in the Scriptures.[1]

It was this remark of Gannicliffe's which probably did most to incense the Presbyterian minister. The interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity was a sore point, especially to his sect. A generation later a fierce controversy was to split their congregations in Plymouth and the rest of Devon, with the rise of Unitarianism. In connection with the whole course of subsequent events, it is important to note that Salthouse claims it was Gannicliffe, not Halhead or himself, that challenged Brookes on the issue of the Trinity.

On the following Tuesday (22nd), the three visiting Friends were arrested at a meeting held in the house of Robert Cary. When, next day, they were brought before the mayor and magistracy, a hostile observer was George Hughes,[2] the Presbyterian vicar in whose church Audland had "sounded forth the truth" a few months previously. The constables ejected all the friends of the arrested men, the doors were then closed throughout the examination, which lasted some three hours. The outcome was that Gannicliffe was released and Salthouse and Halhead returned to prison, to await trial at Devon Quarter Sessions. Salthouse says that a hundred people were in the Guildhall, and that they had challenged anyone who had anything against them to say so, but that none had come forward. He showed a degree of political awareness by his comment that the proceedings were "contrary to the Instrument of Government."

The real reason behind the arrest was Presbyterian alarm at the spread of the new doctrine. The Presbyterian magistrates in Plymouth were the enemies of other sects as well as Quakers and were, as elsewhere at this time, only restrained by the influence of the Army. Cromwell had by now been reduced to the expedient of the rule of the major-generals.

There was some difficulty in deciding the exact charges to be preferred at the Assizes. The first charge had been denial of the Trinity, but Salthouse had written the mayor a letter categorically denying this.[3] The Oath of abjuration

[1] *The Wounds of an Enemie*, pp. 3-4.
[2] *Calamy Revised*, 1934, pp. 281-2; Fox, *Cambridge Journal*.
[3] *The Wounds of an Enemie*, pp. 68-9.

had been tendered to Salthouse and Halhead. This is one of the first instances of what became a favourite device in persecuting Friends. The oath was directed against Roman Catholics, requiring them to repudiate the Pope and Catholic doctrine, but all Quakers were unable to swear any oath and thus were bound to fall into this legal trap. In the end, they were committed on the ridiculous charge of the breach of a recent order against duelling. It was stated that they had used provoking words to Georges Brookes.

Here is a transcription of the Committal Order now in the Archives of Devon Quarter Sessions.[1]

> Devon.
>
> John Page, Merchant, Maior of the Burrough of Plymouth in the county aforesaid, and one of his Highnesse's Justices of the Peace within the said Burrough.
>
> To the keeper of his Highnesse's Gaol at Exon Castle, or to his lawfull deputy in that behalfe, greeting. I send you herewithall by the bearer hereof the bodies of Thomas Salthouse late of Drugglibeck in the County of Lancaster, Husbandman, and Miles Halhead late of Kendall in the County of Westmoreland, lately apprehended here as disturbers of the public peace, and for divers other high misdemeanours against a late Proclamation prohibiting the disturbing of Ministers and other Christians in their assemblies and meetings and against the Ordinance of his said Highnesse the Lord Protector and his Counsel lately made against Duells, Challenges, and all provocations thereunto, who have refused to give sufficient security for their personall appearance at the next General Sessions of the Peace to be held for the County of Devon, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour against his Highnesse the Lord Protector and all his liege people. These are therefor in his said Highnesse his name to will and command you that, when the bodies of the said Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead shall be unto you brought, you them safely detain, and keep them until by due course of the law they shall be thence delivered. Hereof fail not at your perill.
>
> Given under my hand and seal of Plymouth aforesaid the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord God 1655.
>
> John Page, Maior.

In the Court Archives also is the evidence of the prosecution witnesses, in the depositions they made before Mayor Page. There too, is the bond which showed that they had entered into recognisances in the considerable sum of £40 to appear at the Assize. These witnesses were George Brookes, Peter Popham "lymner", Jacob Jennens merchant, and Ralph Ansley "barker".

[1] Copy printed in *The Wounds of an Enemie*, p. 46.

It will be sufficient to compare the depositions made by Brookes and Popham to show that there was a suspicious degree of co-ordination. Those of Jennens and Ansley are almost a word for word repetition of Popham's evidence.

Evidence of George Brookes

The examinacon of George Brookes, Chaplain in the Nightingall Frigott in the States Service, had and taken as aforesaid.

On oath. The said deponent sayth, That on Sabboth day last hee hearinge that there was some men that went by the name of Quakers, and intended to exercise at a howse leadinge to Stonehowse within the Burrough of Plymouth which as this deponent is informed is one John Harris his howse. And this deponent coming into the said howse, where were a great concourse of people, about 70 or 80 persons, and after a little time this deponent had been there, one Thomas Salthouse, one of the people called Quakers, beganne to speak to the people there assembled, without either seekinge of God in prayer or taking any portion of Scripture to speak from itt, did runne on in such a way as was not at all to the edifyinge of the people (in this deponents judgment) but to distraction. Which stirred up this deponent (after the said Salthouse had finished speakinge) to speak somethinge by way of exhortation to the edification of the people then present to and for the glory of God. And then and there this deponent made choice of a portion of Scripture, which was 2, Corinthians VI, 1;[1] from which this deponent exhortinge the people to virtue and love used this simile, that as the Father, Son, and Spiritt, were three in Trinitie but one in Unitie, soe although there were severall sectts of Religions yet wee should bee all one in unitie and love. And afterward this deponent proposed to all the people that they should seeke to God for a blessing by prayer, and if any there present had a larger portion or measure of the true light and Spiritt of God than this deponent had, that then hee should pray, if not, this deponent would. Whereupon the said Salthouse with Myles Halhead and Nicholas Gannicliffe (as this deponent now perceives there names soe to be) being the same three persons which hee this deponent now seeth at the time of his examinacion, and at the time aforesaid were in the said garden, they fell upon this deponent with unsutable and inhumane speeches, sayinge Thou Lyest, there is noe such thinge in Scripture as the Trinitie, and therefore Thou Lyest and art a thief, and thou hast stollen that which thou hast from others, and brought itt in thy hand, pointinge at the Bible then open in this deponent's hand, and thou, meaninge the deponent, hast a deludinge spiritt, and thou art come to deceave the people, and to draw the hearts of the people from God, and therefore admonished the people that they should not hearken or beleeve what this deponent had said.

Witnessed by John Paige, Maior, Ri. Spurwell.

[1] We then, as workers together with Him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

Evidence of Peter Popham

The said deponent sayth on oath, That on Sabbath day last being the 20th, of the moneth of May in the afternoone, hee this deponent goeinge towardes Stonehouse to heare one Mr. Titchen that is the present Minister there to preach, in his way thither he overtooke one Mr. George Brookes and Ralph Ansley, and this deponent askinge them where they were goinge they said to heare some Quakers neere a place called the Old Mills that were at a howse, as this deponent hath heard, belonging to one John Harris within the Burrough of Plymouth aforesaid. Whereupon this deponent went with them the said George Brookes and Ralph Ansley unto the said Harris his howse, and from there into a garden belonging to the same howse, where were about 70 or 80 persons, among whome this deponent saw three Strangers who went by the name of Quakers, which are the same three persons now present at the time of this deponent's examination, owning themselves by the names of Thomas Salthouse, Myles Halhead, and Nicholas Gannicliffe, as they are written in two papers now showed unto this deponent. And this deponent further sayth, That he heard the said Salthouse (that was then speaking to the people) say, That they should follow noe more their old Ministers, for they are those that will bringe them to destruccon, and they are Baal's priests, and there is that within a man that must carry him to heaven, and there is noe neede of other teachinge. And this deponent further sayth, That the said Salthouse havinge ended his discourse without any prayer, that afterward hee heard the said George Brookes open a place of Scripture which was 2. Cor. VI. 1. In openinge of which said Scripture the said George Brookes spake somethinge of the holy Trinitie. And after the said Brookes had done speakinge the said Thomas Salthouse spake to the said Brookes, and said these words, Thou Lyest in sayinge there were Three persons in the Trinitie I deny itt, there is noe such thinge. But thou art a deludinge spiritt come to draw away the hearts of the people from God. And hee the said Salthouse then and there spake to the people, that they should not hearken to him, meaninge the said Brookes, for that hee was a theefe and was come with a Lye in his mouth, and had stollen what hee had from others, and had it in his hand, pointinge to the Bible which was then in the said Mr. Brookes his hand open. And this deponent further sayth, That the said Myles Halhead did speake the same words as aforesaid And said severall times that it was a Lye that the said Brookes had brought.

Witnessed by John Paige, Maior, Ri. Spurwell.

The accusation of Halhead in the last few words of this deposition of speaking "the same words" as Salthouse is a particularly transparent device.

The record of Salthouse's examination before the mayor, demonstrates his shrewd intelligence and cool head. Mention is made in his evidence of some of the first Friends in

Plymouth. Arthur Cotton (d. 1708) a shopkeeper was later a correspondent of William Penn and of the Meeting for Sufferings. Nicholas Cole was a considerable merchant, who had as a Baptist preacher been gaoled as early as 1645 for his unorthodox religious opinions. Richard Lippincott had come to Plymouth from Massachusetts in 1653 and returned to the Rhode Island Colony in 1660. He is the ancestor of the American publishing family. John Harris was a prosperous yeoman farmer.

EVIDENCE OF THOMAS SALTHOUSE

The Examinacon of Thomas Salthowse of Druglebecke, in the County of Lancaster, husbandman, aged thirtie years or thereabout, taken before the Right Worshipfull John Paige, Maior of the Burrough of Plymouth in the County of Devon, and Richard Spurwell, Robert Gubbs and William Birch, fower Justices of the Peace within the same Burrough, the 23rd day of May, 1655.

The said examinate being demanded the Cause of his cominge to this towne sayth itt was to visitt some friends, and beinge asked what those friends were and if hee had any friends or relacons in Plymouth, sayth hee knew Nicholas Cole and Arthur Cotton and some other persons, and being demaunded where and how longe since hee became acquainted with the said Cole and Cotton sayth, That about the end of March last this examt. being under restraint att Exon together with one Myles Halhead, the said Cotton and Cole came thither to this examt. and the said Halhead, and that after they had been under restraint 16 daies they were sent with a guard by Col. Coplestone to Taunton, and from thence were sent from tithinge to tithinge to Bristow, by Col. Buffet of Taunton, but the messenger that went with this examt. and the said Halhead from Taunton, beinge, (as this examt. conceiveth) drunke and fallinge on the ground about a myle from Taunton, and itt growinge towards night, this deponent with the said Halhead and the messenger returned to Taunton to the said Col. Buffet, and two daies afterward this examt. and the said Halhead by leave of the said Col. Buffet departed and went to Bristow. And this examt. further sayth that he came hither to this towne of Plymouth on Friday [sic] last to Arthur Cotton, and afterwarde that eveninge went to Stonehouse, at the howse of one Lippingcott. And being demaunded where this examt. was the last Lord's day, sayth that he was the last *first day* in a garden of one John Harris within the Burrough of Plymouth, where there were a companie of people met together, and this examt. spake something to them both in the house and in the garden. And this deponent further being demaunded whether he did not in his discourse to the people say these words following (viz) That they should follow noe more their old Ministers, for they are those that will bring them to destruccon, and they are Baal's preists, and there is that within a man that must carry him to heaven, and

there is noe need of other teachinge, denyeth the same. And being further demaunded whether hee did not speake these followinge words to one George Brookes (who had also then spoken to the people, in which discourse of the said Brookes he menconed the holy Trinitie and the Three Persons in the Trinitie) Thou lyest in sayinge there were Three Persons in the Trinitie; I deny itt, there is noe such thinge, but thou art a deludinge spiritt come to draw away the hearts of the people from God, and that they should not hearken to him the said Brookes for that hee was a Theefe and was come with a Lye in his mouth, and had stollen what hee had from others and had itt in his hand, pointinge at the Bible which was in the said Brookes his hand open, denyeth the same And being further demaunded by what authority hee spake to the people in that publique way, sayth hee was imediately called of God to goe out and declare the truth as hee is moved. And beinge deamunded if hee bee not one of those that are called Quakers sayth hee is one of them and somtimes hee has had shakings on him. And this examt. being demaunded att what place hee intendeth to goe from this towne, sayth to Bristow. And beinge demaunded when hee did make use of his callinge as a husbandman or any other lawfull callinge to procure a lyvelyhood, sayth itt was about three months since, And beinge demaunded where hee hath mony for his subsistence since that time, sayth, That if hee come to any Towne or Citty hee hath mony to pay for what hee calls for, and if hee goe into any friend's howse hee can eat bread or drink water with them. And this deponent beinge asked whether Nicholas Gannicliffe and Myles Halhead bee of the same judgment and opinion with this examt., sayth they are, and doe goe under the name of Quakers.

