The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

VOLUME 52 NUMBER 2 1969

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FRIENDS HOUSE · EUSTON ROAD · LONDON N.W.1
also obtainable at Friends Book Store :
302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa., U.S.A.
Yearly 10s. ($1.75)

Contents

	PAGE
Editorial	65
Quakers in Victorian Scotland. *William H. Marwick* ..	67
The Quaker Deputation to Russia: January–February 1854. *Stephen Frick*	78
Membership Statistics of the Society of Friends, 1800–1850 *David J. Hall*	97
Early Friends' Testimony against Carnal Weapons. *Alfred W. Braithwaite*	101
"Our Faithful Testimony"—the Society of Friends and Tithe Payments, 1690–1730. *Eric J. Evans*	106
Public Friends Report to London Yearly Meeting on their Missions to America, 1693–1763. *G. J. Willauer* ..	122
John Philley in Turkey. *William Ashford Kelly*	131
Historical Research	135
Reports on Archives	136
Recent Publications	139
Notes and Queries	141

Vol. 52 No. 2 1969

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Publishing Office: Friends House, Euston Road, London N.W.1.

Communications should be addressed to the Editors at
Friends House

Editorial

THIS issue of the *Journal* includes the text of the Presidential Address on Quakers in Victorian Scotland given by William H. Marwick of Edinburgh, at Friends House, London, on 31st October, 1969. William Marwick's survey is concerned with Friends' role in the religious and cultural movements influencing Scotland during the period.

Stephen Frick contributes a study of the Quaker deputation to Russia early in 1854. Friends sought to turn in the direction of peace the course of events—then moving swiftly towards the outbreak of the Crimean war. The author has used the Sturge Papers in the British Museum, and from them illustrates the view expressed by Richard Cobden on the venture. Cobden told Joseph Sturge: "We have too much to do at home to allow such diversions." Stephen Frick is currently working at the Institute of Historical Research, London, for the Ph.D. degree at Cornell University.

Another nineteenth-century item comes from David J. Hall, of Old Coulsdon, Surrey, who gives some preliminary findings on Friends' membership statistics and disownment during the half-century or so before 1860.

Alfred Braithwaite contributes a short article showing the impact on early Friends of the Militia Acts. This paper invites attention to the paucity of readily available evidence, which may have led scholars into some insecurely-founded judgements based on untypical instances and an incomplete survey of the facts. More work would be welcome in this

field, as also in that covered by Eric J. Evans, of the University of Stirling, who writes on Friends' tithe payments in the period 1690 to 1730, before the abortive Quakers' Tithe Bill of 1736.

Covering the first half of the eighteenth century and more is the discussion by George J. Willauer of the Department of English, Connecticut College, New London, of the scope and validity of the recorded reports which travelling Friends brought back to London Yearly Meeting after ministerial service in the American colonies.

This number also includes reports on Archives, Recent Publications and the usual features.

The Spring meeting of the Society was held on Friday, 2nd May, in the Library at Friends House. It was addressed by L. Hugh Doncaster on "The Fruits of Friends' peace testimony, 1660–1960".

* * *

We have to record with sorrow the death of Konrad Braun, who, it will be remembered, was prevented by illness from writing and delivering his Presidential Address in 1968. He was keenly interested in the work of this Society, and it will be recalled that his 1950 Swarthmore Lecture, *Justice and the Law of Love*, contained a masterly historical summary of the attitude of Friends towards the eternal dilemma between these two concepts.

We also record with regret the death of another Quaker historian, Lucia Beamish, whose work on the Quaker ministry from 1750 to 1850 formed the subject of an address to the Society in 1966.

Quakers in Victorian Scotland

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1969

A PAPER on this theme appeared in the *Journal* in 1954.[1] While that was concerned chiefly with the internal history of the Society in Scotland, this, with some unavoidable repetition, will concentrate on Friends' relations with the religious and social conditions and movements of the age. The chief difficulty lies in the paucity of material. Our own records are jejune, there are few references in the contemporary press; almost the only published accounts are in articles in this *Journal* by William F. Miller early in this century,[2] and his *Memorials of Hope Park* (the home of his family). Reliance has had to be had in the main on the files of the *Friend* and the *British Friend*; the latter, though published in Glasgow from 1843 to 1891, gave no special attention to Scottish affairs. I am indebted to the late Bernard Canter for several Scottish references in both.

