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THE JOURNAL
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Editorial

THE present issue of the *Journal* is the sole number for 1963. It opens with a short article by Henry J. Cadbury on William Coatesworth and early Quakerism in Newcastle upon Tyne, based on an extract in the newspaper *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, 1658. George W. Edwards contributes a short historical note on the Stuchbury Trust, a trust established under the will of Elizabeth Stuchbury, widow of Giles Stuchbury (and before that, widow of Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger), who bequeathed the residue of her estate for the apprenticeship of poor Quaker children.

The Presidential address for 1963 on Quaker printers, 1750-1850, by Russell Mortimer, was read before the Society at its meeting on 3rd October by Muriel A. Hicks, and is one of the major articles in this issue. The other is a study of the Gurneys and the Norwich clothing trade in the 18th century by Dr. J. K. Edwards, forming part of his doctoral thesis on *The economic development of Norwich, 1740-1850* (University of Leeds), and based largely on the Gurney Manuscripts.

Bishop Shute Barrington held his primary visitation in 1783 in the year following his translation to the see of Salisbury. In preparation for the visitation he circulated to the clergy of his diocese (the counties of Wiltshire and Berkshire) a set of queries, including one request for information on the extent and strength of nonconformity in each parish. The answers are preserved in the Salisbury Diocesan Archives,

and the information concerning Quakers is reproduced in a series of short extracts.

Wilfrid Allott contributes a study of the work of Wilson Armistead of Leeds, the compiler of the volumes of *Select Miscellanies*, other works on Friends, and many anti-slavery publications.

The further numbers of the A. R. Barclay Manuscripts (continued from the previous volume) printed in this issue will be completed in the next issue by notes.

The Irish Language

It may not be generally known that George Fox in *A Battledore to Learn Singular and Plural* gives, as the last page of different language examples, Irish. The script differs little from modern Irish, and the pronunciation indicated by Fox is (on the authority of the National Library of Ireland) synonymous with that of today.

Only one 17th century Quaker preacher is known to have used Irish, i.e. Katherine MacLaughlin, later Norton, a native of Coleraine.

The Historical Library at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin, would be glad to hear of other 17th century Friends using Irish as a medium of preaching or writing.

OLIVE C. GOODBODY

Irish Quaker Diaries

CORRECTIONS

Page 53, line 13. *For* Mary *read* Elizabeth.

Page 54, line two from bottom. *For* (Cooper) *read* (Lucas) Newsom.

Early Quakerism at Newcastle upon Tyne

WILLIAM COATESWORTH

OF early Quakerism at Newcastle not much is known from the usual sources. There is no local report in the *First Publishers of Truth*, 1907 or its supplements in *J.F.H.S.* Fox tells briefly in his *Journal* of visiting the place with Anthony Pearson in 1657, having, he says, visited it once before. Their request of Thomas Ledgerd, an alderman, and others for permission for a meeting—whether a meeting of Friends or a conference with town and church authorities—was not granted. Friends did however get a foothold in Gateshead across the river. All this is recorded in J. W. Steel's *Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends in Newcastle and Gateshead*, 1899.

A fuller record of the efforts to found a meeting is given in George Whitehead's *Christian Progress*, 126-130, referring to a time near that of Fox's visit, and is summarized as follows in W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 373:

A similar policy [of excluding Friends from the town] was pursued at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, at the end of 1657, a large room was taken by William Coatsworth, of South Shields, and others; but the mayor and his officers broke up the first meeting, and escorted the Quakers to the "blew stone" on Tyne Bridge, which marked the limits of his jurisdiction, and charged them in the name of the Protector to hold no more meetings at their peril. On a first-day soon after, a meeting was attempted out of doors by the river-side, and the Friends were again dragged off to Tyne Bridge. Then the Guildhall was hired, which was outside the liberty of the town; but Samuel Hammond, one of the authors of *The perfect Pharise under Monkish Holines*, induced the hall-keeper to break his bargain, and the meeting had to be held on the hill-side, also outside the liberty. George Whitehead was there, and spoke for two or three hours, in so loud a voice that he could be heard from the Castle Green, where he was standing, over the Tyne into Gateshead. Coatsworth was so chagrined over the business that "he let in too much grief and trouble of mind, insomuch that it did somewhat discompose him, so that in a hurry"—that is, in agitation of mind—"he took horse to ride to London in all haste to speak to Oliver Cromwell." He was taken ill on the road, and died at Durham, but before his end was "made sensible he had not stood in the cross, nor been so watchful as he ought to have been."

As early as 1653 Newcastle ministers were involved in vigorous anti-Quaker pamphleteering, and also one Thomas Ledgerd (if that is what T. L. in some lost anti-Quaker pamphlets means). Thomas Ledgerd and one of the ministers, Samuel Hammond, are mentioned above. James Nayler and others replied promptly to them, and finally George Fox did so in *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded*, 1659, pp. 74, 182, 227, 254, 257.

Whitehead puts Coatesworth's death at Durham, where his parents-in-law lived, on 8th of 11 Month, 1657 [January, 1658]. He was thus one of the most short-lived of the early zealous converts.¹ The allusions to him in the Swarthmore MSS (i. 276, 284; iv. 25, 27) are all in 1656, and suggest that he was a man of means, though subject to financial loss by pirates, and that he generously offered financial help to the First Publishers of Truth.

How much earlier we may trace Coatesworth's connection with Friends depends on the date of Swarthmore MSS ii. 17 of which he was one of the sixteen signers. It was a call for "some of every several meeting to meet monthly." It was endorsed by George Fox "The setting up of the men's meeting in Bishoprick, 1653." The date is probably wrong and the area probably too narrow. Another signer can be identified as coming from Gateshead (Richard Ubank), and this implies it occurred in 1654 or even later.² Six of the other signers occur among the names of the signers of a similar document of 1659 from "several meetings in and adjoining the county of Durham." It suggests that Friends do "not tie up ourselves to the world's limits of counties and places." Both documents are given in full in *Epistles of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London*, 1858, i, pp. vi-vii and xxxi-xxxiv. The earlier one is also in Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America*, 1850, i, pp. 209-10; the later one, but without signatures, in A. R. Barclay, *Letters, &c., of Early Friends*, 1841, pp. 288-92.³

Further reference to him at a stage of the above proceedings comes from an unexpected source—a contemporary London newspaper published in French. It has the additional interest of being one of the longest lived of the newspapers

¹ James Parnell died 10th April, 1656.

² Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 143, note 3.

³ Cf. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 328-31.

of the period, running from 1650 to 1658,¹ and of having been started by William DuGard (*anglice* Dugard), an acquaintance of Milton, and probably with Milton's help. It was the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*. In political views it presented the official government viewpoint. It was doubtless started under the Commonwealth in an attempt to offset in France the prevailing ideas of royalist exiles. The Quaker items, as in other papers, are not so much political news as what we should call "human interest stories."² In the issue No. 400 for 24/14 to 31/21 January 1658/7 [1658]³ one reads the following on page 1606:

The letters from Newcastle of 17th January report that a few weeks before that date the great Quaker or "Trembler" called Fox had been going about in that area, visiting the members of his fraternity, and had left one George Whitehead and various other disciples at the above-mentioned Newcastle to pursue vigorously all possible efforts to seduce and pervert not only families but whole villages; that for this purpose a certain William Coatesworth had recently rented a very large house in the same Newcastle, in the corn market in the centre of town for a term of three years, where these Tremblers began to hold their meetings on the 8th of this month, that being a market day; that the Mayor of Newcastle, having been informed of it, and considering quite rightly that such meetings could have dangerous consequences for the corporation, both for the public peace as well as for the truth which might be disturbed by these meetings, went himself to the house with the Aldermen of the city after the meeting had begun, and had expelled those who were assembled there, forbidding them to meet there any more; that if he had not come just then, apparently there would have been a considerable number of people gathered there in less than two hours; that since that time the man Coatesworth had often been to see the Mayor, had often walked beside him, without, however, saying a word, although they say he was urged to speak if he had something to say; that the preceding Sunday, the 13th of this month, this Coatesworth and another Trembler had gone on horseback, riding at full speed through the city of Durham just at the time when people were coming out of church; that some people having stopped them, asking them why they were riding this way on a Sunday, the man Coatesworth had replied that they had killed

¹ The British Union Catalogue of Periodicals records an issue as late as 1663.

² See Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620-1660*, 1961, pp. 210f. and elsewhere, especially p. 360, note 31.

³ For a photostat of this issue I am indebted to the Library of the University of Rochester. Dr. Edith Philips, of Swarthmore College, has, with her experienced knowledge of French treatment of Quakers, very kindly made for me the English translation that follows.

or poisoned the Mayor of Newcastle and that they were hastening to London to try to obtain their pardon. Whereupon the Mayor of Durham had them all arrested and was still keeping them prisoners. That it was to be noted that on the disbanding of their assembly one of them had been heard to say that if others would act as he did the Mayor of Newcastle would not be mayor very long, and that by such ways of acting and such words it could easily be concluded that the principles of these people are desperately evil and dangerous, and that if they had the power they would be as bloodthirsty as their fathers the Jesuits are and have been. The same letters add that the man Coatesworth, having recently buried his wife in a field near Shields, three days later had returned to the same place, saying that she was to be resurrected that day. He had scratched the earth to uncover her, but after staying there some length of time he had finally gone away; that afterward he had asserted that he wished to walk on the river, into which he had advanced until the water was up to his chest, and would have drowned himself but for the help of a boatman who jumped into the water to save him, and that at present he was quite out of his senses in the prison of Durham, where he often repeated the words, "Oh brave James Nayler, oh brave George Fox, oh brave William Coatesworth, you have done such things as men on earth have never done."

The passage needs little comment. There is fundamental agreement with the Quaker account about Coatesworth's zeal, about his intended journey to London, and his being halted at Durham. Indeed the friendly Whitehead agrees with the newspaper that he was "in some discomposure." There are, of course, contradictions, though the exact days of the month may not be among them, in view of the use in the newspaper of the continental dates, i.e., arrival in Durham on 13th January, that is the 3rd, death, according to Whitehead on the 8th a few days after his arrival.¹ The story of his discomfiture in expecting his wife's resurrection could have been influenced by the episode of Susanna Pearson at the grave near Worcester of William Pool in February 1657 which had been promptly published in the English news-books and became notorious.²

This newspaper account may seem too trivial to deserve notice. There is no reason to prefer it to Quaker sources. It may, however, be made a text for a plea for a more thorough culling of the seventeenth century British newspapers for references to the Quakers. One of the most useful publications

¹ The local Friends' registers do not include such early data.

² See George Fox's *Book of Miracles*, pp. 13-15; cf. *Short Journal*, pp. 375f.

of an earlier generation was *Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends, 1654-1672* (London, Friends' Historical Society, 1911-13), transcribed by Charlotte Fell Smith and edited by Norman Penney. These extracts from the "Domestic" Series give us not only important additional information but also insight into how Friends appeared to their contemporaries. Our early Quaker historical sources are happily very abundant, so abundant that in using them alone we often lack this other perspective. I have frequently wished that the *Extracts* would be continued by publishing references to Friends in later years and in other series of State Papers than the Domestic. Considerable matter of interest has been or can be found there, for example on William Penn in 1670.¹

The British newspapers are much more intractable material. The State Papers are mainly at one place, the Public Record Office, and have been calendared, except 1686-1688, and the calendars indexed, so that Quaker references are easily found. On the other hand the British newspapers are extremely difficult to locate and examine. The Thomason Collection in the British Museum has a good run of most of them up to 1660 (not however the *Nouvelles Ordinaires* from which I have quoted), but otherwise files are broken and scattered. To compile a reasonably complete list of what newspapers were published, and for what periods, is in itself a complicated task.² To that is added the problem of locating copies for all the issues. After that one must either visit the libraries that contain them or get microfilms and read them. This is a laborious task, as I discovered when I once attempted it for only about a year (1682).³

British newspapers constitute a source that has been largely untapped in Quaker history. A few sporadic references occur.⁴ Even if the collection were carried out for a limited

¹ Published in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 70 (1946), 349-372; 73 (1949), 9-15.

² See the Index of Seventeenth Century Newspapers in Frank, *op. cit.*, or R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620-1800*, 1927, and the checklists for British newspapers at the Bodleian, Guildhall, Harvard, Huntington, University of Texas and Yale Libraries.

³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 75 (1951), pp. 147-158.

⁴ For example, in A. R. Barclay, *Letters, &c., of Early Friends*, 1841, notes on pp. 23f., 66.

period, or for one substantial and continuous periodical, the results would be of interest. They might not add much to our knowledge of events but, like the State Papers, they would help place the study of Quaker history in the perspective of contemporary public opinion.

HENRY J. CADBURY

The Stuchbury Trust

ON the 3rd February, 1708, there was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the will of Elizabeth Stuchbury, which she had signed on 26th January the same year.

By her will she bequeathed the residue of her estate to Charles Benson and Thomas Johnson, upon trust for putting out apprentice poor children of the people called Quakers in Southwark, as they should in their discretion see fit. The residuary estate consisted of about four acres of agricultural land with messuage and buildings thereon situated in St. George's Fields, Southwark.

Elizabeth was the widow of Giles Stuchbury, whom she had married, as his third wife on 15th March, 1680 [1681], at the Bull and Mouth Meeting, Aldersgate. At the time of her marriage she was the widow of Jarret Winstanley.¹ Giles's address was at the sign of "A Cooper's Adze," on Bankside, Southwark. A short while before his death Giles had loaned the sum of £400 to one Thomas Jenkins; this loan was secured on land in St. George's Fields.

Giles died on 3rd December, 1706 and left all his property to his widow Elizabeth, and upon her death eighteen months later, this land in St. George's Fields formed part of her residuary estate which she bequeathed to Southwark Quakers.

Giles Stuchbury had been an early convert to Quakerism, and had suffered for his convictions, particularly at the hands of the "Priest of Savories Southwark." By trade he was a Cooper, being a Freeman of the Guild of Coopers of the City of London. In 1671 Horslydown Monthly Meeting minuted:

It is to be remembered that Giles Stuchbury doe give notice to all the rest of Friends that are Coopers that they see that the man that weighs & seals their Casks that he do it exactly and justly: and that they make their Casks tight, that they use no clay, and if the man will not do them justly that then the Wardens of the Coopers Company be invited to weigh and seal them, and if they be false to bear a testimony against them.

Thomas Jenkins was unable to redeem the estate which he had mortgaged to Giles Stuchbury, and in 1713, five years after Elizabeth's death, he signed an Indenture

¹ See *Journal F.H.S.*, xlix, 42n.

releasing the equity of redemption, to the executors of the will.

The following year the trustees granted a lease to Nathaniel Oade of a Messuage, Coachhouse Stable and Barn with four acres of land in St. George's Fields, for a period of 21 years at an annual rent of £20.

By 1718 the two executors had discharged Elizabeth Stuchbury's various legacies and were able to hand over the residue of the estate to seven Quakers who were to administer it as directed by the will.

An advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* reads:

To be lett on lease for any term of years, a small estate in St. George's fields Southwark, late in the occupation of the Widow Gaskin, deceased, consisting of 2 Tenements a Cowhouse & Stabling & above three acres of land, enquire of Thomas Roake, Distiller, over against the hospital in the Borough, Southwark.¹

There was only one bridge across the River Thames at London until the year 1735, when the government constructed Westminster Bridge. To prevent trade becoming diverted from the City, the Bridge House Estate of the Corporation of London erected Blackfriars Bridge at the western boundary of the City. To link these two new bridges with that of old London Bridge, roads were cut across the Fields, these met at St. George's Circus. The Blackfriars road crossed the Stuchbury property, and in 1751 the trustees sold a portion of their estate to the Commissioners at the price of £400; they also claimed compensation for the inconvenience caused by the division of their property. Tenants too had to be recompensed for disturbance caused by these roadmaking schemes.

During the next few years other portions of the estate were sold to the Commissioners. Leases continued to be granted for the remainder of the property, but the new roads had made access easier and the agricultural uses of the land were no longer attractive. Nearby was Bankside, a noted area for questionable places of entertainment, and the Stuchbury Trustees, feeling the need to guard against possible doubtful activities being practised on their property, inserted the following clause into their leases:

He engages that no part of the Premises shall be employed as a Bear Garden or used for Bull Baiting or Tennis Court or any other disagreeable employ.

¹ St. Thomas' Hospital was at the southern approach to London Bridge.

In 1785 the owner of a nearby inn, known as "The Dog and Duck," made offers to the owners of all lands adjoining the New Roads, including the Stuchbury trustees, to acquire their interests. After negotiations the trustees agreed to sell all their remaining properties for the sum of £1,200.

In 1786 they recorded:

This Trust being now divested of the Estate in George's Fields consisting of houses and land, by the same being sold to James Hedges and the amount being invested in the Bank Annuities 1726, 3% which joined to the £400 of the same stock we had before, makes the Amount thereof now to be £2,200 in said Stock and the Trust solely consists in that.

To ensure regular attendance at the meetings of the trustees they instituted a system of levying a fine of one shilling on any of their number absent for any reason, other than illness; this was known as the forfeit money and it was used to pay for an occasional dinner for themselves. The menu of one of these, held at the Rose and Crown, Kew Green on 15th August, 1770, has been preserved. The cost of the meal, with gifts for servants, the hire of coach and horses with the turnpike charges cost £2 5s. 3d. for five persons. As the forfeit money only came to £1 13s. 1d., each of the five trustees had to contribute 2s. 6d. to make up the difference.

The only original asset to survive is a Navy Bill of the time of William III. These were used to pay sailors, who exchanged them with tradesmen at considerable discount, the tradesmen subsequently cashing them at the Navy Office.

At various times the investments have been changed. For 250 years the trustees have met regularly and distributed the income in conformity with the wishes of Giles and Elizabeth Stuchbury.

GEORGE W. EDWARDS

Quaker Printers, 1750-1850

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1963

SOME fifteen years ago an article appeared in this *Journal*, entitled: "The first century of Quaker printers."¹ In it, I dealt with the printers and booksellers who published books and pamphlets for Friends during the period up to 1750. That article looked back to some portions of Anna Littleboy's Presidential address to this Society in 1920 in which she dealt with the history of Friends' Reference Library and early printers and printing in the Society of Friends.² It looked back further as well, back as far as the work of Nathan Kite of Philadelphia in the middle of last century. Nathan Kite's work marks the beginning of detailed study of the history of Quaker printers. It appeared originally in the columns of the *American Friend*, and was later published anonymously in England by J. Harrison at Manchester in 1844, under the title—*Antiquarian researches among the early printers and publishers of Friends' books*.

One other study should be mentioned: in 1933 the members of the Bibliographical Society listened to a paper by Percy H. Muir, a director of Elkin Mathews the booksellers, in which he recounted the history of the Sowle firm, the printing house which, with its successors, the Hindes, and the Phillips family, printed and handled the great majority of Friends' books at least from the 1680s until the beginning of last century.³ In this paper, the author spent some time detailing the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the present

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37-49; xli (1949), 74-84. See also "Biographical notices of printers and publishers of Friends' books up to 1750" (*Journal of documentation*, iii (1947), 107-125).

² Printed in *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 1-16, 66-80; also issued separately.

³ "English imprints after 1640," by Percy H. Muir, 1934 (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 2nd ser., xiv; *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv, 157-177).

Covering somewhat the same ground is Charles M. Andrews: "The Quakers in London and their printers there" (Essay no. 11, in *Byways in Quaker history: a collection of historical essays by colleagues and friends of William I. Hull*. Edited by Howard H. Brinton, 1944, 191-208).

historical dictionaries of printers and booksellers in Britain,¹ but these need not detain us here, except to note that the field has by no means been thoroughly explored.

The story of Quaker printers after the seventeenth century is at once less heroic and more complex than that which the Stuart period affords. With the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695,² printers, hitherto almost wholly confined to the capital and the two universities, spread rapidly into the provinces. Printers first migrated to larger centres like Bristol and Norwich, but soon afterwards to places of lesser importance. By 1750 Friends had had books printed and sold in nearly a score of places outside London; in the succeeding century, up to 1850, the number of places in England alone reached 150, and scarcely a county is unrecorded.³ Therefore, although there is no story of prosecution and imprisonment for printing unlicensed works or seditious pamphlets, no raids on the presses, and no occasion for fictitious imprints, the spread of printing and the proliferation of publishing houses brings its own problem of organizing material so as to present a coherent and yet comprehensive story.

SOURCES

Anyone who works at some distance from the Library at Friends House, or the other large collections of Quaker works, must depend on Joseph Smith. Without his *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* published in two volumes in 1867,⁴ serious work would be very difficult indeed. Joseph Smith (1819-1896) did not spring from the ground with his catalogue in his hand, and it is fitting that, in our appreciation of his work, we as an historical society should salute at least his two most distinguished predecessors. First, Morris Birkbeck (1734-1816), collector and bibliographer, some of whose books are at Friends House to help complete the

¹ Particularly concerning the period here dealt with is H. R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775: those in England by H. R. Plomer—Scotland by G. H. Bushnell—Ireland by E. R. McC. Dix* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1932).

² The Licensing Act had been renewed in 1685 for 7 years (1 Jac. II, c.8, §15). The Act was continued to the end of the Parliament then sitting (4 & 5 Will. III, c.24, §14), but was not re-enacted afterwards.

³ According to present evidence, Monmouthshire, Rutland and the East Riding of Yorkshire produced nothing.

⁴ Together with a *Supplement* (London, E. Hicks), 1893.

collection here, but the bulk of whose library has now been in the care of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting for a century and a half.¹ And second, but in time, the first, John Whiting (1656-1722),² the Somerset man turned Londoner, whose *Catalogue of Friends books* of 1708 prefigures much of Joseph Smith's arrangement, and is a signal in the bibliographical field of the early establishment in the Society of Friends of a systematic tradition which has long proved its value.

Three papers in our *Journal*³ by Isaac Sharp dealt with these three men, John Whiting, Morris Birkbeck and Joseph Smith. In a humane and intimate study of Joseph Smith, Isaac Sharp explained that although the value of the *Descriptive catalogue* was fully appreciated, Friends in London did not appoint its compiler to take charge of their library, among other reasons because

Engrossed as he could be when the fit was on him, he could not always be prevailed upon to work, and there was less dependence to be placed upon his regularity as years advanced.⁴

However that may be, the *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, though now almost one hundred years' old, is still the basis for historical work.

The origin of the article on the first century of Friends' printers⁵ was an index of some three hundred different firms and persons working between the 1650s and 1750, as they are recorded in Joseph Smith's catalogue, and after reference in cases of doubt to copies of the works recorded there. The submerged portion of the iceberg of which this present paper is the visible token consists of a similar index of some sixteen hundred entries for firms and printers for the following period to 1850. With such an amount of material on hand, enumeration here is impossible, but a brief survey of the main stream of London printing, and a scrutiny of some other representative fields may be useful.

¹ The Birkbeck Library, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

² See *Dictionary of National Biography*. John Whiting is noted for his *Catalogue of Friends Books: written by many of the People called Quakers, from the beginning or first appearance of the said People. Collected for a general service, 1708*; and his *Persecution expos'd, in some memoirs, 1715* (both issued by the Sowle press).

³ *Journal F.H.S.*, iv (1907), 7-16; viii (1911), 9-15; xi (1914), 1-10.

⁴ *Journal F.H.S.*, xi (1914), 5.

⁵ *Journal F.H.S.*, xl (1948), 37-49; xli (1949), 74-84.

LONDON PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

In the earlier paper it was pointed out how useful it had been to Friends as a religious society to have their own press. The printers were interested in forwarding the cause of the Society. They were in general agreement with the leaders of the movement represented in the Second Day's Morning Meeting, and were therefore willing to accept their advice and decisions about printing. For the printers themselves, it was useful to have a meeting or committee to pronounce on proposals for printing, whether these originated from the printer looking for a useful and profitable job, or from an author wishing to see his manuscript in print. The Morning Meeting could read a manuscript and when it was authorized, then the printer could be assured of a certain minimum market to cover his costs; a certain circulation to the meetings in the provinces was secure, and casual sales at the bookshop could confidently be expected. Under this system the printers undertook the clerical work of distribution, they warehoused the stocks of books, and collected the money for books sent down to the counties; and they could call upon London Friends to try and help them if payment for books sent down was not forthcoming in due season.