The oath of Abjuration conteyned in his highnesse the Lord Protector's proclamacon was tendred to the said Thomas Salthouse, and hee refused to take itt, sayinge the Lord Jesus forbids him to sweare.

John Paige, maior, Ri. Spurwell.

The record of Halhead's examination shows that hé too was questioned as to his reasons for coming to Plymouth; a similar question was put to him about his calling and source of income, in a vain attempt to establish vagrancy. This would have given the magistrates a convenient pretext to pack them off to their native parishes. He also refused to take the Oath of abjuration. Halhead was closely questioned as to his view of the Trinity, and his answer gives some colour to the view that the ideas of at least some Friends on this subject were not quite orthodox.

And this examt. beinge further demaunded if hee doe acknowledge the Trinitie of Persons in the Unitie of essence, and whether the Father bee God, the son God, and the Spirit God, sayth hee

owneth the Father, Sonne, and Spiritt, but refuseth to gyve an answeare and will not say that they are God.

While Salthouse and Halhead lay in prison awaiting trial, their Plymouth friends were doing all they could to help them. An indignant letter was written to Major-General Desborough denying all the charges made against them. In particular, it gave the lie to the accusation that they had refused to give security for appearance in court.

Two of us whose names are Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton had given security to the Mayor, by entry into recognisance for their appearance at the next sessions, the day before their sending to prison, but that the Town Clerk made it void the next day, pretending that it could not be according to law.[1]

General Desborough, having received this letter, which was signed by all the male members of Plymouth Meeting, wrote to Captain Henry Hatsell, the Army's representative in Plymouth, for information and advice. Hatsell had already expressed his opinion of the case in a letter to the Secretary to the Admiralty Commissioners.

Plymouth
28th May 1655.

The Quakers are still in prison being very stiffe and are like to be sent to the Common Gaole, our quiet west country people do judge them to be men of a strange humour.[2]

Hatsell now passed on Desborough's letter to the Mayor who then wrote to the Major-General what Salthouse called with some justice a "filthy flattering letter." Here is an extract:

Their carriage here was not becoming men much less Christians and besides their contempt of authority and all the while they were in prison they never sought God by prayer at any time, nor desired a blessing on any creature they received, or gave thanks for them. They wander up and down in all parts to vent their wicked opinions, and discover their irregular practices in the breach of Peace, and disturbance of all good people. Indeed sir they hold many sad opinions, destructive to the true Religion, and power of Godliness. I have hereby according to my duty given your honour an account of what passed here in reference to their examination, and discourse with them, but I fear I have already trespassed upon your Honours patience in the perusal of these lines and humbly desire your excuse for giving you this trouble, and do most thankfully acknowledge your Honours continued favours

[1] Also printed in *The Wounds of an Enemie*, p. 52. This Town Clerk, Samuel Yeo, was, for many years, the moving spirit in the persecution of Quakers. He himself as a Presbyterian was dismissed from his post in 1662 by the commissioners appointed to regulate corporations.

[2] *Extracts from State Papers* (ed. N. Penney), p. 4.

to this place, and for which we stand very much obliged, desiring your Honour still to retain such an opinion of us, as those that desire to do nothing unbecoming Christians, and persons that desire the welfare and peace of this Commonwealth and Government, and shall ever labour to appear.

Your Honour's very Humble Servant,

John Page, Mayor.
for myself and brethren.[1]

The attitude of the Mayor to the Major-General was thus anything but dignified. It is small wonder that Salthouse accused him of "feigned humility."

The Sessions opened at Exeter Castle on 10th July, 1655; Major-General Desborough took the chair. The main charge against the Quakers was the farcical one of provoking George Brookes to a duel. At the very start of the trial, Salthouse and Halhead refused to accept the legal formula that they would be tried by "God and the Country," for this, explained Salthouse in his pamphlet, was a form of words used in cases where life was involved, and was not appropriate to such trivial charges.

The Quakers' behaviour was construed as contempt. Having been sent out of court for an hour, they were recalled and required to take the Oath of abjuration, which it was known they were bound to refuse. They did, however, state, "in the presence of the Eternal God," that they denied and detested the Pope and his supremacy and the Purgatory, thus depriving the court of all but the barest legal quibble on which to base action against them. The trial ended on the following day in this way:

Court

Will ye confesse that ye wronged G. Brookes, in calling of him Thief, and be sorry for it, and make him satisfaction?

Answer

One of us did not speak one word to him, and therefore I deny to make him satisfaction, or to be sorry for it, and what was spoken was no such thing; therefore we will not lye for our liberty, nor confesse that we are sorry for that which we never spoke.

Court

You are fined five pound apiece, and must goe to the House of Correction till payment, and to find Sureties for your good behaviour; and for refusing to take the Oath, we shall take course to send to the North to seize on your Estates, according to the Proclamation.[2]

[1] Also printed in *The Wounds of an Enemie*, pp. 53-4.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

The Quakers were kept in the Bridewell at Exeter for almost a year. The Bridewell not being a regular prison, they could not, as Salthouse pointed out, be released by the normal process of law:

> and such an Imprisonment as from it Appeals cannot be had to the Higher Courts for Justice, as House[s] of Correction are, which are no Prisons in law, and therefore without the Cognizance of the judges in the Circuits, or the Upper Bench by Habeas Corpus.[1]

Their loyal friends at Plymouth made strenuous efforts to clear their names and effect their release. Evidence was collected with a view to destroying the credibility of Brookes as a witness. Letters, from his two former commanders and another naval captain, establish that he was a drunken trouble-maker, who had been dismissed from his chaplain's post.[2]

John Jeffery, captain of the "Nantwich" gave this testimony:

> Mr. Brookes being formerly with me in the Nightingale, I found him very idle, and continually drunk, which once made me to put *a quarter can about his necke*.

The two ministers remained in Exeter Bridewell until early in 1657. When released, Salthouse returned to Plymouth to continue his work there and in Cornwall. Halhead, with his family ties in the North, did not settle permanently in the West country; he did, however, make frequent visits. Both men died in 1690, by which time many meetings had been set up in the two western counties, and even a "Plymouth Meeting" been established in Pennsylvania, by a group of Plymouth Friends who had emigrated in 1686 with the idea of setting up a woollen industry there.

A. D. SELLECK

Note

This is an extract from *Plymouth Friends* (the history of the Society of Friends in Plymouth and west Devon from 1654 to the early nineteenth century) [London M.A. thesis]. The work, which concerns most aspects of the life of Friends in this community over some three centuries, and their links with other Friends in both Britain and Pennsylvania is not yet available in published form, but will, possibly, be so if sufficient demand is forthcoming.

[1] Also printed in *The Wounds of an Enemie*, p. 37 (*footnotes*).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Early Tithe Prosecutions

Friends as Outlaws

IT is one of the paradoxes of early Quaker history that the worst sufferings undergone by Friends were not, as is often supposed, incurred by way of punishment for their religious meetings. Friends indeed suffered grievous, and sometimes ruinous, fines and forfeitures under the Conventicle Acts, and other measures directed against freedom of religious worship. But as regards sufferings by imprisonment, the greater part of these, and especially the long indeterminate sentences that were the hardest part of their trials, arose from their steadfast witness on two subsidiary matters: their refusal to take oaths, and their testimony against tithes.

It should be added at once that in the first case (the refusal to take oaths) the paradox is a deceptive one. The sentences of praemunire incurred by so many Friends because they would not, in terms, take the prescribed Oath of allegiance, were commonly imposed as an alternative, simpler as well as severer, to the penalties appropriate to the illegal holding of meetings. As soon as the judges found that to tender the Oath of allegiance to a troublesome Friend provided a convenient means of keeping him in custody indefinitely, they eagerly made use of it, and the original charge under the Conventicle or other Acts was allowed to remain in abeyance. Consequently, this mode of procedure deserves to be stigmatized as religious persecution as much as the sentences on account of actual meetings.

But with the tithe prosecutions, which were the cause of so many long imprisonments, the position is different. It is doubtful how far the term "persecution" is applicable at all, in the early years of Quakerism. For what else could the tithe-owner do? He could not be expected to share the general opposition of Friends to a paid ministry, which was the real substance of their testimony; nor would he accept the rather specious theological arguments which they used to support it, based on the supposed termination by Christ of the Levitical priesthood for whose benefit tithes were ordained. Moreover, even if he were prepared, out of sympathy or charity, to forgo his own claim, he could not do

so without risking the loss of his successors' right to claim the tithe in future, and for this reason canon law obliged him to prosecute his claim.[1]

The question then arises, why could he not satisfy his claim by some process of distraint, without inflicting on the defaulter a legal suit leading to imprisonment? Does not this imply a degree of vindictiveness amounting to religious persecution? The answer is that there were doubtless many cases in which a vindictive and oppressive attitude appeared; one glaring example of this will be given later. But in general it is true to say that the extreme sufferings of early Friends with regard to tithes arose much less from this cause than from the inappropriate and cumbersome nature of the 17th-century legal procedure.

What Courses were Open to the Tithe-Owner?

We have cases recorded where the tithe-owner who was denied satisfaction simply went and helped himself.[2] This, though possibly the least injurious course in the long run, was quite illegal, and one that a conscientious and law-abiding incumbent might well shrink from. There are many other cases in which he went to one of the local civil courts, usually the county or sheriff's court, and subsequently obtained a justices' order authorizing him to distrain. But there is little doubt that most of these processes were also illegal. The one exception appears to have been that under the "Statute for treble damages" (2 and 3 Ed. VI, c. 13. Sect. 1) the tithe-owner whose tithes had not been paid could obtain, from a jury at the assizes, judgment for treble their value, recoverable as a debt.[3] But this was an expensive process, and no costs could be awarded; it seems to have been little used.[4]

[1] See Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical law*, 1895, p. 1159. For the sake of simplicity I shall not distinguish between those tithes which were payable to clergy and those which were payable to lay impropriators. Friends took the view that both were equally objectionable.

[2] E.g. Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, I, 677, 763; II, 97.

[3] P. W. Millard, *The Law relating to Tithes*, 1938, p. 7.

[4] See, for two examples, Besse I, pp. 326 and 721. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate, similar awards of treble damages were made by local justices (Fox, *Journal*, ed. Nickalls, p. 394, cf. *Extracts from State Papers*, pp. 9, 109). Awards were also made by the local commissioners appointed to eject or retain ministers. Gervase Benson regarded both these practices as without legal authority (*The Cry of the Oppressed*, 1656, pp. 25, 35). They came to an end with the Restoration.

With this exception, the local civil courts had, properly, no jurisdiction whatever in tithe cases. Friends in London were so advised by Counsel, and this advice was upheld by a decision of the King's Bench in 1668.[1] The tithe-owner could never thus be sure that his suit in a local civil court would not be rendered abortive by a demurrer against jurisdiction, or other action. It will be recalled that George Fox successfully "demurred" in a tithe case to the jurisdiction of Cartmel Wapentake Court[2] (this was the equivalent in the North of England of the hundred court[3] in the South). One incumbent adopted the subterfuge of suing in the county court for "a pretended debt of £16 15s. borrowed, and £3 5s. for tithes. The debt, a mere pretence, was dropped at the trial, but the tithe was granted by the jury."[4] But this device again could hardly be employed by a conscientious man.

