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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Editorial

AT A MEETING of the Society on 6th April last, Audrey Taylor spoke on Quaker Country Bankers, with many details of the development and difficulties and successes of many of the more famous Quaker banks. At this meeting tribute was paid to the services so ably rendered to the Society by Muriel Hicks, who has now resigned from her office as Secretary.

This number completes volume 49 of the *Journal* begun in 1959, and is largely occupied by the final portion of Richard Stagg's paper on the Advices and Queries, taking the historical survey of their development on from 1860 to the last revision in 1928.

Arthur E. Bissell contributes a note from William Marten's diary recording the visit of the Emperor Alexander I to Nathaniel Rickman's house in Sussex in the summer of 1814. The manuscript diary is now in the possession of L. Brindley Marten, of Kingston-on-Thames.

The Quakers Dublin Weekly Oracle, 1721, concerns an Irish newspaper, known only from a manuscript in the Anthony Sharp collection in Friends' Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin.

Among other items, we print notes on recorded movements of archives, and reviews of the new edition of *The Second Period of Quakerism*, and *Then & Now*, the volume of essays presented to Henry J. Cadbury.

The Emperor Alexander I in Sussex, 1814

Readers of Maude Robinson's book of stories, *The Time of Her Life* (1919), may remember the one which is entitled "An Emperor's Visit". The following extract from a diary (now in the possession of L. Brindley Marten of Kingston-on-Thames) recalls the same event.

The diarist, William Marten was born at Barcombe, near Lewes, Sussex, 25.v.1764, and died in Lewes, 6.i.1823. He was a draper in the town, a minister and prominent member of the local meeting. William Marten married Jane Cruttenden, of the Cliffe, Lewes, in 1790, and both are buried in the burial ground in front of the Friends' meeting house, Friars Walk, Lewes. The diary covers events during the years 1789-1822, and the following extract tells of the visit of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia and his company in the summer of 1814.

26.vi.1814. Been to Meeting this morning. This day the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, his sister the Duchess of Oldenburg, passed through this town on their way to Dover. A great concourse of people assembled. We were at Meeting when the Emperor and his sister went through. He expressed at Portsmouth his predilection in favour of the Society of Friends and felt a strong inclination to visit a family of that persuasion on his way from Petworth to Dover to have friendly conversation for half an hour. The names of J. Glaisyer of Brighton and —— (name not given) of Lewes were given him but he did not call on either. It is said he attempted it at Brighton but the crowd was so great he could not conveniently get to the house. With regard to Lewes he did not know he had passed through it, the route being made to go by Newhaven. After he had got a little from the place, he enquired what town it was. When they got to Nathaniel Rickman's the family were standing at the gate. The Emperor or his sister observed they appeared like Friends and he desired the coachman to stop, got down from his carriage and asked Nathaniel whether they were Quakers.

Being answered in the affirmative his sister alighted and took hold of Nathaniel's arm and the Emperor offered Mary Rickman his arm and walked into the house, took wine and cake, went over the house, made enquiry how far they had to Meeting, etc. etc. They stayed about 20 minutes, took notice of the children and took an affectionate farewell and told Nathaniel and his wife they should never see them again but should remember them, and he hoped they would not forget them. When in London the Emperor and the Dutchess were at our religious Meeting on a first day at Westminster and were much pleased therewith.

J. Wilkinson, Richard Phillips and John Bell appeared in testimony. J.W. also in supplication. They sat in a very solid manner and when Meeting broke up shook hands in a friendly manner.

The Meeting for Sufferings had drawn up an address to the Emperor which was after this presented to him by Wm. Allen, J. Wilkinson, and Stephen Grellet. They had a very satisfactory opportunity with him in conversation on various subjects.

ARTHUR E. BISSELL (Lewes)

Then and Now

Then & Now. Quaker Essays, Historical and Contemporary by friends of Henry Joel Cadbury on his completion of Twenty-two years as Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee. Edited by Anna Brinton. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960. \$5. (Oxford University Press. 40s.)

This volume of essays, prepared as a tribute to Henry J. Cadbury, includes, as is proper, a number of studies on Quaker history, in view of his outstanding achievements in this field and his position as the doyen of Quaker historians.

The biographical sketch of Henry J. Cadbury by his niece Mary Hoxie Jones, with which the volume opens, contains some account of his historical work, particularly that based on his realization that much untapped source-material was to be found in the MS. Catalogue of George Fox's papers at Friends House and in its index. Henry J. Cadbury's discoveries in this field were the more remarkable when it is remembered that much of his work had to be done from the other side of the Atlantic.

Among the other essays in the volume, there are eight of historical interest, as under—

<i>1652 in History: Changing Perspectives on the Founding of Quakerism</i>	Frederick B. Tolles
<i>Penn and the Poets</i>	Elizabeth Gray Vining
<i>Early Friends and the Doctrine of the Trinity</i>	Margaret B. Hobling
<i>Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney</i>	D. Elton Trueblood
<i>The Letters of William Leadbeater</i>	Olive Goodbody
<i>The Influence of John Woolman on Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites</i>	Kenneth L. Carroll
<i>The Other Branch</i> [Addison Hutton's relations with Hicksite Friends]	Elizabeth Yarnall
<i>Quakers and Animals</i>	Howard H. Brinton

There is also a useful series of five papers on the manuscript resources of five Friend libraries in England, Ireland and America.

The Quakers Dublin Weekly Oracle, 1721

A *hand-list of Irish newspapers, 1685-1750*, by R. L. Munter (Cambridge Bibliographical Society. Monograph 4. London, Bowes, 1960), includes an entry for a paper which the compiler was unable to identify and which has apparently not been recorded elsewhere. The item (no. 78, on page 14) reads as follows:

? The [Quakers] Dublin-Weekly-Oracle. ?-[November? 1721]-?
(Sole reference from *The Dublin Courant*, entry 66, 4 and 7 November 1721, commenting on the late content of the ' . . . Quakers Dublin-Weekly-Oracle . . . ', a suspect title and doubtful entry.) Printer unknown. No copies traced.

The reference to *The Dublin Courant* (checked from the Microfilm positive 1903 in the National Library of Ireland) reveals the following paragraph, seemingly inserted as an advertisement in three consecutive issues¹ of the newspaper reproduced on the film:

Whereas the Scribling Author of the Quakers Dublin-Weekly-Oracle (falsly so called) having lately under his own Hand to some of us the said People confessed himself recorded amongst us for an Apostate, &c. ever since the year 1682, the Truth of which we are obliged thus to certifie, in Order to undeceive the Publick, and manifest his Character, who like an old Apostate has already in his said Oracle publish'd several Untruths, sundry Perversions, gross Reflections, and malicious Insinuations. As also, in a Paper cried out lately, for the Quakers Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, are some Things omitted, others added, and certain notorious Falshoods annexed: All which mercenary Clamours together with the Author or Authors are in our Esteem unworthy of any farther Notice.

Reference to the manuscript index by John Douglas to the Anthony Sharp manuscripts at Friends' Historical Library, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, shows a paper headed "The Quakers Dublin Weekly Oracle" as Sharp MS. S.14, which consists of two conjugate folio leaves, headed as above and containing the answers to three questions. As it stands the manuscript is incomplete, a catchword for Query 4 appearing

¹ Olive Goodbody has kindly consulted the originals in the Gilbert Collection, Dublin Public Library, and found the paragraph in nos. 570-572 (Nov. 4, 7 and 11, 1721) of *The Dublin Courant*.

at the foot of the final page at the end of the answer to the third question. The questions are:

1. How long is it Since ye Quakers first apeared in ye World. . . (Answer = 1652.)
2. Who was ye first instrument in y^t Work. (Answer = George Fox.)
3. Do ye Quakers ever Lament Mourn or Weep For ye loss off any Brother or Sister that upon full convictions Leaves their Meetings and joynes in Communion with ye Church of England or any other Christian church &c. (Answer quotes the case of George Keith and Philadelphia Friends.)

The manuscript is in the hand of John Crabb (brother of Ann Crabb the second wife of Anthony Sharp), who was disowned in 1682 (Dublin Men's Meeting minute, 6.iv.1682),¹ a fact which confirms the printed statement in the *Dublin Courant*, and which marks him as the author of the numbers of the Oracle which did appear. Although no copies of the printed newspaper have been traced, it seems likely that the Dublin Friends who took the step of advertising their displeasure with the publication would not have printed their disclaimer unless John Crabb had first printed his work for circulation.

It is to John Crabb that we are indebted for the manuscripts of Anthony Sharp which are preserved in the Friends' Historical Library at Dublin, and the three letters from Crabb to Dublin Friends (S.15-17) which follow this manuscript of the Oracle (S.14) allow the probable course of events leading to the publication of the printed newspaper to be traced.

The first letter (S.15, dated May ye 9th 1720) is one in which Crabb proposed to print the life and writings of Anthony Sharp. The proposal came before Dublin Men's Meeting, 23.vi. & 6.vii.1720, and a committee was appointed to get the papers from Crabb and to read them. The committee's report was unfavourable, but the Men's Meeting of 7.xii.1720 (Feb. 1721) did take steps to secure the preservation of the manuscripts, authorizing Friends to get in all the writings and to pay Crabb not more than £5 for the care and expense he had been at in arranging and preserving them. The money was paid on delivery of the papers, which were lodged in a "Chest above stairs with other of friends writings".

¹ The actual testimony of disownment against John Crabb was not signed until the Men's Meeting of September 1682. (Information from Olive Goodbody.)

In view of what was to happen it is interesting to see in John Crabb's original letter, the sentence: "I shall take care not to publish any thing of that nature, without acquainting your meeting."