In large measure, the story now to be told is that of the slackening of that tie. Looking back from a point two hundred years on we can see that the bond which continued to attach the Society to the firm in George Yard, Lombard Street, might well have been loosed in the middle of the eighteenth century. Toleration had come to stay and Friends were in no difficulty about getting their works published and distributed. Eighteenth century Friends had as much difficulty as we have in forecasting the future course of events, and it is not to be wondered at that only slowly did they move in the direction of adopting a more flexible policy.

Our period begins just after the death of Tacy Sowle Raylton in Eleventh Month, 1749.¹ Her long tenure at the printing office gives the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century a unity in this field which is unsurpassed. Luke Hinde was printing for Friends at the sign of the Bible, in George Yard, Lombard Street, and he carried the business on alone until his death in 1766. Output at this time had fallen

¹ d. 1.xi.1749.

to a level of about five printed works a year.¹ It was perhaps the period when activity in the Society was at the lowest ebb, but 1750 is the date of the appearance of the first edition of *A description of the qualifications necessary to a Gospel Minister, containing advice to Ministers and Elders, how to conduct themselves in their conversations*, by the sage veteran Samuel Bownas (1676-1753). In 1756 Luke Hinde also published that classic *Account of the life . . . of Samuel Bownas*, edited by Joseph Besse; this is one of the greatest of the eighteenth century Journals, and was often reprinted.

The first years of the decade must have been largely devoted to printing the two folio volumes of Besse's "Sufferings," which appeared in 1753. There is an account of this venture in our own *Journal* for 1926, with a record of the disposal of the thousand copies printed.² One steady seller was the periodical *Piety promoted, in a collection of dying sayings of many of the people called Quakers. With a brief account of some of their labours in the Gospel, and sufferings for the same*, and, although no new part appeared between 1740 and 1774, earlier volumes had to be reprinted.³ Lives of early Friends and reprints of their works, together with an occasional defence of some Quaker custom, are the main types of work published during these years. This gives the impression that Friends were more backward- and inward-looking than was healthy, although in this connection the publication in 1758 of *A serious and affectionate address to the People called Quakers . . . with exhortations to the gay and unstable amongst them*, by John Fry of Sutton Benger, brings to mind the timely enforcement of Quaker discipline in the 1760s with which his name is associated.

Luke Hinde died in 1766, and five works (including an edition of Thomas Lurting's *Fighting sailor turned peaceable Christian*) issued this year from "The Bible," have no printers' name. Three more in the following year had no printer's name attached, but before the end of 1767 Luke Hinde's widow, Mary Hinde, "at No. 2, in George Yard, Lombard

¹ During the period 1750 to 1766 just over 80 items are recorded.

² *A collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, for the testimony of a good conscience, from . . . 1650, to . . . the Act of Toleration . . . 1689*, 2 vols., 1753. See *Journal F.H.S.*, xxiii (1926), 1-11, especially page 8.

³ The first part of *Piety promoted*, by John Tomkins, appeared in 1701. Of the seven parts published before 1750, Luke Hinde published new editions of the first six between 1754 and 1766.

Street," appears as the publisher of a controversial work by Joseph Phipps (1708-87) vindicating Quaker principles.¹

Until her death in 1775, Mary Hinde continued to publish a good many of the authors dealt with by her late husband. In 1772 she issued a sixth edition of *Fruits of retirement*, by Mary Mollineux.² In 1769 and 1771 came consecutive editions of Hugh Turford's classic of quietism *The grounds of a holy life*.³ There was also an undated fifth edition of Jonathan Dickenson's *God's protecting providence*, the Quaker thriller of shipwreck and "Inhuman cannibals of Florida," of which the fourth edition had appeared in 1759.⁴ Friends may remember that it was this book which gave the late Charles M. Andrews a peg on which to hang his article "The Quakers in London and their printers there" which appeared in the William I. Hull Festschrift, *Byways in Quaker history*, edited by Howard Brinton in 1944.⁵

Three editions of Mary Brook's *Reasons for the necessity of silent waiting, in order to the solemn worship of God* appeared in 1774 and 1775, and another interesting production is the 1773 reprint of Gershon Boate's verse broadside entitled *A father's advice to his child; or, the maiden's best adorning*.⁶

THE PHILLIPS FAMILY

In 1775 James Phillips succeeded Mary Hinde, and from that time up to 1796 an average of just short of ten items a year bear his imprint. The imprint of volume three of Thomas Letchworth's *Monthly Ledger*, 1775, expressly describes James Phillips as "Bookseller, successor to Mary Hinde, at Number 2, in George Yard, Lombard Street." He published a good number of educational works. James Phillips printed the Ackworth School reports and rules, and produced French

¹ Joseph Phipps, *Observations on a late anonymous publication, intituled, A letter to the author of a Letter to Dr. Formey, &c., in vindication of Robert Barclay*, 1767.

² Mary (Southworth) Mollineux, *Fruits of retirement: or, Miscellaneous poems, moral and divine* (1702, etc.), 6th ed., 1772.

³ Hugh Turford, *The grounds of a holy life: or, the way by which many who were Heathens, came to be renowned Christians; and such as are now Sinners, may come to be numbred with Saints* (1702, etc.).

⁴ Printed in Philadelphia, 1699, and then in London, 1700, by T. Sowle.

⁵ See p. 100, note 3, above.

⁶ The full title reads, *A father's advice to his child; or, the maiden's best adorning; being a directory for youth, setting forth the greatest beauty by a holy conversation* (1698, etc.).

translations of Quaker books, as well as the usual standard Quaker authors. An advertisement issued in 1792 offers "Bibles, Testaments, Dictionaries, School Books, Books in various languages, account books, and Stationary in general. Printing neatly and expeditiously executed."

In 1797 James Phillips took his son William into partnership, and for the next three years they issued a dozen books a year for Friends. The 1797 crop included the life of his mother Catherine Payton Phillips of Redruth, a famous minister who travelled extensively on both sides of the Atlantic.¹

William Phillips² succeeded his father in 1799, and continued the business until his own death in 1828.

William Phillips devoted his leisure to scientific pursuits, in particular geology and mineralogy. He wrote books on these subjects and published them himself. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1827, and can well stand as a representative example of Quaker interest in the sciences, which has characterized many Friends of all periods.

For thirty years, from 1799 to 1828, about a dozen items a year bear the Phillips imprint, including official papers like the printed minute of Meeting for Sufferings in 1810, concerning "Books recommended to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings for purchase, 6th mo. 8";³ and the London Yearly Meeting minute cautioning Friends against keeping guns or arms in their houses, &c., in 1812; and the annual *Almanack for the use of Friends*,⁴ the forerunner of the annual Book of Meetings.

William Phillips had a considerable scientific acquaintance which is revealed in his printing. Among these publications we may mention the following for those who were or had been Friends. In 1809 he published *British Confervae* for the naturalist Lewis Weston Dillwyn.⁵ In 1811 and 1816 he published for his brother Richard Phillips⁶ the chemist, editions of his *Experimental examination of the last edition of the Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*. William Phillips also acted

¹ *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips: to which are added some of her epistles*, 1797. She died 16.viii.1794, aged 67; *D.N.B.*

² William Phillips, 1775-1828; *D.N.B.*

³ This minute is distinct from subscription publishing and the promotion of particular books; it is one in a long line of general recommendations on the subject, other recent ones having been issued in 1759, 1770, and 1780.

⁴ First so entitled in 1795.

⁵ 1778-1855; *D.N.B.*

⁶ Richard Phillips, 1778-1851; *D.N.B.*

as London agent for James Cooper's *Vaccination vindicated*,¹ published in Norwich in 1811. Luke Howard's classic *The climate of London* in two volumes, 1818 to 1820, bore his imprint,² as did likewise Thomas Hancock's *Researches into the laws and phenomena of pestilence; including a medical sketch and review of the Plague of London, in 1665* (1821), and the same author's *Essay on instinct, and its physical and moral relations* (1824). William Phillips also published Hancock's *Principles of peace exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland, during the Rebellion of the year 1798* (1825). Thomas Hancock was born and died at Lisburn, but he practised medicine in London and in Liverpool.³ Other works to bear the Phillips imprint include Joseph Pease: *A travelling map of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1824; a map which gave the mail coach routes and stages, and included the places where Friends had meetings; and Thomas Hodgkin's *Essay on medical education*, a paper read before Guy's Hospital Physical Society, and published in 1828.⁴

In the years 1805 and 1806 the style of the firm was Phillips and Fardon, but the partnership disappears after those two years.⁵

¹ *Vaccination vindicated, or an address to the people of England, upon the important subject of vaccine inoculation, with remarks on the necessity, in its behalf, of legislative and clerical interference, written with a view to remove some prejudices inimical to its progress, and to guide the public to a right consideration of its great and real merits*, 1811.

² Luke Howard (1772-1864), *The climate of London, deduced from meteorological observations, made at different places in the neighbourhood of the metropolis*, 1818-20. Darton and Harvey issued the 2nd edition in 1833, in one volume. *D.N.B.*

³ Thomas Hancock, 1783-1849; *D.N.B.*

⁴ Thomas Hodgkin, 1798-1866; *D.N.B.*

⁵ This enables us to date approximately to 1805 or 1806 the version of the Errata leaf which is found in some copies of the Baskerville edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology*, 1765. Philip Gaskell, *John Baskerville, a bibliography* (1959), enumerates the *Apology* as item number 30, and notes (p. 48) that there are two versions of the Errata leaf: "One was probably printed by Baskerville, being in his type, although on a wove paper that he did not commonly use around 1765. The other, set partly in Caslon, has the imprint: 'Phillips & Fardon, Printers|George Yard, Lombard Street, London.,' which suggests that it may have been printed much later; this imprint is set very low on the page and would normally be trimmed away in a bound copy. In one copy (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) both versions of the Errata leaf are present together." The suggestion now is that about 1805 there was a stock of Baskerville copies of the *Apology* at George Yard which required additional copies of the Errata leaf to be printed off and inserted before the volumes were sold.

In 1811 William Phillips married Christiana Walduck at Devonshire House,¹ and it was Christiana who, after William's death,² issued *The Book of Meetings*, the full title of which is: *An account of the times and places of holding the meetings for worship, and the quarterly and monthly meetings, of the Society of Friends, in Great Britain, for the year 1829*. The imprint reads: "Printed and sold by C. Phillips, George-yard, Lombard-street." A book printed by Alexanders of York³ gives the name C. Phillips as that of one of the London agents, but there is no more from the old address after that.

BOOK AND TRACT DISTRIBUTION

As well as relying on the assistance of their printers for distributing Quaker literature, London Friends (as Anna Littleboy pointed out in her Presidential address in 1920) frequently took action to spread Friends' books outside the normal line of trade, and were generally useful to the printers in that way. They made constant grants of books to the various circular yearly meetings, and on occasion to persons in authority, to foreign ambassadors, to French prisoners and to foreign libraries. In 1760 a committee suggested that Barclay's *Apology* (in English and in Latin), Sewel's *History*, Wight and Ritty on the *Rise and progress of Friends in Ireland*, George Fox's *Journal*, and William Penn's *Works*, were suitable volumes for presentation to the newly-opened library at the British Museum.⁴

In the early nineteenth century, with the gradual spread of literacy, a method of spreading Friends' views in which the printers were largely involved was the formation and maintenance of tract associations. The Religious Tract Society had been founded in 1799, and these Friends' tract associations were a parallel manifestation of one branch of the Evangelical movement. The London Friends' Tract Association, which continued in existence until 1935, was

¹ William Phillips, of George Yard, Lombard Street, London, printer (son of James and Mary Phillips), married Christiana Walduck (born 16.viii.1784, daughter of William Walduck, skinner, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, Thames Street, parish of All Hallows, and his wife Christiana) at Devonshire House, 19.iii.1811.

² William Phillips, of Tottenham, died 2.iv.1828, aged 55, buried at Whitechapel, 9.iv.1828. Christiana Phillips, widow of William, of Tottenham Green, died 21.i.1834, aged 48, buried at Whitechapel, 28.i.1834.

³ *A biographical memoir of Richard Jordan*, 1828.

⁴ *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 13.

the most active and prolific, but there were more than a score of others in various towns in the British Isles and in the United States.¹ The London association was set on foot at a meeting of Friends, "several of whom were from different parts of the country," at the time of London Yearly Meeting in 1813. The full title of the body expresses its aims as an "Association for printing and distributing tracts on moral and religious subjects, chiefly such as have a tendency to elucidate and support the principles of Christianity as held by the Society of Friends." The rules, printed by William Phillips, contained a direction: "That although a preference shall be given to the writings of Friends, this preference shall not be exercised to the exclusion of such works of other authors, as may be thought well adapted to the purpose." Although William Phillips was in at the start, the Association soon found that to cope with the demand it had to call in other printers, like William and Samuel Graves of Cheapside, and Lomax of Stockport.

The death of William Phillips in 1828 indeed marks the close of an epoch. Meeting for Sufferings appointed a committee to consider the best means of oversight of the printing of papers for the Society, and to obtain proposals for the printing of new works when required. After due consideration, in 1830 the Printing Committee was established as a standing committee to take care of these affairs, and in 1847 it was merged with the Library Committee which (since 1799) had had charge of the distribution of Friends' books.²

With tract associations springing up in many places and making their own arrangements for printing, the central meetings in London could less and less expect to keep a printing house even moderately occupied. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century there was no likelihood that freedom of expression would be curtailed if Friends lacked a printing press over which they had direct control. Therefore, in the new situation Friends ceased to have a single official printer. There were firms conveniently placed and willing to take on any work which Friends might have to give them.

In so far as any one firm could be said to have inherited the mantle from George Yard it was the Harvey and Darton

¹ Joseph Smith has more than fifty pages of entries under the heading *TRACT ASSOCIATIONS*.

² *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 14-15.

firm in Gracechurch Street.¹ From 1830 they printed the *Book of Meetings* and the minutes and reports from the Meeting for Sufferings and other London bodies. As years went by nothing seems to have made Friends change their minds about having an official printer, but they did quite soon begin to feel the need for a bookshop of their own and a centre for distributing the printed papers which committees tend to produce. Thus, in 1841, under the care of the Printing Committee of Meeting for Sufferings, the Depository was set up at 84, Houndsditch, with Edward Marsh as superintendent, to provide a "public depôt for the sale of Friends' books."²

The number of publications which bear the name of Edward Marsh as publisher, or simply that of the Friends' Book and Tract Depository, was never more than half a dozen in any one year before the end of our period, and without the London agency for provincial productions (and notably those published by John L. Linney at York)³ it would have been very small. The *Annual monitor* regularly bore the Houndsditch imprint, and Edward Marsh also dealt with the publications of the Friends' Educational Society, the Yearly Meeting reports, and reprints of the classical Quaker Journals. He also handled the papers and publications issued for Friends' committees in London, and sold them at the Depository. As an example may be cited the circulars from the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting committee superintending the registering of the names of Friends wanting apprentices or assistants, and of young men wanting situations or apprenticeships. Yearly Meeting in 1843 recommended that this committee and registry extend its activity to include boys at all the "schools connected with Friends and under the cognizance of the Society." For instance, in 1845, I. F. Cotterell, 46 Broadmead, Bristol, advertises for a young man to assist in his paperhanging and

¹ Meeting for Sufferings minute of 6.ii.1829 recorded that: "The Yearly Meetings Epistle and other Papers to be circulated among Friends, be printed by Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch Street; but that when the Meeting is about to print a book, it shall exercise its own discretion at the time with regard to the Printer to be employed and the purchase of the Paper." Information through Edward H. Milligan.

² Predecessor of the Friends' Book Centre; see *Journal F.H.S.*, xviii (1921), 15-16.

³ John Lewis Linney, printer and bookseller, 15 Low Ousegate, York, at work between 1840 and 1849.

dealing business; and Edward, son of the late E. Alexander, at the age of 15, wants some active employment (write to Samuel Alexander, Limerick). In 1848, Ulster Provincial School appears among the names of Friends wanting assistants, "Write to Richard Allen, Newtown, Waterford." Chas. R. Fry (at Ayton School), aged 14½, is "Not particular, but being ready at accounts, would prefer to be thus employed," "Write to G. Dixon, Ayton, or Samuel Sturge, New Kent Road."

DARTON AND HARVEY

As an example of the activity of a London publisher closely allied to Friends, that of the Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, firm may be taken, and it also illustrates the difficulties and pitfalls attendant on the study of printing history.¹

The firm first appears in Quaker bibliography in 1789 as W. Darton and Co., publishers of a small edition of the *Economy of Human Life*, with an Advertisement prefixed, and a *Pocket calendar . . . for . . . 1790*. In 1790 appeared anonymously a little duodecimo entitled *An Account of a Young Prince, shewing his setting out to return to his Father's Kingdom, and of the mischiefs which befel him in the way; being a caution and warning to all young people*, and the firm is seen immediately to be engaged in the field of educational and moral children's books to which it contributed much during the next half century.

The Quaker content of the firm's publication work is also soon in evidence; witness the collection of *Discourses delivered at several Meeting Houses of the People called Quakers. By the late Samuel Fothergill*, issued in 1790. Later editions of this book were issued by Darton and Harvey, by John Gough in Dublin, as well as in the United States. No doubt the proximity of the author at No. 11, Talbot Court, Gracechurch Street, to the Darton establishment accounts for the fact that Dr. Thomas Pole's *Anatomical Instructor* was sold by the firm in 1790, and the connection seems to have been kept up, for Darton and Harvey handled the 1814 edition

¹ A good deal of information is available in F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's books in England* (2nd ed., 1958), particularly pp. 208-9. I am grateful, too, for the elucidation of various points by Lawrence Darton.

of Pole's *History . . . of Adult Schools* published after the author had removed to Bristol.¹

In 1792 the firm appears as Darton and Harvey, and in that year it published a verse *Epistle to Will. Wilberforce, Esquire, written during the disturbances in the West-Indies*, as well as an edition of the frequently-reprinted *Letter from William Penn to his wife and children, written a little before his first voyage to America*. From this time forward, and up to about 1845, the firm was issuing annually up to a dozen (and sometimes more than a score) of works for Friends.² From time to time these included meeting documents such as the 1793 reprint of the Irish National Half-Year's Meeting "Epistle" of 5th month, 1776, and the *Rules of Discipline of London Yearly Meeting* in 1834.

One item which calls for mention is William Darton's own broadside address *TO THE PUBLIC. The People called Quakers have not been in the practice of illuminating their houses on any account—therefore not to rejoice at victories purchased with the loss of the lives of their fellow creatures*. This is dated about 1794, and perhaps it was after Howe's victory on the "Glorious First of June" that this paper was posted up in the streets to try to explain Friends' stand against all war, and to prevent the mob from breaking Friends' windows.

The firm's list included grammar books, poetry, children's books, works by Priscilla Wakefield, Lindley Murray, Joseph Lancaster and other educationists, all the works of Thomas Shillitoe published in London during his lifetime, as well as a scattering of reprints of the works of early Friends like Isaac Penington, and Christopher Taylor. All these, and the fact that the firm was agent for a good many books published by Friends in the provinces, made for a varied and full list of publications.

Between 1811 and 1821, forty-three books have the imprint of "Darton, Harvey and Company," Gracechurch Street.³ The series begins with Luke Howard's printed card against profane swearing. In the same decade forty-seven items have the imprint of "Darton, Harvey & Darton,"

¹ Dr. Thomas Pole removed to Bristol in 1802. See E. T. Wedmore, *Thomas Pole, M.D.* (Supplement 7 to *Journal F.H.S.*, 1908); *D.N.B.*

² There are less than a handful of recorded items after that.

³ George Stacey, *Brief remarks on the state of man*, 1812, gives the street number as 53.

at no. 55, Gracechurch Street. In 1820 the first Darton disappears, because William Darton died 13.viii.1819. The firm goes forward as Harvey and Darton, or as the printers Harvey, Darton and Company. The house was active in the anti-slavery sphere. In the year 1829 thirty items were published, and this was a high-water mark. A good proportion of these, however, were joint publications, in which the firm handled the production of provincial printers and book-sellers.

Exploration of the ramifications of this firm is made no easier by the fact that on Holborn Hill from 1804 there was William Darton Junior in a business which successively became W. & T. Darton, then William Darton and Son, and Darton and Clarke. The Holborn Hill Darton firm, however, did not publish more than about three books a year for Friends. The fact that it published Isaac Crewdson's *Defence of the Beacon* in 1836 may indicate the side which it took in the Beaconite controversy,¹ and account to some extent for the small amount of its work for Friends as a whole.

JOHN AND ARTHUR ARCH

Another firm which did some considerable work for Friends between 1792 and 1838 was that of John and Arthur Arch,² whose address appears from 1805 onwards as 61 Cornhill. The Arches were Friends, and in the course of forty years the firm published about eighty books, including some for Joseph John Gurney and other prominent Quakers of the period. A rather larger number bore the firm's name as junior publisher, often in conjunction with William Phillips and Darton and Harvey. The greatest publishing activity came after 1818, and during the next twenty years the output for Friends averaged six books a year.

William Pickering the publisher³ was apprenticed here, and Thomas Sotheran, founder of the firm of Henry Sotheran and Company, served with the firm, gaining his introduction to the London book trade on coming up to the capital from

¹ It is interesting to note that Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, were themselves among the publishers of the first edition of the *Beacon* itself (1835), but had withdrawn their sponsorship by the time the second edition appeared later in the same year.

² Arthur Portsmouth Arch, Winterslow Place, Vassals Road, formerly bookseller, Cornhill, died 5.iv.1839, aged 70.

³ William Pickering, 1796-1854; *D.N.B.*

York. Another figure connected with the firm for a time was Thomas Tegg, who later made his name as publisher of many cheap reprints and popular handbooks.¹ Curwen's *History of booksellers* tells the story how Tegg (in about 1798) was sacked from his previous employment at a bookshop in Leadenhall Street, and found himself out on the street, jobless but not downhearted²

entering the shop of John and Arthur Arch, at the corner of Gracechurch Street, the kindly Quakers took him at once into their employ, and here he stayed until entering into business on his own account. His new masters were strict but affectionate. He soon asks for a holiday,

"We have no objection, but where art thou going, Thomas?" "To Greenwich fair, sir."

"Then we think thou hadst better not go. Thou wilt lose half a day's wages. Thou wilt spend at least the amount of two days' wages more, and thou wilt get into bad company."

At two, however, he was told he might go; but as soon as he reached London Bridge his heart smote him, and he returned.

"Why, Thomas, is this thee? Thou art a prudent lad."

And when Saturday came, his masters added a guinea to his weekly wages as a present.

In general, the booksellers for Friends were not the big fish. One does not find that Friends numbered among their publishers the names of Bell, or Cooke, or Harrison, or Donaldson³—the men who, at the very end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, were attempting to reach the developing literate public and to exploit a mass market for cheap pocket classics. Friends do not seem to have ventured into the number trade, by which even quite expensive works were sold in small weekly parts to suit a modest pocket. In this way Family Bibles, lives of Christ, histories of England, and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* made an unexpected appearance in quite humble homes. Perhaps the failure of Purver's Bible,⁴ which began publication in 1742 or thereabouts by Felix Farley in Bristol, but did not then get beyond two or three numbers, may have had an inhibiting effect.

¹ Thomas Tegg, 1776-1845; *D.N.B.*

² Henry Curwen, *A history of booksellers, the old and the new*, 1873, 384.

³ John Bell, 1745-1831; John Cooke, 1731-1810; James Donaldson, 1751-1830; *D.N.B.* James Harrison.

⁴ Anthony Purver, 1702-1777; *D.N.B.* The Bible translation was published in 1764, in London.