There was a good deal of legal support for the proposition that not even the central civil courts had any jurisdiction in tithe cases. The central courts were prepared to assume jurisdiction, as we shall see later, and the question is therefore an academic one. But Gervase Benson, a man well versed in both civil and ecclesiastical law, was convinced that this also was illegal,[5] and in the "Book of Cases" there is a long and interesting opinion, strongly condemning the practice, and arguing that the penal statutes dealing with tithes indicated clearly that jurisdiction lay in the ecclesiastical courts only. The writers sum up their opinion as follows:

> Upon all our inquiry and search we cannot hear or know of any other ground or foundation than the pleasure of those present Lords Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer enlarging their jurisdiction beyond the plain meaning of the Statutes.[6]

The Ecclesiastical Remedy

What then happened if the tithe-owner pursued his certainly legal remedy, of a suit in the local ecclesiastical

[1] See MS. collection of legal opinions at Friends House known as "Book of Cases" Vol. I, p. 18. The King's Bench case was that of John and Edward Corbett, of Brailes. See also Besse II., p. 18, where Richard Burrough of Arnside procured the removal by Certiorari of eight County warrants.

[2] Fox, *Journal*, ed. Ellwood, Bi-centenary edition, II, p. 355.

[3] Besse reports a demurrer by Bray D'Oyly to the jurisdiction of the hundred court (I, p. 567).

[4] Besse I, p. 662.

[5] *The Cry of the Oppressed*, 1656, pp. 36 et seq.

[6] Book of Cases," I, pp. 235 sq.

court? The court could find in his favour, and make an order for payment. If this produced no result, he could then apply to two Justices of the Peace, who could commit the defaulter to prison until the sentence of the ecclesiastical judge was obeyed. Alternatively, the ecclesiastical court might proceed to an excommunication, and the offender could then again be committed to prison indefinitely, under the procedure *de excommunicato capiendo*.[1] But all this did not produce any payment, and the justices had no power to issue any warrant for distress. The defaulter remained in prison; the tithe-owner remained unpaid; and the impasse was often only relieved by the death of one or other of the parties.

It was partly because of this deadlock that the civil courts in London (usually the Court of Exchequer) were, legally or illegally, appealed to in tithe cases. But there were other reasons also. One, no doubt, was that the ecclesiastical courts functioned with difficulty and irregularly during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Another was that the local civil courts, even if they were willing, and were allowed, to assume jurisdiction, could not legally adjudicate on the case if the defaulter neglected to appear. In the central courts non-appearance could be dealt with as contempt, and it was therefore no disadvantage to the prosecutor that no appearance to the suit should be made; steps were indeed often taken to secure this. In one case the defendant was attached for contempt for not appearing to a subpoena "which had been served on him but one day before the expiration of its return; so that for him, a poor aged cripple, to have appeared above an hundred miles from his dwelling in that time, was impossible."[2] Again, even if the Friend did make the long journey to London, as many did, he might find himself condemned for a technical non-appearance, either because he had not engaged an attorney,[3] or because he refused to make answer on oath. In the account that appears in Besse of sufferings in Westmorland, the latter procedure, and its consequences, is thus described:

> It was the usage of that Court [*i.e.* the Court of Exchequer] not to receive any answer to Bills exhibited there, but upon oath,

[1] "For arresting an excommunicated person." See *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 362.

[2] Besse I, p. 648.

[3] E.g. Besse I, p. 552. See also George Fox's pamphlet *The Law of God and Lawyers Discovered*, 1658.

> wherefore these defendants, being principled against all swearing, were soon brought into contempt, and attachments were issued for apprehending them. Such attachments are directed to the Sheriff for him to apprehend the party, but in case the party absconds or conceals himself, the Sheriff is to make a return of *non est inventus* (*i.e.* he is not to be found) and then a Sequestration is issued to seize his effects. But through a corruption in the practice of the law, the Sheriff frequently, and on purpose, omits to take the person, and makes a false return of *non est inventus*, and so a Sequestration is obtained, as if he had fled.[1]

By this circuitous course, the tithe-owner was certain of obtaining payment.

The Outlawry Procedure

There was one other procedure open to him. If he decided to risk suing in the local civil court, and the defaulter failed to appear, the tithe-owner could then sue for an "outlawry". This is described by the text-books as the classical example of using a sledge-hammer to crack a nut, because no better nutcracker was provided by 17th-century legal procedure. The old outlawry process, designed to meet the case of a criminal who had fled from justice, had come to be employed also in civil cases, where there was a failure to appear by the defendant. The process was very complicated, and need not be set out at length; its central feature was the "Exigent," or "Exigi facias," a writ addressed to the Sheriff, commanding him that "*you cause to be exacted* A.B." (*i.e.* that his appearance be demanded) "from County Court to County Court, until he shall be outlawed according to the law and custom of England, if he shall not appear." As in the attachment procedure, legal fictions had crept into the practice of the law, and defendants were frequently outlawed whose whereabouts were perfectly well known.[2] Outlaws were liable to be imprisoned indefinitely, but the chief attraction to the tithe-owner was that he could proceed, by means of a Writ of Enquiry, to seize the outlaw's goods.[3]

[1] Besse II, p. 28. Capitals reduced.

[2] E.g. in the case of John Clark, of Greinton, Somerset, "the outlawry was obtained by a false return of *Non est inventus*, whenas he was constantly and publicly about his business near home, and at markets and fairs, frequently in sight of the priest, his next neighbour, who prosecuted him" (Besse I, p. 597).

[3] E.g. Besse I, p. 116.

There are a number of instances of Friends being "run to an Outlawry" or "sued to an Exigent and Outlawry" in this way; Besse records at least ten cases, and there were certainly others.[1]

Fortunately, the outlawry procedure was so complex, and such a meticulous observance of all the formalities was required, that it was nearly always possible to get the sentence set aside by a Writ of Error, if the Friend were so minded.[2] But the attachment procedure in the Court of Exchequer does not appear to have been so susceptible to "error;" usually the best that could be done there, after a Sequestration had been granted, was to move for a Limitation, as George Fox did: "That much defeated our adversary's design in suing out the Sequestration, for this limited the plaintiff to take no more than was proved."[3] But not all Friends were so well advised as Fox, and the sufferings from confiscation, as well as imprisonments, were very great.

As an extreme example of these we may cite the case of William Moxon, of Mardon, Wilts, "an honest, industrious husbandman, but poor," who himself experienced nearly all the forms of prosecution we have been describing, with a few more thrown in. Besse quotes in full[4] Moxon's own plain and dignified record, contained in "a paper, bearing date from Fisherton-Anger Prison the 27th of the Eleventh Month, 1684." The name of the persecuting vicar was William Gunn.[5]

William Moxon's Complaint against the Vicar of Mardon

William Gunn, being one that did turn with the times, had me before Oliver Cromwell's Commissioners, and there he demanded £3 for tithes; and I for conscience-sake refusing to pay him, he conformed to their wills, and so they granted him £8 and gave him an Order to take it from me, and he sent his son and his own two men, and horses with his cart, and broke up my barn-doors and threshed and carried away 21 sacks of corn worth near £20.

[1] It is not, however, correct to speak of Friends under sentence of praemunire as "outlaws", as is sometimes done. The word was only used for those who were outlawed under the procedure just described.

[2] It will be recalled that the outlawry of John Wilkes, 100 years later, was set aside because the Sheriff's writ, which should have read "at the County Court of Middlesex for the County of Middlesex," omitted the first "of Middlesex."

[3] *Journal*, ed. Ellwood, Bi-centenary edition, II, p. 358. For another case of "Limitation," see "Book of Cases," I, p. 196.

[4] II, p. 48.

[5] William Gunn, B.A., 1621; M.A., 1627; rector of Marden, Wilts, 1636 (Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, ii.619).

Then in the year 1661, he carried me to prison, where he kept me two years; then he carried me to London, and had me before Judge Hide, and there he declared for £100 against me;[1] the next Assizes at Sarum it was brought to a trial before Judge Archer, and then it was brought to £5 for two years tithes, and there he was allowed before Judge Archer treble damages, but afterward the jury brought it to £14, and so he came with three bailiffs, with an execution, and with horses and carts into my barn, and carried away all the corn that was in my barn, which was worth near £30. Then afterwards he pretended that did not satisfy him, and so he got an Exigent in order to outlaw me; and I hearing of it, I went and yielded my body to the Sheriff, and the Sheriff sent me to prison, and so stopped it.

But afterward he outlawed me in another county, contrary to my knowledge, and I being a prisoner at the same time, and having liberty from the keeper to go abroad, he took me up with his Outlawry, and carried me to prison, and so I remained seven years a prisoner on that account; and then an Order came from the King, whereby some of my friends were released, and I being likely to be released also, he hearing of it, threw in a Writ against me, called a Latitat,[2] for £60, and so he kept me a prisoner until I was released by Order of Law. Then in about two or three week's time after I was released, he sued me in Chancery, and a little time after, he sued me in the Bishop's Court, because for conscience-sake I could not pay him privy-tithes, and I there appearing before the Bishop, he tendered me the oath, and I for conscience-sake refusing to swear, was excommunicated for a contempt of their Court, and by a Writ of Excommunication, through William Gunn's occasion, was by a bailiff and apparitor[3] haled to prison in William Gunn's own cart the 26th of the Fifth Month 1679, and so I have remained a prisoner to this very day.

He sued me in the Exchequer, in Chancery, at Common Law and in the Bishop's Court. He outlawed me; he excommunicated me; he took me up seven times with bailiffs and apparitors; he caused me to be brought four times to this Fisherton-Anger prison, and once he carried me a prisoner to London. First and last, and in all, I have been a prisoner on his account about two and twenty years, and only for conscience-sake. And notwithstanding my imprisonment, since the time he had an execution against me, he hath taken away my goods for tithe every year at his own will, contrary to their law.

[1] This was a *Habeas Corpus* action in the King's Bench (Besse II, p. 41); Wm. Moxon "was discharged at that time." Besse also records that the Vicar "subpoena'd" Moxon's two daughters "into the Exchequer" because they had got in their father's corn. It would appear, therefore, that Moxon's first imprisonment was under an Exchequer process, and that the daughters were alleged to be "in contempt." The judges dismissed the complaint against them.

[2] A Latitat ("he lies hid") was a writ to a Sheriff to arrest a defendant who was supposedly in hiding.

[3] An officer of the ecclesiastical court.

William Moxon's was an extreme case, and his sufferings were greatly aggravated by the vindictiveness of the incumbent; but there were numerous cases in which, as we have seen, the tithe-owner allowed the defaulter to remain in prison largely because there seemed nothing else for him to do; many tithe-owners would not know of the Exchequer procedure, or, if they did know, would not care to make the journey to London that it involved.

The 1696 Legislation

It must, therefore, have come as a relief to both sides when, in 1696, statutory sanction was at last given for the recovery by distraint of the monetary equivalent of the tithe, on the authority of two justices. A simple means was thus provided for the enforced payment of the small amounts that were usually at stake, and although the tithe-owner was still permitted to pursue his other remedies, and sometimes did so,[1] such a course became more and more disadvantageous, as the law no longer gave any encouragement to vindictive action. Proceedings in the ecclesiastical court still resulted only in the imprisonment of the defaulter; processes in the Court of Exchequer were prolonged, and by no means all the costs could be recovered from the defendant, so that the prosecutor was almost always out of pocket at the end. Joseph Davis, a Quaker conveyancer, writing in 1820, sixteen years before the Tithe Commutation Act, was able to state with satisfaction that suits of either sort had become very rare; he was clearly of the opinion that most of those who still persisted in suing—instead of applying to the justices—were actuated by ignorance rather than malice, and "in various instances, on information of the consequences attending suits in the Exchequer being given to tithe-claimants, they have desisted from their intention of instituting them."[2]

[1] The cases between 1696 and 1734 were collected by Joseph Besse for the information of Parliament, and the collection published. Besse, in his preface, while admitting that in earlier years there was no easier remedy available to tithe-owners, argues reasonably that oppressive suits could no longer be justified on this excuse, and concludes: (As things are) "Prosecutions of this kind do so nearly resemble persecutions that he who suffers by them can scarce discern wherein they differ" (Besse, *Brief Account*, 1736, p. iv).