These matters seem to have rested for half a year, until July 25th, 1721, when Crabb again wrote to the Men's Meeting. In this second letter (S.16) he recited his care in collecting Anthony Sharp's manuscripts and other epistles of Friends, and complained that he had received payment for nothing more than a portion of the cost he had been at in transcribing and arranging them. He said he had made proposals to some Friends of the Meeting "for my own Ease & ye Meetings Satisfaction," and desired an answer.

A fortnight later a third letter followed (S.17, dated August 8, 1721, addressed to Samuel Fuller, in Meath Street).

Friend Sammuell Fuller,
this day, please to give, this into ye Mens Meeting . . .

John Crabb asked the Meeting not to despise this letter, as they did the last.

. . . For this Work y^t I have begun is For publick service; which if Frds have no just exceptions to make against, i shall proceed to publish ye small begining in a few Dayes, & please God give Me life & Bless my Endeavours i shall Farther proceed till it swell itself into a Vollum For ye Service off ye present & succeeding generations.

It would seem that the Men's Meeting made no reply to these last two letters, for no minute was made on the subject, and that John Crabb, some time between the beginning of August and the end of October 1721, proceeded to print one or more numbers of his Quakers Dublin-Weekly-Oracle and received the unsigned printed rebuke in the November issues of *The Dublin Courant*. The manuscript copy of what must have been the first number of the Oracle, now Sharp MS. S.14, is evidently the "small begining" mentioned in the third letter (S.17), but whether it was an enclosure with that letter or was received with the "proposals" which Crabb had made (mentioned in S.16) cannot be determined.

* * *

As a tail-piece to the foregoing enquiry it may be noted that the second paper disclaimed by Friends in their

advertisement printed in *The Dublin Courant*, apparently entitled "The Quakers Speech to the Lord Lieutenant," must have had a basis in fact even if the editor or printer had tampered with the text. The evidence is to be found in the minutes of Dublin Men's Meeting, 5.vii.1721:

The Duke of Grafton being come over Ld: Lieut: Genl: & Governour of this Nation, this Meeting desires that Geo: Rooke, Joseph Gill, Timothy Forbes, Saml: Braithwait, John Barclay and John Stoddart do Endeavour to wait upon him at a Suitable time to morrow. Supposed ye 12th hour.

The following note is made of the action which Friends took on that minute:

Friends were with the Ld: Lieut: & G: Rooke spoke on behalf of friends wch: was well accepted & a kind answer returned by the Ld: Lieut:

R.S.M.

Reports on Archives

The National Register of Archives (Historical Manuscripts Commission) *List of accessions to repositories in 1959 (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960)*, reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history.

Birmingham University Library, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 15.
Margaret Fell: "Second call unto the seed of Israel," and "Epistle to those whose desires are after the truth" (1659).

British Museum, Department of Manuscripts. London, W.C.1.
Joseph Sturge: further correspondence with Richard Cobden, 1839-53 (presented with Add. MSS 43722-43723 in 1934 and now incorporated). (Add. MS 50131).

Cambridgeshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Castle Hill, Cambridge.
Society of Friends: records of quarterly and monthly meetings for Cambs. and Hunts., mid 17th-20th cent., incl. printed 18th cent. pamphlets.

Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford, Essex.
Commonplace book of Robert Greenwood of Chelmsford, quaker, c.1800.

Herefordshire County Record Office, Shirehall, Hereford.
Society of Friends: Herefordshire and Radnorshire monthly meetings: minutes, sufferings, school records, etc., from 1692.

Hertfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Hertford.
Map: Port Hill (Hertford) Quaker burial ground, 1855.

East Sussex Record Office, Pelham House, Lewes, Sussex.
Society of Friends: Sussex and Surrey quarterly meeting (additional), 17th-19th cent.

Worcestershire County Record Office, Shirehall, Worcester.
Society of Friends: various records, 18th-19th cent.

* * *

Guide to the Hertfordshire Record Office. Part. I. Quarter sessions and other records in the custody of the officials of the county. Edited by William Le Hardy. 1961. This volume includes (p. 173, under Poll Books and elections before 1832, no. 721): Quakers' declaration of fidelity (under 7 & 8 Will. III, c.27, s.12) before the Sheriff (or his officer) taking the Poll at the 1697 election. 72 signatures. (QPE 4.) Under Oaths and Declarations (p. 182, no. 766) appears: Oaths taken by Quakers (under 8 Geo. I, c.6) 1723: 1 roll. About 150 signatures. (QS MISC. 1148A).

* * *

Lincolnshire Archives Committee. *Archivists' report*, 12 (1960-61). Under "Gifts and deposits" (p. 54) appears: Mr D. R. Vale, clerk of the monthly meeting, Society of Friends: minutes, 1949-55, membership list, 1837-1960.

* * *

Sussex and Surrey Quarterly Meeting records.

A copy of the catalogue of the records deposited in the East Sussex Record Office, County Hall, Lewes (see note in *Journal F.H.S.*, xlix, 104), covering the period to 1900, is in the Library at Friends House. Records since 1900 are in the strongroom at Brighton Meeting House. Alton Monthly Meeting records are deposited at the Hampshire County Record Office, Winchester. Lewes & Chichester Monthly Meeting records are deposited at the East Sussex Record Office. (Information from the report of the Quarterly Meeting's committee on records, presented 24.VII. 1960.)

* * *

Guide to the records in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace for Wiltshire. (Wiltshire County Council: Guide to the Record Office. Part 1.) 1959. This volume (Court of Quarter Sessions, p. 5) includes the following item: Quakers' Affirmations or Declarations of Allegiance and Supremacy, taken and subscribed or marked 1723 (1 roll). The roll also includes oaths sworn and subscribed or marked in the same year, presumably by persons other than Quakers.

Friends' Queries and General Advices

A Survey of their Development in London Yearly Meeting, 1860-1928¹

THE 1860 revision of the Queries was the most radical in the Society's history. As has already been shown,² many Friends were in the 1850's questioning practices of the Society which had become traditional. This can be illustrated particularly by the number of exceptions to the fourth query, regarding plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel, reported to Yearly Meeting, and the growing recognition of the loss which the Society was sustaining by the disownment of those who married "out" (which was in part the subject of the thirteenth query). An increasing number of Friends were advocating in Yearly Meeting alterations to these queries, and there were some who were prepared to urge a review of the queries as a whole. At the same time, many Friends called attention to the excessive amount of time spent at business meetings in reading and replying to the queries, which was particularly apparent at Yearly Meeting itself. After much discussion it was finally agreed in 1859, on the recommendation of a committee which had been considering the method of conducting Yearly Meeting business, to revise the whole of the Advices and Queries. The revision was referred to this committee, which presented its report in the following year. It recommended a reduction in the number of queries to ten, of which the first seven only were to be answered to Yearly Meeting.³ After some amendment, the Queries were adopted in the following form:

1. Are your meetings for worship regularly held? Do Friends attend them duly, and at the time appointed?
2. (3) Are Friends frequent in reading the Holy Scriptures; and do those who have children, servants, and others under their care, encourage them in the practice of this religious duty?
3. (4) Are Friends careful to maintain a religious life and conversation, consistent with our Christian profession; and do those who have children or others under their care endeavour, by example and precept, to train them up in accordance therewith?

¹ Continued from page 235.

² Page 229.

³ See *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, pp. 16-28; *The Friend*, vol. 18 (1860), pp. 104-6; *British Friend*, vol. 18 (1860), pp. 140-45.

4. (2) Are Friends preserved in love one towards another; and do they avoid and discourage talebearing and detraction?

5. Are Friends faithful in bearing our Christian testimony against all ecclesiastical demands?

6. Are Friends faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all War?

7. Are your meetings for transacting the affairs of the Church regularly held and duly attended? Is the discipline administered timely, impartially, and in a Christian spirit? And are Quarterly and Monthly Meetings careful to give to their subordinate meetings such assistance as may, from time to time, be required?

8. Are Friends clear of defrauding the public revenue? Are they just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements?

9. Are the necessities of the poor among you properly inspected and relieved; and is good care taken of the education of their offspring?

10. Is the advice to Friends on the subject of their outward affairs and the timely making of their wills annually given? Are the rules respecting removals, the revision of the lists of members, and the recording of births, marriages, and burials, observed? Are the titles of your meeting-houses, burial-grounds, &c, duly preserved and recorded; and is all other trust-property under your care rightly secured and applied?¹

The committee responsible for revising the queries was conscious of the growing feeling in the Society that it was almost impossible to give satisfactory answers to them in a corporate sense. They were also conscious that the replies that had been given in recent years were often vague and meaningless. Some Friends on the committee may even have been prepared to take the final step of abolishing replies altogether, but the Society as yet was not unitedly ready for this, and the committee finally recommended that the queries to be answered should be reduced to a minimum.

The number of omissions was substantial. The previous 13th query on "marrying out" now disappeared, following the decision of Yearly Meeting in 1859 to amend the marriage regulations. It was replaced by a paragraph in the General Advices which continued to emphasize the advisability of Friends "marrying in" the Society, and touched on the deeper considerations that should be borne in mind:

In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look principally to that which will help you on your heavenward journey. Pay

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, pp. 28-29. Queries '2-4 were re-numbered in 1861, and the revised numeration is shown in brackets. Query 8 was re-worded: "Are Friends just in their dealings, punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and clear of defrauding the public revenue?"

filial regard to the judgment of your parents. Bear in mind the vast importance, in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice. Ask counsel of God; desiring above all temporal considerations, that your union may be owned and blessed of the Lord.¹

The previous 7th query "Do friends avoid all vain sports and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public houses, excess in drinking and other intemperance" was also removed from the list of queries and a paragraph in similar terms with slightly altered wording was included in the General Advices. Perhaps the most important change of all was the omission from the 4th query of the requirement that Friends should train their children or others under their care "in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel." This omission was approved in 1860 by Yearly Meeting only after much heartsearching. Many Friends, of whom Josiah Forster is a representative figure, who had opposed this alteration in 1859, were prepared to agree to it as part of a *general* revision.² In order to make it clear that the testimony for simplicity was still regarded as of great importance, the following paragraph was included in the General Advices:

Be careful to maintain in your own conduct, and to encourage in your families, that simplicity in deportment and attire, that avoidance of flattery and insincerity in language, and that non-conformity to the world, which become the disciples of the Lord Jesus.³

Substantial alterations were made to the form of the queries. In the new queries, an attempt was made to direct Friends to general principles, rather than to list prohibited activities. For example, Query 6 reads:

Are Friends faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all War?

instead of:

Are friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize goods?