LONGMANS

One firm which is still a powerful publisher does call for mention.¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century Longmans printed about one hundred and seventy works for Friends. They were strong in educational work, and thrived on Lindley Murray,² but also published for authors like Amelia Opie³ and the Howitts.⁴ In 1799 Longmans had purchased the copyright of Murray's *English Grammar*, which turned out to be one of the most profitable school books of the century. The number of entries for Lindley Murray's work in Smith's *Catalogue* bears witness to his great readership. For years the annual sale of the *Abridgment* to the English grammar was from forty-eight to fifty thousand copies in England alone.⁵ It is interesting to note that the *Portraiture of Quakerism* by Thomas Clarkson had a Longman's imprint, 1806. One source of strength to Longmans was the extensive provincial connection which they had, and they published in London many works which were issued locally for authors resident in the provinces.

EDWARD NEWMAN

Before we leave London, we may perhaps mention just one example of one who did some printing for Friends, but whose work as a printer is overshadowed by his eminence as a naturalist. Edward Newman⁶ lived from 1801 to 1876, and in the course of an active life was the author of standard works on British ferns, moths, and butterflies. As a printer he just falls within our period, when he printed the reports and papers of the committee set up in London to try and mitigate the distress in Ireland in the years of famine, 1846-1848.⁷ In later years he printed the minutes of Meeting for

¹ See H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 79-109; F. A. Mumby, *Publishing and book-selling*, 1934, 241, 283-5; H. Cox & J. E. Chandler, *The House of Longman*, 1925.

² Lindley Murray, 1745-1826; *D.N.B.*

³ Amelia Opie, 1769-1853; *D.N.B.*

⁴ William (1792-1879) and Mary (1799-1888, *née* Botham) Howitt; *D.N.B.*

⁵ H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 92.

⁶ Edward Newman, 1801-1876; *D.N.B.*

⁷ Beginning with the *Address from the Committee of the Society of Friends in London, on the subject of the distress in Ireland*, London, 2.xii.1846; and continuing to 1848.

Sufferings, the Rules for Croydon school, catalogues of London meeting libraries, and the like occasional work.

OUTSIDE LONDON

In turning to the provincial field, one is reminded of the words of James Lackington, whose name appears in the index of booksellers. Towards the end of his life he made tours of the country, and was dismayed by what he discovered:

At York and Leeds there were a few (and but very few) good books; but in all the other towns between London and Edinburgh nothing but trash was to be found¹

However, we must consider this "trash," to complete the picture.

Any attempt to calculate the strength of Quakerism or the activity of the literary members of the Society in different areas, from a study of the printers and places of publication of Friends' books would be difficult, if not impossible. The unknown factors involved are numerous. Printers congregated in local centres where there was jobbing and newspaper work for them, and pamphlet or book work might be quite a small proportion of their activity. Friends wishing to have something printed would be limited in choice. Where a choice did exist, the selection of printer for a certain piece of work by a Friend or meeting who did not consult London Friends might be made on many different grounds. The printer might even be a member of the Society, or one who had taken a Friend as an apprentice, or one who was known to be sympathetic, or one who had had satisfactory business dealings with Friends, or just one who was willing to do a good job of work, or the only one in the place.

SCOTLAND

To take Scotland as an example, for the sake of clarity. It would be gross over-simplification to say that because 38 Edinburgh imprints appear, and 14 only from Glasgow, the strength of Quakerism in the Edinburgh area outweighed that in the south-west of Scotland by three to one. Aberdeen imprints number five. There is one, Daniel Reid,

¹ Quoted in H. Curwen, *op. cit.*, 74. For James Lackington, 1746-1815, see *D.N.B.*

in Falkirk, who printed and sold the oft-reprinted sermons of William Dyer, called *Christ's Famous Titles* and *Christ's Voice to London*, in 1777. In point of fact, these sermons can barely claim to be a Quaker item, for they were delivered when Dyer was minister in Buckinghamshire, and were first printed in the 1660s, long before Dyer became a Friend. William Dyer's style has been compared with that of John Bunyan, and in the course of their long publishing history, the sermons were translated into Welsh and Gaelic. He was buried among Friends in Southwark in 1696.¹

From such crude evidence it would obviously be too great a simplification to say that the strength of Friends in Scotland was as 38:14:5, as between Edinburgh and Glasgow and Aberdeen; but it is probably true that the lack of Quaker imprints in country towns where a printer had established himself before the middle of the nineteenth century will tend to show that Friends in the district were either closely knit to one of the three larger centres of Quaker activity, or were weak in numbers.

IRELAND

A similar survey of the evidence available from Ireland shows an even greater dependence on the capital city. This is no doubt due to the concentration of Friends in and around Dublin, and the fact that the national meetings were held in the city. Seventy-three different imprints have been noted for Dublin publications, more than eight times the number noted for Belfast, which heads the Irish provincial centres. In Ulster also there was a single imprint for N. Greason, a bookseller at Monaghan,² whose name appears at the end of a long imprint on Henry Freeman's Author's edition of the *Memoir of the life and ministry of Ann Freeman* in 1826. James Martin, printer and stationer at Athlone, who published John G. Sargent's *Epistle of love and caution* in 1853, falls outside our period. There is no record of any publication in the province of Connacht.

In Munster, printers and booksellers noted as having

¹ Buried at The Park, Southwark, 9.ii.1696, aged 63. See *D.N.B.*; and G. Lipscomb, *History of the county of Buckingham*, iii (1847), 322.

² C. Ramsden, *Bookbinders of the United Kingdom (outside London), 1780-1840*, 1954, notes one Nathaniel Greacen, Diamond, Monaghan, recorded in Pigot's Dublin directory, 1824.

produced work for Friends number six at Cork, five at Waterford, and two at Limerick, and there is the lone production by J. Stacy of Carrick, who printed a *Serious address to people of all denominations, professing Christianity, whose dependence is upon the arm of flesh* (1800), for Thomas Leary, of Waterford.

ENGLISH PROVINCES

Scotland and Ireland provide comparatively simple illustrations, and have been chosen as examples. Local knowledge of the various English regions would, no doubt, enable Friends looking into the question to draw some useful conclusions for the districts in which they were interested. But there are some general features which stand out.

As might be expected, the power of the London press meant that the Home Counties had relatively few imprints. All the work went to London. There is only one imprint in Bedfordshire, at Luton; four in Hertfordshire; three in Bucks; six each in Surrey and Kent (none at this period at Ashford in Kent); eight in Middlesex; and eight in Hampshire. There is a single imprint in the Isle of Wight just after our period, in 1862; the anonymous pamphlet written by Rebecca Peirson entitled *Kindness to animals answers better than cruelty*, was published in London by Marlborough and Company, and at 7 Cross Street, Ryde, by J. Briddon.

The outer fringe of counties in this area makes rather a larger showing: Berkshire has ten imprints; Oxfordshire 13; Sussex (cut off somewhat from metropolitan influences by the lines of the Downs and the heavy clays of the Weald) 15; and Essex 24, nearly all provided by the strong Quaker group centred round the Two Weeks' Meeting in Colchester and in Chelmsford. The East Anglian counties are strong, matching in the number of imprints the output of Friends found in the West Country. Norfolk with 27 imprints leans heavily on Norwich, where there was a good deal of Gurney work; about half of the 23 in Suffolk are Ipswich imprints. Cambridge has seven; Huntingdon two; and Northampton and Leicester four each. The sole imprint noted from Lincolnshire is that of Simon Maw Bowen's¹ *Statement of the expenditure of the parish of Gainsboro', and such other payments as are*

¹ Simon Maw Bowen, of Gainsborough, d. 1852.

usually made out of the Poor's Rate, printed in 1816 by A. Stark, Market Place, Gainsborough. Rutland produces nothing; Derbyshire six different imprints; Nottinghamshire 13. The counties on the Welsh Marches are also rather thinly represented—Staffordshire one imprint; Worcestershire 11; Herefordshire two; Shropshire four (including one from Ironbridge); and Cheshire 13. Warwickshire with 23 different imprints provides much the most prolific figure for the Midlands, and 19 of these come from Birmingham.

Towards the South-West, Wiltshire and Dorset are sparse, with seven and nine respectively, but Gloucestershire (with 13, excluding Bristol), and Somerset and Devon with 27 each, reveal some considerably spread activity; Cornwall has eight imprints, and Bristol 65.

The figures for northern England show much greater activity. The comparative strength of Quakerism north of Trent, the distance from London, and the developing centres of population like Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield, can account for this. Lancashire imprints number 107, to which total Manchester contributed 43 and Liverpool 33. Yorkshire's 131 comes almost entirely from the West Riding and from York (with 43). There are no imprints from the East Riding. The York figure, greater than one would expect from its size at this period, can be attributed to the strength of the printing trade in the city. This is in itself evidence of the continuing importance of the city, handed down intact from the Tudor and Stuart period when York was the capital of the North and provided many services for the whole of the province.

Westmorland with seven imprints; Cumberland 11; Durham 22 (almost entirely Darlington and Sunderland printers); and Northumberland with 27 (of which 24 in Newcastle upon Tyne), complete the picture up to the Scottish border. These figures show much greater activity than would be expected on grounds of population alone as compared with places farther south.

NOTTINGHAM

The study of a local craft can be enlightened by a study of the craft in a wider context, and it happens sometimes that in investigating the history of Quaker printers one may come across information unrecorded locally. Histories of printing

are often confessedly incomplete, for the products of early presses were often small in bulk and so few in number of copies that their virtual disappearance is not to be wondered at. As an example of what may be found, let us take Nottingham¹—a town more famous for lace and chemicals than for the printed word.

The county of Nottingham provided thirteen imprints; two in Mansfield,² one in Newark³ and the rest in the county town. The ten printers and booksellers concerned are as follows:

First, in 1755, Samuel Creswell,⁴ “under the New Change” in Nottingham, printed Richard Finch’s *Second thoughts concerning war*, to be sold by M. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster Row, London. Richard Finch, a clock maker of White Hart Court, Lombard Street, had written a handful of tracts, including one entitled *The nature and duty of self-defence* (1746). This had been duly answered by Friends,⁵ and Finch’s 1755 book retracts his earlier statements. The reason for having the work printed in Nottingham does not appear but Cooper in London had handled most of Finch’s other work.

Our second printer, George Burbage⁶ of the *Nottingham Journal*, is said to have killed twice as many “rascally Frenchmen” in the Napoleonic War, as there were inhabitants of France, by the simple device of adding a nought to each number of enemy casualties which his paper reprinted from the London newspaper. His patriotism was never in doubt, but he was quite prepared to print Samuel Hall’s *Few remarks* addressed to his neighbours in the district of Mansfield and Sutton in Ashfield, explaining why Friends would suffer rather than serve or hire others to serve for them in the militia or the army (1797).

¹ See W. J. Clarke, *Early Nottingham printers and printing*, 1942.

² 1818, R. Collinson, Market Place, printed William Howitt, *Commemorative verses, addressed to the friends of Richard Leaver*; 1820? Collinson and Langley, booksellers, sold Emanuel Howitt *Selections from letters written during a tour through the United States . . . 1819*, which was printed in Nottingham and is noted below (p. 121).

³ Tomlinson, printer, Stodman Street (about 1850) printed *Extracts from the Memoranda of the late William Fountain Simmonds, of Spalding*, who died in 1849.

⁴ H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary, 1726-1775*, 66; Clarke, *op. cit.*, 23.

⁵ *An enquiry into the validity of a late discourse, intituled, “The nature and duty of self-defence”* (by Joseph Besse), 1747; and *A modest plea in behalf of the People called Quakers, in answer to . . . “The nature and duty of self-defence . . .”* (anonymous, undated).

⁶ Plomer, *op. cit.*, 39.

The third to be noticed is Charles Sutton,¹ the founder of the *Nottingham Review*. He started in the printing business in 1792, and died in 1829 at the age of 64. It is most likely that his is the name of the bookseller noted at the end of Thomas Scantlebury's *Rights of Protestants*, written in 1798 against the exclusive priesthood, tithe and so forth. Richard Sutton, son of Charles, printed William Howitt's *Three death cries of a perishing church* (1835), from articles first appearing in the *Nottingham Review*.

Fourth is Edward Hodson,² printer in St. Peter's Gate since 1811, who printed in 1814, William Singleton's delightful "Mentor and Amander: or, a visit to Ackworth School. With descriptive notes. By a late teacher." It is well worth looking at, even after one hundred and fifty years, although one may detect in it perhaps the cause of some of the anxiety which Sheffield Friends felt about this Friend.³

The next imprint to be noted is that of Jonathan Dunn, printer, South Parade, Nottingham. He had been entered on the burgess roll in 1793, and in 1825 he founded the *Nottingham and Newark Mercury*, a paper which lasted until 1852. About 1820 he printed *Selections from letters written during a tour through the United States in . . . 1819*, by Emanuel Howitt of Mansfield, brother of William Howitt. Collinson and Langley, booksellers in Mansfield, sold the book in that town. The volume deals at length with the American Indians and their descent from the lost ten tribes of Israel, but also touches on "the present situation and sufferings of emigrants."

Samuel Bennett, printer, of Hounds-gate appears to have started in business about 1818. In 1824 an edition of Joseph John Gurney's *Letter to a Friend on the Authority . . . of Christianity, and especially on the Doctrine of Redemption*, has the imprint: "Nottingham: Printed by Samuel Bennett, Market Place. Sold by him and all Booksellers." This little tract ran into a score of editions within three years, and was reprinted in places as far apart as Bradford, Yorks. and Philadelphia. The Nottingham imprint is a good example of the local press being called in to satisfy a demand which the London printers could not keep up with.

¹ Sutton & Son published editions of *The Nottingham directory* in 1815 and 1818.

² In 1814 E. Hodson published *The Nottingham directory*.

³ *Journal F.H.S.*, xlvi (1958), 280-282.

Two other little works by William Singleton had Nottingham imprints. The first: "To the Yearly Meeting of Friends, to be held in London, 1824," was printed by H. Wild, Houndsgate. And in that year the same printer printed and sold *A Letter addressed to Joseph John Gurney, on the subject of his Publication, entitled, "Observations on the Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, &c., &c., By a True Quaker."*¹

The eighth imprint to be noticed is that of William Dearden, who sold Richard Howitt's *The Gypsy King, and other poems* (1840).²

John Howitt,³ printer and bookseller in Clumber Street, Nottingham, printed editions of the Abridgment of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* in 1840 and 1844. In 1857 he printed extracts from the works of Jacob Boehme for John Green Hine, of Nottingham, under the title *A glimpse of light for some who think they walk in darkness*.

Finally, George Batters, the founder of the *Nottingham Advertiser* is known to Friends for the little tract printed from the works of Isaac Penington under the title, *On the pure . . . nature of God's Truth*. The imprint reads—"G. Batters, Steam Machine Printer, Nottingham, 1854."

The illustrations provided by the Nottingham examples cover most of the cases and circumstances which caused Friends to have printing done locally. These may be summarized as follows: the occasional works of local Friends for which a London imprint is not desired; one or two works by Friends, who, for one reason or another, do not wish to have their work printed in their home town; work which is farmed out by the London publisher, perhaps to ensure that the author has close contact with the printer to see it through the press, or because it is such a (rare) best seller that other printers must be pressed into service to satisfy the demand; the tract printers who did work for the societies for distributing literature which sprang up with the evangelical revival; the booksellers who sold some portion of an edition for the main publisher, located elsewhere.

¹ In 1844 H. Wild printed another short anonymous paper entitled *Remarks on Adam Clarke's Introduction to the Prophecy of Ezekiel*.

² W. Dearden, Carlton Street, published a *Directory of Nottingham* in 1834; he is located by W. J. Clarke, *op. cit.*, as a bookseller in Stoney-street, 1841.

³ Published *The Nottingham annual register, 1840*, and (in 1844) Stephen Glover's *History and directory of . . . Nottingham*.

The only item which appears to be lacking is the one which is printed as an official statement from the local Friends' meeting. It may be that Nottingham Friends were not numerous enough for such work to be required. It is quite clear how fragmentary some of the evidence is, and how hazardous it would be to draw conclusions from such information as we have been able to collect.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1768-1841)

A Yorkshire Friend would find it difficult to close without having mentioned the career of William Alexander, the York bookseller and printer, whose shop is now an exhibit in the Castle Museum, York.

William Alexander was born in Suffolk in 1768,¹ and in his early life he was engaged in the corn and flour trade. Sometime after his marriage to Ann Tuke² he removed to York. His obituary in the *Annual monitor* for 1842³ states that he "commenced the business of a bookseller" in 1812, "and afterward that of printing." In point of fact he seems to have begun in 1811, for that is the date of Robert Sutcliff's *Travels in some parts of North America, in the years 1804, 1805, & 1806*, with its illustrations of Niagara Falls, the frontispiece of a "Farm House in the Genesee Country," and the delightful plate of "American Friends going to Meeting in a Settled Frost." The Castlegate address appears in 1813. Up to 1821 the majority of works are stated to have been printed for him, but from 1822 William Alexander seems to have done a good deal of his own printing. From 1821 to 1830 the style of the firm is sometimes "W. Alexander and Son"; but from 1822 until the death of the founder in 1841, the style is more usually "W. Alexander and Company". In the early years of the business over a dozen books, including Robert Sutcliff's *Travels*, were printed by Caesar Peacock at the Courant Office in York,⁴ but in 1813 Thomas Wilson

¹ William Alexander, b. 3.i.1768, son of Dykes and Martha Alexander, of Needham Market. I am grateful to E. Margaret Sessions of York for help in this section.

² *York Herald*, 24.ix.1796.

³ Number 30 in the annual series.

⁴ Caesar Peacock printed for William Alexander between 1811 and 1818, and produced the York M.M. Catalogue of books (1813), and the Retreat Annual reports, 1815-18. His death (aged 40) is recorded in the *York Gazette*, 25.xii.1819.

and Sons, printers in High Ousegate, make their appearance as printers of the *Annual monitor*, and it seems likely that they did much of the work for William Alexander up to 1820 at least.¹

In the thirty years from 1811 to 1841 William Alexander published over two hundred works for Friends, and was a subsidiary publisher of nearly fifty more. His period of greatest activity came between 1822 and 1830, when a dozen works a year bore his imprint. The most lasting venture which he set on foot was the *Annual monitor*, an annual calendar, and obituary of Friends recently deceased. It was first issued for the year 1813, presumably seeing the light of day at the end of 1812. William Alexander edited this work, and it continued to be published by his executors after his death, and the series continued until 1920.

William Alexander's career illustrates how, in a small society, a man of resource and energy can take the initiative even when local conditions may seem unfavourable, and can do more than established firms with greater position and advantages can seem to achieve. The obituary in the *Annual Monitor* sets his printing for Friends in its place in the larger canvas of his life:

Desirous of recommending the writings of Friends, and of promoting a more general circulation of them in the northern counties, he re-printed and published various editions of valuable works; and was often engaged in instructive compilations of his own. Devoting much of his time also in a cheerful endeavour to serve the interests of our religious Society, rejoicing in its prosperity, and sympathizing deeply in its trials.

This is all of a piece with the man. He presented his own publications to the Birkbeck Library at York, and worked on the catalogue of that collection. There is a note in an interleaved and annotated copy of John Whiting's *Catalogue* (1708) in that Library,² that he had had the book "taken in pieces & bound up again *interleaved*; with a new back & the

¹ Thomas Wilson and Sons, between 1813 and 1842 printed many editions of Lindley Murray for Longmans, continuing a connection which began with the firm of Wilson, Spence and Mawman. See Plomer, *op. cit.*, 267.

² The copy concerned had been given by Sarah (Hurd) Whiting (John Whiting's widow) to Ma: Clutton (aunt of Morris Birkbeck, and by marriage a maternal relation of William Alexander) in 1735, and had come to York with Morris Birkbeck's books.

old sides, for York Quarterly Meeting, Eleventh Month, 1820.”

William Alexander's practical bent is in evidence in his *Remarks on temporary accommodations for holding meetings for worship; principally extracted from Observations on the construction and fitting up of Meeting Houses, &c.* On obtaining a room, he says:¹

In country towns, or in villages barns are, in general, easily procured, and furnish decidedly the most desirable accommodations, being lofty, and not so liable to the excessive heat which is a frequent attendant on other crowded rooms. Granaries, warehouses, school-rooms, large coach-houses, and other offices or outbuildings, may also be sometimes found that are very eligible; and in general they will be preferred to a room in an Inn.

He gives instructions for a Stand or Ministers' Gallery, which should be provided with a hassock, but if there is no hassock available, then one may be provided by stuffing a sack “*pretty firmly* with hay, straw, or saw-dust; or by folding, or rolling up the cushion of a chaise.”

The lighting too was considered, and he gives instructions for making a chandelier:

Care should be taken to hang them in such places, that a current of air may not occasion the tallow to drop on any person under them.

William Alexander's observations in this pamphlet show that for him book publishing was but one aspect of his interest in publishing Truth.

It has been calculated that there were more than 7,500 works published for Friends in the century from 1750 to 1850,² and we have now only begun to scratch the surface to find out what sort of books they were and about the craftsmen who helped these publications to see the light of day.

At the beginning it was noted that the field had not been explored, and that is still true now; but this address will have achieved its object if it has opened the gate for local Friends to see what might reward them if they entered this field of research.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

¹ Page 4.

² *Journal F.H.S.*, xi (1914), 9.

Provisional Index of Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books in the British Isles, excluding London, 1750-1850

The names of English printers are arranged under the places where they worked, those of each county being kept together. Irish, Scottish and Welsh printers appear at the end. The dates are those of works issued for Friends. *c.* (for *circa.*) indicates an approximate date. Corrections and further information welcome.

ENGLAND

Bedfordshire. LUTON—Hill 1834.

Berkshire. FARINGDON—R. Knapp 1844.

MAIDENHEAD—G. W. Wetton 1814-25.

NEWBURY—S. Maunder; Seymer Metford 1842; W. Pinnock; M. W. Vardy 1840.

READING—T. Barcham 1847; Lovejoy 1845; Ruser 1801; J. Ruser 1825; John Snare *c.* 1850.

Bucks. HIGH WYCOMBE—Ebenezer King 1836; T. Orger 1802-3.

NEWPORT PAGNELL—S. Manning 1821.

Cambs. Cambridge—Barrett 1813; Deightons 1813; James Hodson 1813; Merrill 1781; Nicholsons 1813; T. Stevenson 1830.

Cheshire. CHESTER—Broster & son 1800; T. Griffith 1823; J. Hemingway 1807; W. Leicester; W. Minshull 1796.

MACCLESFIELD—Bayley 1806-8; J. Wilson 1807.

NANTWICH—J. Bromley 1774.

STOCKPORT—S. Bradburn *c.* 1840; Thomas Claye 1821-*c.* 1825; J. Dawson *c.* 1824; George Jones 1825-42; J. Lomax 1812-19; Stockport Tracts *c.* 1821-22.

Cornwall. CAMBORNE—L. Newton 1838-46.

FALMOUTH—J. Lake *not before* 1812; J. Trathan 1840.

LISKEARD—T. Williams 1822.

REDRUTH—Bennett.

ST. IVES—Gardner *c.* 1833-45.

Cumberland. CARLISLE—B. Scott 1817; Hudson Scott 1836- ; Scott & Benson 1842-45.

COCKERMOUTH—Thomas Bailey 1821.

MARYPORT—Joseph Ostle 1845.

PENRITH—J. Brown 1811-12; Francis Jollie jun. 1813.

Derbyshire. CHESTERFIELD—C. Gallimore *c.* 1845-50.

DERBY—Henry Mozley & sons 1836-39; H. Mozley *c.* 1820-23; Richardson & Handford 1820?

Devonshire. BARNSTAPLE—W. Avery 1849.

BIDEFORD—Wilson 1849.

EXETER—T. Balle 1823-36; T. Brice *c.* 1771; Eveleigh 1807; W. C. Pollard 1832; William Roberts 1848-55; E. Score 1778; W. Symonds 1807; Thorn 1781.

KITCOTT—Richard Adams 1797.

PLYMOUTH—William Cookworthy *c.* 1770; Edmund Fry jun. 1835-38; Haydon 1793; Mrs. Maurice *c.* 1770; D. May & son 1845; Nettleton & son 1812; P. Nicholson 1834; Rowe *c.* 1837; Jenkin Thomas 1848; Robert Weatherley *c.* 1770; J. Whitfield *c.* 1770; J. H. Williams 1833-34.