[2] Jos. Davis, *A Digest of Legislative Enactments relating to the Society of Friends*, 1820, pp. iv and 63.

It may be mentioned, in conclusion, that in the case of certain parishes in London affected by the Great Fire, tithes had been commuted into a fixed annual sum, recoverable by distraint, as early as 1666. On the whole, therefore, London Friends in this respect suffered less severely than country Friends.

ALFRED W. BRAITHWAITE

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It is hardly necessary for this *Journal* to add any further tribute to those that have already appeared on this volume, which has been to such a marked extent a labour of love to its compilers. But perhaps a few notes may be added on one or two points of historical interest.

The 677 extracts can be divided between the four centuries of Quakerism approximately as follows:

17th century—118 extracts, of which 44 are in the first chapter (Spiritual experiences of Friends).
18th century—46 extracts, of which 10 are in the first chapter.
19th century—60 extracts, of which 22 are in the first chapter.
20th century—453 extracts, of which 39 are in the first chapter.

The large preponderance of 20th-century extracts is not surprising in a book intended to represent modern Quaker thought. What is more remarkable is the number of extracts from the 17th century, compared with the number from the 18th and 19th centuries; the first 50 years of Quakerism provide as many extracts as the next 200 years together. This is an interesting commentary on the comparative nearness of outlook of modern Friends to George Fox and his contemporaries, and their comparative remoteness from Friends of the two succeeding centuries. The contrast would be still more marked if we excluded the extracts from three Friends, John Woolman, Job Scott and Thomas Story, who between them provide 30 out of the forty-six 18th-century extracts.

On the other hand, of the 19th-century extracts the great majority are from Yearly Meeting Minutes and similar documents (most of them concerned with matters of practice), and there are very few extracts from individual writers. Even Joseph John Gurney is only represented by the famous, but not typical quotation beginning, "We shall never thrive upon ignorance." It is interesting that the evangelical movement has left us this legacy, if no other.

The Alexander Family's Discount Company

THIS year Alexanders Discount Co. Ltd. celebrates its 150th birthday. This Bank at the sign of the Golden Artichoke in Lombard Street has grown from small beginnings in 1810 to its present substantial state. Throughout its history it has contributed to the rise of the London Discount Market and indeed to general economic progress. The family of Alexander has left its mark on the City of London.

The founder of the firm was William Alexander (1769-1819). He was the son of William Alexander (1733-1785) who lived at Strood, Kent, and who married Elizabeth Day in 1759. He was a convinced Quaker and the Canterbury Monthly Meeting minute books show him attending Monthly Meeting in 1760. It is believed that he was a man of unusual force of character[1] who gave up his post in the naval dockyard at Chatham because he was convinced of the unlawfulness of participation in war. He, therefore, started a private school at Boley Hill in Rochester (which flourished until 1820). He had six children by Elizabeth Day and the youngest was William whose birth note was received by the Canterbury Monthly Meeting in 1769.

The father died in 1785 and from that year certificates of removal were given to his children for meetings elsewhere. Edward Alexander left for Gloucester. In 1786 Ann Alexander left for Leighton Buzzard and Sarah for Worcester.

In 1787 William Alexander, the youngest son, left for Reading on the 17th of 6th Mo. By 1789, however, as the Huntingdon Monthly Meeting minute books show, a certificate was received from Reading on the 3rd of 2nd Mo. (when it was given Benjamin Evans to file and John King was paid 0.0.7 for postage of the same). But on the 8th of 3rd Mo. 1790, the Canterbury Monthly Meeting books record a certificate received from the Monthly Meeting of Ives in Huntingdonshire (dated 2nd of 2nd Mo.) for William Alexander "lately received within the compass of this meeting." In 1792 on the 4th of 12th Mo. a certificate was noted, given for William Alexander "removed within the Compass of Grace Church St. Monthly Meeting."

[1] See Horace G. Alexander, *Joseph Gundry Alexander*, 1920, p. 20.

Then began the London career of William Alexander. In 1801 he married Ann Barber of Eckington. For some years they lived in Bunhill Row and later in 2 Kennington Terrace. Their first son, George William, was born in 1802.

William Alexander's first post was that of a clerk in the banking house of Smith, Wright and Gay. He later joined the firm of Robarts and Curtis and stayed with them for some years, eventually becoming head clerk. He was offered a limited interest in that concern at £1,500 a year for seven years, but it is said that he declined it because he would thereby have had an interest in loans made by the bank to the Government at the time of the Napoleonic Wars.[1] He had, however, begun banking on his own, borrowing from friends and fellow clerks and lending money on note of hand at legal interest. He had also acquired shares in two ships, the *Levant* and the *Duke of Kent*, as well as in a consignment of watches to New York, though he lost money on these ventures.

In 1806 William Alexander became a partner in the firm of John Rickman and Co., a firm of bill brokers which was doing business at 11 Change Alley (and in 1808 at 14 Birchin Lane). But his name did not appear as such since he was still working for Robarts and Co. He did, however, put in £700 capital and in the first year he obtained £135 4s. 7d. profits and his profits continued to increase until he retired from that firm in 1810.

Thus by 1810, Alexander had actually been doing business as a bill broker for some years. But in that year he set up business for himself at 33 Lombard Street as Alexander and Co. He paid a premium of £250 for the premises which were owned by the Merchant Taylors Company, and at first he also paid a rent of £37 18s. which was increased to £83 9s. in 1813 and to £108 2s. in 1814. It is believed that he took £5,470 into the business with him. William Alexander became therefore a bill broker on his own account. An early balance sheet (1811) of Alexander and Co. shows a capital of £5,013 8s. 6d., liability on deposits of £21,117 0s. 2d. and a profit of £1,072 18s. 4d.

The end of the year balance in 1811 shows a capital of £4,937 7s. 5d., liability on deposits of £2,732 18s. 5d., and a profit of £927 19s. 8d.

[1] H. G. Alexander, *op. cit.*

According to a later member of the firm (William Cleverly Alexander) expenses and profits from 1810 to 1812 were as follows:

16th July, 1810 to July, 1811. Expenses £1,193 10s. 11d. Profits £738 19s. 1d.

July, 1811 to July, 1812. Expenses £1,082 15s. 0d. Profits £961 4s. 4d.

Expenses appear to have averaged £800 a year for some time after this and profits in the early years ranged about £900 per annum. Commenting on this figure, King, in his *History of the London Discount Market*, 1936 (footnote to p. 118), says that it is "no mean return on the resources employed for a firm in its first year, even allowing for the experience of the bill market and the connection which William Alexander must have built up in his few years with Rickman and Co." But the risks run were heavy and the failure of a single firm was capable of placing the early broker in much difficulty. Alexander and Co. suffered when the firm of Stein, Smith and Co. failed in 1812, and in 1818 a heavy loss was incurred through J. Osborne and Co., a firm in the cheese trade.

It is of interest to note that in years when losses were heavy, employees of Alexander and Co. had to share them. Thus, John Allcard, who had been sole clerk at a salary of £400 a year, found his salary reduced to £300 in 1814, and later when a further reduction was made, he left and became a clerk in Overend's firm and his place was taken by Thomas Atkinson.

In 1819, William Alexander, founder, died after an illness of ten weeks caused by a fall from a coach. He had tried a change to his native air at Rochester but this failed him. He was buried in Bunhill Fields burial ground. His widow, Ann Alexander, now gave her name to the firm which was styled A. M. Alexander. The wife was principal but she was assisted by Richard Payne (who had been a fellow clerk of William Alexander in Robart's broking firm) until his death in 1826.

At the time of his death, William Alexander possessed £1,000 only, but his life was insured for £2,000 and the executors allowed the money to stay in the business. When

George William Alexander[1] came of age he joined his mother in partnership, and the firm was styled A. and G. W. Alexander from 1824.

George William, who had been sent to school at Rochester, actually entered the family business when he was nearly 14 years of age, working half a day until he was 14½ years of age when he became a regular clerk. His duties then included taking down the shutters and sweeping out the offices. He was 17 years old when his father died, and until he was nearly of age he worked without a day's holiday, with the result that he had a bad breakdown for a time. But by the time he entered into partnership, the firm's capital had once again reached £5,000.

From 1823 to 1828, Ann Alexander took two-thirds of the profits and her son one-third. For the next three years the two principals took half each. But the business was still precarious and 1825, a year of panic generally, saw Alexanders embarrassed by a heavy debt on account of Eveleigh and Co. of London.

In 1825 an important step was taken. According to the firm's ledger dated 1810, the agency business was forsaken and bill broking proper began. In the early days, a bill broker was an agent who, for a commission, secured for country bankers the discounting of their bills, but about 1825 bill brokers began to buy bills on their own account at a discount, to borrow money on their own account upon their own security at interest and to make their profit out of the margin between discount and interest. So Alexanders began to develop their bill business and the firm assumed increasing importance in the bill market thereafter, "for many years ranking in size and influence only after Gurney's."[2]

[1] George William Alexander (1802-1890), like so many philanthropists of his day, took a very active interest in the controversies over the slave trade. His *Letters on the Slave-Trade, Slavery and Emancipation*, were published in 1842 and were addressed to Friends on the Continent of Europe during a visit to Spain and Portugal and were in part a reply to objections made to the liberation of slaves in the Spanish colonies. A list of books given for the eight letters shows that he read very widely on the subject. An unpublished diary exists written by Catherine Alexander, second wife of George William Alexander, describing their journey with John and Maria Candler to the West Indies in 1849, and this contains some penetrating comments on the slave trade.

[2] See W. T. C. King, *History of the London Discount Market*, 1936, p. 119. King gives substantial reasons (pages 64-9) for the belief that no bill dealing in the technical sense was possible before about 1825. See also Paul Emden, *Quakers in Commerce*, 1939.

In 1831, John Brown, who had been in the business from the start and had helped to run it when George William Alexander was ill, became a partner. The firm was now styled A. and G. W. Alexander and Co. Ann Alexander now took three-eighths of the profits and later one-third until 1838 when she received a fixed income to the time of her death in 1861 (£1,000 per annum paid to her at the rate of 4 per cent.). In 1837, William Dolland Alexander, younger son of Ann Alexander, became a partner. In 1850, the firm moved to 40 Lombard Street. John Brown retired in 1855 (and died in 1856) and his place was taken by William Fowler.

By this time the business of bill broking was considerable. In the middle forties, as King shows in his *History*, a total of £11 millions was deposited with the firms of Overend, Gurney, Alexanders, Sandersons and Bruce, of which Alexanders was credited with £2 millions. By 1856 about £15½ millions was deposited with them, of which the total for Alexanders was £4 millions.

In 1864 John and Roger Cunliffe joined the Alexanders and the firm moved to 24 Lombard Street and in 1866 to No. 30. The firm was now styled Alexanders, Cunliffe and Co. From 1877, however, the firm became Alexanders and Co. On 16th February, 1877, George William Alexander and his sons Robert Henry Alexander and William Cleverly Alexander[1] made a statement from 30 Lombard Street in which they informed their friends "that the firm of Alexanders, Cunliffe and Co. will be dissolved at the end of March next. On and after the 29th of that month they will carry on business as Bill Discounters and Money Dealers under the firm of Alexanders and Co." They now moved to 9 Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, and in 1880 they moved back to 24 Lombard Street which became their permanent address. In 1881, H. D. Anderson joined the firm, and the following year James Bruce became a partner.

In 1891, Alexanders turned itself into a private limited company as Alexanders and Co. Ltd. George William Alexander had died in 1890. The first chairman of the new company was Robert Henry Alexander. There were now four Alexanders on the board—Robert Henry, William

[1] Robert Henry Alexander (1838-1901), eldest son of George William, had been a partner from 1858, as had William Cleverly Alexander, the second son (1840-1916).

Cleverly, Robert Ernest (eldest son of Robert Henry), William Geoffrey (elder son of William Cleverly); and George Cleverly (younger son of the same) joined them in 1906, and the only outside member was H. D. Anderson.