Other alterations included the grouping in the 10th query of

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, p. 31.

² *The Friend*, vol. 18 (1860), p. 104.

³ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, p. 32. Other omissions included the removal of both the 2nd and 12th queries of the 1833 revision, and the question on the appointment of overseers in the previous 14th query (including matters more easily supplied from the tabular statement recommended and adopted in 1861: *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1861, p. 21).

the administrative subjects which had formerly been spread over a number of queries, and the omission of the query specially addressed to Quarterly Meetings, the subject matter of which was transferred to the new 7th query.

In the following year, Yearly Meeting tried to emphasize the changing purpose of the queries, and expanded its minute of 1833 by the addition of the following paragraph:

Yet it is not to arrangements, however perfect, but to individual faithfulness to Christ, in daily dependence upon the help of the Holy Spirit, that we must look for growth in the truth, and vitality in the Church. As this faithfulness and dependence are maintained, we believe these queries will tend to promote the religious welfare of our members, and the upholding of our Christian discipline in a lively and healthy condition.¹

Yearly Meeting also tried at the same time to deal with the criticisms that had been made of the vagueness of the replies to the queries and of the practice of some Friends in reporting exceptions which had not been properly investigated.

In framing the answers, vague and general terms should, as far as practicable, be avoided. Where deficiency is acknowledged, report is to be made in the answer whether due admonition and care have been extended. In no case whatever is a friend to consider himself at liberty to bring forward an exception on suspicion only, the actual existence of which has not been certainly ascertained.²

In addition to the alterations made to the answered queries and the change of emphasis that was taking place in the Society as to their purpose, the committee responsible for revising the queries recommended in addition three queries to be read in the various meetings for discipline and then seriously and deliberately considered but not answered. They were approved by Yearly Meetings as follows:

(A) What is the religious state of your meeting; and is there among you evidence of a growth in the Truth?

(B) Are you individually giving evidence of true conversion of heart; of love to Christ, and self-denying devotedness to Him; and of a growing preparation for the life to come?

(C) Do you maintain a watchful care against conformity to the world; against the love of ease and self-indulgence, or being unduly absorbed by your outward concerns to the hindrance of your religious progress; bearing in mind that "here we have no continuing city"?³

¹ *Extracts from the minutes and epistles . . . relating to Christian doctrine practice and discipline*, 1861, 4to ed. p. 182. 8vo. ed. pp. 167-168.

² *ibid.*, 4to ed. p. 182; 8vo ed. p. 168.

³ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860 p. 30. These were numbered 1-3 in 1861.

In addition to these three queries, a fourth was added in 1861 by transfer of a paragraph from the General Advices:

4. Do you exercise a judicious religious care over your younger members; manifesting an earnest concern that, through the power of Divine grace, they may all become established in the faith and hope of the Gospel?¹

These new queries, known as "the unanswered queries" (the logical mind of John Bright regarded the phrase as a contradiction in terms) were intended for serious self-examination, but it must be borne in mind that the requirement of Yearly Meeting was that they should be deeply considered in meetings for discipline—a reading of them without consideration was never contemplated.

Compared with the alterations to the queries in 1860, the revisions to the General Advices were comparatively small. Matter was transferred from some of the old queries but there were also a number of other paragraphs added, from which can be seen the evangelical atmosphere of the day, e.g.:

Prize the privilege of access by Him unto the Father; continue "instant in prayer", and "watch in the same with thanksgiving".

Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and let it be your earnest endeavour that the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

There was a greater concern for those coming to meetings for worship who are not Friends:

Cherish a Christian interest on behalf of such attenders of your meetings as are not in membership; evincing a lively concern for their religious welfare and growth in the truth.²

The more parochial paragraphs in the previous General Advices relating to the "placing out" of children of Friends and the care of apprentices were omitted. As a result of these alterations, the trend that had started in 1833 of making the General Advices serve the purpose of self-examination was continued, and the "disciplinary" side of them virtually disappeared. A change which had been suggested by Durham Quarterly Meeting in 1853 now took place in their use; in

¹ *Extracts from the minutes and epistles*, 1861, 4to ed. p. 184; 8vo ed. p. 171.

² *Extracts from the minutes and epistles*, 1861, 4to ed. p. 180; 8vo ed. p. 166. The wording was amended in 1861 from the 1860 "Exercise judicious religious care over your younger members, and towards such attenders of your meetings as are not in membership." *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, p. 31.

addition to being read in Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, they were directed to be read during the year after meeting for worship in each meeting instead of at Preparative Meeting.¹ The intention was to inform attenders as well as members of the Society of the principles for which Friends stood, and was a signal departure from the idea of the closed, exclusive Society of the previous hundred years.

The changes that were made during the years 1859-1861 were not made without strong opposition, and the clearest exposition of this was in Daniel Pickard's *Expostulation on behalf of the Truth*, published in 1864. To him, all the alterations that were made were a sign of the decay and decadence in the Society. Many of his criticisms we can sympathize with, particularly where he considers that the doctrinal views expressed in the new General Advices and Queries and the revised Book of Discipline were not in accord with the fundamental principles of the Society. He also pointed out, with much insight, the dangers which he foresaw would arise from the changes that had taken place. The reading of the General Advices at the end of meeting for worship was the "thin end of the wedge" and it would soon be found if this practice were continued that it was more convenient that they should be read in meeting for worship itself. The reading and consideration of queries not to be answered in Preparative Meetings would in his view in course of time become simply an empty formality. On the other hand, in his ultra-conservatism, Daniel Pickard showed no sense of proportion. He opposed all the changes that were made, so that even the alteration in the 1st query of the words "kept up" to "regularly held" seemed to him important. He was unable to see that, although the changes that were taking place held dangers, the old practice of requiring formal answers to a rigid set of queries had failed in its object and was just as incompatible with the essential spirit of Quakerism as the doctrinal changes criticized by him. Nevertheless, his *Expostulation* clearly sets out the old view of the queries and General Advices as an aid to the discipline of the Society and as a means of obtaining information as to its condition—a view which was now being discarded. It remained to be seen

¹ *Extracts from the minutes and epistles*, 1861, 4to ed. p. 179; 8vo ed. p. 165. The word "after" is printed in capitals. See also *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1860, p. 22.

whether the new practice would be any more valuable and successful.

The unanswered queries took a firm foothold in the Society and their use can only have accentuated the desire in the minds of many Friends that answers to the remaining queries should be abolished. At Yearly Meeting in 1871 it was agreed that instead of reading answers to the first seven queries from all the Quarterly Meetings, the answers to the first two only should be read in future and a summary of the remaining answers prepared and read. The demand for complete abolition of the practice of requiring answers recurred—from Westmorland Q.M. in 1872, Bristol & Somerset Q.M. in 1873 (which pointed out that the main purpose of the queries was in "individual self-examination", and that answers could not be given "except in very vague and general terms"), and Yorkshire Q.M. in 1874. The subject was referred in 1874 to a conference of Quarterly Meeting representatives, which in turn appointed a committee to revise the Queries and General Advices. The committee reported to the adjourned meeting of the conference, which presented their recommendations to Yearly Meeting in 1875.¹ As a result of the acceptance by Yearly Meeting of these recommendations, twelve new queries were settled and the practice of requiring answers was completely abolished except to the first part of the 2nd and 10th queries. This change was agreed by Yearly Meeting with surprisingly little opposition, partly due to the recognition by some of those who had previously opposed the change that very often those meetings where Quakerism was at its weakest were among the most zealous in replying to the queries.

The twelve new queries were in the following form:

1. What is the religious state of your Meeting? Are you individually giving evidence of true conversion of heart, and of loving devotedness to Christ?

2. *Are your Meetings for worship regularly held; and how are they attended?* Are they occasions of religious solemnity and edification in which, through Christ, our ever-living High Priest and Intercessor, the Father is worshipped in spirit and in truth?

3. Do you "walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us?" Do you cherish a forgiving spirit? Are you careful of the reputation of others; and do you avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction?

¹ See *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1871, p. 24; 1872, p. 14; 1873, pp. 22-4; 1874, pp. 13-14; 1875, pp. 19-20.

4. Are you individually frequent in reading, and diligent in meditating upon, the Holy Scriptures? And are parents and heads of households in the practice of reading them in their families in a devotional spirit, encouraging any right utterance of prayer or praise?

5. Are you in the practice of private retirement and waiting upon the Lord: "in everything by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, making your requests known unto Him?" And do you live in habitual dependence upon the help and guidance of the Holy Spirit?

6. Do you maintain a religious life and conversation as becometh the Gospel? Are you watchful against conformity to the world; against the love of ease and self-indulgence; or being unduly absorbed by your outward concerns to the hindrance of your religious progress and your service for Christ? And do those who have children or others under their care endeavour, by example and precept, to train them up as self-denying followers of the Lord Jesus?