STOKE-DAMAREL—Samuel Thorne, 1823.

Dorset. BLANDFORD—J. Shipp 1816.

GILLINGHAM—Edward Neave 1756-*c.*1845; John Thompson 1818?

SHAFTESBURY—George Adams 1830; T. Adams 1816; John Rutter 1821-29.

SHERBORNE—Cruttwell *c.* 1808; E. Penny 1811.

Durham. DARLINGTON—James Backhouse 1773; Isaac Coates 1831; Coates & Farmer 1836-*c.*1850; W. Oliver 1842; Harrison Penney 1849-60; J. Readman *not after* 1849; Joseph Sams 1822-1856?; Times Office 1848-55; John Wilson 1840.

DURHAM—Walker 1822.

STOCKTON—Christopher & Jennett 1809-13; R. Swales 1838.

SUNDERLAND—Thomas James Backhouse 1842; Hewitt Burnett 1842; H. J. Dixon 1843; James Graham 1784; Reed & son *c.*1815; Jona. Richardson 1821; G. Summers *c.*1816-19.

Essex. BRAINTREE—J. Joscelyne 1829-31.

CHELMSFORD—Clachar 1795; A. Copland; Frost 1781; Henry Guy 1830-32; Marsden 1820; Meggy & co. 1812; Meggy & Chalk 1830-32.

COGGESHALL—H. Doubleday *c.*1850; J. Joscelyne 1829.

COLCHESTER—James Barker 1806; Chaplin 1820; Enfield 1833; J. Fenno *c.* 1830; Filer & Totham? 1833; John and Thomas Kendall 1761; John Kendall 1773; W. Keymer 1772-95, jun. *c.* 1810; Marsden 1806.

DUNMOW—Carter *c.* 1830.

MALDON—P. Youngman 1825.

SAFFRON WALDEN—G. Youngman *c.* 1830?

STANSTEAD MOUNTFICHET—Samuel Day 1796.

Glos. BRISTOL—James Ackland 1848-60; John Ashton 1835-45; Barry & son 1818; N. Biggs 1796; J. Binns; S. Bonner 1769-90; Bonner & Middleton 1781; Bonners & co. 1803; A. Browne 1786; W. Browne 1814; Browne & Manchee 1819; Mary Bryan 1810-16; Bulgin & Rosser *c.*1778-92; Thomas Cadell 1765; J. Chilcott 1829-46; F. C. Cookworthy 1818; C. Davey 1841; George Davey 1832-46; Davey & Muskett 1828-32; Barton Dell 1834; Bristol Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge *c.* 1823; Bristol Society for Teaching the Adult Poor 1813; S. Dennis 1808; J. Desmond 1806; R. Edwards 1797; John Evans & co. 1816; Elizabeth Farley 1765; Samuel Farley 1750-51, 1766-73; J. Faulder 1850; Arnee Frank 1820; Joseph Fry 1762; D. G. Goyder 1823; J. M. Gutch *not before* 1825; H. & A. Hill 1849; C. A. Holl 1808; Martha Knight 1833-34; T. Lane 1811; Lavars & Ackland 1840-44; Charles M'Dowall 1813-*c.*1823; T. J. Manchee 1820; M. Mathews *c.* 1840; John Mills 1799-1805, & co. 1808; Thomas Mills 1775-*c.* 1792; Stephen Penny 1765-69; William Pine 1771-76; W. Pine & son 1796; John Player 1799; Thomas Pole 1823; Ann Polglase 1822; J. Richardson *not before* 1814; W. Richardson 1825; Rose *c.* 1820-30; John Rose 1799; Philip Rose 1810-64, jun. 1840;

Rouths & Nelson 1775; E. Sibly 1786; J. Southcott 1807; Tanner Bros. 1841; Daniel Vickery 1848; John Wansbrough 1826; Wansbrough & Saunders 1819-22; M. M. & E. Webb 1812-33; Whereat *c.* 1839- ; R. Winpenny *not before* 1744; John Wright 1827-*c.* 1840; Wright & Bagnall 1829-33; Wright & Albright 1839-41.

CHELTENHAM—Rowe & Norman 1844.

CIRENCESTER—S. Rudder 1793-97; C. H. Savory.

DIDMARTON—Richard Watts 1754-74.

GLOUCESTER—W. L. Bellows 1838; Hough & son 1807; J. E. Lea 1837; Edward Power *c.* 1836; D. Walker 1804-13; J. Washbourn 1807.

PAINSWICK—Daniel Roberts 1801.

TEWKESBURY—James Bennett 1823; Dyde & son *c.* 1792.

Hants. ALTON—W. Pinnock 1810-11; Jeremiah Waring 1808.

SOUTHAMPTON—James J. Bennett; Fletcher & sons 1833; Fletcher, Forbes & Fletcher 1840; T. King 1831; William Skelton *not before* 1825.

WINCHESTER—Hugh Barclay.

Herefs. HEREFORD—Joseph Jones *c.* 1840-1854.

LEOMINSTER—Leominster Friends' Tract Association.

Herts. HERTFORD—Stephen Austin.

HITCHIN—B. Abbott 1845-46; Paternoster 1830-*c.* 1855; C. & T. L. Paternoster 1849; S. G. Shaw 1817.

Hunts. HUNTINGDON—Robert Edis 1815; T. Lovell 1814; A. P. Wood 1825.

Kent. BLACKHEATH—R. R. 1834.

DOVER—J. May 1829-34.

MAIDSTONE—Joseph Brown 1845; Nicholson *c.* 1850.

STROOD—G. J. Ford 1849; S. Wheeler & son 1845-49.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS—Jasper Sprange *c.* 1784-1816.

Lancs. BLACKBURN—Wilcockson *not before* 1816.

BOLTON (BOLTON-LE-MOORS)—John Forster 1820; Gardner *not before* 1816; James Hudsmith 1850.

LANCASTER—Batty *c.* 1817; A. Busher 1785; Holme & Jackson 1831-40; Robert Hudson 1835.

LIVERPOOL—Benson & Mallett; C. Bentham & co. 1829-30; Eleanor Dickenson 1824; Egerton Smith & co. 1794; Evans, Chegwin & Hall 1816; W. Fearnall 1861; H. Forshaw 1815; W. Grapel 1823-27; H. Greenough *not before* 1759; G. F. Harris 1809; John Hodgson 1836; Thomas Hodgson 1832-40; Johnson 1820; W. Jones 1809; T. Kaye *c.* 1820; J. Lang 1822; Liverpool Auxiliary (Tract) Association 1822; J. M'Creery 1805; David Marples 1827-32, & co. 1835-48; J. Nevett & co. 1823; J. Nuttall 1801; Reston & Taylor 1815; G. & J. Robinson 1823-24; William Robinson 1801-6; Rockliff & Ellis 1843; Rushton & Melling 1824; Smith & Galway 1816; George Smith 1824-*c.* 1830; James Smith 1806-*c.* 1824; James & Jonathan Smith 1820; Walmsley 1839; J. R. Williams *c.* 1840; Willmer & Smith 1836; Ephraim Wood.

MANCHESTER—William Alcock; I. Aston *c.* 1821; Bancks & co. 1835-36; Bancks & Southern; John Bradshaw 1820-32; Bradshaw & Blacklock 1848-49; I. Clarke 1822; C. H. Cowdroy & co. 1817; Isaac Crewdson 1829; R. & W. Dean & co. 1801-2; W. P. Ellerby 1836-38; J. Gadsby 1843; Joseph Gillett 1843-46; John Harland 1835;

- Harrison & Crosfield 1832-35; John Harrison 1829-48; William Irwin 1846- ; Lewis, Ainsworth & Whitmore 1846; Manchester Auxiliary (Tract) Association 1816-26; Manchester & Stockport Tract Association 1834- ; Mrs. Richardson *not before* 1816; T. Rogerson *not before* 1816; S. Russell 1808-27; Russell & Allen 1810; William Simpson 1837; H. Smith & Bros., Iris Office 1822; Henry Smith 1828-36; Wardle & Bentham 1813-14; M. Wardle 1817; C. Wheeler & son 1800; Godfrey Woodhead 1838-*c.*1845.
- MOSSLEY—W. B. Micklethwaite *c.* 1840?
- PRESTON—Livesey *c.* 1836-40; H. Oakey 1842; Isaac Wilcockson 1814-19.
- ROCHDALE—M. Lancashire 1824.
- WARRINGTON—J. Harrison 1818; Thomas Hurst 1840; William Leicester 1796-1803.
- WIGAN—Brown *not before* 1816.
- YEALAND—J. & J. Jenkinson 1762; James Jenkinson 1762.
- Leics.* LEICESTER—J. Combe *c.* 1806; T. Combe 1811, & I. Cockshaw *c.* 1816; Leicester Friends' Tract Association.
- Lincs.* GAINSBOROUGH—A. Stark 1816.
- Middlesex.* CHISWICK—C. & C. Whittingham.
- STOKE NEWINGTON—Llewellyn 1819.
- TOTTENHAM—George Stockwell Coventry 1814-20; George Coventry 1832- ; Eliza. Day; A. & E. Taylor.
- UXBRIDGE—H. G. Cosier 1835; William Lake 1830; T. M. Lake 1844?
- Norfolk.* LYNN (KING'S LYNN)—Marshall & Sudbury *c.* 1787; Thew & son 1845-58.
- NORWICH—R. M. Bacon 1811; Bacon & Kinnebrook 1829; Christopher Berry 1767-73; John Bousell 1786-1800; Burks & Kinnebrook 1824; Chase & co. 1786-87; Crouse 1781, & Stevenson 1793; J. Fletcher *c.* 1832-41; Jarrold 1829- ; Kitton 1829; Matchett, Stevenson & Matchett 1829; Parsons 1829; Stacy 1829; W. Stevenson 1793; Stevenson & Matchett 1817-29; T. Webster 1842; Stephen White 1769; Simon Wilkin 1821-29; Wilkin & Fletcher 1832-34; Wilkin & Youngman 1818-20; Yarrington & Bacon 1789-90.
- YARMOUTH—W. Alexander 1820; D. Boulter *c.* 1787-93; Sloman 1820.
- Northants.* NORTHAMPTON—T. Burnham 1772; F. Cordeux 1824; J. Lacy 1772; R. Smith 1772.
- Northumbs.* NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE—J. Barker 1844; J. Blackwell & co.; Emerson Charnley 1817; J. Clark 1817; Charles Henry Cook 1831; Charles Empson 1833; Fordyce *c.* 1840; John Hernaman 1837; S. Hodgson 1809-17; T. & J. Hodgson 1823-39; Mackenzie & Dent 1815; P. S. Macliver 1846; J. Mitchell 1817; Newcastle upon Tyne Bible and Religious Tract Association *c.* 1813- ; M. Ross *c.* 1845; T. Saint 1766-79; Isaac Thompson & co. 1754-59; M. Turnbull 1779; Edward Walker 1818-21; John White 1766.
- NORTH SHIELDS—T. Appleby 1811; W. Barnes? 1819; Port of Tyne Pilot Office 1840; Henry Taylor 1811.
- Notts.* MANSFIELD—R. Collinson 1818; Collinson & Langley 1820?
- NEWARK—Tomlinson *c.* 1850.

NOTTINGHAM—Samuel Bennett 1824; George Burbage 1797; Samuel Creswell 1755; Dearden 1840; J. Dunn 1809-*c.*1820; Hodson 1814; J. Howitt 1840-57; Sutton 1798; Richard Sutton 1835; H. Wild 1824-44.

Oxon. BANBURY—T. Cheney 1813; W. Gauthern; William Potts 1834-40.

HENLEY—Hickman & Stapledon 1825; Thomas May 1772; Norton 1801; G. Norton *c.* 1780-90.

NORTH NEWTON (NEWINGTON)—William Gauthern 1813-26.

NORTH WESTON, THAME—H. Wigley 1832.

OXFORD—T. Bell 1821-23; J. & J. Fletcher 1781-*c.*1792; J. Ham 1832; Joseph Jewell.

Salop. IRONBRIDGE—William Smith 1809-17.

SHREWSBURY—J. Cotton & J. Eddowes 1755-56; J. Eddowes 1756-69, & W. Eddowes 1785-1810.

Somerset. BATH—Bath Friends' Tract Association; John Binns 1816; Binns & Robinson 1825; Mrs. Binns 1825; Binns & Goodwin 1840- ; Charles Clark 1850-52; R. Cruttwell 1777-1810; W. Frederick 1752; S. Hazard 1775-1801; Hazard & Binns 1807; Keenes 1803; William Matthews 1786-1802; W. Meyler 1786; Noyes & son 1859-60; Edmund Rack 1774-85; Wood, Cunningham & Smith 1824.

BRIDGWATER—Aubrey 1835; William Cass 1827; J. Clark 1823-48; J. Poole 1813?; Frederic Wood 1848.

FROME—W. P. Penny *not after* 1849.

GLASTONBURY—J. Wakefield 1810.

HUSH EPISCOPI—John Coates 1827.

MILBORNE PORT—J. Denham 1777.

Staffs. HANLEY—Albert 1824.

Suffolk. BURY ST. EDMUNDS—Gedge & Barker 1811; Rackham *c.* 1787-1820.

IPSWICH—Burton 1846; J. Bush 1812; Cowell 1820; S. H. Cowell 1836-38; King & Garrod *c.* 1833; King & Savage 1812; Piper *c.* 1839; J. Raw 1808; J. Read *c.* 1830-38; Thomas Shave 1767-73; Shave & Jackson 1787.

SUDBURY—J. Wright 1846-*c.*1858.

WOODBIDGE—Columbian Press 1823; John Loder 1820-41; S. Loder 1812; Edward Pite 1848; B. Smith 1819-24; Smith & Jarrold 1817-*c.*1821; Philip Thompson 1820-23.

Surrey. CROYDON—William Annan 1828; T. Harding 1806; Harding, jun. *c.* 1810; Robert Page 1847; C. Shuter 1841.

GUILDFORD—S. Russell & co. 1824.

Sussex. BRIGHTON—H. R. Attree; William Brunton 1829-31; T. Choat; Ruddock 1810; Arthur Wallis 1842-52.

CHICHESTER—W. Mason 1809-17.

HORSHAM—J. Phillips *c.* 1802.

LEWES—Geo. P. Bacon; Baxter & son 1841; Thomas Davey *c.* 1850.

LINDFIELD—W. Eade 1834-51; Charles Green (Greene) 1827-32; Schools of Industry 1832-40.

Warwicks. BIRMINGHAM—John Baskerville 1765; Beilby & Knotts 1817-18; Birmingham Friends' Tract Association; J. Butterworth 1830; T. Chapman 1809, Richard Davies 1838-*c.*1841; Christopher

Farl 1766; T. Groom *c.* 1841; B. Hudson 1837-47; Knott & Lloyd 1810; Luckman & Lesson 1771; H. Newman 1845; Pearson & Rollason 1788; Richard Peart *c.* 1822-1835; John W. Showell 1841; M. Swinney 1803; T. Warren jun. *c.* 1751; White & Pike 1848- .

COLESHILL—Tite 1822.

COVENTRY—T. Luckman 1771.

LEAMINGTON SPA—John Hewett 1848.

WARWICK—E. Heathcote 1826.

Westmorland. KENDAL—Thomas Ashburner 1730-76; R. Hargreaves 1849; Hudson & Nicholson 1836-*c.*1840; Knight, Hudson & co. 1837; W. Pennington 1795-1801; T. Richardson 1826.

Wilts. CALNE—Edwin Bailey.

SALISBURY—Brodie & Dowding 1816; James Easton 1799; J. Hodson 1776; W. Jeffrey *c.* 1803.

SUTTON BINGER—John Fry 1762.

Worcs. DUDLEY—J. Payton 1794; J. Rann 1794.

EVESHAM—J. Agg *c.* 1812; George May 1835.

STOURBRIDGE—J. Light 1807; J. West 1792.

WORCESTER—H. Deighton 1828; Thomas Eaton 1811; R. Lewis 1771; J. Tymbs *c.* 1802; H. B. Tymbs & H. Deighton 1828.

Yorks. ACKWORTH—George F. Linney 1845-53.

BARNSELY—Burton Infant School (Burton Grange); Thomas Lister 1834.

BRADFORD—John Atkinson 1831; W. H. Blackburn 1826-29; Bradford Friends' Female Tract Association 1833-34; Bradford Friends' Tract Association *c.* 1826-36; H. B. Byles *c.* 1843; John Dale 1836-45, & co. 1856- ; T. Inkersley 1824; T. Kinnersley & co. 1830; George Nicholson 1788; J. Nicholson *c.* 1820; Nicholsons 1787; Benjamin Seebohm; Henry Wardman 1833-55.

DONCASTER—D. Boys 1803.

HALIFAX—Nicholson & Wilson *c.* 1846.

HUDDERSFIELD—T. G. Lancashire 1845; Thomas Smart 1804.

LEEDS—J. Binns 1794; Edward Baines 1801-56; S. Birchall 1796; J. Bowling 1791; G. Copperthwaite 1771; H. Cullingworth & son 1838; Davies & co. 1811; B. Dewhirst 1816; Thomas Gill 1794-9; J. Heaton 1847; S. Hirst 1807; Intelligencer Office 1817; J. Y. Knight 1836; James Lister 1736-52; Jonathan Lupton 1817; Anthony Pickard 1829-62; Christopher Pickard 1824; M. Robinson *c.* 1836; H. W. Walker 1847- ; Webb, Millington & co. 1842; Thomas Wright 1785.

MARSDEN (near Colne)—Caleb Haworth 1838.

OTLEY—William Walker 1829.

PONTEFRACT—Charles Elcock 1831-36; J. Fox & son *c.* 1832; James Lucas 1836-42.

RIPON—John Lewis Linney *c.* 1836.

SCARBOROUGH—W. T. & J. Ainsworth *c.* 1830; J. Grice *c.* 1829-45; John Rowntree *not before* 1845; S. W. Theakston 1846; C. R. Todd, jun. 1848.

SHEFFIELD—Henry Andrew Bacon 1823-24; Christopher Bentham 1816-17; Bentham & Ray 1817-18; Bower, Bacon & Bower *c.* 1812; J. Gales 1789; John Hoyland 1814-16; Leader 1849; James

Montgomery, Iris Office 1800-5; J. Pearce jr. 1844; G. Ridge 1836; Slater, Bacon & co. 1801; John Smith 1798-*c.*1815; C. & W. Thompson 1813; William Todd 1813.

STOKESLEY—J. S. Pratt *c.* 1840?

WAKEFIELD—Illingworth & Hicks 1843.

WHITBY—G. Clark 1822; Dorothy Ripley 1817-22; Rodgers; Joseph Taylor 1787; C. Webster 1783-87; Thomas Webster 1794-1805.

YORK—William Alexander 1811-41; A. Barclay 1823-25; A. Bartholoman 1807; Nathaniel Bell 1782; William Blanchard 1777-1825; John Bleckly 1822-25; Henry Cobb 1821; John Coultas 1837-58; T. Deighton 1811; C. Etherington 1762; John Gilfillan *c.* 1750; W. Hargrove & co. *c.*1813, 1815, 1833; Hargrove, Gawthorp & Cobb *c.* 1819; Hargrove, Gawthorp & Hargrove 1820; Herald Office 1816; John Hill 1842; William Hipsley 1837; R. Hogarth 1836; George Hope 1849- ; James Hunton 1850-54; John Lewis Linney 1840-49; Lucas Lund 1787; J. Middleton 1807; C. Peacock 1811-18; R. & J. Richardson 1810; H. Sotheran 1835; John Spencer & co. 1812; John Todd 1781; Henry Tuke *c.* 1807-1810; John Tuke 1841; Walker & Pennington 1782; T. Weightman 1842-*c.*1843; Thomas Wilson & Robert Spence 1787, 1800-10; Wilson, Spence & Mawman *c.* 1789-1799; Thomas Wilson & son 1810-12, & sons 1813-42; York Friends' Tract Association 1842- ; York Tracts 1828- ; York Temperance Society 1836.

IRELAND

BALLITORE—Mary Leadbeater 1808; Abraham Shackleton 1818.

BELFAST—Archer & Ward 1804; Doherty & Simms 1801-2; T. Mairs & co. *c.* 1830?; News-Letter Office 1801; William Robinson 1835-7; Simms & McIntyre 1841-51; J. Smyth 1802; J. Smyth, D. & S. Lyons 1803; Wethereld & co. 1833; James Wilson 1832.

CARRICK—J. Stacy 1800.

CORK—John Bolster 1814; Ellis Chandlee 1776; Dennis Donnoghue 1776; George Ridings 1837; William West 1815, & co. 1814.

DUBLIN—T. M. Bates 1793; Christopher Bentham 1818-25; Bentham & Gardiner 1824-6; Bentham & Hardy 1825-9; Henry Bewley 1844; Thomas Burnside 1796; P. Byrne 1796; John Charrurier 1795; W. Corbet 1792; Thomas Courtney 1814; James Cumming & co. 1813-20; John Cumming 1813-20, 1841; Cumming & Ferguson 1847; J. Curry, jr. & co. 1847; W. Curry & co. *c.* 1827; William Curry, jr. & co. 1829-36; Dublin Liberty Infant School 1829; Dublin Tract Association 1814- ; James Duffy 1839; B. Dugdale 1796; Fannin & co. 1842-52; L. Flin 1780; David F. Gardiner *c.* 1820-36; W. Gilbert 1801; Gilbert & Hodges 1804-5; James B. Gilpin 1848-54; M. Goodwin 1818; James Gough 1767; John Gough 1767-70, 1794-1805; Graisbury & Campbell 1814-8; George Grierson 1806; Thomas Harding 1776; Philip Dixon Hardy 1832, & sons 1844; Hibernia Press Office 1813-20; Hodges and McArthur 1825; Hodges & Smith 1848-60; Isaac Jackson 1750-68, & son 1770-1; Robert Jackson 1772-92; Rachel Maria Jackson 1793-4; George Johnston 1796; J. Jones 1789-92; John Jones 1805, 1811-21; W. Jones 1793; W. Keegan 1826; Martin Keene

1808; P. Kennedy 1841; Mary Leadbeater 1808; R. M'Allister 1793; Alex. M'Culloh 1768; J. Milliken 1796; J. Moore 1793; P. Moore 1796; Robert Napper 1794-1807; William Pickering & son 1820; W. Porter *c.* 1800; J. Rice 1793-6; Henry Russell 1835; John Ruddy 1757-72; W. Sleater 1772; Richard Moore Tims 1822-39; Wakeman 1837; William Watson 1815; Richard Davis Webb 1829-37; Webb & Chapman 1838-53; Thomas I. White 1827-39; P. Wogan 1796.
 LIMERICK—Canter *c.* 1833; George M'Kearn & sons 1849.
 MONAGHAN—N. Greason 1826.
 WATERFORD—John Bull 1817-22; Thomas Goouch 1817-22; Thomas Smith Harvey 1839-44; Matthew Power 1790; S. Smith & son 1830.

SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN—Alexander Brown 1813, & co. 1833-34; D. Chalmers & co. 1813-8; F. Frost 1813.
 EDINBURGH—John Anderson, jun. 1836; Harry Armour 1848-55; E. Balfour 1801; Balfour & Smellie 1772-92; Ballantyne & co. 1814; Adam Black 1813; William Blackwood 1820- ; Campbell & Clarke 1826; A. Constable & co. 1805-25; J. Dickson 1798; J. Fairbairn 1798; Greig 1813; John Johnstone 1840; John Lindsay & co. 1832; J. Lindsey & co. 1842; Maclachlan & Stewart 1842-52; John Menzies 1850- ; Adam Neill & co. 1799; T. Nelson *c.* 1850?; William Oliphant junr. & co. 1837; W. Oliphant & son 1842; Oliver & Boyd 1842; J. Pillans & son 1823; James Robertson 1819-20; C. Stewart 1820; W. & C. Tait 1824-5; William Tait 1827; Thomas Turnbull 1811; Waugh & Innes 1819; William Whyte & co. 1823-34; C. Ziegler 1848.
 FALKIRK—Daniel Reid 1777.
 GLASGOW—Andrew & John M. Duncan 1819; R. & A. Foulis 1760; George Gallie 1829-53; Glasgow University Press 1819; R. Griffin & co. 1825-47; John M'Leod 1836; M. Ogle 1832; Robertson & Atkinson 1826; William & Robert Smeal 1843- ; R. Urie 1751; Young, Gallie & co. *c.* 1820.