The capital in 1891 amounted to £1 million divided into 10,000 Preference shares of £10 each and 90,000 ordinary shares of £10 each. £500,000 was paid up. In that year, Alexanders was one of the three major companies which dominated the bill market—the other two were the National Discount Co. Ltd., and the Union Discount Co. of London Ltd. Between them, they mustered the grand total of £23½ millions deposits and Alexanders accounted for over £7 millions of that total.[1]

In 1910 an offer of shares was made to the public of 66,667 £5 shares at £8 10s. a share, but this was withdrawn because the public did not apply. In 1911, Alexanders became a public limited company with Frank Newcomb, who had joined the firm in 1909, as the first manager. Four Alexanders remained in the firm—William Cleverly, Robert Ernest, George Cleverly and Philip Pembroke (youngest son of Robert Henry). In 1918 the firm's title was changed to Alexanders Discount Co. Ltd.

Although Alexanders remained on the Board of Directors until after 1950, the firm ceased to be a family firm in effect when it became a public company in 1911. Thus, its record as a family concern must be judged for the hundred years from 1810 to 1911 and clearly the rise and persistence of the business is remarkable. Its capital at its origin was just under £5,000 and the volume of business about £27,000. By 1891 when it became a private limited company, its capital totalled £500,000 and the level of loans and deposits amounted to £7.3 millions. By 1910, the volume of loans and deposits was £8.5 millions. We have noted the difficulties which the company faced in its early years and later the firm managed to survive the panic of the Gurney crisis in 1866 not only through its inherent strength, but from the confidence shown in it by others[2] (a certificate and letter of 1866 still possessed by the firm notes that £100,000 Consols were offered at that

[1] See King, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-3, and Appendix No. IV, pp. 330-1.

[2] Readers of *Vanity Fair* will recall that Joseph Sedley declared that Alexanders would cash his bill down on the counter, which illustrates the popularity of the firm.

time on deposit[1]) and there were the other periods of stress when it is clear that the reputation of the company was duly appreciated. Credit must be paid to the early Alexanders who struggled to keep the firm going and the London Discount Market owes much to William and Ann Alexander and their eldest son, George William. The firm not only contributed directly to the growth of the bill market but also rendered service indirectly to economic progress, receiving money on safe deposit from country banks and taking shares in the early railways, for instance, the London and Brighton, London and Croydon, the East Lancashire Railway Co., the Birmingham and Gloucester, the Midland Railway, and the Great Western Railway. Frank Newcomb writing in 1947 commented that Alexanders were known as the most conservative house in the City and clearly the firm survived through a combination of prudent purchasing and cautious lending.

RIDER

It may be of interest to add that William Cleverly Alexander was an influential and discerning patron of the arts. Roger Fry said of him: "His taste seemed to be a special and peculiar gift like that of second sight." He was one of the first in England to appreciate Whistler and he intended to have all his daughters painted by him. In fact, however, only one was finished. This portrait of Cicely Alexander (afterwards Mrs. Bernard Spring Rice) was formerly in the Tate Gallery but is now in the National Gallery. A forthcoming article in the *Quarterly Review* by Reginald Colby on Whistler will describe, *inter alia*, how the picture was painted. It was to have been shown at the Whistler Exhibition in New York this autumn, but the Trustees of the National Gallery have now decided that they cannot lend it. The Misses Alexander are lending *Nocturne Blue and Green —the Thames at Chelsea* which W. C. Alexander bought from Whistler in 1873 (at about the same time that the portrait of Cicely Alexander was painted).

After the death of their father in 1916, his daughters presented much of his varied collection of Japanese and Chinese art to the Victoria and Albert Museum. But Aubrey House, the home of the Alexanders since 1873, still contains

[1] See Note I at close of the article.

interesting china and furniture and also pictures by other famous artists including Franz Hals, Tiepolo and Hogarth.

It is of interest to note that Jean Ingelow was a family friend and one of the daughters was her godchild and named after her.

It is not known precisely when the long connection with the Society of Friends was broken, but some time after his marriage, W. C. Alexander and his wife joined the Church of England.

MURIEL F. LLOYD PRICHARD

Note I

The offer of £100,000 Consols was made in 1866 by Lewis Loyd who says in his letter that he was pleased to show his entire confidence in the firm of Alexanders and also his sense of the very friendly and valuable assistance which Alexanders had rendered to him and his partners on a recent occasion. He added: "That you should not have had occasion to make use of the stock does not surprise me, but I hope that tho' not required for active use, the possession of it may have added in some slight degree to the feeling of security in a time of danger which your own prudent management had enabled you to feel and justified you in entertaining."

Loyd's comments on the Gurney business are in stern contrast. "I can scarcely bring myself to believe in the truth of the statement of O.G. and Co. It is a melancholy spectacle of the consequences of greediness of gain and exhibits an extent of mismanagement which reflects disgrace in some degree over London as a commercial community. The 'consolidated' affair is only intelligible on the supposition that all parties concerned were affected with sudden madness."

Note II

I am indebted for information on the Alexander family to Miss Rachel F. Alexander, Aubrey House, Campden Hill, W.8, and to the Directors and Managers of Alexanders Discount Company Ltd., for allowing me to see their early records; to the Library Staff of Friends House Library for use of their minute books, etc.

A Bibliographical Note on Hannah Kilham's Linguistic Work

IN the early decades of the 19th century, Hannah Kilham,[1] a widow and a schoolteacher, became interested in problems of education, especially religious education, first in England and later in West Africa. For English schools she produced a series of books on spelling, English grammar and religious instruction: and she followed these up with a number of works intended for schools in Africa. The latter are the subject of this note.

Her writings for African schools were intended for pupils whose mother-tongue was other than English, and they therefore concerned themselves, to a greater or less extent, with various African vernaculars. Since at this date these were largely unstudied, Hannah Kilham's books were pioneer efforts in African linguistics.

Her first linguistic work, however, dealt with a language, not of Africa, but of the American continent.

1818 A short vocabulary in the language of the Senecan nation, and in English. [Anon.] London: Printed by W. & S. Graves. Pp. 35.

Apparently Hannah Kilham had become interested in missions in America not only to the population of African slaves but also to the Red Indians. The booklet noted above contained a reference to another work "Phrases and Religious lessons in the language of the Senecan nation," which was to follow; but it does not appear to have been issued.

In 1819, Hannah Kilham contacted two West African sailors and began to learn the main languages of Senegal, Wolof or Jolof, and Mandingo.

1820 Ta-re wa-loof. Ta-re boo Juk-à. First lessons in Jaloof. [Anon.] Tottenham: Printed by George Stockwell Coventry. Pp. 24.

1823 African lessons. Wolof and English. In three parts. [Anon.] Part First. Easy lessons, and narratives for schools. London: Printed for a Committee of Friends for Promoting African Instruction, by William Phillips. Pp. xi, v,

[1] Hannah Kilham, *née* Spurr (1774-1832); *Dictionary of National Biography;* Joseph Smith *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, ii, 58-61.

55—Part Second. Examples in grammar, family advices, short vocabulary. [Same imprint] pp. 64.
—Part Third. Selections from the Holy Scriptures. [Same imprint] pp. 53, [1].

1827 African Lessons, Mandingo and English. Elementary sounds and general spelling lessons: a short vocabulary: examples on the nine parts of speech and a few scripture sentences. [Anon.] London: for the Committee of the Language Institution.

The 1823 work contains the following explanation of Hannah Kilham's aims.

> The following elementary Lessons were attempted from an apprehension that the most certain means of promoting a friendly and beneficial intercourse with the natives of the African continent, would be to reduce their native languages to writing, to prepare in them lessons of elementary instruction for the use of Native Schools, and to form by degrees translations into these languages from the Holy Scriptures. . . .
>
> Should it be considered by some that the acquisition of English might be a greater advantage to the natives of Africa than the cultivation of their own various languages, it may be answered, that even this object will doubtless be best effected by forming elementary books in the African dialects, which may serve the natives as a key for the acquisition of English.

The 1823 work also stated—"a vocabulary and some remarks on the grammar of the Wolof language are in manuscript, which are proposed to be printed." This latter work never appeared.

An account of, and tribute to, Hannah Kilham's work in Jolof appeared in J. Dard, *Dictionnaire Français-Wolof* . . ., 1825, p. xiii. Hannah Kilham's remaining works were produced for schools in Sierra Leone.

1827 African school tracts. 1st, General spelling lessons. 2d, Outline for early translation. 3d, Lessons for children, in three parts. 4th, First lessons in numbers. 5th, Definitions of the nine parts of speech. 6th, Selections from the Holy Scriptures, for translation. [Anon.] London: Printed for a Committee of the Society of Friends, for Promoting African Instruction; by P. White. Pp. viii, 8, 24, 60, 12, 16, [i], 20, [2].

Each part has individual pagination.
The following parts have individual title-pages: "Outline for early translation," "The nine kinds of words," "Selections from the Holy Scriptures, for translation."

1828 Specimens of African languages, spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone. [Anon.] London: Printed for a Committee of the Society of Friends, for Promoting African Instruction, by P. White. Pp. xi, 47, [1]; 1 plate.

All Hannah Kilham's linguistic writings were published in very limited editions and few copies have survived. As early as 1845, a French scholar referred to—"les Specimens de mistress Hannah Kilham, imprimés à Sierra-Leone [this was incorrect] et devenus très-rares aujourd'hui" (*Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique de Paris*, II, 1845, II, p. 49). The British Museum appears to have no copy of several of these works, including the African School Tracts.

The *Tracts* cited above are those bound in a single volume at Friends House Library. As the tracts are paginated individually, it is not certain that the volume is complete. The Introduction states:

> The following School Tracts are prepared to succeed the Elementary Lessons.
>
> 1st, Little Vocabularies in the African Languages . . . Three of these little sketches are prepared for the press, and one in addition has been already printed.
>
> 2d, Tables of Leading Words and Sentences for early Translation.

The second item is clearly the Outline for easy translation cited above, but no vocabularies in African languages appear in the volume examined. A French scholar has indicated that he found several vocabularies in a work which he describes simply as Kilham 1827; while a German scholar similarly refers to "Elementary Sounds, 1827" (A. Meillet & M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde*, p. 526, 547; *Journal of the African Society*, xi, (1911-1912), 219).

Since all the vocabularies referred to are found in the 1828 *Specimens*, it is possible that the scholars have erred. But on the other hand, it may be that a tract, containing vocabularies, is missing from the volume examined. In any case, the vocabularies themselves have been seen. At Friends House Library can be found 30 sheets of lessons in African languages—each sheet on one language, and mainly a short vocabulary. Possibly these sheets were bound together (with a title-page) to form a pamphlet, though each sheet is printed as a separate handbill.

No date appears on the sheets, but the same vocabularies, differently arranged and with a handful of variations in the list of words, are to be found in the 1828 *Specimens*. Perhaps then these sheets were the basis for the 1828 *Specimens:* and they may well have been issued individually, and perhaps as a set, in 1827.

Between 1828 and 1832, when she died, Hannah Kilham prepared some "Picture Lessons" in West African languages. No copy of these has been found, and probably they were never printed (S. Biller, *Memoir of Hannah Kilham* (1837) p. 441).

Hannah Kilham's linguistic work, though crude by modern standards, was a worthy pioneering effort in an untracked field, and has been commended as such by a modern student of African languages (A. Werner: "English Contributions to the Study of African Languages" in *Journal of the African Society*, xxix (1930), 117). Of the 30 vocabularies of 1827-1828, at least a dozen represented languages which had not previously appeared in print. Hannah Kilham's emphasis on the value of vernacular instruction in African education was well-nigh unique in her own day, but has been fully justified by progressive experience.

P. E. H. HAIR

Recent Publications

Brief Guide to the contents of the East Riding County Record Office, County Hall, Beverley. January, 1960.

Included are the following:

DDQR. Records of the Society of Friends—deposited by Hull Preparative Meeting. Detailed calendar available.