7. Do you maintain a faithful allegiance to the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the one Head of the Church, and the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, from Whom alone must come the true call and qualification for the ministry of the word? And are you faithful in your testimony to the freeness and spirituality of the Gospel dispensation?

8. Are you faithful in maintaining our Christian testimony against all War, as inconsistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel?

9. Do you maintain strict integrity in all your transactions in trade, and in your other outward concerns? And are you careful not to defraud the public revenue?

10. *Are your meetings for Church affairs regularly held; and how are they attended?* Are these meetings vigilant in the discharge of their duties towards their subordinate meetings, and in watching over the flock in the love of Christ? When delinquencies occur, are they treated timely, impartially and in a Christian spirit? And do you individually take your right share in the attendance and service of these meetings?

11. Do you, as a Church, exercise a loving and watchful care over your younger members; promoting their instruction in fundamental Christian truth and in the Scriptural grounds of our religious principles; and manifesting an earnest desire that, through the power of Divine grace, they may all become established in the faith and hope of the Gospel?

12. Do you fulfil your part as a Church, and as individuals, in promoting the cause of truth and righteousness, and the spread of the Redeemer's Kingdom at home and abroad?¹

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1875, pp. 20-22. These queries were now applicable to both Men's and Women's Meetings and the separate queries which had been used by Women's Meetings since 1755 were now abolished. These had been in much the same form as those in use in the Men's Meetings, although they were fewer in number, principally because there were various matters of discipline where the Men's Meetings had final authority.

The 5th query of 1860, "Are Friends faithful in bearing our Christian testimony against all ecclesiastical demands," had already been abandoned in 1873 after several years' agitation for this change, and replaced by a paragraph in the General Advices on ecclesiastical usurpations,¹ which was itself withdrawn in 1875. After the conversion of most tithes into a rent-charge on land, which was not directly payable to the clergy, Friends did not feel the same hesitation about paying it, and in the more tolerant atmosphere of the 19th century claims for tithes against nonconformists were not so rigorously enforced. The need for this query had therefore largely ceased, and Yearly Meeting's decision in 1873 was a recognition of this fact.

In addition to the omission of the 5th query of the 1860 revision, there were certain other omissions, which resulted from the queries no longer being addressed in corporate terms. The previous 9th query, relating to the care of the poor, disappeared altogether; it was probably felt that this could be safely left in the hands of Monthly Meetings and their overseers. The previous 10th query also disappeared but the Yearly Meeting considered that the subjects of it were too important to be overlooked. It accordingly specified seven "duties" which Monthly Meetings were to report upon to their Winter Quarterly Meetings,² of which five were formerly included in the 10th query, with the addition of "care of libraries", and the other two related to the reading and consideration of the queries and the revision of the list of overseers once in three years.

The alterations to the 1860 queries which remained were all made with the object of making them personal in nature rather than corporate. "Are you" and "Do you" took the place of the impersonal "Are friends" which had been the customary beginning in the old answered queries. We can see too the more personal approach in the enquiry at the end of the 10th query with regard to meetings for church affairs "And do you individually take your right share in the attendance and service of these meetings?"

There was no doubt that the virtual abolition of the

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1873, pp. 25, 31; see also 1869, p. 26, and 1870, pp. 14-15.

² *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1875, p. 22. These duties have been expanded to form the ten duties we know today.

answered queries made it possible to add queries of greater spiritual depth and to modify existing ones in order to call attention to deeper spiritual values. The 5th, 7th and 12th queries were all additions of this kind. It must be admitted also that the queries were now taking their place as vehicles of evangelical doctrine, of which a good example is the sentence added to the 11th query, enquiring whether Friends in caring for their younger members were "promoting their instruction in fundamental Christian Truth and in the scriptural grounds of our religious principles?" Strong evangelical influence can be seen in many of the alterations that had been made. It is worth remembering that one of the reasons for which conservative friends had opposed the discontinuance of answering the queries was that they realized that abolition would permit the queries to be used as a vehicle for principles they believed unsound.

The alterations made to the General Advices were not so substantial, and were approved in 1875 in the following form:

Take heed, dear Friends, we entreat you, to the convictions of the Holy Spirit, who leads, through unfeigned repentance, and living faith in the Son of God, to reconciliation with our Heavenly Father; and to the blessed hope of eternal life, purchased for us by the one offering of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Be earnestly concerned in religious meetings reverently to present yourselves before the Lord; and seek, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to worship God through Jesus Christ.

Prize the privilege of access by Him unto the Father. Continue "instant in prayer", and "watch in the same with thanksgiving."

Be in the frequent practice of waiting upon the Lord in private retirement; honestly examining yourselves as to your growth in grace, and your preparation for the life to come.

Be diligent in the private perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and let the daily reading of them in your families be devoutly conducted.

Be careful to make a profitable and religious use of those portions of time on the first day of the week, which are not occupied by our meetings for worship.

Live in love as Christian brethren, ready to be helpful one to another, and sympathising with each other in the trials and afflictions of life. Watch over one another for good, manifesting an earnest desire that each may possess a well-grounded hope in Christ.

Follow peace with all men, desiring the true happiness of all: be kind and liberal to the poor, and endeavour to promote the temporal, moral, and religious well-being of your fellow-men.

With a tender conscience, in accordance with the precepts of

the Gospel, take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life.

Maintain strict integrity in your transactions in trade, and in all your outward concerns. Guard against the spirit of speculation, and the snare of accumulating wealth. Remember that we must account for the mode of acquiring, as well as for the manner of using, and finally disposing of our possessions.

Observe simplicity and moderation in your department and attire, in the furniture of your houses, and in your style and manner of living. Carefully maintain in your own conduct, and encourage in your families, truthfulness and sincerity; and avoid worldliness in all its forms.

Guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency; and against such companionships, indulgences and recreations, whether for yourselves or your children, as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace.

Avoid such sports and places of diversion as are frivolous or demoralizing; all kinds of gaming; the needless frequenting of taverns and other public houses, and the unnecessary use of intoxicating liquors.

In contemplating the engagement of marriage, look principally to that which will help you on your heavenward journey. Pay filial regard to the judgment of your parents. Bear in mind the vast importance, in such a union, of an accordance in religious principles and practice. Ask counsel of God; desiring, above all temporal considerations, that your union may be owned and blessed of Him.

Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children; inure them to the habits of self-restraint and filial obedience; carefully instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and seek for ability to imbue their hearts with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and their Sanctifier.

Finally, dear Friends, let your whole conduct and conversation be such as become the Gospel. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men. Be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord; continue in His love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.¹

The main alterations were the exclusion of the sentences:

Watch over one another for good; when occasions of uneasiness first appear in any, let them be treated with in privacy and tenderness before the matter is communicated to another. Should differences arise, be willing early to avail yourselves of the advice and judgment of your brethren; and may friends be ready to undertake, and prudent in executing, the blessed office of peacemaker.

Cherish a Christian interest on behalf of such attenders of your meetings as are not in membership; evincing a lively concern for their religious welfare and growth in the truth.

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1875, pp. 23-24.

These sentences were found to be not really appropriate for reading at the end of meetings for worship to a gathering that might well include a number of attenders who were not members of the Society.

In 1883, the Book of Discipline was revised and had a strong evangelical character. No alterations were made to the queries settled in 1875, but some slight additions were made to the General Advices, of which the most important was the insertion of the following paragraph:

Let the poor of this world remember that it is our Heavenly Father's will that all his children should be rich in faith. Let your lights shine in lives of honest industry and patient love. Do your utmost to maintain yourselves and your families in an honourable independence, and, by prudent care in time of health, to provide for sickness and old age, holding fast by the promise, "I will never leave thee or forsake thee."¹

This paragraph was introduced as the revising committee considered that the General Advices, as they stood, were chiefly directed to those in comfortable circumstances. Nevertheless the addition does seem of a rather patronizing nature, and has a note of prudent worldly wisdom characteristic of the nineteenth century.

We have already noted the evangelical character of the 1875 revision of the General Advices and Queries, but there were even at this date Friends who considered that the Society was not moving in the right direction. In an essay in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* in July 1875 on "The Present Crisis in the Society of Friends", William Pollard criticized the emphasis that Friends then tended to place on theology and sound doctrine.

The strength of our religious body, as it seems to us, is not in the inculcation of creeds, or elaborate theological systems, which are often the mere uninspired inferences of fallible men; but in the loving recognition and promotion of the work of Christ in the soul, by the power of His Spirit.²

He emphasized that the Society had a distinctive message to give, which differed on fundamental questions from the message of other Christian denominations. The criticism of the prevailing evangelical tendencies in the Society became stronger in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Friends

¹ *Book of Christian discipline*, 1883, p. 227. See also *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 23 (1883), p. 148.

² *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, vol. 9 (1875), p. 324.

like John Wilhelm Rowntree stressed the need for a vital Christianity expressed in modern terms that people of the day would understand. They pointed out that the message of early Friends had not been founded on doctrine but on a real knowledge of the presence of the spirit of Christ.

Although many Friends were concerned with the need for a re-interpretation of Quakerism, others adhered to the evangelical viewpoint, and did not recognize the need for change. In 1907, Yearly Meeting decided to revise only part 2 of the Book of Discipline, dealing with "Christian Practice". It was appreciated that no agreed revision of part 1 — "Christian Doctrine" would be possible. No complete revision of the General Advices and Queries was attempted. Few changes had taken place in the form of the queries since 1875. In 1897 Yearly Meeting agreed that no answers need be given in future as to attendance at meetings for worship and church affairs, and only required answers as to whether such meetings were regularly held.¹ Even this requirement was dropped in 1905, and the subjects were added to the "duties" upon which monthly meetings were required to report to their quarterly meetings.² This marked the disappearance of the last relic of the system of requiring replies to the queries, which had outlived its usefulness, but it is worth remembering the warning of John Morland at the Yearly Meeting of 1905 of the danger of getting out of touch with the subordinate meetings.³ The other alteration that had been made to the queries was in 1904 when the reference in the 11th query to "your younger members" was deleted and replaced by the phrase "the young people in your different congregations"⁴ This alteration was due to the recognition that the Society had a responsibility towards the growing number of children who were not in membership but who attended meetings and children's classes.