WALES

CARMARTHEN (CAERFYRDDIN)—I. Daniel; Ioan Ross 1773.
 RHUTHYN—R. Jones 1832.
 SWANSEA (ABERTAWE)—F. Fagg *c.* 1835; H. Griffith *not before* 1821; E. Griffiths 1833; T. Jenkins 1809.

GUERNSEY

N. Mauger 1824.

The Gurneys and the Norwich Clothing Trade in the Eighteenth Century

This article forms part of a thesis on "The economic development of Norwich, 1750-1850" (University of Leeds Ph.D., 1963).

Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the Gurney Manuscripts held at the Library of the Society of Friends in London.

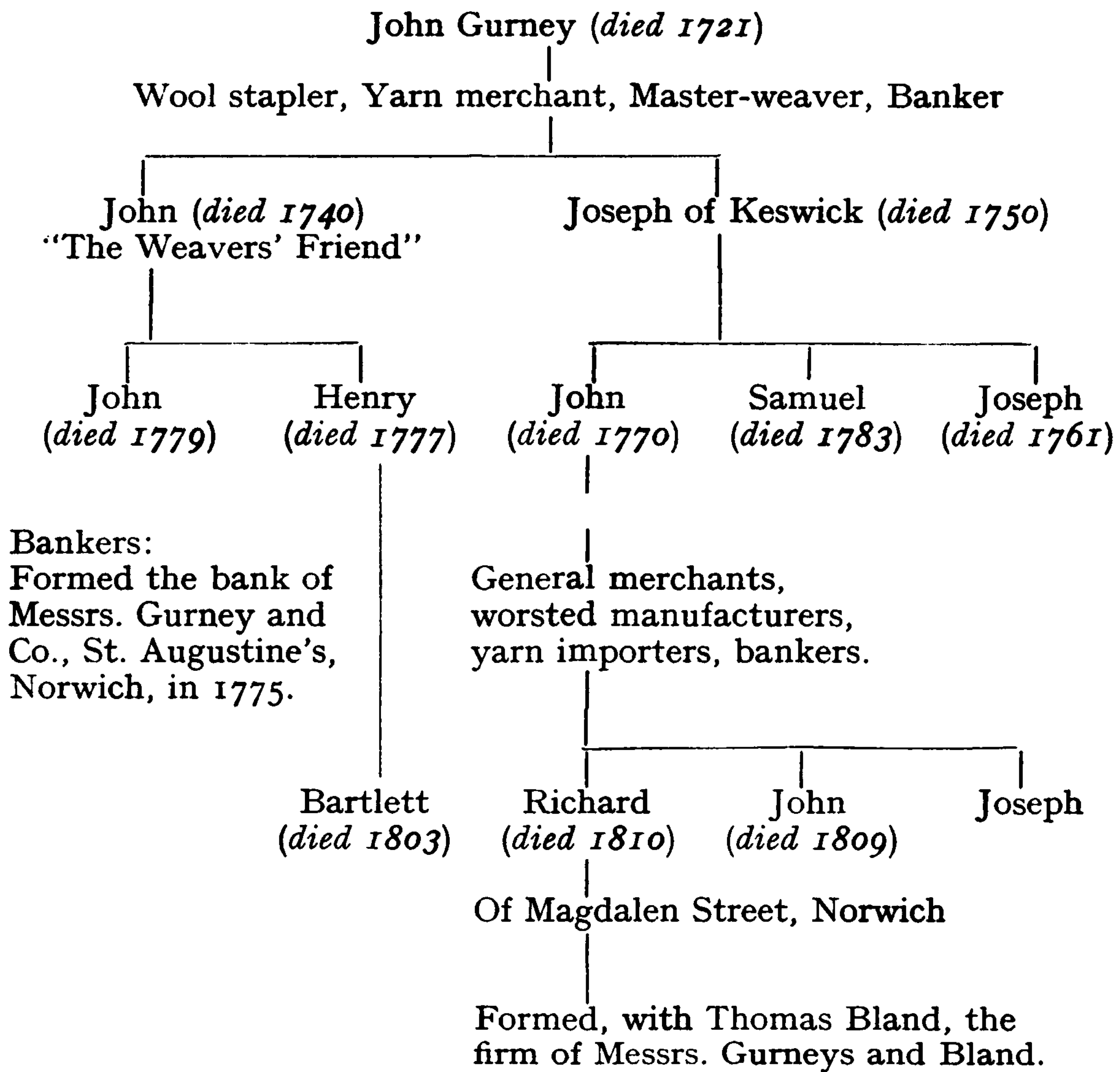
OF all the firms forming the Norwich worsted industry during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the House of Gurney must have been one of the oldest, the most varied in its activities and the most extensive in its financial ramifications. By 1760, two Gurney firms were operating, the roots of both going back to John Gurney, wool-stapler, yarn-merchant and master-weaver who, as early as 1680, had provided work for about two hundred persons.¹ Long before this, however, the Gurney family had been actively interested in banking, "lending, receiving, drawing drafts in London, and as merchants carrying on all banking activities";² and the wool-factor and master-weaver of the late seventeenth century no doubt engaged in these also.

John Gurney was followed by his two sons: John, a worsted manufacturer, a close friend of Sir Robert Walpole and who, on account of his spirited defence of the Norwich worsted industry before a Parliamentary Committee early in the century, was thence-forward called "The Weavers' Friend" by the people of the city; and Joseph, of Keswick, near Norwich, of whose economic activities little appears to be known. The later John Gurney died in 1740 and his two sons, John and Henry, succeeded to the prosperous banking and manufacturing business, subsequently forming the bank of Messrs. Gurney and Co., of St. Augustine's, Norwich. Joseph of Keswick had three sons of whom John and Samuel controlled the general merchanting, worsted manufacturing and banking firm on the death of Joseph in 1750, by which time a large trade in imported yarn from South Ireland to Norwich had already developed. The Keswick John Gurney

¹ Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism in Industry Before 1800*, 1930, 113, 145.

² D. Gurney, *Record of the House of Gournay*, 1848, ii, 520.

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 DEVELOPMENT OF THE GURNEY FIRMS OF NORWICH DURING THE
 EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



In 1779, the two firms amalgamated to form the new Gurneys' Bank of Richard, Bartlett and Joseph Gurney, with John linked but not legally incorporated.

possessed shrewd judgment and a clear insight into the problems and potentialities of the trade and, by the time he died in 1770, his share of the £20,000 left by his grandfather had become £100,000, to form, in fact, the foundation of the vast fortunes of the later Gurneys.¹ Samuel, dying in 1783, left about £10,000. Both, according to L. S. Pressnell,² "were solid and successful bankers"; but it is clear from the range of interests handed on to John's sons that they were, in fact, much more than this. The two sons of the Keswick John Gurney—Richard and John—succeeded to his business in

¹ W. H. Bidwell, *Annals of an East Anglian Bank*, 1900, 9.
² *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution*, 1956, 236.

1770 and, together with a Thomas Bland who seems to have been something less than a full partner,¹ formed the firm of Messrs. Gurneys and Bland, of Magdalen Street, Norwich, to carry on the varied industrial and commercial activities of the earlier firm. The position, therefore, by the 1760's was that there were two distinct Gurney firms operating in the city—one mainly banking and the other devoted to merchanting and manufacturing. Close but informal links were maintained between the two organizations.

Westerfield² has distinguished between shipping merchants, dissociated from any form of production and tied to their main activities as ship owners, importers and exporters; and merchant employers who engaged in any or all of manufacturing, retailing or wholesaling. In the Norwich industry at this time, production was to some extent in the hands of employer merchants who required banking services in several ways, while the supply of raw materials and sometimes of finance required the services of shipping merchants. The Gurney firms seem to have developed their two separate but complementary functions in response to the two demands. While Messrs. Gurney and Co. of St. Augustine's were principally bankers, the firm of Gurneys and Bland was involved in a wide range of activities connected with overseas trade—ship-owning, carrying, insuring, banking, as well as acting as a commission house. In time, however, the range of activities came to be reduced in conformity with the general trend of commercial practice within the country and finally the firm concentrated on banking, apparently considered the most lucrative of the possible occupations. The firm operated through the London bank of Timothy Bevan and Son, of Lombard Street, with which it had an account.³ As the letters between the partners show, there was frequent journeying between Norwich and London. John was particularly interested in the Stock Exchange, Lloyds and the money and commercial markets while most of the activity connected

¹ Mr. Q. E. Gurney, of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk, declares that the present Vice-Chairman of Barclays Bank, Thomas Bland, is a direct descendant of this Thomas Bland.

² *Middlemen in English business*, 409-10.

³ II, 50, 12th November, 1772. Apart from, and possibly due to, their business links, the Gurney and Bevan families were linked through marriage. Timothy Bevan's second wife was the daughter of Joseph Gurney while Richard and Joseph were sons-in-law of David Barclay, the London banker, whose son was a partner in the Lombard Street firm.

with the yarn-merchanting side of the business was performed by the other partners. Both Richard Gurney and Thomas Bland travelled frequently to Ireland to make contact with the combers, factors and merchants and it is from this journeying that much of the body of correspondence covering the period 1770-1785 derives.

There appears to have been a natural linkage in all their activities, the result of one involvement leading to others. Their function of yarn importers from Ireland, for instance, caused them to import large quantities of agricultural produce, a step which may have been involuntary for at least one major yarn supplier, a fellow merchant, in Ireland sent deliveries of ox and cow hides, tallow and butter for the Gurneys to sell "in spite of all the declarations we have made against thy sending us these out of the way things."¹ However, the butter must have found a ready market in a part of England devoted mainly to cereals production and with a large urban population, while the leather trade of the city probably absorbed the supplies of tallow and hides. The fact that the shipping of yarn was partly seasonal and sometimes erratic may also have led to the taking on of new shipping commitments. The year for yarn trading began in about May, but in summer spinning was often at a standstill owing to the requirements of harvesting.² A second climax of activity developed in the autumn after which there was a distinct tailing-off. Summer, the time of maximum butter production, and winter, when much of the beef was killed off to produce tallow and hides, would have provided cargoes for the fuller use of the ships engaged in the Gurney trade. Whatever the precise case, the Gurney firm was receiving regular reports on the prices of tallow and making regular shipments of dairy produce from Ireland on their own account and in their own vessel by 1772.³ Similar trade links had been built up with Russia and had led to the regular receiving of shipments of hemp, flax, tallow and soap. Such importations from St. Petersburg could only be received in Great Britain by "a Freeman of the said Company" (? the Russian Company) and, although the Gurneys were not freemen, Thomas

¹ II, 350, 509, 1770, 1772.

² In September, 1772, the Waterford factor was reporting, "Spinning (is) slack on account of the harvests, they have little yarn on hand."

³ I, 98b, II, 491, 509. "Raw hides on the hair" is an occasional item entered in the Yarmouth Port Books as a Gurney import at this time.

Bland was, a circumstance which helps to account for the rather ill-defined position of Bland in the Gurney organization.¹ Lastly, the natural association between Norwich, malt production and brewing, led the Gurneys into shipping quantities of malt abroad, in one case at least as far away as North America.²

Cloth seems to have been exported only in a moderate way. Certainly, acting through agents in Seville and Cadiz, they were in close contact with Iberia, to which they sent camblets both for the Spanish and Portuguese markets and also for shipment to South America.³ In addition to all these activities, their trading interests, their personal involvement in the Irish and Mediterranean markets, their close links with the London financial centres and money market led them to develop as insurers of cargoes to those areas. One sees Richard Gurney writing in 1770 to John Deaves—an agent of the Gurneys at Cork—and saying, “I do agree to stand the insurance to thee for £1,000 on goods by ‘The Good Intent’, the premium being $1\frac{1}{4}\%$.” In the same year, John Gurney, writing to Richard in Dublin and endeavouring to assess the firm’s position in view of the suspected imminence of war, recorded his “risques” in insuring cargoes as being:

“£1,800, by the Elizabeth and Mary, to Cartagena.
 £1,190, by the Queen of Naples, to Salerno and Naples.
 £665, by the Prince of Wales to Salerno and Naples.
 £740, by the Anson, to Genoa.
 “We have others from £400 to £3,261.”⁴

Linking the yarn merchants and factors of Ireland, whose trade was highly seasonal, to the manufacturers of Norwich, who had to produce throughout most of the year, Messrs. Gurneys and Bland bought speculatively, credited the sellers promptly with an account on which bills could be drawn, stored yarn against requirements and extended credit to the manufacturers. So it is not surprising that, at a time when by all accounts the worsted business of the city was thriving and expanding, the Gurney firm should find this “a very

¹ II, 490.

² II, 462a, 1772. The bill of lading shows a cargo of 718 quarters of malt exported by the Gurney firm from Norwich to Philadelphia.

³ II, 479-80, 487. One consignment consisted of 249 narrows and sixteen broads.

⁴ I, 88a, 1771. II, 504a, 122, 340, 1772, 1770.

lucrative business" or that, by 1772, they "dominated the market and occupied the position of the capitalist financier" in the Norwich organization.¹ They loaned money both to the Irish factors and to the merchants;² set up, during the late 1770's, a cloth merchanting business in London;³ and invested and dealt widely in both foreign and domestic bills.⁴ From this position there was only one step logically to be taken by these shrewd, experienced merchants who possessed both large capital and great integrity, and by 1779 the Gurneys had moved fully into banking.

Not the least remarkable feature of this Gurney firm was the scope and extent of their yarn merchanting activities. By the early 1770's, having been involved for a long while in the Irish trade, they had developed an extensive organization with a total of at least fourteen contacts in the major ports and market towns of Southern Ireland—Cork, Youghal, Clonmel, Castlemartyr, Waterford and Dublin⁵—all of which were linked to Bristol, London and Yarmouth by regular and relatively short sea passages. They both employed factors who acted by buying on the Gurneys' behalf and themselves acted as factors by receiving supplies and selling on behalf of other large yarn merchants. Thus Jacob Watson and W. Strangman were yarn factors who worked on a commission basis of 2% while three agents operated in Clonmel and were paid at the rate of about 4½%.⁶ The reason for the difference in the level of commission was probably that the Waterford yarn-factors operated in a very large way, for in one month alone they sent the Gurney firm 222 packs, which at £28 the pack would have earned them £124. Other persons appear to have acted as buyers on their own initiative but under the eventual control of the Gurneys.⁷

The relations between the principals and their factors

¹ A. Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 1950, 76.

² Pressnell, *op. cit.*, 315; Raistrick, *op. cit.*, 76.

³ Pressnell, *op. cit.*, 333.

⁴ II, 346, 382, 1770-1772.

⁵ II, 123a, 1770-1772. John Gurney writes: "My yarn paper is now before me," and goes on to list the names and addresses of the suppliers and the amounts supplied, to end by reckoning, "I have sold on the whole . . . 221 packs." This would have represented about one month's sales to the Norwich manufacturers.

⁶ II, 458, 1772; I, 87, 1771. The Clonmel agents received 25s. on a pack valued at about £28.

⁷ II, 488a, 489, 1772.

appear to have been harmonious enough although at a later date John Gurney appeared to have no great opinion of yarn-factors generally and waxed scathing about a Norwich manufacturer who was "a careless fellow who leaves open his counting house to risque of all manner of yarn factors."¹ Certainly, to a modern eye there seems to be a certain vivid roughness in some of the correspondence from some of the factors; as, for instance, when writing to the Gurneys about the acute shortage of yarn, Sam Allin of Youghal declared:

Perhaps you may think it almost credulias when we tel you wooll is com to the Inormas Price of 17/- per stone; and yet you may depend on the thruth of it and not a soficiance even at the price.

Of a similar kind was Ebenezer Deaves of Cork who, referring to the higher prices being demanded by the Irish combers and advising them against raising the prices of yarn, says,

If you advance the price of yarn, our combers will advance the price of wooll directly . . . You are only working for the wooll-growers who is trimmed with gold lace and driving in their coaches and hardshipping your weavers.²

Generally, however, the correspondence suggests that disputes were infrequent.

The yarn merchants of Ireland were persons of a different calibre. George Newenham of Cork and John Pim of Dublin were big suppliers of yarn and their relations with the Gurney firm were very much those between equals. Pim, a main supplier to the Gurneys prior to 1770, broke off relations after a dispute over prices, preferring either to supply the main rivals of the Gurneys in Norwich (Allday and Kerrison, who similarly were bankers as well as being concerned in the yarn business) or to go to Norwich and personally sell to the manufacturers there.³ Newenham, a few years later, threatened to do precisely the same, complaining in forceful and direct tones of the low prices being offered by the Gurneys and the high charges that they made:

Under this price, I will not have it [the yarn] sold; and if you do not think it proper to return me sales at the price I mention I desire that the yarn be lodged with Allday and Kerrison . . .

¹ II, 511, 1784.

² II, 464, 488a.

³ II, 345, 1770: "John Pim has actually agreed to consign his yarn to our opponents in Norwich for sale."

The terms on which they do business are vastly under your charges.¹

It seems that the Gurneys must have given way on this occasion, for Newenham's business was retained until a much later date. Altogether, the people on whom the Gurney firm depended for their yarn supplies were highly varied and the preservation of amicable relations with them must have proved not the least of worries.

By means of the factors and merchants, a very extensive part of southern and central Ireland was drained of its yarn. Buyers toured the country, ranging at times far to the north and west,² bought the wool from the combers, transported it to the nearest port and stored it pending shipment. The combers of Ireland appear not to have been very different from their East Anglian counterparts except that they controlled very little capital, and in the fluctuations of trade they not infrequently suffered considerable financial setbacks. An indication as to the economic weakness of combers is seen in a letter from Richard Gurney, in Waterford in 1770: "War," he writes, "must knock down the prices of yarn materially to the ruin of the Irish combers, many of whom have large families. We cannot but have great pity for them. Having no other trade that they understand to betake themselves to, they are obliged either to give the prices others do for wool or totally to abandon the business." Two years later, the Cork agent wrote: "The Exorbitant prices our wool has sold in this season is realy Melancholy. For my part, I pity the Pore Combers."³

The fact that the combers had little capital and that, the merchants apart, the yarn suppliers were distant from the yarn users, reinforced the strength of the Gurneys' position. They were in direct contact with the yarn users; their capital resources were large and permitted speculative buying and the holding of stocks over a long period; their trading activities brought them into contact with, and gave them intimate knowledge of, the countries to which the Norwich cloth products were exported. Unlike the combers of Norfolk who, controlling local spinning on a wide scale and often possessing moderately large capitals, were in a strong position

¹ II, 471, 1772.

² II, 491, 1772. Strangman of Waterford reported that, "There is not in the whole province of Connaught five bags of fleece wool unsold."

³ II, 329, 373, 455a, 1769, 1772.

vis-à-vis the Norwich manufacturers and who often combined to maintain their prices, the Irish combers were economically vulnerable and much more tractable in the processes of hard bargaining. The extent to which prices were imposed on them by the Gurney firm, however, was modified by the very real competition of the other yarn merchants.¹ Nevertheless, it seems probable that the relative weakness of the Irish combers may have brought to the Gurney firm a higher level of profits than were enjoyed by most of the other yarn merchants in Norwich at that time. Shrewdness and imagination also ensured that very few possibilities of profitable trading remained unexplored. Supplies of Scotch yarn were added to those from Ireland² and even the potentialities of selling to the growing Manchester manufacturers who were using worsted and cotton yarns were investigated.³ Small wonder that Richard Gurney was once able to inform his brother that, apart from some small quantity, "It is now probable that we shall have the chief of the yarn that is in Ireland in our hands."⁴

The annual quantity of yarn handled by this firm seems to have been very considerable. In 1767, a total of 54,892 "great stones" of bay and worsted yarn was brought by the firm into Yarmouth from Ireland, the equivalent of at least 3,200 packs.⁵ A composite account relative to conditions a few years later suggests much the same scale of operations:⁶

<i>Month and Year</i>	<i>Number of Packs Imported</i>
July, 1772	246
August, 1772	325
September, 1770	221
October, 1772	454
November, 1772	222
December, 1771	190
January, 1771	302
February, 1771	56
<i>Total 2,016</i>	

¹ II, 119a, 1770: "I cannot help fearing that the expectations of the Irish combers . . . will be a great bar to your progress in conducting some negotiations with them . . . It might not be impolitic to be cautious of beating them down too much. [They] may unite to John Pim and other buyers."

² II, 120, 1770; 482, 1772.

³ I, 98, 1772.

⁴ II, 379, 1772.

⁵ Port Books, Yarmouth, P.R.O. E/190/572/18.

⁶ I, 87, 88b; II, 120, 123a, 466, 482, 497, etc.

There were usually some additional shipments in May and June (at the beginning of the yarn-making year) and March (at the end) while, apart from the Irish supplies, the Gurneys obtained other amounts from Brandon, Suffolk.¹ It would seem as though a reasonable estimate of the total of yarn handled by the Gurney firm would have been between 2,500 and 3,000 packs a year, greater than that of the entire consumption of Frome, Somerset, "the focus of a region producing cloth to the value of £600,000 annually,"² and forming possibly as much as one-sixth or one-seventh of the total yarn used by the Norwich manufactory. At a price of £28 per pack,³ this gives the firm a total turnover on yarn alone of between £56,000 and £84,000, a very respectable figure for business in those days but one much in keeping with the turnovers of some of the larger establishments engaged in the Norwich trade.

The Irish yarn was shipped either to London or to Yarmouth direct, sometimes in the Gurneys' own ship or in a number of others regularly engaged in the trade, each ship in the flood-tide of supply carrying between 350-450 packs⁴ and thus having a highly valuable cargo. Fortunately, the crossing was short, with always Falmouth or Plymouth to put into in the event of a storm or exceptional hazard,⁵ a consideration which must have proved highly beneficial during the winter sailings. Why yarn was so often sent to London first rather than direct to Yarmouth is not clear, but there must have been several advantages. Blackwell Hall at this time functioned as a principal wool as well as cloth market;⁶ there were abundant storage facilities; and London was the controlling commercial, financial and insurance centre of the kingdom. Additionally, much Irish yarn came to the small Devon and Somerset ports or to Bristol, either to be distributed to the serge industry of Devon or sent on

¹ I, 87a, 88, 1771.

² J. Morris, *The West of England Woollen Industry*, 29.

³ II, 458, 466, 1772.

⁴ I, 85, 1770; II, 482, 497, 1772.

⁵ II, 497, 1772. The captain of one ship—the "Thomas and Francis"—reported to the Gurneys on one occasion when, carrying 454 packs, they "Came about the Landend with much difficulty, the wind blowing strong at SSW. On dubbling the Lizard, the wind still increasing and promising to be a badd night, so are away for this harbour which, I think, is a happy surcomstanch, for it have blown this night a howling gale."

⁶ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, 262.

to the capital by road, a trade long established by 1740.¹ It seems at least likely that some of the supplies for the Gurney firm came through Bristol—possibly the sea route most used in winter—for Richard records that he was “at Hackney when the parcell (their usual term for a consignment of yarn) came . . . the coach not coming till near 10—so laden with crapes (yarn for crape making) that it was no wonder (that it was so late).”² Probably, the Gurney cargoes, made up of shipments from several different and unconnected factors and merchants, were checked in London, the accounts of the suppliers being adjusted accordingly; for the focus of control in the Gurney organization was their account with Timothy Bevan and Son, and all financial transactions and correspondence connected with these passed through this office. Finally, the metropolis was at this time the principal distributing centre for the cloth of the Norwich manufactory; and since the Gurneys were cloth exporters, the commercial and financial services available, together with the shipping news that Lloyds disseminated,³ would have been of the greatest value.