Elloughton (afterwards *Cave*) *Monthly Meeting*: minutes 1669-1783. Sufferings 1665-1775. Epistles 1657-1760. Certificates and disownment 1721-1784.

Kelk (afterwards *Bridlington*) *Monthly Meeting*: minutes 1669-1773. Sufferings 1652-1752. Epistles 1690-1772. Disownments 1669-1773.

Owstwick (*Holderness*) *Monthly Meeting:* minutes 1669-1788. Sufferings 1655-1792. Epistles 1675-1788. Disownments 1669-1787.

Bridlington Preparative Meeting: Women's minutes 1735-1791.

Owstwick Preparative Meeting: Women's minutes 1706-1768.

Welwick Preparative Meeting: Women's minutes 1702-1792. Epistles 1702-1790.

Of the 725 men and women whose lives are recorded in the latest volume (O.U.P., 1959, 105s.) of the *Dictionary of National Biography* —who died, that is to say, between 1941 and 1950 inclusive—five are stated to have been Friends: Sir Joseph Barcroft (1872-1947), physiologist; Sir Arthur Eddington (1882-1944), mathematician and astrophysicist; J. Rendel Harris (1852-1941), biblical scholar, archaeologist and orientalist; Sir George Newman (1870-1948),

pioneer in public and child health; and Joseph Albert Pease, first Baron Gainford (1860-1943), politician and man of business. "The Quaker outlook," we are told, "influenced" Arthur Eddington's "views on many questions"; George Newman was "active in the Quaker interests"; and "Jack Pease, as he was affectionately known to his friends", "was modest and fair-minded, adhering to his Quaker principles." Joseph Barcroft, on the other hand, was involved in the physiology of gas-warfare, and, after "difficulty in reconciling the war with his Quaker faith," ceased to be a Friend. These four were all birthright Friends. Arthur Eddington was the son of the "head-master of the Friends' School in Kendal," Joseph Barcroft and George Newman were educated at Bootham School, York, and J. A. Pease had been to "Tottenham Grove House, a Quakers' school." Rendel Harris, the account of whom is written by H. G. Wood, had been a Congregationalist and did not join Friends till his twenty-ninth year.

Eight other subjects are stated to have been of Quaker stock. Stanley Baldwin, first Earl Baldwin of Bewdley (1867-1947), Prime Minister, had "Quaker missionaries to the American colonies" among his ancestors. Through his mother, Sophia Elizabeth Ransome, Sir Granville Bantock (1868-1946), composer, was descended from "a family of East Anglian Quakers." Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), poet, art-historian and critic, "was of Quaker stock on both sides" of his family. Basil Harwood (1859-1949), musician and composer, was also "born of Quaker stock": "his strict Quaker upbringing probably accounts for a certain austerity in his music." Edward Johnston (1872-1944), calligrapher and designer of lettering, was descended from the Gurneys of Earlham. The family of George Ambrose Lloyd, first Baron Lloyd (1879-1941), statesman, "was of Welsh origin, but early conversion to the tenets of the Society of Friends had led them to sell their land in Wales and to move to Birmingham where the family became famous in commerce and industry." The family of Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith (1864-1945), civil servant and social investigator, likewise "had been Quakers for many generations" on both sides. Logan Pearsall Smith (1865-1946), writer, who, once more, "was born of Quaker stock", was educated at "the Quaker Penn Charter School" in Philadelphia and at Haverford College, and "retained a large residue of Quaker virtue" as well as inheriting "a mild form of manic depression".

Subjects whose Quaker ancestry is left unrecorded but may be ascertained on references to lives of members of their families in earlier volumes include Sir Edmund Trelawny Backhouse, second Baronet (1873-1944), historian and authority on China, who became a Roman Catholic; and the two cousins, both social reformers, Dame Rosalind Paget (1855-1948), the account of whom is written by Edith M. Pye, and Eleanor Rathbone (1872-1946). John Edward Ellis, "member of a well-known Quaker family and a former Liberal junior minister" finds mention as the father of Marion Parmoor, second wife to Charles Alfred Cripps, first Baron Parmoor (1852-1941), lawyer and politician.

G.F.N.

A. R. Barclay MSS

Extracts. Continued from vol. xlix, p. 118

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.

* * *

CXLV is a letter from Ralph Fretwell of Barbados which poses a dating problem not yet resolved; but with the assistance of Professor Henry J. Cadbury we are able to point to various possibilities.

At first sight the opening paragraph gives an unexceptionable clue in the mention of "ye Six weeks meeting 8 dayes since;" unfortunately, the minutes of Barbados Six Weeks Meeting do not survive.

The mention of Pennsylvania leads one to suppose a date in the 1680s, up to 1686, sometime before Fretwell's death (reported in a letter from Roger Longworth, 14.xii.1686 [February 1687]; see *Cambridge Journal,* ii, 430). The way in which William Penn is mentioned, seems to place him in England at this time—that is, before the middle of 1682, or (more likely) after the autumn of 1684.

Philadelphia records have a certificate for Ralph Fretwell from Barbados, dated 11.xii.1683 [Feb. 1684] (A. C. Myers, *Quaker arrivals at Philadelphia,* 1902, p. 2), and although there is no certificate to date Fretwell's return home, this may be dated approximately from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting minutes, 4.iii.1685, when he laid before the meeting his intention "of going out of this province"(*Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania,* i.282).

Other matters dealt with in the letter do not provide information at present helpful in settling the date, which, for the moment, is left with the suggestion: "probably 1685 or 1686."

CXLV

RALPH FRETWELL to GEORGE FOX

G.F.

Most deare & honnoured Friend, the inclosed will shew as to Friends in this place & ye Government agreed for us to give at Qrterly meeting and communicated to ye Six weeks meeting 8 dayes since.

H. Currer[1] hath somthing for Bermudos which hee intends shortly to visit. As for Carrolina in ye south partes, Johnathan

[1] Henry Currer signed the Barbados letter to Thomas Curtis and Arthur Ismead, 20.ix.1678 [Friends House. Portfolio 23.156.]

Fitts having layd downe ye bodie, and Ed. Mayo is gon to live about Roanoke his wiffe being dead, which wee understand by your letter and not from himself or Friends, soe yt wee are at a stand how to communicate testimonies there for servis. But hope yt some Friends travilling will see into things there and give thee an accompt that wee may bee advissed how to mannage yt affaire. Henry intends to write unto thee beffore he goes.

I wrote unto thee at my coming from Pensilvania, and inclossed severall papers, and also to Wm Pen, but have not heard from either since.[1] The[y] were delivered in charg to Jos: Lovet a Friend yt somtyme lived in or nere Waltham Abby. Hee went in Tho. Taylors vessell for Bristoll. I also wrote from hence when wee sent yr adresse and to Jno. Rous (there was one scripture omitted intended to bee placed in ye margent at large).

We here off a Friend in ye Ministrie coming from Ierland & a schoolmaister. I have had three letters from Ch[hristopher] Taylor since I came backe, one of ym from Rooad Iland with other Friends full of love in ye truth for mee and in remembrance of mee, Blessed be ye Lord for all his mersies and loving kindnesse.

With due respects to thee, Margett & every branch of your famillie, I rest

Ra. Fretwell

CXLVI-CXLVIII are three West Country letters. In the first, James Fletcher of Knowsley gives George Fox an account of a ministerial tour in the west of England in the unsettled autumn of 1687. The toleration of James II had brought persecution to an end, and James Fletcher found "an openness amongst the people" towards Friends, and Friends "in a good peace amongst themselves". Cornwall was the exception—little addition to report to the small meeting at Launceston.

CXLVII is a letter from Adam Gouldney of Chippenham to George Fox, telling of the disturbances of meetings by members of the Wilkinson-Story party in Wiltshire in 1682.

In CXLVIII Thomas Robertson gives an account of his arrest at Bristol meeting, 27 January 1682, his refusal of the oath of allegiance and committal to prison. This is touched on in the contemporary pamphlet, *The distressed Case of the People called Quakers in the City of Bristol*, 1682. Robertson wrote to Sarah Meade, 29th September, 1682, from Newgate, Bristol (ARB. CXII).

[1] Possibly the letter dated 12.xi.1681 to William Penn [Friends House. Portfolio 2.4] and the following letter to George Fox [Portfolio 2.5].

CXLVI

JAMES FLETCHER[1] to GEORGE FOX. Bristoll, 19th 8 m. 1687

Dear G.F.

My very dear love in the lord Jesus is very dearely remembered unto thee, and in the same doe I most dearly greet and salute thee with all the faithfull in Christ, in whom there is life and salvation & peace and asuerants [assurance] for ever, in which the faithfull in all ages ware and are presarved out of the evill of ye world, & could reach one unto another. & tho abscant in body yett present in the spirit: behoulding the Lords goodnes to be renewed every day, in which I desire the lord to keep my poore soul with thine and all the faithfull for ever, for indeed my love is more unto thee then I can exprese, & ever was, and I hope will be for ever to the end, dear G.F.

This is to lett thee know that I am well, and as to my journey & the Truth afares where I have been. I went through Hamshire. Things are prity well. & I went thorough dosettshire & had good service; Truth doth spread there & frends are in a good peace amongst themselves, & there is mettings in fresh places. I went through deū [Devon] where there an openes amongst the people & things are [*torn*] iate amongst frends, but little in exon [Exeter] still but at the quarterly metting the[y] have agreeded to take a house for a metting. And I went thorough Cornell. Things are indiferant well; in this open tyme people comes in, but there is but little mt at Lanson [Launceston] and little addison. Richard Hoskin[2] I left at the lands end amongst his relasions. I came throw Somersettshire, where there is great openes and great mettings. There is Elias Osborn is a good insterment in that contery who came with mee to this city last 6 day, but went away yesterday. Tho: Whitehed was hear yesterday, but is goene away this morning into Wales. James Dickson [Dickinson] is to be at Chew [Magna] tomorow, who is allso for Wales. Things are indiferant quiat heare. I think of staying first day over, & then I know nothing at this tyme but to goe towards Woster [Worcester]. This is the most

[1] For James Fletcher of Knowsley see *First Publishers of Truth*. A letter from him to Ralph Fretwell (copy) 1676, is in Friends House [Portfolio 2.3].

[2] For Richard Hoskins of Barbados and Philadelphia see *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxviii (1855), p. 6.

that I have to aquaint thee with, but rest thy very loveing Frend in my measure James Fletcher

Many did inquire for thee, to whom I gave the rememberance of thy loveing to g w & Alex. Parkr. to B. A. & J. Elson & wife my love to will. M[eade] & his dear wife & to honest Lenard fell if there. Rich. Snade [Snead] & his wife dear love is to thee

[address] For
Benjamin Anterbus
at plow and harow
in Cheap side to give
To G.F. with Care
London.

[endorsed] For R. Richardson
to Read in ye 2d dayes
Meeting.
read 24. 8 mo. 87
Bristol
From Ja. Fletcher

CXLVII

ADAM GOULDNEY to GEORGE FOX. Chippenham, 22 [ ] 1682.

Deare G.F.

Often ye remembrance of my dear love with my wifes & mothers & sisters is dearly to thee and all good friends yt knows us. These are to lett thee understand: That yesterday being ye 21st of this instant, there came into our Meeting, a younge man and brought a booke of Wm Rogers in with him and read a great part of it. It was promoted & ordered to be read by Wm Jones Sen. & Wm Dyer Senr: It was ye 7th part of yt which is called ye Apostate & Innovater.[1] It was a great greif to honest friends to have it, soo we beard our testimoney against it, and desired ye abovesaid promoter to put a stopt to it, for I tould them the friends concerned was not there: but it was never ye near, they would goe on in their worke of mischeife. I told them yt ye booke had a tendancy to bring friends into sufferings, there being some of ye people of the world there, and I did acquainte them that it

[1] William Rogers: *The Seventh Part of the Christian Quaker*, 1682.

was never friends practice to read such great contentious books in meetings. They had never any example from us soe to doe, and I tould them it was not friends practice to read a booke at ye begining of a Meeting and soe hold on reading almost to ye end. The reader heave not been at our meeting, not above 3 or 4 times I belive this 12 months; I suppose he scarsely ownes himself by ye name of a Quaker. The abovesaid promoters said they did own ye booke, and would stand by it. Wm Dyer said it was a hue and cry; its sport for him, soe I told him; but I told them ye Lord would clear ye innocent in his time. Oh ye wicked things yt they heave writ against thee dear G.F. They read the friends names in ye book, but I heave forgotten all, but thee art ye cheifest.