An important alteration was also made to the General Advices in 1906 when the following two paragraphs were substituted for the previous paragraph on gambling and intemperance:

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1897, p. 49.

² *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1905, p. 67.

³ *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 45 (1905), p. 380.

⁴ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1904, p. 24 (minute 29); see also 1903, pp. 75-76, and 1904, p. 31.

Avoid and discourage every kind of Betting and Gambling, and such speculation in commercial life as partakes of a gambling character.

In view of the manifold evils arising from the use of Intoxicating Liquors, prayerfully consider whether your duty to God and your neighbour does not require you to abstain from using them yourselves or offering them to others, and from having any share in their manufacture or sale.¹

The revision of "Christian Practice" was approved by Yearly Meeting in 1911, which also approved the recommendation of the revising committee that the following should be adopted as a new query:

Do you, as disciples of the Lord Jesus, take a living interest in the social condition of those around you? What place do you give to personal service for others? Do you seek to understand the causes of social evils and to take your right share in the endeavour to remove them?²

Yearly Meeting also agreed to the recommendation of the revising committee that the phrase in the General Advices "Be kind and liberal to the poor", should be deleted and the following clause substituted:

Live not for yourselves but for others, seeking to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free.

Slight alterations were also agreed to the remainder of this paragraph. The sentence in the 1883 edition of the General Advices, "Let the poor of this world remember that it is our Heavenly Father's will that all his children should be rich in faith", was deleted, together with the phrase at the end of the paragraph, "holding fast by the promise, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."³

These changes were the consequence of the report to the Yearly Meeting of 1910 of the Committee on Social Questions which had been considering for several years the point of view that the Society should take on problems of the social order. This interest of the Society in such problems was in itself a result of the new questioning attitude among Friends.

Following the revision in 1921 and 1925 of parts 1 and 2 of

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1906, pp. 63-64; see also *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 45 (1905), p. 376, and vol. 46 (1906), pp. 381-2.

² *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1911, p. 124. The query was numbered 10a, but was later renumbered 11.

³ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1911, pp. 124-5; see also *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 51 (1911), p. 388.

the Book of Discipline, Yearly Meeting considered in 1925 whether the time had not come to revise the Advices and Queries, and instructed Meeting for Sufferings to set up a committee to investigate the position.¹ This committee in 1926 decided that the Advices and Queries should be completely replaced.² This conclusion was only reached after a long discussion and cannot have been an easy one to take. Many Friends were deeply attached to the existing Advices and Queries; for example, Derby, Lincoln and Notts Quarterly Meeting thought it unnecessary to appoint any representative to the Meeting for Sufferings committee, "as no great desire was expressed for alteration in the Advices and Queries";³ Cumberland Quarterly Meeting considered "that the Advices could not be much improved, though some of the Queries might be"; and Sussex, Surrey and Hants Quarterly Meeting were "again impressed with the sound doctrine, value and beauty of the Advices and Queries". Other meetings, however, were willing to recommend drastic changes; a committee of Berks and Oxon Quarterly Meeting recommended the abolition of the General Advices and their replacement by a revised set of Queries, of which it produced a draft for consideration; Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting had prepared a composite draft incorporating both Advices and Queries, with the Advices comprising a majority of it.⁴ The movement of thought in the Society in the 1920s was clearly in favour of radical revision, and the committee's recommendations, revised and approved by Yearly Meeting in 1928, reflected this accurately.⁵

The General Advices were expanded and divided into three parts; the first concerned with Friends' attitude to worship, the second with family life, and the third with the social responsibilities of Friends. The first part replaced, in different form, the first seven paragraphs of the 1875 General

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1925, pp. 252-3; *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 65 (1925), pp. 507-9; Meeting for Sufferings minutes, vol. 59, pp. 257-8.

² Minute 3 of Advices & Queries Committee, 27.ix.1926; see also *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1928, p. 40.

³ An appointment was eventually made in xi.1926 (Meeting for Sufferings minutes, vol. 59, p. 312).

⁴ Advices & Queries Committee: Suggestions from Quarterly and other meetings, p. 25.

⁵ The Committee's report is in *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1928, pp. 39-41, followed by the draft General Advices and Queries (pp. 41-45); the text as finally approved appears on pp. 319-24.

Advices, which were evangelical in language and doctrine, emphasizing that the person of Jesus Christ was central to the Quaker message. Friends' attitude to worship is expressed in modern terms, but the special emphasis on the person of Jesus Christ is no longer present. The reference even in the first paragraph to God's love being "a redemptive love shown forth in Jesus Christ, in all His life and above all on the Cross" was not inserted in the draft prepared by the Revision committee, but was included after Augustus Diamond and other Friends had protested in the Yearly Meeting at the absence of any reference to the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the Cross.¹ Among other important features of the first part of the General Advices is the greater prominence given to the importance of the individual as a member of the worshipping community, *e.g.* "Be earnestly concerned in your meetings for worship to enter reverently into communion with God *and with one another*"; "and receive the messages of others in a tender spirit"; "Know one another as fellow workers in the things that endure"; and the value of preparation of heart and mind for meeting for worship.

In the second part of the General Advices, a new paragraph was included which stressed the need for true education through a full use of God's gifts. The evangelicals had tended to believe in the value of a "guarded" education, protected from worldly influences, and not really encouraging the free use of the mind. The importance placed in the 1928 General Advices on a wide education shows clearly one of the concerns that Friends felt most deeply at this period, and their desire for a positive approach. Friends were advised "to encourage the reading of good books . . .", rather than "to guard watchfully against the introduction into your households of publications of a hurtful tendency". Similarly, Friends were no longer advised "against such companionships . . . as may in any wise interfere with a growth in grace", but instead: "Be mindful for yourselves and for your children of the beauty and power of friendship . . ."

In the third part of the General Advices, the first paragraphs dealt with the social responsibilities of Quakerism. The previous edition perhaps had tended to over-emphasize the need for worldly prudence—"Do your utmost to maintain

¹ For discussion see *The Friend*, n.s. vol. 68 (1928), pp. 519-20, 527-28; see also *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1928, p. 316 (minute 35).

yourselves and your families in an honourable independence"—and this was altered to: "While trying to make provision for yourselves and your families, be not anxious overmuch, but in quietness of spirit seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness." A further important change was made by the insertion for the first time of a paragraph on Friends' peace testimony.

The same trends that we have noted above can be seen in the alterations to the queries, which were increased to 17 in number. There was a new emphasis on the preparation of heart and mind for meeting for worship. This is perhaps most clearly shown by comparing the previous 2nd query:

Are your Meetings for Worship regularly held and how are they attended? Are they occasions of religious solemnity in which, through Christ, our ever-living High Priest and Intercessor, the Father is worshipped in spirit and in truth?

with the new 6th query:

Do you come faithfully to our meetings for worship with heart and mind prepared, entering into fellowship one with another, seeking reverently to know communion with God and refreshment of spirit? Are you obedient to the divine call, whether your service be through words or in silence?

The importance of the home and family life was stressed in the new 10th query:

Are you endeavouring to make your home a place of friendliness, refreshment and peace, where God becomes more real to all who dwell there and to those who visit it?

And the increased awareness of social responsibilities can be seen in the new 14th query:

Do you manifest the spirit of justice and understanding in your relations with your fellows in industry and trade and in all your daily life?

This was also evident in the final two sentences of the 16th query emphasizing the positive side of Friends' peace testimony:

Do you live in the life and power which takes away the occasion of all wars? Do you seek to take your part in the ministry of reconciliation between individuals, groups and nations and in the breaking down of class barriers?

While the alterations to the text of the General Advices and Queries in 1928 were substantial, the change in the purpose of these documents and the value to be placed on

them was just as important. The keynote was set at the second meeting of the revision committee, which appointed the drafting sub-committee. It suggested to the drafting sub-committee that it should especially consider the subjects dealt with in Part 2 of the Book of Discipline, and then stated: "We recognize the value of bringing these subjects before the members and attenders of our Meetings for Worship and we think it should be the work of our Committee to carry this out either in the form of Advices or of Queries."¹ In the light of these terms of reference, the sub-committee decided that the General Advices most suitably carried out the purpose suggested and proceeded with the preparation of a revised draft of these only. They were approved at meetings of the full committee held in 1927. A further sub-committee was appointed to consider the future of the Queries, and it would seem that the possibility of dispensing with them altogether was considered. This sub-committee decided however that the Queries should be retained, and stated that they were:

a valuable means of bringing home to the individual the personal application of some of the counsels contained in the General Advices. They ought therefore to deal in part at least with the same matters dealt with in the Advices. For that reason alone the present queries will require considerable revision which should take place after the form of the Advices had been settled. It was considered an advantage to have some other number than twelve if the queries are to be read monthly, in order that the same query may not always be read in the same month of the year.²

The sub-committee's recommendations were accepted by the main Committee, and the revised Queries were drafted in accordance with them.

It can therefore be seen that the 1925-28 Committee considered that the purpose of both the Advices and Queries was primarily for their individual use for self-examination by Friends and attenders. No distinction of purpose was drawn between the Queries and General Advices, although it was considered that the Queries had a special value in being more direct in approach, and any repetition of material in the General Advices was intentional. The emphasis on the personal use of both General Advices and Queries can be seen

¹ Advices & Queries Committee, 27.ix.1926, minute 3.