From London, the yarn went, at least at times, to Norwich by road, the journey apparently taking about ten days in summer⁴ and probably much longer in winter. The alternative—the East coast route by sea—constituted a major hazard in winter on account of the onshore winds and currents and the widespread sandbanks and shoals off the coast, while transshipment at Yarmouth into the river keels for the journey upstream not only added to the cost but also left the yarn open to loss by pilfering. In spite of this, a proportion of cargoes was shipped direct from Ireland to Yarmouth, usually from Cork or Dublin.⁵ The precise reason why yarn came to Norwich in the two different ways remains elusive, the possibility being perhaps that cargoes normally went to London but, in case of shortage at Norwich, went direct to the Norfolk port.

Interesting sidelights on the characters of the two Gurneys themselves (much less so with regard to Thomas

¹ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, 277-8. D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, II, 187.

² II, 367, 1772.

³ Westerfield, *op. cit.*, 392.

⁴ I, 93, 1772.

⁵ II, 482; I, 88a, 88b, etc.

Bland, the partner of Richard) are provided by the correspondence which covers their dealings during the early 1770's to the mid-1780's. They appear as shrewd calculators of business risk who pressed the yarn suppliers hard up to a certain limit. Beyond this limit, however, in the interests of integrity and of long-term business survival, they were unwilling to go. During the latter half of 1770, there was much anxious correspondence between Richard, buying yarn in Ireland, and John, in London, with regard to the possibility of war with Spain; and Richard's "It stands to be cautious in buying . . . and to miss no opportunity of selling", followed by an expression of optimism, seems best to typify the merchant mind.¹ It is the periods of yarn shortage which bring out their business acumen and character most plainly. Any shortage of yarn enabled higher prices to be enforced promptly on the Norwich manufacturers by the woolcombers of the city and county, such increased prices being received also by the yarn-importing merchants. As the news of the price increases came to be transmitted to the Irish combers by some means or other, eventually they too raised their prices. The policy of the Gurney firm was, therefore, to restrain as far as possible the prices of the combers by exploiting their economic weakness while taking advantage as fully as possible of the hardening demand of the manufacturers, always with the possibilities of competition by alternative buyers in mind. In this, they seem to have been highly successful. Shortages developed fairly regularly in late January or in February when the remnants of the clip had been spun. Just such a scarcity was produced in 1771 and it caused some of the Norwich weavers to go "amongst the combers last night and bought what they had, which put the combers on asking 3d. or 6d. per gross (of skeins) advance."² Very soon after, Richard was reporting, "It is evident that the weavers expect a rise and Newenham (yarn-merchant of Cork) begins to talk of it before the account of Peace," i.e. as the prime topic. Newenham got his higher prices in 1771 and also in 1772, when he wrote, "It gives me pleasure that the scarcity of yarn with you has enabled me to dispose of my yarn at a price quite beyond my expectation."³ The Gurneys'

¹ II, 331, 1770.

² I, 87, 1771.

³ II, 138, 9th February, 1772.

exploitation of scarcity of their own behalf is illustrated by the piece of excellent merchanting advice given by Richard to Thomas Bland: "You will, no doubt, make all the advantages you can consistent with the 'Gurneys' cargo, especially those who you may be under necessity to supply." He continues with a faint suggestion of regret, "It would be better if we had some more of the lower (coarser) crapes, for you cannot advance the better sorts with propriety more than 10%."¹

This appears to have been a simple piece of commercial exploitation by no means unusual in those or in these times, but it would appear that the Gurney mind was not in complete acceptance of such actions. It liked, apparently, to explain exploitation in some other terms more satisfying to the conscience. A letter from Richard to John provides an example. When Ives, an important Norwich merchant-manufacturer "laid the charge upon us of taking advantage of the emptiness of the market to advance the prices of the yarn," Richard alleged that "it was absolutely necessary . . . to prevent a much greater scarcity at our market which, without advances, must be absolutely the case. This argument I made use of to John Ives, Aggs and Alderman Patterson."² At about the same time, partner Thomas Bland was informing John Gurney that, due to the scarcity, buyers would "soon be seeking for it in London . . . under what we make them pay in Norwich. It must seem a very strange appearance, especially if they have the least cause to suspect we send the yarn up."³ An equally suggestive remark in this connection came from Richard in 1772. Stating that almost all the available Irish yarn was now in their hands, Richard continued, "What little others have, will be at a great price and enable us the better to get suitable advances [in price] to our own and the emolument of our friends."

Part of the foregoing may find its explanation in the fact that the firm was clearly under pressure from both the Irish merchants and from the combers.⁴ Some of their actions fall

¹ II, 367, 14th February, 1772.

² II, 369, 1772. All the persons mentioned were Norwich manufacturers.

³ I, 101, 22nd November, 1772.

⁴ II, 119a, 25th September, 1770; 369, 1772.

outside the scope of simple pressures, however; in fact, the firm appears not to have been above indulging in subterfuge to aid the course of business. Yarn shortage in 1771 found them entirely without supplies and their rival, John Pim, with plenty. To obtain yarn to meet the firm promises they had given, Richard Gurney requested a Norwich manufacturer, one of the largest in the city, to buy yarn from Pim and then to let them have it. Pim, discovering the truth, was, in the words of Richard's report to John, "filled with jealousy that the yarn was for us," and finally sold the yarn to the manufacturer only on the strict condition that he would use the yarn himself, at which Richard "was exceedingly chagrined."¹ While this may have been subterfuge, it was also evidence of the lengths to which the Gurneys would go in order to fulfil their promises to customers. Such a policy must have produced the intended results for Richard was able once to boast, mildly, that "Our attached friends have had a fine opportunity of seeing how much it is in their interest to have a steady dependence on us and it is a very desirable thing that those who are not should know with what an ample quantity they have been supplied in this time of scarcity." A trifle self-righteously, and with some condemnation, he continues, "Were we to take the mean advantage that they so often do of us, what would they say?"² A different aspect again was evidenced a month or so later when another of the larger manufacturers of the city, Columbine and Sons, entirely out of stocks of Irish yarn, made what was literally a begging appeal to the Gurneys to supply them with yarn. "We would do all in our power to induce you to serve us . . . Have gone to the utmost pains (in the price) and the distress to us in going so far is very great as we must lose much of our profits." The appeal ended by reminding the Gurneys that "our attention to your house was never temporary" and the expression of the hope that the average quality only of the yarn required "will make the price less intolerable"—a strange expression of anguish between one business house and another. Here it seems, there was an excellent chance to push a hard bargain but the Gurneys agreed to let what yarn they had in stock go at the usual

¹ II, 355, 21st January, 1771.

² II, 371, 19th February, 1772.

price, this earning them the appreciation, "Our best thanks are due to you on this and so many other occasions that it is easier to recollect than to express them."¹ Altogether, the business activities and relationships of the Gurney firm, as far as is evidenced by the correspondence, seem to have had a reasonable number of credits to offset the debits which indubitably appeared at times.

Several other influences must have been at work to turn, finally, this Gurney firm to banking and away from general merchanting. The profitability of the merchanting business produced a supply of ready money available for investment or loan while their business connections involved the firm intimately with very many people over a most extensive area and produced a fund of experience and discretion in the handling of financial matters. In the yarn business, the Gurneys either paid commission to their Irish factors or sold on behalf of the yarn-merchants. In both cases, credit accounts were created. It was customary at the time for merchants and country bankers "to hold a reserve with a London correspondent against which and into which all bills were drawn,"² a practice which was followed by the Gurney firm.³ In the normal course of trade, cash accumulated to their account and, in those times of industrial expansion and agricultural innovation, it was quickly put to use.⁴ Dealings in internal exchange through the medium of bills had been a profitable occupation for merchants since early in the eighteenth century and the various indications are that bills were in (probably restricted) use in Norwich at least as early as the 1740's.⁵ For their use and development after the middle of the century the Gurney firms no doubt had their share of responsibility. The frequency with which the Irish factors and merchants drew on their accounts with

¹ II, 494-6.

² Westerfield, *op. cit.*, 389.

³ Above, p. 136.

⁴ I, 94, 1772. Thos. Bland, Norwich, writing to John Gurney, in London: "Our cash in London increases so that . . . we . . . have £8,176 in hand." II, 358, 1772: "I have sent by the waggon this afternoon 1,000 gns. Should our cash account increase much more, it will be necessary to find some place to put it out at Interest or get some long dated bills . . ."

⁵ Bidwell, *op. cit.*, 12, records that bills were used by John Gurney for small amounts by 1744.

this firm, often for quite large sums, points to the long establishment of the practice by 1770.¹

Money was also supplied by the Gurney firm to the manufacturers of Norwich, either by the granting of credit or by loan. The need for credit resulted mainly from the dangers and the limitations of transport which slowed both the physical process of distribution and the act of payment and the extending of credit formed an integral part of merchanting business in the eighteenth century. The use of foreign and domestic bills of exchange not only facilitated and speeded the commercial transactions but also introduced a greater degree of security, the result being a diminished demand for credit over such long periods as formerly. Norwich manufacturers apparently enjoyed about twelve months' credit from the yarn-merchants during the middle decades of the century and the first move towards the curtailment of this came in 1784. As a result of joint action by the two main yarn importers in the city—Allday and Kerrison and John and Richard Gurney—the manufacturers were informed that the period of credit would thenceforward "be reduced to seven months and a bill for two months, ready money within one month earning a discount of 3%." The declaration must have produced protest for two months later a similar notice was issued which extended to nine months the period of credit, again with a bill for two months to follow.²

Over and above these trade dealings, the Gurney firm lent out money on bond both to Norwich worsted men and

¹ II, 329, 1769. Richard Gurney to Thomas Bland: "Inclosed Caleb Beale's (a merchant of Cork) bill for £1,000 must be accepted." Also, I, 88c; II, 475, 489, 1772; etc.

The long-dated bill was one means by which money was advanced and the account of Josh. Pike, yarn merchant, Dublin, illustrates the scale and frequency of such transactions: (II, 50, 12th Nov. 1772). "Bills drawn on Timothy Bevan, account of R. and J. Gurney:

Account No. I:

11th October	..	£518 at 8½%
2nd November	..	£519/3/- at 8½%
6th November	..	£513/13/5 at 8½%
9th November	..	£427/10/2 ditto
<i>Total</i>		.. £1,978/6/7."

All of these advances were for the period, apparently, of one year, to bring in a total of £2,142/19/5.

² Printed notices, 15th September and 20th December, 1784. II, 510b.

to other persons throughout the country.¹ At other times, political disturbance and tension was seen to offer as much profit as anything. In 1770, with the very real possibility of war at any moment, Richard wrote, "Should there be a war . . . great advantage will be made with Government security;" and at a subsequent prospect of peace, Bartlett Gurney, the son of the St. Augustine's John Gurney, records having bought "40,000 scrip, 3% at 65¼, since when they have rose and today the account positively arrived of the definitive treaty being signed that I think there is no doubt of stocks rising."² The threat of war and the event of peace, apparently, were both profitable.

In spite of the brisk demand for money engendered by the general expansion of trade during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the development of British banking was slow, both in London and the provinces.³ There was, however, a much more rapid increase towards the latter end of the century and during the early years of the nineteenth century.⁴ In Norwich, the first bank had been opened in 1756 by a Charles Weston whose announcement in the local paper emphasized the advantages of bills drawn on London bankers and payable at any date.⁵ Twelve years passed before the second bank was instituted,⁶ while the bank of John and Richard Gurney was established in 1775 at St. Augustine's Norwich, being announced in the local paper as "a new banking house . . . by which bills concerning all Great Britain and Ireland are exchanged for debts in London, and foreign bills of exchange are negotiated, all with secrecy, safety and despatch."⁷ Many of the first customers of the Gurneys' bank were Norwich manufacturers, dyers and

¹ Pressnell, *op. cit.*, 315, records John Gurney lending on bond to a Norwich merchant at 4% in 1759 and 4½% in 1779. In 1780, money was similarly lent to John Johnson, merchant, Essex, and to Job Bullman, Gent., Northumberland, to the amount of £3,199/2/3. II, 510a, 1780.

² II, 346, 1770; 27, 1783.

³ T. S. Ashton, *Economic History of England—the 18th Century*, 179. Westerfield, *op. cit.*, 382.

⁴ Ashton, *op. cit.*, 183.

⁵ *Norwich Mercury*, 17th January, 1756.

⁶ That of Allday, in 1768. When Sir Roger Kerrison became partner, the firm formed the great rival establishment to the Gurney Banks.

⁷ *Norwich Mercury*, 11th February, 1775. The first ledger used by this bank is still preserved.

merchants;¹ and, probably in consequence of its intimate contacts with the industry, the Gurney firm had developed three other branches—King's Lynn, Wisbech and Yarmouth—by the early 1780's.² Such geographical extension for a country bank was unusual, for most at that time had only one office, and this may have been a reflection of the good name of the firm. Of the country bankers during this period, Ashton³ says that some "owed little to anything but their own resources and characters" and this appears to have been highly probable with the firm of John and Henry Gurney.

Henry Gurney died in 1777 and John Gurney in 1779. The banking business then passed to Bartlett Gurney, who took Richard and Joseph Gurney of the Magdalen Street firm into partnership. Richard Gurney brought "to the partnership not only a large fortune but a clear head. He was a strict Friend and a thorough man of business."⁴ At the same time, Richard and Thomas Bland continued in the yarn business at least until 1784.⁵ Richard's brother John was virtually a partner in the banking business but he also retained active control over the Magdalen Street merchanting business while at the same time carrying out some banking operations. Hence a curious situation developed in which the two firms, having separate identities, were operating widely in the same city, with every possibility of overlaps of interest and function being present. The aim was clearly that of developing some sort of specialization, one firm merchanting and the other banking; but due to the traditional interests and activities of the Magdalen Street firm, it is not surprising that complexities and difficulties occurred. On one occasion in 1786, while the banking business under Bartlett Gurney followed a policy of credit restriction and the calling-in of loans, John Gurney, the merchant, at the same time pursued the reverse policy, the result being commercial confusion in which customers, failing to obtain credit with one firm, were success-

¹ Bidwell, *op. cit.*, 14, gives the names of thirty-four, most of whom were named as worsted men in the Directory of Norwich in 1783.

² Pressnell, *op. cit.*, 127.

³ *Op. cit.*, 178.

⁴ Bidwell, *op. cit.*, 20-21.

⁵ II, 511. A Norwich manufacturer, John Barnard, "begged to know whether Messrs. Gurney and Bland have relinquished the yarn business and retired from it, without any notice to their friends."

ful at the other. This however was unusual and more frequently "great delicacy" was observed. Thus the two Gurney firms were practically unified by 1785, and the banking activities developed.

After 1786, the Gurney correspondence ceases, a deficiency only partly made good by the banking ledgers which cover the next 30 years. It may be presumed that the yarn merchandising function was either given up on the linking of the two Gurney firms in that year or that it became a subordinate activity, administered by a delegatee. Certainly, however, banking became the principal activity of the firm, although it was by no means the only one, the Gurney interests continuing to range ever more widely.

The history of the House of Gurney during these decades of the eighteenth century is mainly the story of a firm developing widespread over-growth from long-established roots in the commercial and industrial soil of East Anglia. Hard work, long and strenuous journeying, meticulous attention to detail,¹ acute business insight that was ever ready to exploit a situation to profit but yet was tempered with a cautious distrust of spectacular developments and by the power to wait till more stable and more surely comprehensible conditions obtained: these things, coupled with Quaker ideals, ensured for the Gurney firms an important place in the range of business activities of the city of Norwich. Importing, exporting, money-lending, bill-discounting and banking were all carried on with steadfastness and stability; and it may reasonably be wondered how much of the development of the worsted industry of Norwich during these decades was due to these activities of the Gurneys, and to what Pressnell describes as the "probity, frugality and uprightness" employed by this East Anglian House.

J. K. EDWARDS

¹ On each of the several hundred letters forming the body of this section of the Gurney MSS. at this time is recorded the date of receipt, the sender, the receiver, and the date of the reply.

Quakers in the Diocese of Salisbury, 1783

Extracts from the written answers to the Visitation Queries of Bishop Shute Barrington on his primary visitation

IN the Salisbury Diocesan Archives (Diocesan Record Office, Wren Hall, The Close, Salisbury. Assistant Diocesan Archivist: Miss Pamela Stewart) are three volumes of written returns to questions on the state of the church in the parishes of the diocese (the counties of Berkshire and Wiltshire), and the following short notes concerning Friends are reproduced here by kind permission of Mr. Alan Barker, the Diocesan Registrar.

Shute Barrington (1734-1826), youngest son of the 1st Viscount Barrington, was bishop successively of Llandaff (1769), Salisbury (1782), and Durham (1791). The answers of the clergy to the questions asked before his primary visitation in the diocese of Salisbury in 1783 are the only records of this type for the eighteenth century which survive in the Diocesan Archives.

The eighth question read as follows:

Are there any Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, or Quakers in your Parish, or Chapelry? and how many of each Sect? and of what Rank? Are there any other Places made use of for Divine Worship, than such as are used by the above-mentioned Sects? What are the Names of their Teachers, and are they all licenced as the Law directs? Is their Number greater or less of late Years than formerly, according to your Observation, and by what Means? Are there any Persons in your Parish, who profess to disregard Religion, or who commonly absent themselves from all public Worship of God?

A glance through the answers reveals that the clergy were not all equally particular and specific in their answers to this question, so the following notes on Quakers cannot be taken as comprehensive evidence on the extent of Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting in 1783, but they have value as evidence of the Church of England's estimate of Quakerism in the district at that time.

Some answers however were made in general terms, as for instance:

BRADFORD-ON-AVON: "Of almost every Denomination under Heaven, innumerable";

BRINKWORTH: "Our Parish a few years ago swarm'd with Sectaries, at present they are few in Number."

CHIPPENHAM: "A few of each Sect."

DEVIZES, ST. JOHN: "There are many in the Town of each Sect, have each a Meeting House, are not of high rank."

A similar return for Devizes, St. Mary.

Berkshire parishes also fall into this category, as:

BRAY: "A great many [of all sorts] in the town of Maidenhead which is half in the parish of Bray. Their numbers I cannot possibly ascertain. . . tradesmen and people of an inferior sort."

NEWBURY: "There are many of each Sect, & of almost all Ranks; their Numbers seem much as usual, without any sensible increase or diminution, & in general they are sober, honest, & well-meaning People."

SHINFIELD: "A Vast Number of Schismatics of the Lowest Class."

It may have been in the interest of the clergy making the returns to minimize the incidence of dissent in their parishes and to lay some emphasis on the fact that the sects had little following save in the lower classes. As regards Quakerism, we know that Friends in Wiltshire had been declining during the eighteenth century and it is regrettable that a similar series of answers for some time early in that century is not available for purposes of comparison to measure the decline. On the other hand the growth of Methodism is remarked upon in several parishes and was fairly widespread.

In the following extracts the name of the parish is followed by the page number in the bound volumes where the entry appears

WILTSHIRE

BREMHILL (224): There is a Quakers' Meeting House now disus'd; about 3 or 4 Quakers in ye Parish.

BROMHAM (256): . . . and but four Quakers who are poor people. There is a place erected for their worship to which the[y] resort from other places.

CHILTON FOLIATT (364): [None] . . . except one Quaker and his Family consisting of nine Persons.

CORSHAM (1375): I do not know of any Dissenters excepting some few reputed Quakers.

FISHERTON ANGER [SALISBURY] (700): Two or three Quakers.

GRITTLETON (788): Of Quakers there are only one Family which consists of three Persons.

HILMARTON (834): I know but one Quaker and he is Superannuated.

HULLAVINGTON (882): . . . but there are a few Quakers, who have a Meeting House here, which was built about the end of the last Century, at which time I have been inform'd, there were many more of this sect in this Parish, than at present.

LACOCK (960): There is one Person of the Sect Called Quakers, Mr Ezekiel Dickinson, a Gentleman of considerable landed Property in this Parish, a quiet Man & a good Neighbour.¹

MARKET LAVINGTON (1016): . . . but one family of Quakers consisting of 3 Persons (viz.) two brothers & a sister. There is a Quakers' Meeting house also in the parish but the number resorting thither on Sundays &c. are only the 3 persons above mentioned, their number, in this place, has, of late years, considerably decreased.

We have no other sect excepting Quakers.

MARLBRO' S. MARY (1110): There are about 30 Presbyterians & as many Quakers in the Parish. There are no other Places of Divine Worship, than such as are used by those Sects. As I have but very lately undertaken the Care of this Parish I cannot affirm any Thing concerning the Increase or Decrease of the Number of those Sectaries from observation.

MARLBRO' S. PETER (1118): There are 4 or 5 Families of Quakers, which Sect is declining apace.

MELKSHAM (1142): There are some Anabaptists and Quakers.

¹ Ezekiel, son of Caleb and Sarah Dickinson, of Monks, parish of Corsham, was born 28.v.1711. His wife Frances died 1.vi.1762. He died 21.v.1788 (age given as 77) at Bowden Hill, near Lacock, and was buried 30.v.1788 in the family vault at Pickwick. (Wiltshire Monthly Meeting registers.)

POTTERNE (1323): One Farmer a Quaker removed out of the Parish . . . I found too many of these & none more obstinate than Mr Sutton's Bailif a Large Farmer.¹

SALISBURY, ST. MARTIN (1126): There is an Anabaptist Meeting House in my Parish, but those who resort to it chiefly if not altogether come from other Parishes . . . There is also a Quakers Meeting House under the same Predicament.

SALISBURY, ST. THOMAS (1675): There are twenty one Quakers . . . Their Numbers have not encreased according to my Observation.

GREAT SOMERFORD (1475): There is nothing of that kind in my Parish, except two men of no consequence who are calld Quakers.

SUTTON BENDER (1608): A few Quakers, only about seven in two families of low degree. No Meeting in the Parish, Nor is there any other Meeting house.

WARMINSTER (1749): One or two Quakers.

WILTON (1813): . . . a few Quakers.

BERKSHIRE

ABINGDON, ST. STEPHEN (4): But few Quakers and Independents, without any regular teacher.

ALDERMASTON (*bound in the Wiltshire series*, 20): There is only one Family of Quakers, a Mother, Son & Daughter, (Bakers by trade). They have no place of worship in this Parish.

COOKHAM (255): There is a great number of Presbyterians and some few Quakers of the lower rank—there are other places made use of for divine worship as it is termed, viz. in the private houses of cottagers.²

LAMBOURNE (467): There are a few Quakers.

READING, ST. GILES (580): . . . the Dissenters are principally Quakers, their number I believe to be from twenty to thirty, & they have a place of meeting.

¹ In the Potterne entry the first four words of the first sentence quoted, and all after the first six words of the second sentence quoted, have been crossed out.

² Maidenhead town was divided between the parishes of Bray (see above) and Cookham.

- READING, ST. MARY (586, answer on loose sheets attached):
 There likewise appear to be 8 Families of Quakers. All these sects consist chiefly of Trading & Labouring People.
- SULHAMPSTEAD BANNISTER (692): There are a very few Anabaptists & Quakers in these Parishes, of the lower Rank.
- THATCHAM (706): Two families of Quakers, the Mistress of one is a Shopkeeper, the Master of the other is a Shoemaker. But there are no places of worship in my parish for any besides such as are of the Church of England.
- UFFINGTON (730): There are in my Parish four Quakers—Three Women & one Man. They have a place of worship in which they meet, but seldom or ever are joyned by any others of that Sect from other Parishes. Some years past there were three or four whole Families of that Sect.
- WALLINGFORD, ST. MARY (762): One or two Quakers & Anabaptists of middling station.
- WALLINGFORD, ST. PETER (770): There are seven Quakers in the Parish. The Family of Stephen Green, a Saddler.

R. S. MORTIMER

Wilson Armistead, 1819-1868

WILSON Armistead¹ came of a Leeds family of faithful Friends, active in the Meeting from its beginning. In the early nineteenth century they lived in Water Hall, just south of the river, and a hundred yards from the Meeting House compound, with its boarding school, master's residence, the five Friend houses of Camp Lane Court, the library, and the burial ground. It was all surrounded by a high wall, but there was enough space within for the caretaker to mow the grass and sell hay every summer. Wilson grew up with this place as centre, and a hundred Friend families within easy walking distance, strongly disciplined, and clearly marked out by dress, speech, and conduct from the general population.