I wished with my whole hart yt friends names had been to yt booke which is called ye Accuser of our bretherne,[1] if antient friends names had been to it, as G. Whitheads, Elexander Parkers, & Wm Gibsons & Wm Penns he being a populor man, it had been I believe a meanes to heave weiged down this Spirit. I am for ye hands of friends & harts against this Spirit, for it is a Spirit yt tends to all manner of loosness, and ye Lords name is prophaned by them amongst proffessors & prophane. And I know not why friend[s] should be afraide of their names. They are Gods enemies & his peoples enemies & ye worst they ever met with, I believe, since they made a proffession of ye Truth. I would to God all was vallient against them. Our exercise have been sore with this opposeing Spirit, & is: but blessed be ye Lord he gives us patience to indure it. It is but one meeting at Chippenham yt is soe much disturb with them. Friends be pretty clear of yt Spirit in most meetings in our county: onely there is one standing sepperate Meeting which I supose thee knowst of yt is at Sutton & soe they moves it from please to please [place to place]. But friends are clear of them. I understand there is but few follows them; they have very small meetings. Yt meeting was cheifly sett up by N. Coleman[2] & Jno Jenings.[3] Gods power is over them all, & I doe not question but

[1] George Whitehead: *The Accuser of our brethren cast down*, 1681.

[2] Nathaniel Coleman of Sutton Benger, Wilts. (Cambridge *Journal.*) Nathaniel Coleman of Hullavington, married (i) 17.iii.1660, Ann Atkins of Sutton Benger (she died 1669); (ii) 25.iv.1672, Katherine Blanford of Marten.

[3] John Jenings of Sutton Benger. Friends registers record five of his children (John, Elizabeth, Thomas, Ann and Joseph) born between 1670 and 1677.

yt in time this spirit will be quite woren out. Soe haveing noe more, I rest thy loveing & effectionate Friend

Adam Gouldney[1]

[*at the side*] Francis Brown one of their preachers, was at ye meeting & never preacht nor prayd, neither did he indeavor to put a stop to ye reading of ye wicked ungodly booke, but harked to it very dilligently, & I belive taken with it [*torn*] but which may say every berth will love its owne: he is a [*torn*] man & a gross lyer.

[address] To
George Fox
[endorsed by G.F.] Adam govden of/Chipnam
in wiltsher to/g F. 1682

CXLVIII

THOMAS ROBERTSON. *Bristol*, 1682.

Upon ye 27th of ye 11 month 1681 I was att our freinds meeting att Bristol amongst ye peaceable people of God called Quakers, & there speaking words of comfort & consolation to Gods people yt faithfully suffers for his name & truth. & after a little time thatt I began to speake some of worlds people came near unto ye place where they might hear. I then spoke to them tenderly in ye word of Life, that they might come to hear him whom Moses spoke of, who said that they that would not hear him whom God would raise up of ye [yr?] owne people should be cutt of from amongst ye people. Therefore I exorted all to hear him that they might live by him, & feed on him for he is ye true bread yt comes downe from God out of heaven, with severall good exortations to beleive in his Light which leads out of death and darkness to God from whence it comes.

So two men came & one very much in hast with his hand lifted up, tooke me by ye arme and said I must goe with him, & I said I desire to speak a little more, & you may hear and bear wittness against me if I speak not ye truth, but he would not, but put mee and another friend, (viz.) Wm. Prigg, into a house for sometime till he he had taken ye names of ye rest of our friends, and then they tooke us out of yt house,

[1] Adam Gouldney, son of Adam, of Chippenham, married, 24.ix.1674, Mary Knight of Bromham (she died, a minister, 13.iii.1716). Adam Gouldney died 24.iv.1684.

& had us to Newgate. & thence att night wee were had before Alderman Oliffe[1] and some other magistrats or officers of ye city. And one John Hellyer (when they had informed him yt I did preach att ye meeting) asked mee by what authority I came to preach there there, I answered by ye authority of Jesus Christ and I came to bear wittness to ye truth according as I had received of ye spirit. And some said yt was canting. And I said, except ye same Spirit be in yout [you] yt raised up Jesus Christ from ye dead, ye are none of his. And one said, wee tooke up to high a degree upon us for priests now are higher then they were under ye law. And I answered yt ye disciples & ministers of Christ were to be meek and lowly, & as ye apostle said servants to all for Christ sake.[2] Ay but, saith he, but you intrude your selves, And Uzza[3] touched ye Arke and he was smitten yt he died; and I answered yt ye Ark was set on a new cart & carried by two milch kind which lowed as they went, & yt ye Arke shaked, but our heavenly Arke Christ Jesus yt is on his way never shakes & need no fleshly Arm to support him.

And I said, besides this I have found some thing of an outward concern to lay before you also, And I desire you to hear mee patiently & yt is I was informed by report yt I mett with yt ye ship yt my son was in was took to Argier, and seeing ye bishop did not do his office (as I fear) for a bishop is an overseer, but he not releving them of Bristoll yt are in captivity, it was a concern in my mind, having a fatherly respeck to see after him. And so they read me ye Oxford Act,[4] & said yt I must be kept in prison six monthes unless I would pay 40*li* for preaching. And I said it was an unreasonable request to demand 40*li* of me for preaching when some gitt so many forty pounds for preaching. & they said you have not ye knack of it. And ye Alderman Oliffe said we have nothing but trouble with you for our parts, and I said Jerusaleme is a burthensome stone,[5] and so they gave me mind to drink and one said he beleived I was an honest man, and being but one Justice they sent for another, but none came, so they could not comitt me by one Justice, but told

[1] Ralph Oliffe, landlord of the Three Tuns, Bristol; sheriff 1664-5; mayor 1674-5.
[2] An echo of I Cor. ix, 19.
[3] 2 Sam. vi, 3ff. 1 Chron. xiii, 7ff.
[4] Five mile Act, 17 Car. II, cap. 2.
[5] Zech. xii, 3.

ye Goaler yt he must have us away, & we must be brought to Tolsey ye next day, which was done, & I only brough to ye Tolsey before ye Mayor[1] & Bishop[2] and other Magistrates, where as (I suppose) by reason of ye bishop, who seemed to be very angery & so ye first mittimus was laid by and ye bishop said I am glad I have mett with yo here, I will make you fast enough & he would take a course with me, and yt he would have me whipt. And I said I value not a pin ye worst yt thee canst doe. An I said yt a Bishop must not be soon Angry, & he must be no striker, and so they proffered me ye oath & I must swear, and I tould them I could not swear for conscience sake and Christ Jesus forbids swearing and ye Apostle James saith above all things swear not &c. And ye martyrs of Xt refused to swear; and then they asked me from whence I came & who came with me & I answered yt I came alone out of Westmoreland, and yt I lived in the parish of Kendall when I was in ye contrey. Then they said you would be a bishop. I said he yt desires ye office of a bishop desires a good work. And so I desired to be heard, for I had something to say. & then I spoke as I spoke ye night before, yt I came to bear wittness to ye truth, & ye bishop did not take care of ye people of Bristoll yt are in Argier as an overseer should, that so if it were possible my son might be redeemed if he were in captivity. & now I am like for so doing to go into a hold, yt if I were in Argier might be sooner redeemed then I am like to be here, & so you make your City an Argier. And they asked me whose Apprentice my son was. And I said he was Charles Halfords[3] 7 years & going into 8 his factor and others.

Upon the 27th of the 11th month 1681 I was at[4]

And to ye kings costome office he hath brough severall years above a 1,000*li* a year for goods yt have gone through his hands.

And ye Bishop and ye Mayor asked me questions what age I was, and when I tooke ye sacrement and some asked me when I tooke ye sacrement of ye eucarist. I said I have not heard such words used in England but as they were brought out of France and Spain, and then they said I was

[1] Sir Thomas Earle.
[2] William Gulston.
[3] Charles Harford (1631-1709); see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xliii, 77, note 3 (1951).
[4] At the head of the second folio; repeats the opening words of the MS.

a Jesuite, & tooke ye cap of[f] my head to see if I was not shaven and one said he had seen me beyond ye seas and I told him I was never beyond ye sea. So the Bishop asked whether I had taken ye sacrement for 20 or 30 years, and I said when I was young I took ye sacrament as you call it, but not of late, for ye word sacrament is not in ye Scriptures, and I am a true Christian protestant and I asked the Bishop if he had gone to Church all this 30 yeeres past, and he said yes & then I said yt Bishop had turned his coat, and ye people laughed, and ye people laughed and he satt downe as I think. & after they had cryed sylence ye Bishop stood up againe & said do you not think yt there was an episcoparian Church in Olivers dayes, and I said if there was such a Church they never told us of it, nor sent us neither epistle nor gospell, but left us to the devourers and presbiters & ye like. Then yt Sherife said I was an honest fellow, & I asked ye Bishop why he did not come to preach to us, & some said you would not have him preach to you, & I said we would have him come & preach to us, & if wee like his preaching better then we do our owne, wee will receive it, but he said he would have me whipt, & he would keep me fast enough. & I said if I perished in prison my blood should ly at his doore, & he said that it should not, & yet he hath signed my mittimus. And I said that you can suffer ballad singers in your streets to gather great companyes togeather, but if we meet togeather to wait upon ye lord & exort people to live in his feare, wee must bee spoyled & badly used. And ye mayor said I should see the whipt, & I told him they should first be spoaken to & informed. & he asked me where I was last Sunday as hee caled it, & I said Kensham.[1] & he asked me other questions, as about preaching or such like, & I said if any man had anything against me, I was there to make my answer & I need not accuse myselfe. & the major said yt I answered well, and so they had me away & signed the mittimus with ye seales & the Bishop one of them.

Thomas Robertson.

[endorsed by G.F.] t. robson from
bristo prison to
gF 12 mo 1681
also R Richardson

[1] Kenysham, Somerset.

Notes and Queries

Priest Boyes of Goathland

"One Preist Boyes whoe had beene a preacher in Yorksheere for money: about this time came to bee convinct & to receive ye everlastinge gospell; whoe forsooke his tyth & hire: & preacht freely" (Cambridge *Journal*, ii, 321).

It seems likely that this is William Boyes, curate in charge of Goathland, eight miles north of Pickering in the North Yorkshire moors. William Boyes, a non-graduate, was ordained deacon in 1624 in the diocese of Llandaff, and had been at Goathland at least since 1627, when he was prosecuted in the High Commission court at York (*The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642*, by R. A. Marchant, 1960, p. 231 etc., gives further information).

George Fox visited the district in 1651 (*Journal*, ed. J. L. Nickalls, pp. 88-9) and spoke in "this old priest's steeplehouse in the moors." "The steeplehouse was exceeding much painted, and I told him and the people that the painted beast had a painted house." The editor (p. 89, note 1) suggests that the painted steeplehouse was "probably Pickering" (Norman Penney in the Cambridge *Journal* had suggested Kirbymoorside).

Fox had been at Pickering a little before this, and the text suggests that it was not in that town where the "old priest" had his painted steeplehouse, but rather some distance off. Kirbymoorside does not quite fit the description either, because directly after leaving the steeplehouse they passed away to one Burdett's house at Egton Bridge in Eskdale, about four miles north of Goathland, but more than a dozen from Pickering or Kirbymoorside.

As well as Goathland, it is possible that William Boyes had also the charge of Egton, but in each place the buildings that existed in 1651 have been demolished and new churches built. It is quite possible that one or both of the old buildings may have been painted, but no records are known. J. C. Atkinson's *History of Cleveland* (p. 196) notices some traces of fresco-painting in Egton church.