² Minute of Sub-committee on the queries, 1.vii. 1927. The first sentence is reproduced in the report to Yearly Meeting (see *Y.M. Proceedings*, 1928, p. 40).

in the recommendation, approved by Yearly Meeting in 1928, that pending the revision of Part 3 of the Book of Discipline, they should be printed separately in pamphlet form, and as far as possible made available to all members of the Society.¹ They had in fact been printed separately by the Friends' Tract Association since before 1900, but this practice now received official recognition from Yearly Meeting.²

It is also a reasonable assumption that in considering both the Advices and Queries the Committee had taken into account their value in meeting for worship. The Committee, which had also been entrusted with the task of considering and revising the Advices on Ministry, was conscious of the need for strengthening the ministry in meetings for worship, and in its report to Yearly Meeting it recommended that the permission already given to read the Queries at the end of a meeting should be extended so as to permit them to be read "on the occasion" of meetings for worship, without specifying that it should be done "at the close."³ It would seem apparent from this recommendation that the Committee expected that many meetings would wish the Queries to be read in meetings for worship, and in revising them bore this consideration in mind. In relation to the General Advices, the Committee had recommended that "the new Advices be read from time to time and at least once a year, either as a whole or in portions at the discretion of meetings."⁴ This recommendation would appear to have left it open to individual meetings to decide when the General Advices should be read, instead of specifying that they should be read at the end of meeting for worship. It seems clear that, as Daniel Pickard had feared, the practice of reading the General Advices in meeting for worship itself had become common.⁵ It is difficult to escape the feeling that the Committee appreciated this, and in lengthening and extending the scope of the General Advices intended that they should often be read in meetings for worship rather than at their conclusion. Unless this were the case, it would seem very unlikely that the reading of the General Advices in meetings for worship would have been

¹ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1928, p. 41.

² The first dated F.T.A. edition in Friends House Library is 1894.

³ *Yearly Meeting Proceedings*, 1928, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ D. Pickard, *An expostulation*, 1864, pp. 73-74.

made obligatory on the revision of Part 3 of the Book of Discipline in 1931.¹

Although the Committee considered the value of the General Advices and Queries both for personal self-examination and as aids to meeting for worship, there is no evidence that it ever thought whether the Queries had any importance for the purpose of corporate consideration in preparative and monthly meetings. When the requirement of replying to the Queries had been substantially dropped in 1875, and had been replaced by the duty of corporate consideration, it was intended that this should be carried out in a vital manner by the Society. This intention does not seem to have been satisfied, and Daniel Pickard may well have been right in his forecast with regard to the corporate consideration of the Queries, that "when they have run through their excitative and dubious course, the very flatness of formality will characterize their end."² The Committee's approach confirms this conclusion and the new Queries, the 6th, 10th, 12th and 14th, which did not replace similar Queries already in use, were all designed for personal rather than corporate consideration. The first two Queries adopted in 1928 are also essentially addressed to the individual Friend, while the first two which they replaced were clearly intended for corporate consideration. On the other hand, the first part of the 7th, 11th and 15th Queries together with the 17th Query adopted in 1928 all imply a corporate consideration in a Friends' business meeting, and are not so suitable for use either for self-examination or in meetings for worship. In these cases however, all these Queries, with their corporate implication, were in use in slightly different form before 1928, and were not therefore fresh suggestions arising from the Committee. It is understandable that the Committee may not have wished to make too many alterations to the Queries already in use, realizing the necessity for presenting recommendations that were likely to be acceptable to a Yearly Meeting with conservative elements in it, and the Queries proposed may have been a compromise list. The Committee does not seem to have fully understood the difficulty of adopting a list of

¹ *Church government*, 1931, p. 49. The three paragraphs on "Duty of reading Advices and Queries" at the end of ch. 6, show slight inconsistencies with the duties laid down in the opening preamble. The "Duty" does not appear in the draft submitted to the Adjourned Yearly Meeting.

² D. Pickard, *An expostulation*, 1864, p. 15.

Queries which were designed for different purposes, or of leaving unaltered the duty of corporate consideration of Queries which it had revised without bearing this purpose in mind.

CONCLUSION

During the history of the Society, the purpose of the Queries and General Advices and their relative importance had completely altered. The original three "Questions" adopted by Yearly Meeting in 1682 were intended to produce in reply certain factual information. In the eighteenth century the Queries were used increasingly to ensure consistency among Friends, to obtain information as to the state of the Society, and (particularly after 1760) as an aid to the discipline. In the nineteenth century the value of the Queries for self-examination became of greater importance, and their purpose as an aid to the discipline was increasingly questioned. Following the revisions of 1860 and 1875, the disciplinary purpose disappeared and they were used for corporate consideration in addition to self-examination. Finally, as a result of the changes made in 1928, the value of the Queries for self-examination emerged uppermost, and they were used increasingly as an aid in meetings for worship, while their importance for corporate consideration was largely overlooked.

When they were instituted in 1791, the General Advices were regarded as subsidiary to the Queries and had a very similar purpose to them as an aid to the discipline. Following the major revision of 1833 they were used mainly for individual exhortation, and at each successive revision in 1860, 1875 and 1928, they have grown steadily in length and importance, and, as we have seen, at the last revision the Committee considered the General Advices to be of greater significance than the Queries with the purpose both of arousing self-examination and for use in meetings for worship. In considering the revision of the Queries and General Advices at the present time, it is well to remember the alterations that have taken place over the years both in their purpose and content, and the need for the Society to use them to the best advantage. Properly used, they will not be regarded simply as a collection of pious sentiments leading

[Concluded on page 279]

Recent Publications

The Second Period of Quakerism. By the late William C. Braithwaite. Second edition prepared by Henry J. Cadbury, pp. xxxvi, 735. Cambridge University Press, 1961, 30s.

The new edition of *The Beginnings of Quakerism* by William Charles Braithwaite appeared in 1955. It was reviewed in this *Journal* (xlvii, 93-94), and Henry Cadbury's work has found wide acceptance as giving the kernel volume of the Rowntree Series a further lease of useful life. Now after six years, the promised *Second Period* is in print, and does not disappoint our hopes.

In his preface to this edition, dated June 1957 (although dates, and works noted, in the body of the book reveal that a later date can be assigned to the final preparation for the press), Henry J. Cadbury explains the procedure which has been followed. It is the same as that adopted for the earlier volume. The text (taken from the impression of 1921) has not been reset, but about 150 corrections or additions have been inserted in the original pages. Larger notes, emendations and additions, indicated by an asterisk, in the text, have been printed in the section for Additional Notes at pages 648-714, bringing the work up to date with new material accumulated since the first edition appeared in 1919.

Rufus Jones's introduction has been replaced by one of twelve pages by Frederick B. Tolles, dealing with developments in the past forty years, and changes in interpretation which have come about with the elapse of time and the accumulation of fresh evidence on Quaker development in the period 1660-1725. In the course of his introduction, Frederick Tolles says truly that,

"It is a measure of William Charles Braithwaite's achievement that in this altered climate of historical interpretation his two solid volumes are still the basic and indispensable works on the early years of the Society of Friends."

Workers in the field of Quaker history will be grateful that this work is in print again, at a very reasonable price, and with usefulness enhanced by the new notes and bibliographical references supplied by Henry J. Cadbury.

R.S.M.

Two Early Political Associations: the Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the age of Sir Robert Walpole (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961. 30s.), promises from its title more for those interested in the history of Quakerism than in fact the author, N. C. Hunt, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, can supply.

The title of the book is the key to the misapprehension with which the reader may come to the subject. It is a caricature of Quaker history to equate the society which early Friends formed, with a political association; but as a fringe study of the way in which Friends tried to influence politics and the political decisions of the government and

legislature of the day in the direction of toleration, it has value outside the period of fifty years from the Revolution of 1689 to the fall of Walpole in 1742 with which it is primarily concerned.

In the portion of the book dealing with Quakers, the author sets out to describe the Quaker campaigns for the Affirmation Act, 1696, and its renewal in 1702; for its modification in 1722, and the Tithe Bill campaigns of the 1730s. The balance of forces after the Revolution, and the unsatisfactory nature of aspects of the settlement of 1689, gave Friends the opportunity and the occasion for developing their political activities, which the author considers had been in abeyance since 1681 under the personal rule of Charles II and James II.

In certain respects the author's judgment is in question. He reads back to 1675 the organization of "preparative" meetings (p. 2); and real evidence is lacking for Walpole's "management" of the Quakers in the period after the failure of the Bill of 1736 to pass the Lords, but even if one may think that the evidence as a whole scarcely justifies the claim that Friends' political activities showed they were an important political association—for it must be remembered always that their influence on affairs was restricted to a very small sphere at this time and afterwards—as a study of the methods adopted to bring pressure to bear in the political field it is interesting and revealing. The author details the means to influence the course of legislation. They include, with the exception of the large public meeting, all the main weapons of the modern pressure group, ranging from the collection of evidence, wide dissemination of information, organization of petitions, lobbying, pressure on M.P's in their constituencies, deputations to the government, the preparation of draft legislation and the presentation and defence of the case before Parliament, and the final round of thanks to all concerned when success had been achieved.

However, against all this, the book shows how intermittent was this political activity, and more might have been made of the fact that Friends were only carrying over into the religious sphere methods of application to King and Parliament which any group of merchants or traders seeking some protection or some liberty had been wont to exert.