The firm at Water Hall was Joseph and John Armistead, mustard manufacturers and oil crushers, a prosperous business, and Wilson grew up to be the head of the firm and worked pretty hard in it. In the Meeting he was a quiet Friend, rarely chosen as representative to M.M. or Q.M. He was neither overseer nor elder, and not a minister or public Friend, and he is not among the fifteen men Friends of the Peace Committee which stirred the whole city, nor on the occasional committees which Friends appointed from time to time for their private discipline.

Recently, however, a publishing firm asked the Leeds Reference Library about a pamphlet by Wilson Armistead, dated 1865, advocating public libraries for Liberia and Sierra Leone.² This subject, at that date, is surprising. But all Wilson Armistead's work is surprising: to be surprising is

¹ Wilson Armistead, born 30.viii.1819, son of Joseph (brush manufacturer) and Hannah Armistead, of Water Lodge, parish of Leeds; died 18.ii.1868, of Leeds, oil merchant, aged 48, buried 22.ii.1868, Woodhouse cemetery. *The British Friend* records his death in its issue of 2.iii.1868, as "At his residence, Virginia House, Leeds, aged 49," and *The Friend* likewise.

Wilson Armistead, of Leeds, oil merchant, married 15.v.1844 at Witton, Mary Bragg, spinster of Allonby, daughter of John Bragg, manufacturer.

Children: Joseph John (b. 14.i.1846); Arthur Wilson (b. 22.i.1851); Anthony Wilson (b. 27.v.1853), also 2 daughters, Sarah Mercia (?) (b. 15.viii.1849), and Mary Louisa (b. 15.vi.1856).

² *Public libraries for Liberia and Sierra Leone*, 4to, 1865.

a quality required in a publicist, which is just what he was. Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books* (1867 etc.) gives forty-six titles under his name, rather more than half dealing with slavery, and rather less than half with lives of Friends and Quakerism, including an edition of Fox's *Journal* (1852), Anthony Benezet (1859), James Logan the "distinguished scholar and Christian legislator, Secretary, Chief Justice and for two years Governor of Pennsylvania" (1851). Fox's *Journal* has very useful historical and biographical notes: 5,000 copies were printed to sell at five shillings, and there was a liberal allowance to purchasers for gratuitous distribution.

The *Memoirs of James Logan*, in spite of a disclaimer by Armistead, serve to counter some misrepresentations of William Penn himself, and of Friends in Pennsylvania; but the great value of the book is in Logan's letters and papers, which reveal his great integrity, patience, and courage, and the philosophic mind he had. "Though engaged in a vast hurry and load of business," he wrote to Thomas Story, "I could not forbear making reflections on the springs of thought and action in mankind, and latterly concluded that all our knowledge is but relative." Wilson Armistead describes Logan's botanical experiments on maize, published in Latin in Leyden in 1739, and in an English version by Dr. Fothergill in 1747. Logan was interested in navigation and astronomy, and in the sciences generally, in the way of those times. Our particular interest here is that this is the sort of company Wilson Armistead keeps. In the introduction to the *Memoirs*, he speaks of himself as a compiler, as he does again in the preface to his life of Benezet (1713-1784), the advocate of the injured Negro, the friend of the Indian, who sought out the unfortunate "and every child of sorrow was his brother." Let anyone read such pages in this book as the half-dozen in which the relief of the Acadians is described, and he will feel the power of simple narrative. Exiled in 1755 by the British Army from their homes in Nova Scotia, these French-speaking Catholics found themselves, 500 of them, in Philadelphia without resources, among a strange people and hopeless, until there appeared this ugly little man full of kindness, French-speaking too, and able to interpret for them and to prepare a memorial on their wrongs to be submitted to the King of England.

Of Armistead's other publications on Quakers and Quakerism, the most notable is his "*Select Miscellanies*" six volumes, pocket size, published in 1851, 1852,¹ full of short articles, anecdotes, passages from the Journals, short and not so short poems on religious subjects, accounts of sufferings, press cuttings, praise of Friends by themselves and others, notes of sermons heard, stories of God's providences: the whole jumble of our life as it comes. Occasionally there are pieces of superb quality like the noble letter from Edmund Burke to Mary Leadbeater, daughter of Richard Shackleton, on her father's death.² Burke had been a scholar in Abraham Shackleton's school at Ballitore in County Kildare, and Richard and he had become lifelong friends. Another is an article of Reminiscences of Ackworth School, fifteen pages of lively narrative, showing the other side of the medal from Joseph J. Gurney's contemporary imprint on that institution.³

Wilson Armistead's religious position is shown in a short piece most worth preserving:

There is such a thing as a very small gift in a great many words; and there is such a thing as a large gift in a very few words. We do not want an eloquent ministry; we do not want a flowery ministry; we want a *living* ministry; we want a *baptizing* ministry; a ministry that will break a hard heart, and heal a wounded one; a ministry that will lead us to the fountain and leave us there.

It seems almost irreverent to say it, but the compiler of this great number of small articles was looking to serve readers in an age of desultory reading: "In these days of desultory reading," he begins his preface, "the Press is teeming with light and trivial publications." And he goes out to meet such readers.

We turn from this interest to the passion of his life, the fight against slavery, and against all distinctions by colour. The titles explain themselves: "Memoirs of Paul Cuffe, a Man of Colour" (1840); "Calumny Refuted by Facts from Liberia" (1848); "Slavery Illustrated in the Histories of Zangara and Maquama, Two Negroes stolen from Africa"

¹ Jack Caudle's article, "The grave of William Penn" bases some of its argument on evidence contained in Volume 6, 1851; see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. 50, p. 12.

² Edmund Burke to Mary Leadbeater, dated Beaconsfield, 8th September, 1792. Printed in *Select miscellanies*, IV, 329-31.

³ VI, 32-47.

(1849); "The Crowning Crime of Christendom" (1850); "A Cloud of Witnesses against Oppression" (pp. 144); "Further Testimonies for Freedom" (1859); "The Leprosy of Methodism" (1860); "Facts versus Fiction—Will the Nigger Work?" (1863).

In 1853 appeared a whole volume of tracts. On the cover are the words, in gold lettering, "Leeds Anti-Slavery Tracts." "First Half Million Issue." There is a picture on the cover in gold colouring of a Negro man in chains, with the text underneath "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" Eighty-two tracts are bound up in the volume amounting to some 350 pages of printed evidence of the brutal and degrading institution of slave-holding. "Packages of such tracts," he says, "should be distributed in emigrant ships; America should be deluged with these missiles." The tracts are missiles: 500,000 strokes for freedom, is the author's description of them. They were sold by W. Cash, Bishopsgate Street, London, and by Jane Jowett, Friends' Meeting Yard, Leeds, and could be obtained through any bookseller. Before the first half million could be supplied Armistead had another 300,000 ordered. For the purpose, at the time, it would be difficult to imagine a more vigorous and exciting book. There are engravings showing slaves in chains, or being scourged, and portraits of some of the best known men of education and culture in negro communities.

The matter for these tracts came largely from America, no doubt collected on the visit Armistead paid to the United States in the summer of 1850. This was reported in eighteen articles in *The British Friend* between 1850 and 1853,¹ long articles that give the reader time really to see the Atlantic and the United States, and leisurely observations to let him share the pleasure and pain of it all. These articles would make fifty full pages of our present *Friend*. They were printed in small book form for private circulation (pp. 144) "but, for want of time, never completed." Considering the feeling of freedom and spacious wandering that fills the articles this last note is sad commentary. One suspects that Armistead returned from his great voyage to a life of overwork, and gave up all relaxation and much time needed for sleep to severe and sedentary labour in the cause of the

¹ "Reminiscences of a visit to the United States, in the summer of 1850"; articles begin with the issue 11th mo. 1, 1850.

oppressed. These *British Friend* articles include heart-rending stories, but they also show the traveller wholly given up to the new scene, to the beauty and wonder of the country, to delight in new pleasures and new friendships.

We have reserved to the last the most ambitious work Armistead undertook. It carries the title "A Tribute to the Negro." It appeared in 1848, a work of 564 pages, luxuriously printed by subscription, each page with ornamental panels. It is dedicated to outstanding negroes, "noble examples of elevated humanity," "the Image of God cut in Ebony." The author allows himself to be as ornamental as his page and continues:

Has the Almighty poured the tide of life through the Negro's breast, animated it with a portion of His own Spirit, and at the same time cursed him, that he is to be struck off the list of rational beings, and placed on a level with the brute?

The list of subscribers to the book obtained by this young man aged 29 years, we are told, would have occupied thirty pages. He sacrificed the list to allow space for more biographies of famous negroes. The subscription list "embraced nearly a thousand of the most conspicuous characters in the walks of benevolence and philanthropy, including the Sovereign of the most enlightened country of the world." Was this Queen Victoria?

"I court no man's applause," he goes on, "nor do I fear any man's frown. Conscious of many imperfections, I feel thankful in having completed this humble 'tribute' in aid of the cause of Freedom, Justice, and Humanity."

Part I of the work is of 187 pages, refuting the supposed constitutional inferiority of coloured people. It is the second part that is vital to the argument. Armistead gives fifty or more biographies of good and even famous Africans: Toussaint L'Ouverture has 31 pages to describe him. For the freed slave the author, out of sheer love, is disposed to claim too much. But he *knows* the true situation and that the effects of slavery take time to remove.

It is curious that in the midst of all this strenuous propaganda Armistead, under an assumed name, could publish (1855) a quite considerable work, printed by Longmans, with the title, "Tales and Legends of the English Lakes and Mountains," ostensibly to raise funds for the cause. He was a lover of Nature, and a student, and there are two or three

small papers by him in botany and entomology. He gave up a great deal in this field, and still more at home, working himself out too soon.

On 21st October, 1867, William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist, came to address the citizens in Leeds Town Hall. Wilson Armistead was chosen to present an address of welcome, and it should have been a day of triumph for him. But it was too late, the matter was regarded as settled, France and Prussia were moving to the centre of the stage, and the anti-slavery celebration was "numerically not well attended." However, with the piety of his kind, Wilson Armistead still, as every day, praised the Lord for His goodness; and was content to be, in the old Friends' phrase, once more and for ever among those that are quiet in the land.

WILFRID ALLOTT

A. R. Barclay MSS

Extracts. Continued from vol. xlix, p. 178

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

Further notes will appear in a future issue.

CXLIX

ROBERT BARROW to THOMAS LANGHORNE. *Kendall,*
31. x. 1681.

T: L:

Whom my soule loves & with whom my unitye stands in the blessed faith & fellowship of the saints in light . . .

Well deare Thomas wee have received many good & acceptable letter from thee sence thou came to London, by which wee are sencesible of thy dilligent care, travill & exercise every waye; all which is verrye weightye.

In thy last letter to Kendall as alsoe in another to J: B[Blaykling]: thou gives us a full account of the procedure of Freinds with the king & counsell, the result of which consisteth in procureing certificats from the well affected gentlemen of the countrye or cittye where Friends resideth. & whereas thou intimates something of Friends goeing to Fleming & Phillipson to gett certificats from under there [their] hands, John Thompson & Tho: Williamson hath beene with them, &¹ desired that they would certifie under there hands that wee were peaceable men & noe disturbers of the Government, & withall tould them yt the earle of Carlisle² had given a certificate to that purpose. & there Answere was that if they saw itt they would subscribe the

¹ "&" repeated at the beginning of a new line.

² Charles Howard, 1st earl of Carlisle.

same certificate that hee did, but they would not make another over his heade, or words to that purpose. Soe if itt will not be past time to stay will you have sent a coppie of that certificate & itt be returned to you againe, without soe doeing wee shall gett nothing from them.

And deare Thomas as in relation to thy former letter in which was incerted the queryes to Jo: Wilkinson concerning W: R's¹ booke, which queryes wee coppied forth & subscribed with six freinds hands; & Bryan [Lancaster] & I gave itt to him, & desired his answeere in 8th dayes time, & he said, well well. And this answeere wee expected from him this daye at longest, but he came not to towne; neither have wee heard of him. But tomorrow B: L: goes to the meeting att Sedbridg with Thomas Gilpin & William Bingley, too [two] Oxfordshire Friends: & he intends to call for J.W.'s Answeere. I have spoken to Roger Baccus askeing him if he owned W: R's booke, either in the history parte or doctrine parte. He said he had read Rogers booke & he had read our answeere to itt, the booke from the 2d dayes meeting,² & saith he: I shall lett them both allone, & you shall never be wiser from me nor have further answeere of that matter.

There was one freind of our towne asked James Moore if he owned W: R's booke, & he said, Yes, he owned itt; but if I should aske him such a question, he would not answeere me positively, but with shiftes and evasions, however I found to trye him. Soe when wee have gott J: W's answeere, then I shall send such an account as I can gett from them, but I perceive itt will be mixt with shifts & mudlement, for they have lost there [their] currage & manhood as men.

This weeke was Edmond Newbye of Hutton burryed, he being formerly one of the Seperat Subscribers. In the time of his weakenesse, when his distemper being a consumption & when death semed to draw neare, itt pleased god to give him a penitent heart to bemoane his former negligence & carlesnesse concerning truth; in which state he opened his heart to me, sayeing that though he had subscribed with J: S: & J: Wilkinson, yett he never appeared against us in any other of there [their] proceedings, he thanked god in

¹ William Rogers, *The Christian-Quaker*.

² *The Accuser of our Brethren cast down*, 1681.

much tenderness, who had preserved him. & he did not like J: W's proceedings especially of late times, with much to this purpose. & he hath given 31: pounds to the use of our Freinds, & hath in his will given itt positively to Bryan Lancaster & me without any other if or and or proviso, & hath given us private direction how to imploye itt, or leave it to our discretion. & this his doeing hath given Wilkinson & his partye another stroake, which is comed upon them suddenly & unexpectedly. However, the hand of the lord is against them, but they are soe darkened and hardened that they will not see nor consider; but wee know & alwayes doth beleve that all things shall worke together for good to them that love god & is called according to his purpose.

Deare Thomas, I was att your meeting att Greate Strickland, it will be two weeks tomorrow, where wee had a sweete & heavenly meeteing, & alsoe att Shapp in the evening, because of which evening meeting I could not well goe to see thy familly, onely heard of thy litle deare Sarahs being ill. & this day weeke I heard by John Ayrey of Shapp that she was verry weake. I have heard nothing since. Doubtlesse thou hath an account of itt more fully then I can give thee, onely I doe greatly pittie thy wifes deepe exercise, but I hope the lord will beare up her head, & bring through the many troubles.

Well deare Thomas, noe more but with unfained love & heavenly affection in the pretious truth, I desire to rest & remaine with the

thy friend Robert Barrow

My love dearely to deare Francis Dove & his famillye, to John Vaughton & Freinds who enquires after me.

From Kendall the last
daye of the 10th month 1681

[address] For
Thomas Langhorne

These

Leave this with Francis/Dove Tallo chandler/
att his house att the signe/of the plough in
Shando/Streete neare Coven/Garden these
deliver/in London

[endorsed inside by G.F.]

& j wilksson & j st death/11 mo 1681

[seal] R.B.

CL

THOMAS ROBERTSON to GEORGE FOX.

Deare Geo: whom I love and salute in the Lord Jesus Christ, praying for thy health & welfare with long continuance among ye churche if it be ye will of God. Deare Geo. I was with Tho. Lawson lately and I asked him what he had done in order to ye Booke and ye Instructions ye gavest him, and he said yt he had done something, and did intend to come up to ye, but as yet I have not heard whether he is come or not.

I w[as] in Bishopricke about ye begining of ye last winter, and was at the quarterly meeting; it was a dainty meeting, and many substantial men was their [there]. Yt county is very well. R. Watson¹ was their and² in ye meeting, but I beckoned to him and desired him to stay forth of ye meeting till he was caled. & so he did, but what he hath done I know not. I went to ye Bishop of Durham with Jo. Langstaffe and Jo. Bouldron [Bowron]. He was acquainted with ym, but me he said he knew not, and I told him yt I was at London when we made aplication to him for our freinds in this county and received help and kindenes from him, and now I being in ye countrey was willing to give ye acknowledgement of it to him. He said I was very welcome and furthur said yt I indeed received order from King Ch: to breake up yor meetings, and I sent to my neighbour Tonstall and wished him not to meet so neare me, but he would not, but they kept it in their usuall place, and so their goods was distreined (but sais he) N[one] but he yt knowes ye secrets of all hearts knowes ye tribulation yt I [am] in. So when he had done, I spoke yt ye apostle saith tribulation [wor]keth experience & experience hope, and hope makes not ashamed, and so it is good for every one yt findes trouble for their evill deeds to breake it of, and this is repentance Yn he said yt he was bredd up in a religious familly, and his mother was a puritan, and yr were no swearing nor curseing used amongst ym, but now I am lookt upon as one yt would destroy religion &c. And when he had done I answered to ye first of his matter, and said yt Paul writes to T[imothy] his owne son, and he said yt ye faith dwelt in thy Grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice, which faith

¹ Richard Watson.

² Incomplete line, one word wanting, "entering" or "sat"?

dwells in ye. So their is a blessing to childeren and childerens childeren, if they do well and abide in ye faith. So then I was willing to be gone, but he would not let us, but sent for a botle of wine and we drinkt & came our way, but what is become of him I know not.

Things is very well indeed in yt county. I was in ye fels and where about Paul Hobson lived, and missed not any place in yt county yt I know of. I had thought to have gone to Scotland this summer, but I beleive their [there] will be hardly any travelling, but I shall leave it. I have bene at Liverpoole and ye Field [Fylde], and along by ye sea in Lancashire, & purposeth to Chester, and so into Cheshire about in ye countrey, and so purposeth into Westmorland.

Countreys is very open & quiet and peaceable everywhere.

W.P. [William Penn] it is well for all freinds and foes yt he hath his liberty, he haveing so many enemyes.

No more but my love to John and all yt may inquire

And rests thine in Christ Jesus,

Tho: Roberson.

[address] For deare George Fox

this

To be Read in the 2d Dayes Morning Meeting.

[endorsed] Tho: Robtson/to G.F:

CLI

THOMAS ROBERTSON TO GEORGE FOX. *Bristol.*
2.xii.1686.

Deare G.F.

In ye heavenly fellowship of life & salvation doth my love reach unto the[e], and to all of ye same faith & family. Deare, this may give ye to understand as to ye afares of truth here this faire time. All things are well, onely Tho. Kent hath taken upon himselfe to preach, & nether by law not gospel authorised he hath made 2 long sermons, but he doth not stay here. Their [there] is few or none yt likes him yt I heare on. He also tooke upon him to pray, but friends kept on their hats, excepting some. They are not like to have a seperation here for any thing yt I can see. Wm. Rogers was at ye meeting, but was quiet, so were they all. Here is a tender harted people yt weighes downe ye loose careles envious company. Litle of envy appeares now, to what it

hath in former time; and things in generall is better yn I did expect . . .

I came through Surey, & had good meetings. & yn into Hampshire, where I had ye like. & came to Reading, where Thos. Curtis kept himselfe and freinds out of ye meeting house, making himselfe like Esops dogg yt would not lett ye ox eat hay nor eat none himselfe, but charges ye oxe by ye gods yt [] of which he makes a morall &c.¹

Here I had a go[o]d time in ye meeting before T. Kent. We were at ye meeting for buesyne, vizt. J. Parke & I. Their mariages now goes before ye women, which formerly before freinds was in prison was published in ye meeting house, and yt is liked on very well now. Ye women hath kept their meetings all this time pretty well. Wm. Rogers hath not given the money yt belongs to poor freinds; they say it is ^aabout 300: pounds. Here is severall things yt might be amended, and^a it is a very seasonable time, for none of ye Seperat Company comes to ye meetings for buesyne now. Ye lord I pray yt he may give ye strength in thy body yt ye things that are behinde you may sett in order when ye comes. & it were wel if some men & women came with ye. It will be shortly a good time of ye yeare, & friends will be glad to see ye at Reading, Newbury, Marleburrough, Calne & Chipinham.

At J. Dunnes in Newbury I mett with T. Curtis, and he fawned upon me very much, & said he would be glad to see me at Bristol.² I expected him with T. Kent, but he did not come. I beleive ye lord stands in his way. Here was Ar. Ismaide [Arthur Ismeade], but he was silent & came late to meetings, & came noe day yet, but one 1st day; but Kent preached a long time. But T. Curtis & I had many words together. He clamoured against orders, & I asked him what orders, he said Womens meetings, & limitation of mariages for one yeare after decease of husband or wife. He said we had noe law for it. I told him yt King Canutus made a law against it &c. & ye apostle said ye gentiles did by nature ye things contained in ye law; and ye world doth condemne it now as unnaturall. But he said, 'I and my wife and many others be old and if we should stay a yeare, nature might be

¹ Quoted in Braithwaite, *Second period of Quakerism*, 472.

^a . . . ^a words between these letters are underlined in the manuscript.

² *i.e.* at St. Paul's Fair, Jan. 25 and following days.

decayed yt we could not raise up seed to our estates.' I said, 'Tho: ye and thy wife I hope hath lived in love & concord amongst thy neighbours, and if she should dye how could ye take another wife into thy bosome within a yeare, but thy neighbours would condemne ye for it, and might it not be said yt you headed a party of pedlers & tinkers and Westminster Mariages and other ill mariages.' I said prety much to him, & he concluded with me saying he intended to be at Bristol. He said nothing to me of my paper, which was sent to him before. I hope ye hast had writ to John Bye to bring it or send it to ye.

I purpose after some time to goe to Cirencester and Gloster, and freinds [] beene in long sufferings. I have little more, but would be glad to see ye if ye Lord will, or to heare from ye.

Noe more, but rests thine in Christ Jesus.

Tho: Roberson.

Bristol this 2d

of ye 12 m

1686

Edward Martindale hath served Wm. Rogers in Chancery, and Wm. seekes to have it ended. Mary Wall hath bene put to a deale of charge in order to goe to law with Martindale, but I heare it is ended, but enmity remaines. They are cryed against by many for cheates or worse.

[address] To George Fox
leave this with Martha Fisher
to be given as abovesaid.

[endorsed G.F.]

thomas robsones
leter to gf & read it
in your secondes dayes moring
Meeting

[in another hand] wth ye Inclosed

[G.F.] read this you may read in youver
2 days moring meeting & then lay it
vp for mee

[in another hand]

12th 86/7

Thomas Robertsons letter

21 1 m. 86/7

read by particulars

CLII

MARY COMBERFORD to GEORGE FOX. *Stafford.*
19th 2d mth [1690].

Deare Friend,

My dear love in the everlasting truth dearly salutes thee whom the lord hath made as an overseer in his Church and family . . .

And as for my self I thought good to mention something off to thee. Many have been the besetments of the enemy & the excercises that I have mett withall in my day, but blessed be the lord whose faithfullness hath never failed as my eye hath been kept to him, but hath delivored out of six troubles, & my beleife is will out of the seventh also, as one of old said, he that delivered me out of the paw of the lion & out of the paw of the beare will also deliver me from this un-circumsised Philistian . . .

Oh that I may bring forth fruit to his glory, through the vertue that I receive from the root which hath remained & doth remain as a dew upon my branches . . .

This is all; but dear love to thy wife & children from they friend in the¹ truth according to my measure

Mary Comberford²

[address] To George Fox
give this to Mary
Elson to deliver
as directed with
Care

[endorsed] Mary Comberford to G. F: Stafford
ye 19 2d mo. 90

Answered

CLIII

ELIZABETH HOOTON to GEORGE FOX.

Dear Georg

My love in the lord is to thee, and my hart is with thee and daylie before mee thou art. And som trialls wee know among freinds becaus they abide not in the measur they first received. Thou sent to Joseph [Nicholson?] and C.H.

¹ "in the" repeated at the beginning of the next line and deleted.

² Mary Cumberford, of the ford gate of Stafford Borough, buried at Stafford, 23.i.1700.