It seems likely that the note on p. 89 of John Nickalls' edition of George Fox's *Journal* should read "Probably Goathland," although it is true that Pickering is now the only church in the district where much painting still exists.

There is no record of William Boyes in Yorkshire Friends' registers.

Gerrard Winstanley

It will be of interest to readers of Richard T. Vann's article, "From Radicalism to Quakerism: Gerrard Winstanley and Friends" (*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1959, pp. 41-6) to know that a little further information regarding Winstanley's later life can be found in Laurence Claxton's *The Lost Sheep Found, or the Prodigal Returned to his Father's House*, 1660 [Wing C.4580]. Claxton, whose Ranter and Muggletonian tendencies gave

his work a considerable bias, made the following remarks, which are quoted at length because they contain obscurities. In this autobiographical tract Claxton took some trouble to describe the many moral outrages and petty crimes he performed as a Ranter:

"for I apprehended there was no "such thing as theft, cheat or a "lie, but as man made it so: for if "the creature had brought this "world into no propriety, as "*Mine* and *Thine*, there had "been no such title as Theft, "cheat, or a lie; for the preven- "tion hereof *Everard* and *Gerrard* "*Winstanley* did dig up the "Commons, that so all might "have to live of themselves, then "there had been no need of "defrauding, but unity one with "another, not then knowing this "was the devils kingdom, and "Reason lord thereof, and that "Reason was naturally enclined "to love it self above any other, "and to gather to it self what "riches and honor it could, "that so it might bear sway over "its fellow creature; for I made "it appear to *Gerrard Winstanley* "there was a self-love and vain- "glory nursed in his heart, that if "possible, by digging to have "gained people to him, by which "his name might become great "among the poor Commonality "of the Nation, as afterwards "in him appeared a most shame- "ful retreat from *Georges-Hill*,[1] "with a spirit of pretended "universality, to become a real "Tithe-gatherer of propriety[Qy. "property]; so what by these "things in others, and the experi- "ence of my own heart, I saw "that all that men spoke or "acted, was a lye, and therefore "my thought was, I had as good "cheat for something among "them, and that so I might live "in prosperity with them, and "not come under the lash of the "Law" (p. 27).

If this information is accurate it gives support to Richard Vann's argument that Winstanley became affluent as a merchant. While it would have been impossible for him to have been both an actual tithe-gatherer and a Friend, the term undoubtedly has a figurative meaning, that is, it was used ironically as a means of exposing false principles. Claxton was certainly capable of using such language in malice; it can be seen from his admissions about himself that he was not very scrupulous and could easily have been misguided about the motives of the Christian communist turned corn chandler. Apart from these difficulties, this passage provides added evidence of Winstanley's later conservatism, and helps to disprove that he died shortly after 1652, as has sometimes been thought.

ANDREW BRINK.

[1] The site cultivated by the Diggers in Surrey.

WILLIAM PENN

Thomas Ken, Bishop and Non-Juror, by Hugh A. L. Rice (London, S.P.C.K., 1958) includes two references to William Penn, both referring to activities in 1687, and particularly James II's progress through the counties during that year. James II's progress with a large entourage took place "including in its ranks an oddly assorted pair—Father Petre and the Quaker William Penn." At Bath the King touched for the "King's evil" at the Abbey.

At Chester James went to hear a sermon by Penn, and the author says: "It would be interesting to discover what these two men [Penn and James], holding such widely opposed beliefs, can possibly have held in common—beyond an antipathy towards the Church of England."

William Sewel, Grammarian

William Sewel's Anglo-Dutch Dictionaries and Guides are listed and bibliographically described in an article by G. Scheurweghs of Louvain entitled "English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands before 1800," in vol. 41, no. 3 (June, 1960) of *English Studies* (Amsterdam).

John Bright and the Factory Acts

Writing of 1844, J. C. Gill, author of *The Ten Hours Parson: Christian social action in the eighteen-thirties*, a recent S.P.C.K. book about George Stringer Bull, one of the leaders in the agitation for the Ten Hours Factory Act, says that "Bright was still arguing that the Corn Laws made the Ten Hours men's demands impossible, but he still opposed them after the Corn Laws had been repealed."

Hanbury Family

Anthony Richard Wagner, Richmond Herald, has written a book, *English Genealogy* (Oxford, 1960) which gives an up-to-date, comprehensive picture of English genealogical studies and methods of study. There is a copy in Friends House Library. Various Quaker families are mentioned and can be traced through the index; the author mentions the manuscript collections at Friends House (without specifying them) which are useful in genealogical studies; the existence of the registers is noted. As an example to illustrate dissenting (and Quaker) contribution to the country's industrial development, the author gives a couple of paragraphs to the enterprises of the Hanbury family at Pontypool and elsewhere, based on A. Audrey Locke's *The Hanbury Family* (1916).

Charles Pumphrey

Birmingham Natural History and Philosophical Society celebrated its centenary in 1958 and published a short account of the Society's records by K. L. Kenrick. Charles Pumphrey was one of the pioneers of the Society and served it as treasurer from 1870 to 1887 and as president in the years 1890-91. In a short paragraph on Charles Pumphrey the author notes that he was a member of the Society of Friends and directed a Hook-and-Eye and a Rubber business. He died in 1901 in his seventieth year.

Edward Burnett Tylor

H. R. Hays gives three chapters of his *From Ape to Angel: an informal history of social anthropology* (Methuen, 1959) to the career of Sir Edward Burnett Tylor whose introduction to anthropology dates from a chance meeting with Henry Christy (a fellow-Quaker) in Havana in 1855. Together these two visited ancient sites in Mexico, and this began for the younger man a devotion to

sociology and anthropology which led him to a chair at Oxford before his death in 1917.

Anti-Slavery Papers

A copy of the 52-page inventory of the "Papers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society kept in Rhodes House Library, Oxford," 1956, is now in the Library at Friends House.

The collection was purchased from the Society in 1951, and provision has been made for regular deposit of future papers.

The Society's origin can be traced back to the Wilberforce-Buxton group who, in 1823, began to meet regularly in London to discuss the slave trade and slavery. In 1835 the society they formed became the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The collection includes some papers of the National Freedmen's Aid Society, and such archives of the Aborigines Protection Society as were available when the amalgamation of the two societies took place in 1909.

The Manchester School

Elisabeth Wallace, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto, and author of *Goldwin Smith, Victorian Liberal*, is the author of "The political ideas of the Manchester School," in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Jan., 1960), pp. 122-38. The author points out that the Manchester men did not believe in liberty as a negative thing, as the removal of restraints, but as a positive asset—emancipating labourers as well as employers. "Men like Cobden and Bright saw most of their goals, from free trade to international peace and prosperity, as moral issues," and being moral issues the attainment of the desired goals required consent from the concerned parties—consent which was to be achieved by persuasion, not dictated by Act of Parliament.

The author studies the impact made by the Manchester men in the various fields of activity, and points out that Cobden and others did support restrictive legislation on the employment of children in factories, although Bright argued "that state intervention in the relations between employers and employed was unjustifiable in principle and mischievous in results."

Aberdeenshire Burial Grounds

In *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: the County of Aberdeen* (Glasgow, Collins, 1960) there is mention of two Quaker burial grounds in Aberdeenshire. First, Kingswells, in the parish of Newhills, the home of the Jaffray family; "North-west of Kingswells House is the Friends' Burying Ground . . . the graves are unmarked." Second, in the parish of Dyce (also on the outskirts of the city of Aberdeen); "In a field at Mains of Dyce, there is the small remote burial ground of the Skenes, Quaker landlords of Dyce."

Bedfordshire Friends

Some Bedfordshire Diaries, volume 40 of the Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, published by the Society at Streatley, near Luton, 1960, includes extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Brown of

Ampthill, 1778-91, edited by Joyce Godber (pp. 110-29). Elizabeth Brown (b. 1754) married Joshua Wheeler, mealman, of Hitchin, in 1781, and died in 1793. The journal contains diary entries of day-to-day events, attendance at meetings, notes on books read, and includes the names of some of the best known Quaker ministers of the period who travelled in Bedfordshire.

One or two short entries may give the flavour of this delightful book:

[1778. 12th month, 31st.] Assisted at the shop to-day, a pleasant employ, of which I have been deprived of late through an indisposition. . . . The evening was in company with a person professing Quakerism, but whose conduct had so much politeness in it as cannot be quite consistent with that of the true Quaker. . . .

[1779. 1st month, 7th.] At home this morning, employed chiefly in cookery, being favoured with a sufficiency to procure everything needful to accommodate this body; but there requires a circumspect care not to indulge in things unnecessary.

[1783. 7th month, 24th.] At Meeting this morning. In the afternoon went in company with Friend Beck to visit a Friend whose conversation betrayed so much of a disposition to expose the weaknesses of her fellow-creatures as rendered her very unpleasing company to me.

Earlier in the same volume (pp. 38-45) is some account of Henry Taylor of Pulloxhill, 1750-72; edited by Patricia Bell. This gives a résumé of legal proceedings and disputes between him and his brother George Chalkley Taylor (disowned by Baldock M.M. in 1765) over the disposition of family property.

Offprints are in Friends House Library.

Education in Liverpool

James Murphy's *The Religious Problem in English Education* (Liverpool University Press, 1959) deals with Liverpool corporation schools in the 1830s which (under a corporation education committee, established in 1836 under the chairmanship of William Rathbone V) attempted to provide primary education for children of all faiths. The author has used the Rathbone family papers and Liverpool Friends' records which testify to Friends' interest in this field.

Newtown School, Waterford

Re the Note on Friends' School, Mountmellick, appearing on p. 69 of last year's issue of the *Journal*, Isabel Grubb points out that the school at Newtown (opened for boys in 1855) had been in existence previously as a school for boys and girls. She writes:

"The facts are that Leinster Quarterly Meeting opened Mountmellick school for boys and girls of Leinster Province in 1786, and that Munster Quarterly Meeting opened Newtown School, Waterford, for the boys and girls of Munster Province in 1798. What happened in 1855 was that by an arrangement between the two quarterly meetings the girls of both provinces were educated at Mountmellick and the boys of both provinces at Newtown."

Sheffield Friends

"1854. On 31st January it was decided that some land proposed to be appropriated to the Society of Friends, in the Hartshead, be sold to them on the terms arranged."

The above entry appears in *A Record of the Burgery of Sheffield, commonly called the Town Trust, from 1848 to 1955*, by Edward Bramley (Sheffield, J. W. Northend, 1957). Further minutes of proceedings in the *Record* show the Trust proposing to negotiate for a loan of £20,000 for 10 years at 4½ per cent. from the Friends Provident Institution at Bradford (11 May, 1881; finally repaid in 1894).

Welsh Friends

The *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, vol. 3, part 2, includes an article on "The Background of the Welsh Quaker migration to Pennsylvania," by A. H. Dodd. *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, vol. 28, includes two papers by Frank Noble—"A party of Radnorshire emigrants to Pennsylvania in 1698," "A 1663 list of Radnorshire Baptists, Quakers, and Catholics."

York Friends

York: a survey, 1959, published by the Local Executive Committee on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association in York, 1959, includes several references to the activities of Friends. It takes in Rowntree's in the economic field (pp. 121-22), Bootham and the Mount and the York Educational Settlement in education (pp. 154-56), the Retreat (p. 163), the social experiments and surveys—New Earswick, the Rowntree trusts and the surveys of Seebohm Rowntree (covered in an article by W. K. Sessions, pp. 167-72) as well as a short section on Friends in the chapter on religious life by F. H. Legg of Bootham School (pp. 148-49).

Isaac Lyon Goldsmid and Friends

"Portrait of Anglo-Jewry, 1656-1836," by Alfred Rubens, an illustrated and documented article in the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, vol. 19, pp. 13-52, includes a section on "The English Radicals and the Jews." Isaac Lyon Goldsmid the banker (1778-1859), one of those prominent in the foundation of University College, London, entered public life in the anti-slavery movement. This brought him into contact with Friends working for social reform and prison improvement, like Elizabeth Fry and Peter Bedford. Goldsmid's interest in education led him to support the Lancasterian schools.

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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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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