Quaker hesitations in the Tithe Bill campaign and deference to government opinion was due more, perhaps, to a reluctance to embarrass the government than to a sense of the omnipotence of the executive—the possible successors to Walpole might in the long run be far less well-disposed to Friends than the Whigs had proved themselves to be. In his account of the Tithe Bill campaign the author states the case for the Church of England attitude in calling for the retention of the Ecclesiastical courts and Exchequer procedures in tithe cases, and challenges the fairness (although the accuracy does not seem to be in doubt) of the figures of prosecutions which Friends published in support of their case. The author emphasizes the small numbers of Friends who were affected by Exchequer and Ecclesiastical Court prosecutions (between 1725 and 1735, the number had fallen to about 16 annually). He implies that Friends were not justified in trying to have the permissive summary procedure before Justices made obligatory—but the rising Tory tide of the later Walpolean period might well have

reversed the trend and taken the position back to that which obtained in the days of Queen Anne.

R.S.M.

Quakerism in west Montgomeryshire, by E. Ronald Morris, B.A., appearing in the 1959 volume (vol. 56, pt. 1, issued January 1961) of *The Montgomery collections: the transactions of the Powys-land Club*, is the opening portion of a detailed survey of the extent and decline of the Quaker meetings and the fortunes of the families who attended them in the western portion of Montgomeryshire, from the rise of Quakerism until its decline in that area in the nineteenth century. The author gives some details of the fortunes of the Welsh families who emigrated to America.

Isabel Fry, 1869-1958, portrait of a great teacher. Edited with a memoir by Beatrice Curtis Brown (London, Barker, 1960, 21s.), includes a small collection of Isabel Fry's own writings and recollections of childhood, with glimpses of family life in the household of Sir Edward and Mariabella (Hodgkin) Fry.

Among records of some political events recently published by the Royal Historical Society (Camden Third Series, vol. 91), from the *Diurnal* of Thomas Rugg, covering the years 1659-1661 (Edited by William L. Sachse, 1961) are some items purporting to deal with Friends. They include:

Nov. 1659. Statuers broke in Whit Hall Garden.

About this time their was a cooke that lived by the Pallace gate, Westmester, that in sermon time went into Whit Hall Garden and with him carried a smiths great hamer. Hee brake theire those goodly statuers of brass and marble which, report said, they ware the neatlest made and the best workmanshapp in Europe . . . This cook was in his judgment a Quaker . . . (pp. 10-11)

Dec. 1659.

The 15th day of this mounth the people called Quakers put forth a printed sheet of paper; it was called A Kind Exhortation to the Yong Men of London, for all action that was acted in the Citty went by theire names. (The work referred to appears to be Edward Burrough: *A presentation to London: being an answer to the young men and apprentices* (signed E.H. and dated London. 10th mo. 1659. 8 pp.), printed in Burrough's Works, 1672, p. 607. Wing H2661A (under Ellis Hookes, in error).) It was a very loveing and kind advice in such words as they alwayes use, that they held it theire duty to disswade them from those accions that they had so often acted and that it was the Lord alone that hindred them, else they would have beene destroyed altogeather in his wrath, and that it was not seemly before men that such headey and unadvised wayes ware in theire evill doings and that it was evill in them to slight the Mayor of the Citty in regard hee was for the peace of the Citty and it beeing a day that they ought to learne righteousness and not comply with unlawfull wayes. This was the maine of it.

Notes and Queries

FRIENDS' ARCHIVES

In a series on "Protestant Nonconformist Records", *Archives*, vol. 5, no. 26 (1961), prints a paper by W. R. Powell, entitled "Protestant Nonconformist Records and the local historian," and a series of short descriptions of the archive collections of the various nonconformist bodies, including "Society of Friends records", by E. H. Milligan, (pp. 11-12).

THE BATTLE-DOOR

Susie I. Tucker in her *English Examined: Two centuries of comment on the mother-tongue* (Cambridge, 1961), quotes from the *Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to Learn Singular and Plural* (1660), on the grammatical and social uses of "thou" and "you", supported by arguments from the usage of singular and plural in foreign languages and quotations from Cotgrave's French-English Dictionary.

EMERSON ON FOX

Emerson's lecture on George Fox, written in July 1832 and first delivered on February 28th, 1835, is printed, with full apparatus of textual notes and variant passages on pages 174-182 of *The early lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 1, edited by Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller (Harvard University Press, 1959).

CLARENDON AND FRIENDS

An article entitled "Clarendon and the University of Oxford,

1660-1667" by Professor P. H. Hardacre, in the *British journal of educational studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, May 1961, pp. 117-131, quotes (from A. M. Gummere's article in the *Pennsylvania magazine*, 32 (1899), 273-89) letters from Clarendon (Chancellor of the University) to the Vice-Chancellor directing him to try to root out the Quakers from Oxford, treating them "as a sort of people upon whom tenderness and lenity do not at all prevail". "It would be of a very ill example that we should not be able to root them out of an university."

TITHE OF BEES

The Agricultural history of Cheshire, 1750-1850, by C. Stella Davies (Chetham Society, 3rd series, vol. 10, 1960) relates the following story of tithes in the parish of Alderley at the end of the 18th century. The rector, the Rev. Ralph Carr, made himself unpopular in some quarters with his tithe demands and there were constant disputes about the demands for tithe in kind. John Norbury, a strong Nonconformist, is said (p. 106) to have "related a story, probably legendary, of a Quaker who shook the bees out of a hive into the rector's drawing-room, saying, 'There is thy tithe of bees, the hive I will keep, for it is mine.'"

BANKING

L. S. Pressnell's *Country banking in the industrial revolution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956), is firmly based on manuscript sources and deals not only with

the great dynasties of Gurneys and Hoares, Peases and Backhouses, Birkbecks and Frys, but also with ones whose names are not so widely known like Alexanders, Fox of Wellington and Gillett of Banbury. The work, indeed, began as the history of the firm of Gillett and Tawney of Banbury.

PENAL REFORM & CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The Struggle for Penal Reform: the Howard League and its predecessors, by Gordon Rose (Stevens, 1961) is an account of developments in this field, mainly since 1918, but also covering the work of the Howard Association (1866) and the Penal Reform League (1907) which amalgamated to the Howard League for Penal Reform in 1921, and so including in its survey the wide sweep of the 19th century up to the present day. This is a thorough piece of work, and from the time of William Tallack, Peter Bedford and William Allen it is a subject in which Friends have been interested.

The Crusade against Capital Punishment in Great Britain, by Elizabeth Orman Tuttle (Stevens 1961), another volume in the *Library of criminology* series, covers a like period to the former work—from the Benthamites, Romilly and Mackintosh at the beginning of the 19th century, right up to the Homicide Act, 1957 and recent developments. It is particularly full in dealing with developments up to the Select Committee of 1930 (which recommended abolition for a trial period) and the post-war legislative developments.

A QUAKER DRESS

Among the Bygones added to the Museum at Taunton, recorded in the Somersetshire Archaeological & Natural History Society's *Proceedings*, vol. 104 (1959-60), is a "Quaker dress, formerly belonging to Mary Sanderson," on loan from Hubert Fox.

Mary Sanderson (1788-1846) was the daughter of John and Margaret (Shillitoe) Sanderson of London. She became a minister in 1812, and visited many parts of Great Britain. She was the first to accompany Elizabeth Fry to Newgate. In 1821 she married Sylvanus Fox, and made religious visits in the following years to Ireland, Scotland, the Shetlands and America. She died 24th December, 1846, aged 58, a minister about 36 years, and was buried at Wellington. There is a testimony from West Somerset M.M. in *Testimonies* 1847, p.1. See *Annual monitor*, 1848.

QUAKER STREET NAMES

Up and down the country are to be found Quaker Streets, Quaker Lanes, and even Quakers Friars, but these names have doubtless been given to the roads leading to Friends' meeting houses by their neighbours. It is probably rare, however, that a Friends' meeting will have been called upon to assign the name to a highway. This happened in Bristol in 1705, when the Men's Meeting was considering the planning and layout of buildings then proposed to occupy the land around Friends' Workhouse between the Old Market and the River Fromm. Although the name chosen (New

Street) would not now be recognized as typically Quaker, it may be worth recording as the decision of an 18th century Friends' meeting which still holds good on street maps of the twentieth century.

The minute of Bristol Men's Meeting (20.vi.1705) reads:

Jeoffry Pinnell acquaints this Meeting, they have a Tenant offered for One of the New houses and have agreed to graunt a Lease thereof.

& Considering that the place or street should be called by som name or other. This Meeting have Considered the same & agrees that the New street now in Building betwixt Friends & Major Wade on the Lamb-Ground be Called New-street, and soe to mention it in the said Lease if they Graunt any. (Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, Bristol M.M. records. C.1842 A.3-203, p. 23; now deposited in the Bristol City Archives department, Council House, Bristol, 1.)

LIVERPOOL FRIENDS

The Liverpool Libraries, Museums & Arts Committee Bulletin, vol. 9 (1960-61) is a Local history library and Record office number. An article notices that in 1767 "it was ruled that Quakers might affirm instead of making oath" on admission to the freedom of the borough.

"The 'Jacobins' of Liverpool, 1789-1793", by R. B. Rose, deals with a small group of intellectuals, mainly of dissenting families, the Rathbones and others (including Dr. John Rutter (1762-1838), the Quaker physician to the Liverpool Dispensary), who had radical leanings.

MACCLESFIELD FRIENDS

A history of Macclesfield. Edited by C. Stella Davies (1961), is published to commemorate the 700th anniversary of the granting of a charter to the borough. The volume includes short studies on the various religious communities in the town, and there is some information concerning Friends. The minutes of the preparative meeting survive from 1694, meetings then being held at Eaton and at Bosley. The meeting house in Macclesfield, off Mill Street, was built in 1705, and by 1715 there are said to have been 80 Quakers in the town. During the 19th century membership declined, and in 1877 meetings ceased to be held at the meeting house, and were held in a room at Kerridge End. In 1895 the meeting moved to Bollington, but after various vicissitudes returned in 1938 to the original house. The Neave family is mentioned.