[Christopher Holder] a letter which was of gre[~~great?~~] concernment to mee concerninge them that was gone out into the outward things. Soe C. went amonge them a litle, a meetinge or 2 in a place¹ at Salem and other places, but gave not them war[n]inge in playnnes of speach concerninge the hatt, onlie uncoveringe himselfe in prayer, and soe cam his waie. Soe when I with An Burden went amonge them and dealt playnlie with them in obedience to god, then thay urged us yt C.H. of whom they said was a knowinge man, and by whom they wear first convincd, but not reprovinge them in words as wee did, they denied us both at Salem & Boston, but when Jane Nicholson com, wee went all 3 of us to Salem a[~~gain~~] to trie them whether they would owne or denie thee² or Jane . . .

Farther, being at Boston, I was moved to goe to the Court 4 times to plead for my libertie and my freinds, and to have libertie to buie a hous, but noe hous in Boston would they permitt, but in the cuntry I might. I alsoe laid before them how they had dealt with mee, my daughter, and othere friends in a barbarus waie. At which tim[e] they weare much chained down. At Jane Nicolsons boldnes and mine they wear somethinge smiten. But a nessesetie I fo[~~u~~]nd in my selfe to gett som house in Bostone for truthes sake for a meetinge house for freinds, for John Chamberlaine is got very up in J.P. [John Perrot's] deseit, but as it[~~yet~~] I cannot gett a house, but I wait what the word of the Lord is. But W.C. and G.P. beinge com is a strengtheninge to freinds in thes[e] parts.

I am at present at Road Iland . . .

My deare love is to Margret Fell and her household. I desiare to receve som bookes of thine and hers, Ed. B. [Burrough] and som others which thou thinketh, for sound books are taken out of the waie by bad people, and deceitfull [*torn*] brought in place to draw their minds after J.P. Soe my care is to doe the will of god.

Therefore deare G. forget me not in thy prayers, for I doe beleve that things wilbe well at last, and thos things wilbe brought downe. For I am over the persecutinge spirit heere, but that amongst freinds is hardest on us; for the old ranters prinsiple is now come up amongst them, although rotten

¹ "in a place" repeated, and struck through.

² "and" deleted.

and filthy yet is it heer of high esteem amongst som which strengthen themselves in it; but into the dust it must, and on it wee shall be and doe. Soe my dear love is to thee, for the presence of the Lord doth keepe mee, yea and thou art with mee, but I desiere the[e] to send to my Son Samuel and see how it is with him, and if hee or anie freindes be minded to com over the sea to New England. Will. Nicholson I sopose may bee like to come from England in a shipp, for its a hazard to com in som ships.

Wee heer not of John _____ of Long Iland as yet, nor that younge man that should have com with Jane Nicholsons. Soe I rest, thy indeared Sister in the lord,
Elizabeth Hooton

CLIV

FRANCES DANSON to GEORGE FOX.

Deare George Foox whom I love and reverance. It is in the feare of the Lord, and in obedience to his comands that I reverence thee. Therefore I beseeche thee to judg favourably of me. I have heard that many faulse reports hath been brought to thee against¹ me sinse I was at London, such as I never knew nor never was reprovved for. But though the[y] have cast me out and forbid me to profisy in the nam of the lord, I have not sought for evill against them, nor hindred good for coming to them, though I might. But I trust the lord will plead my cause . . .

When the[y] were angry and did watch over me malishously for evel, then did the lord apeare and speake coumfortably to me, that was a stay to my minde, and a confirmation of gods love, made knowne to me more then twenty yeares before that time, when I felt and tasted helth to my soule. Yet if I had not had soe great consolation from god in that time of my trouble when the[y] sent so many acusations against me, I thinck I could redyly have set my hand to any paper of condemnation that frinds in London should have required of me, though I knew not wherein I had doonn wrong. So I was at a great strayt: feareing to sin against god by condemning that which god had not condemned: and feareing to give ofense to frinds. . . .

¹ "against" interlineated above "of", which has not been deleted.

I can trewly say that¹ so fur as I know my owne heart, that my love is greater toward trew frinds that are trewly of god then to any of my natural relations: and I had rather² dwel amongst such frinds and have sosiety with them while I am in this body then to have al[l] the tresures of this world without them, if it might seeme good in the sight of the lord. And I have with a very good wil to that purpas: but I know not what the lord wil bring to pas: hard things hath beene made eesy. So sum saueth [sayeth] the[y] wander how such things could be done, I being but a woman and of a weacke capacity. Many ^awise men have sout [sought] to^a have this and could not prevaile, for the[y] had not the Indions Jenaral and free consent. The Indions Kings, the[y] wil sel my frinds any land the[y] have. I have given many³ of the Kings and prinses a coat in earnest for the land and sum further dets the[y] owe me, which the[y] say shal be payed if I have not the land. One of the Kings said I did wel that I was not hasty for my debt, for if I had not the land, never ^ano Englishman^a should. For he sayd he⁴ heard that sum of ^athe greate^a men did thinck to hinder me of the land. One of them said, an Indion King speaketh but onse about land; that is to say the[y] doe not chang or falsifie their word conserning land.

Now, thoug it hath beene noted that where ever English men hath bought land of Indions and have payed them honestly for it, those plantations hath reseived no harme by Indions, neither in Mr [torn] tims nor other times. Now I think it nedful to send ^acopyes of the deeds^a for land and a conuance and a copy of Lord ^aCulpepers grant^a, and a description of the land, that thou and frinds may know how it is as wel as I can describe it. If frinds desir to do anything with the King about a peculier titel, then Lord Culpeper knoweth that the Indions did acknoledg to him and the counsel when he was governor at a genera[l] coart that the[y] was wiling to sel me that land for frinds. I reserved a titel in the conuaanse to myselfe because I might do funder in it. If need require, of the conuance be not wel made, the[y] may writ it beter, and I will set my hand to surrender it, how thou and the[y] shal thinck good, for I desire but a lot, as other friends

¹ "that" repeated at beginning of next line.

² "rather" interlineated.

³ "eight" deleted.

⁴ "he" repeated.

^a . . . ^a These words are underlined.

may have the licke. I intreat thee, be pleased to let me heare from the[e] as soone as convenient, and whether ^athou and frinds^a are wiling to be conserned ^awith this land^a, and what you would have me to doe conserning^r this land, or any other thing, I am willing to do as much as I am able.

I am a pore widow and a trew friend.

From my house at the westren branch of Nansymund in Virginia.

Franses Denson

Corrinal Joseph Bridger said he would have me to write to my frinds that he would sel them twelve thousand ackeers of land which he said I knew to be good, and I do know it to be very good land. I spack to tel frinds how that is.

[address] This ffor/George Fox att London/in England
At Mr Wm. Mead linen/Draper in fenchurch/
streete.

[endorsed] Widow Dansons/Lettr./not Answer'd.
Widow Dansons Lettr. to G.F./to be put with
G.F's Ansr. to her/which is laid aside.

CLV

EDWARD BURROUGH & FRANCIS HOWGILL to
GEORGE BAYLEY.

Deare Bro: who art called to be a wittnes for god by suffering under ye uniust & unrighteous wills of men, be faithfull in thy place. Stand in gods counsell, in ye light yt comprehendeth ye deceits of all spirits though goeing under severall appearances. Wait for wisdome, yt by ye power ye divell may be chained; & ye wittnes raised to condemne him. Be not hastie nor forward . . .

Ye god of life preserve thee in wisdome & in his life, over ye world to raigne in lowlynes of mind & in humblenes of heart, yt all which wold be lifted up above ye Crosse may be kept in ye death by ye Crosse.

Our love to thee:

E.B. & F.H.

[address] For Geo Bayle
these in Newgate

[endorsed] G.B. Dyed in France.

^a . . . ^a These words are underlined.

^r "conserning" repeated.

CLVI

EDWARD BURROUGH & FRANCIS HOWGILL to
GEORGE FOX. *London*. 25.[vii.1654]

Dearely beloved one, in whom ye father is well pleased, & in whom ye god head dwells in ye spirit of ye father . . .

Trully deare bro. great is our care & charge & burden in this citty. We travell for ye seed & with itt & for itt we suffer. Our meetings are verie large. 3 dayes in ye weeke we have meetings. Here is few amonge soe many, & yet many which recaves our testemoney. Severall have tasted trully of ye power, & severall are under true judgement, & manie are eternally convinced by yt wittnesse of god in ye conscience.

We find little as yet of passinge from this place, but rather yt we may finish our fathers testemoney, whereunto we are called . . .

We have 2 times or more everie weeke letters from our deare yoakfellows Johns Cam & Audland. They are in great service at or neare about Bristolle. They are at this present (as they writt to us) at Hereford or neare about. They have had ye largest meetings yt ever yet was in this nation, & a large people gladly recaves their testemoney at & about Bristole.

Our deare Bro: Ric: Hubberthorne, with James Parnell & Anne Blaklinge continues in prison yet at Cambridge; they are well, kept above all ye world to reioyce. There is great desires, all yt countrie over, after truth. They writt to us yt some comes 20 mile to se[e] ym, with great desires yt they be sett at libbertie to come towards ym.

Great is this happie harvist day & ye labourers are but few . . .

Our Bro: Christo: Atkinson, & 2 women tooke watter towards France 6 dayes since¹ [*torn*] letters from everie parte where freinds are.

Tho: Holme is in prison in Chester, with 6 or more with him in yt countie.

Dearly Beloved let us heare from thee, for in thy life we are refreshed, & in thy strength we find comfort. Though our worke & labour be great, yet power from god is given

¹ See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 406n, and additional note in the 2nd ed., 1955, p. 576.

by which we are carried through in obedience to his comaunds,
& they are not greevous unto us. We are thy bre: & yu art
sealed in our hearts, never

[*parts of two lines gone*] shee was

London 25 of [torn]

Myles Halhead & James Lancaster was here 4 dayes.
They are at present at or towards Cambridge. Myles Halhead
was moved yt way.

[address] For our dearely
Beloved Brother called
George Fox these
in Yorkeshire or Elsewhere.

[endorsed] From Edward Borrough and Francis Howgill
to G.F.

CLVII

JOHN CAMM & JOHN AUDLAND to EDWARD
BURROUGH & FRANCIS HOWGILL. *Bristol.*
13.vii.[1654].¹

E.b: F.H.

Bristoll this 13 day of the 7 month: 4 day of weeke
Deare bredern in that which is & wose[was] & is to com . . .

Dear harts the feilds hear abouts is allready ripe unto
harvest, & the hervest is great & truly our labore is great,
& we labour truly & faithfully. God is ower witnes: & he is
our recompence of reward: & will reward us atanding to our
labor of love in the worke of the lord . . . & deare bredern
heare is the largest feilds yt ever I saw; all is full of clusters
of grapes, & they ar ripe for the winepresse.

We weare yesterday 3 milles out of the towne, whear we
had a gallant meeteinge, above ffive hundereth people as they
weare nomberd. & truly they weare very prety people as
ever I saw since I cam out of the north; the witness of god
was raised in manye of them, & much love did breath out
from them to usward. Our joy is great, so great yt we cannot
expresse it, soe yt it makes our labor to seeme light. But
truly bretheren our care is great, & our labor is much; for
day & night we labor & travall. We wath [wash?] & ffeed &
pluckes up & weeds up, & somtimes waters the plants,
though they be but ffew as yet, the lord is bringeing to birth;

¹ See Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 165, 166 (with extract), 167.

for ther are many yt is with child, & thes the lord drives gentely by us . . .

This day the peopll in this city who ar our frinds met together to seeke the lord as they call it. Ther wase many with the gloryousest words in prayer that ever I herd. Ther was the trimed harrlott glorously deckt, & we were by & herd them. & at lenckth we went in unto them, & we boor them long till the power of the lord toke hould upon us both, & I was fforst to cry out amongst them, my life suffered, & if I did not speak I should be an exampell amongst them. & in much tendernes I spokke unto them, & silence wase amongst them all, & much tendernes & brockennes. & it is a glrouse day. & the Lord will doe good unto them by this dayes meeting together . . .

Trully bredern we cannot expresse our labor & care & travells. For we travell in paine unto Christ be ffound in them. & we ar with them in feare & trembeling lest ther faith should stand in wisdom of words & not in power of god. For we ar with them from 6 in the morning (they will com to us befor we get up) & unto 11 or somtimes one at neight. They will never be ffrom us. Gou into the feilds, they will follow us; or goe into any house, the house will be ffelled full, so yt we cannot tell how we should get ffrom them. The lord hath subjected them all under us, & they ar as ffearfull to ofend us as a child is to offend its loveing father.

. . . We are one with you in all conditions: you may read us dayly.

Jo: Cam Jo: A.

Sallute us in the lord to dorathy dringe our sisster, to all in yt house, to Capt. Studard, to Simound, to barber & his house, to meery Errbury & her daughter, to all the rest. We have received the letters we wanted; they are found, & we are very glad. Many freinds heere doth dear[ly remem]ber ther love unto you both.

[on the back of the page]

Deare & presious brethren, our love & life is to you, & with you, & in you wee are bundled up together for evermore. The power of the lord is with us . . . Niver such sarvice wear we in. Night & day we even laber & travell continually. We came into this citty upon the 7 day of this mounth.¹ That night it was noysed in the citty & all was filled wheare we

¹ 7 Sept., 1654.

weare. We have every day a meeteing; yea, I may say every day is but a meeteing; & we can not helpe it, for let us goe wheare we will, all is full wheare we are, night & day. & as the worke is great, the power is greatest in us that ever wee knew in us. We are kepte in the pure eternall life & power of god: soe mightey great & tirable to all the heathen as I never knew before.

We had a great meeteing upon the first day the morneing.¹ The house & all was filled, & the streete. Soe the voyce went forth for a field, & one there, which was free, had a medow, & we wente to it like an army. My deare brother J: C: spoke; he is exceedingly growne since I saw you, we have pure unitey in the life. Then before he had done the word of the lord came to mee. & when he had done, I stood up, & all my bones smote together & I was like a drunken man because of the lord & because of the word of his holynesse. & I was made to cry like a womon in travell & to proclaime warr from the lord with all the inhabitants of the earth. & such a dreadfull voyce rann through me as I niver felte before: & the tirror of the lord toke hould upon many harts, & the trumpet sounded through the citty.

The afternoone we meet at the forte,² wheare soulders are: the greatest meeting that ever I saw. It farr exceded the greatest when I was with you. & all flesh was sillent & not one dog moved his toung.

A mighty meeteing we had in the Counterey 3 mille of[f].³ This day we had a meeting at a great house called red lodge,⁴ a gallent place for meeteing as we could desire. Theare was as many people as was at the forte. The mighty power of the lord uttered through us: & many harts trembled, & not one uttered one word.

We have pounted a meeting 3 mille off the citty in glostershire on the 6 day.⁵

They are such people as I niver saw: they will spare no paine; hundereds went out of the citty to the last meeteing 3 mille of.

We shall stay heare over the first day, & further we know

¹ 10 Sept., 1654.

² The Royal Fort.

³ 12 Sept., 1654.

⁴ The Red Lodge.

⁵ 15 Sept., 1654, at Filton.

Notes and Queries

YORKSHIRE PURITANS

Since Yorkshire was one of the great seed-beds of Quakerism, the prior religious history of the county will interest the student of Quaker origins, especially as Ronald A. Marchant in *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (Longmans, 1960) has not let his terminal date obscure the possibility of continuities in non-conformist history.

When ejected from York Minster in 1651, George Fox, looking towards Cleveland in Yorkshire, saw there "a people that had tasted of the power of God: and I saw that there was a Seed in that country, and that God had a humble people there." Records of the diocese show that the dales of Cleveland were hospitable to conventicles of separatists as early as the 1620's. Roger Brearley, who came to preach mystical ideas common in the assemblies of Seekers, was curate at Grindleton, in the Pennines, another area of "spiritual Puritan" conventicles in the 1620's and vigorous Quakerism in the 1650's.

It is suggestive that there were such marked traditions of conventicles and religious radicalism in Cleveland, Grindleton, and Woodkirk (home of James Nayler). Records of the church courts, though formidably difficult to work with, might well reveal similar antecedents in other areas where Friends found a ready hearing.

This book was noted in a special connection in a previous

issue of the *Journal*, xlix, 179 (1960).

JOHN VAUGHAN, 3RD EARL OF CARBERY

"The Vaughans of Golden Grove. I—The Earls of Carbery," an article by Major Francis Jones, appears in the 1963 issue of *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, pp. 96-143. It includes an account of the career of John Vaughan (1639-1713), 3rd (and last) Earl of Carbery, who succeeded his father in 1686. A couple of paragraphs notice his interest in Friends (p. 130):

"In his younger days he gave support to the Quakers whose principles appealed to him so that in July 1644 [1664] he was arrested at a Quaker's [sic] meeting held in Mile End Green and thrown into Newgate gaol, but his plea of privilege as a member of parliament secured his speedy release. His experience did not deter him and he continued to be sympathetic towards Quaker matters . . .

"His Quaker sympathies may have had something to do with the attentions he paid to Gulielma Maria Springett . . . however, she preferred the suit of William Penn."

See also Norman Penney's edition of George Fox's *Short Journal*, p. 191; C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English puritanism* (1931), 151.

WELCOME, 1682

"The Real *Welcome* Passengers" by Marion Balderston of Pasa-

dena, California, in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Nov. 1962), pp. 31-56, uses the evidence provided by Port Books in the Public Record Office to sift the evidence for the names of passengers accepted on the authority of Edward Armstrong since the last century. Armstrong's list numbered 99 persons; 53 or more of these are found to have travelled on other ships, and the author considers that she has evidence for 48 on the *Welcome* (a good number from London and Southeastern England) with a further 14 or 17 probables.

There is an unfortunately-placed comma which has intruded itself in the eleventh line of page 35.

JONATHAN SWIFT

"A Quaker Apothecary sent her a Phial corkt; it had a broad Brim, and a Label of Paper about its Neck. What is that, said she, my Apothecary's Son? The ridiculous Resemblance, and the Suddenness of the Question, set us all a Laughing."

The above, one of the *Bon Mots de Stella*, appears on p. 238, in vol. 5 of "The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift," ed. Herbert Davis. 1962.

On page 285 of the same work Swift's *Marginalia* includes notes to Gilbert Burnet's *History of his own times*, 1724-34, on Book 4, p. 693. Of Penn, Burnet had written:

"He was a talking vain man . . . He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it: . . . he had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a

man's reason, though it might tire his patience."

Swift responded:

"He spoke very agreably and with much spirit."

ROBERT FOSTER OF NEWCASTLE (1754-1827)

In the *Diaries and correspondence of James Losh* (Diary, vol. 1, 1811-23. Surtees Society. Publications. 171, 1962), under date 17th April, 1821 is an account of a visit to Robert Foster (son of Dodshon and Elizabeth Foster of Lancaster, born 24.iv.1754) an account of whose adventures at sea and subsequent success in more peaceful fields appears in John William Steel's "Historical sketch of the Society of Friends . . . in Newcastle and Gateshead" (1899), pp. 111-117, based on a manuscript biography furnished by his great-grandson, Robert Spence Watson. James Losh Records:

"I had a severe cold . . . Tea and evening with my old acquaintance R. Foster, the Quaker, a singular person, formerly a very active and gallant officer in the Navy, a good classical scholar and a considerable mathematician. But having been originally brought up a Quaker, he returned to the religion of his ancestors, when he was still a young man, lived upon his estate in the country (near Sedbergh) a useful and respectable life for many years and has finally settled in N. Castle where several of his children had settled" (pp. 128-9).

It may not perhaps be out of place to note here James Losh's note on Mary Leadbeater's "Cottage Dialogues among the Irish

Peasantry"—"Leadbetter's *Dialogues* . . . finished this very interesting and clever little book which abounds in good sense and useful information for the ignorant parts of society. It appears however to me to be over-rated by Miss Edgeworth, tho' no doubt better calculated for the Irish than the English peasantry" (p. 6).

THOMAS WILKINSON, 1751-1836

James Losh visited the Alston district of Cumberland in early May 1825, and from thence on the 13th to Penrith and to Brougham:

"and then proceeded to Pooley Bridge, calling however upon my old acquaintance, Thomas Wilkinson, the Quaker poet, whom I had not seen for 45 years. He knew my voice and said he should have known my face too, had he not missed the clusters of dark curls which used to hang about it. Thomas is now a venerable looking old man . . . certainly of considerable acuteness and information tho' not a great poet . . . I never saw the noble lake of Ulleswater to such great advantage . . ." (pp. 26-27 of *Surtees Society publications 174: The Diaries . . . of James Losh*, vol. 2, 1963).

The volume contains a good many references to the diarist's activities in the anti-slavery movement in which he was joined by Friends in the northern counties. In 1832 his letters to Brougham reveal him recommending and sending to him a pamphlet of Jonathan Dymond's presumably the "Enquiry into the accordancy of war with the principles of Christianity."

QUAKER WOMEN

The American woman in colonial and revolutionary times, 1565-1800: a syllabus with bibliography; by Eugenie Andruss Leonard, Sophie Hutchinson Drinker and Miriam Young Holden (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), includes a useful bibliography of Women among the Friends (Quakers), with references to books and articles in periodicals, which (although not exhaustive) runs to two pages of print. Sophie Hutchinson Drinker contributes a list and bibliography of 104 outstanding colonial women who contributed to the solution of the problems of their day.

WOTTON QUAKERS

Wotton under Edge: men and affairs of a Cotswold wool town, by E. S. Lindley (London, Museum Press, 1962), states that there was no meeting set up in Wotton, although there were Quakers in the town. Friends went to Nailsworth meeting. There was also a small meeting at Dursley in the seventeenth century. The author mentions the Circular Yearly Meeting held in the town in 1725, but not the one held there in 1760. A fuller statement of sources would have enhanced the value of this book.

ABRAHAM DARBY

The coming of the age of steel, by Theodore A. Wertime (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1961) has some brief notice of the work of the Darbys and bases his conclusions largely on the works of Arthur Raistrick, and deals with the advances in the use of mineral fuel in iron manufacture with which the

Coalbrookdale works are associated.

PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS,
1755-57

The William and Mary Quarterly, July 1963 (3rd series, vol. 20, no. 3), includes (pp. 416-39) an article by Ralph L. Ketcham

associate editor of the definitive edition of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin now in progress, on "Conscience, war, and politics in Pennsylvania, 1755-1757." The accent is on the politics during the period of the Quaker withdrawal from office in the commonwealth.

Recent Publications

Friends House Library has recently acquired the two following books on American Quaker History:

A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America. Sydney V. James. Harvard University Press. 1963. pp. 405. \$3.75.

The book shows how the Society of Friends, after nearly forsaking social reform and settling down to managing its internal affairs in the first half of the 18th century, became willing to act as a spokesman for virtue in public affairs and to undertake and encourage projects for social service in the years between 1756 and 1815.

Moses Brown: Reluctant Reformer. Mack Thompson. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press. 1962. pp. 316. 60s. from Oxford University Press.

A new life of this prominent New England Friend of the period of the American Revolution.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

7. THOMAS POLE, M.D. (1753-1829). By E. T. Wedmore. 1908. 53 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
 - 8-11. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS relating to Friends, 1654-1672. Ed. N. Penney. 1910-13. 4 parts. 365 pp., 21s., post 1s. 6d.
 12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600-1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
 13. TORTOLA. By C. F. Jenkins. 1923. 106 pp., 10s. 6d., post 9d.
 14. Record of the SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. 1928. 152 pp., 15s., post 9d.
 15. QUAKER LANGUAGE. F.H.S. Presidential address by T. Edmund Harvey. 1928. 30 pp., 5s., post 3d.
 - 16-17. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. Ed. Norman Penney. 1930. 227 pp., 25s., post 1s.
 21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24 pp., 2s., post 3d.
 22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., 8s., post 3d.
 23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION." Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F. B. Tolles. 1952. 7s. 6d., cloth 12s. 6d., post 6d.
 24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF THE EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. 3s. 6d., post 3d.
 25. JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, The Quaker. By C. Marshall Taylor. 1954. 3s. 6d., post 3d.
 26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 2s. 6d., post 3d.
 27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW." By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 2s. 6d., post 3d.
 28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 1s. 6d., post 3d.
 29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. 3s. 6d., post 4d.
 30. "INWARD AND OUTWARD." A study of Early Quaker Language. By Maurice A. Creasey. 1962. 3s. 6d., post 4d.
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Journals and Supplements Wanted

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CAREERS IN INSURANCE

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