TASMANIAN FRIENDS

The Department of History of the University of Tasmania in its Report on the Historical Manuscripts of Tasmania, no. 5 covers the papers of certain Quaker families: Cotton, Mather, May, Stickney, Walker [(1821-1930) (xi, 67 pp. 1960).

BEVAN FAMILY

The Evangelical Quarterly, vol. 33, no. 2 (April-June 1961) includes, at pp. 81-92, an article by John S. Andrews, entitled, "The recent history of the Bevan family". This deals mainly with the 19th century and after, supplementing information given in *A history of the Bevan family*, by A. N. Gamble (1924). The article

is illustrated by a family tree tracing the descent from the 17th and 18th century Quaker Bevans and Barclays.

BINNS FAMILY

"The Binns family of Liverpool and the Binns Collection in the Liverpool Public Library" is the title of an article by Eveline B. Saxton in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. III (for 1959), pp. 167-180. The Binns collection of maps, views and portraits of Liverpool and Lancashire worthies was begun by Thomas Binns (1771-1842), descended from John Binns (b. 1663, at Cloughheigh, Keighley) who became a Quaker in 1683. In the course of the 18th century the family settled in Liverpool and were prominent among Friends there and elsewhere in the North. There are two family trees, and illustrations of three houses belonging to the family.

JOHN BRIGHT

Professor David Roberts of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, in *Victorian origins of the British Welfare State* (Yale University Press, 1960), deals with social progress and government intervention in industrial, health, and educational kindred affairs in the twenty years from the Factory Act of 1833 to 1854. The Manchester School disliked the developing centralization:

"The John Brights and Edward Baineses of the northern towns
"—manufacturers and nonconformists, and proud citizens of
"progressive boroughs—felt only
"jealousy of Whitehall and its
"bothersome interference. They
"opposed all factory regulations,

"all interference with their
"church schools, any meddling
"in their town affairs." (p. 97)

EDMUND BURKE AND THE PLAIN LANGUAGE

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. vol. 3—July 1774—June 1778 (Ed. G. H. Guttridge, 1961), includes a letter (printed in the *Leadbeater Papers*, II, 127-8), dated 16th September 1777, from Edmund Burke to Richard Shackleton, in which he mentions his difficulty in using the Friends' plain manner of address, omitting titles from envelopes. Members of Parliament franked letters for their friends, and Burke evidently did this for Shackleton. He wrote:

"You have some Franks and I shall send you more. I have only one favour to beg relative to this matter, which is that you will contrive in some oblique way to let me know whether the person I am to direct to be called, if male, Esqr or plain Mr or if a Woman, whether Mrs or Miss, for you know as well as I do, that Quakers are at least as punctilious in the use of these distinctions as any others, when applied by those who they know do not scruple them; and dont forget that it is I who direct the Letter not you, and that when I mean to please them with franking the Letter I may affront them by neglecting that civility which they know I employ in common. So much for the directions which observing this the more you give me the more I shall be pleased." (p. 375)

The correspondence in this volume covers the period of the

election of 1774, when Burke was elected as a member for the city of Bristol. Burke's friendship with and reliance on the solid support of Richard Champion (1743-91) is well known and is amply borne out by the letters printed, but other Bristol Friends appear—the Frys, the Harfords and the Lloyds. Writing to Richard Shackleton, 11th October 1774, Richard Burke noted the solid Quaker support for Burke's candidature:

"I am always inclined to fear and distrust appearances, but your friends swear—O, no—they affirm that Success is certain." (p. 65)

The editor notes that Shackleton wrote to William Fry (one of the very few Friends who opposed Edmund Burke) recording his friendship and intimacy with the candidate and his certain knowledge of Burke's honour and integrity and devotion to the cause of liberty. This letter did not cause Fry to change his vote, but he did not suppress it and it had an influence on Burke's success in the election.

ABIAH DARBY

Shropshire Saint: a study of the ministry and spirituality of Fletcher of Madeley, by George Lawton (The Wesley Historical lecture, no. 26, London, Epworth Press, 1960), includes a summary account of relations between Fletcher and the Coalbrookdale Quakers, in particular Abiah Darby the 18th century travelling Friend. Abiah Darby lent Fletcher Quaker books. They did not see eye to eye, of course. She went to a class meeting, and reported: "I had a full time of

it to declare against dead formality in religion." However, she did tell Fletcher on one occasion: "I believe thou hast been of service in the Lord's hand to reform the people here away." This was an unsolicited testimonial to the influence of the clergyman who made Madeley in Shropshire a "Mecca of Methodism" during the years of his incumbency.

THOMAS LAYTHES OF DALEHEAD

"The Leathes family of Dalehead", an article by B. L. Thompson in the 1960 volume (New series, 60) of *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, includes some account of a 'Paper Booke' begun by Thomas Laythes in 1676. The book is now in the Armit Library, Ambleside, and is similar to one in Friends House Library which Thomas Laythes used between 1689 and 1700. The book contains copies of legal documents, letters of a religious nature, and "Several Remarkable Judgments".

The article includes a family tree. Thomas Laythes (1628-1701) was twice married; his first wife, Jane (d. 1691), does not appear to have joined Friends, and his son, Joshua became High Sheriff of Cumberland, but when he married a second time (at the age of 71) he married Esther Huntingdon at Pardshaw Cragg meeting, 13.VII.1699. See *Cambridge Journal*, ii, 390.

HUGH MARMION, "FRENCH REFUGEE"

Readers of a recent article in this *Journal* on Friends and charitable Briefs will have noticed that Bristol meeting took

collections for distribution among the distressed French Protestants, fleeing from the persecution which broke out after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xlviii, 274, 1958). In the course of that paper (p. 277) the following individual case was mentioned, which appears in the minutes of the Bristol Men's Meeting, 1704 and 1705. The circumstances have no parallel in the Bristol minutes of the period, and may well be unique, involving (as they seem to do) a refugee who had become estranged from his co-religionists, and who appealed to Friends, yet does not seem to have been accepted as a Quaker, although the Men's Meeting gave him advice and granted relief.

Among the persons receiving a grant from a bequest "to the poore friends Called Quakers" dispensed by order of the Men's Meeting in Bristol, 24th of 5th month (July) 1704, appears the name of Hugh Marmion, and the sum of £1 granted him.

In the following November he made an application for assistance, and the paper quoted the relevant minutes showing what assistance and advice was given him.

From a later minute it appears that a further 20s. was given to him, for the Meeting of 19.i. 1704/5 (March 1705, N.S.) "allows that the 20s. lately dilliverd to Hugh Marmion be in this account" when closing the record of payments made from a legacy given to poor Friends in the city.

The identity of Hugh Marmion or Marmiron cannot be established from the Quaker records in Bristol. His death is not recorded

among Friends' burial registers there, but in William A. Shaw's *Letters of denization, 1603-1700* (*Huguenot Society. Publications.* 18, 1911), the name Hugh Marmyon (Marmion) appears among the denizations of 5 Wm. and Mary, April 15, 1693 (p. 229). There is also the record of one Hugues Marnion, from Hanau, in the *Livre des tesmoignages de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street, 1669-1789* (*Huguenot Society. Publications.* 21, 1909), p. 190, under date 27 Dec. 1681.

AMELIA OPIE

Victorian Miniature, by Professor Owen Chadwick (Hodder and Stoughton, 1960, 25s.) deals with the Norfolk village of Ketteringham and the relations between the squire and the parson, as revealed in the diaries of Sir John Boileau and W. W. Andrew mainly during the first half of Queen Victoria's reign.

Many people came to stay at Ketteringham Hall—"One lady from Norwich was a welcome and stimulating visitor, Amelia Opie. After the death of her husband, the painter, she had turned Quaker, and yet retained with her black bonnet and grey silks an air of attractive worldliness which led people to accuse her of insincerity . . . She brought into the austere atmosphere of Ketteringham Hall a breath of skittishness and archness and roguery which even Sir John never seems to have resented. . ." (pp. 65-66).

SAMUEL WARING OF BRISTOL

Guinness's Brewery in the Irish economy, 1759-1876, by Patrick Lynch & John Vaizey (Cam-

bridge University Press, 1960), includes a short account of the work of Samuel Waring (d. 1839, aged 44), the firm's agent in Bristol from 1826-1837, "a man of enterprise and ability", who nevertheless was in financial difficulties in 1837 when he had invested heavily in a railroad

stock. "The brewery appears to have advanced him money on a mortgage of his house at Stoke Bishop (28th, November 1837), and there was help, too, from his 'good friend Mr Fry'." (p. 133) Samuel was joined, and then succeeded in the Bristol agency, by his son, Edward Waring.

"Matthew Bramble, Tom Paine and John Wesley", is the title of an article by George Lawton in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 33, part 2 (June 1961), pp. 41-45. It deals with *Portraits of Persons in Public and Private Life, Real and Caricatured, with a few Fictitious ones: in Blank Verse* (1820), by "Matthew Bramble", which included in it some verses on some Friends (e.g. Richard Reynolds). "Matthew Bramble" has been identified by H. W. Atkinson, in his *The families of Atkinson of Roxby (Lincs.) and Thorne, and Dearman of Braithwaite, and families connected with them*, 1933, with Richard Dearman (1766-1856).

Continued from page 269]

Friends into the danger of a "delusive conceit that their religious state and condition is better than is really the case,"¹ but as a stimulus to all to be true disciples of Christ in all departments of life.

RICHARD E. STAGG

Addendum

p. 235, line 19. Add after 1833. *renumbered 17* . . . recorded; are the rules respecting registers and trust property observed; and are all Legacies . . .

¹ D. Pickard, *An expostulation*, 1864, p. 15.

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