Friends in Scotland were a feeble folk, and their short and simple annals have received and perhaps deserved little notice. Quakerism was prejudiced at the outset as an English import, particularly during the unpopular Cromwellian occupation. Its aversion to theology, despite Barclay's *Apology*, and its pacifism militated against it. It was at its lowest in the later eighteenth century, when organization broke down, and had to be restored by the intervention of London Yearly Meeting in 1786.

Calvinism had declined in Scotland, though having a partial revival in the present century in the neo-orthodoxy of Karl Barth. It was upheld mainly by minorities which broke away from the national church, e.g. the Free Presbyterians, whose chief tenets appear to be Sabbatarianism and anti-Romanism, sometimes mistaken for characteristics of Presbyterianism in general. Calvinism at its best had asserted a social gospel, and since the abolition of the "Estates" with the

[1] *J.F.H.S.*, xlvi, 3–18.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1903–1917; especially vi (1909), x (1913); W. F. Miller, *Memorials of Hope Park* (1886).

Union of 1707, the General Assembly of the Kirk served, as it still does, some of the purposes of a Parliament. Presbyterianism even today is sometimes regarded as typically expressive of Scottish nationalism.[1] Though in practice it might often be true that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large", Presbyterianism was in principle hostile to sacerdotal claims of a clerical order. Contrary to the Weber thesis, Calvinism was in Scotland not identified with capitalism, which developed only as its influence weakened.

Evangelicalism had since the mid eighteenth century largely superseded Calvinism. Though logically incompatible, they were commonly confused in the popular expression of religious doctrine. Evangelicalism was largely responsible for the Disruption of 1843, and predominated in the "Free Church" then formed. The spread of similar "notions" among Friends enabled closer contacts. The *North British Review*, a Free Church organ, remarked that "Quaker ministry assumed a more Scriptural and Evangelical bias.[2] The spread of the Evangelical outlook in the Society is illustrated by the establishment of Scripture Reading and Gospel meetings.

Friends differed, however, from the Free Church, which was theocratic and objected to the Erastianism of the Established Church. They adhered to the Voluntarist position, "a free church in a free state", and had thus affinities with the United Presbyterians and with the "Continuing" United Free Church which declined to enter the Union of 1929. Friends supported the Disestablishment movement in vogue in the 1880s.[3]

Evangelicalism brought them closer to such sects as the Baptists, whom W. F. Miller calls "Anabaptists". Edward Cruickshank (1808–86), who had a well-known hosiery business in Edinburgh, left Friends for that body (1840), while proclaiming his adhesion to Quaker testimonies. He became President of the Baptist Union of Scotland in 1879. He published in 1871 a tract critical of Friends, but denied that his censure of "blind leaders of the blind" was of general

1 e.g. Ian Henderson, *Scotland, Kirk and People* (1968).
2 *North British Review*, xxii (1860), 333.
3 *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1844, 2nd mo. 1880, 5th mo. 1885.

application to them.[1] Rev. Robert Macnair, a Scottish Baptist pastor who was among the essayists of 1859, charged Friends with holding a "stereotyped creed" and "bowing down to the shrine of George Fox".[2] Two other Cruickshank brothers joined respectively the Brethren and the Free Church. Walter Wilson of Hawick became a Congregationalist. The *Glasgow Examiner*, associated with Congregationalism made favourable reference to Friends.[3]

Moderatism, which became influential in the Church in the eighteenth century—e.g. Principal William Robertson and "Jupiter" Carlyle—continued to be typical of the *haute bourgeoisie*, particularly the Whig intelligentsia of the *Edinburgh Review*, dissatisfaction with whom led Thomas Carlyle to abandon Comely Bank for Craigenputtock. Macaulay's characterization of George Fox illustrates their attitude to Quakerism: "an intellect too much disordered for liberty and not sufficiently disordered for Bedlam." (This, together with his slanders on Penn, cost Macaulay the support of John Wigham at a critical Edinburgh election.) An early edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1810) stigmatizes Fox as "one of the most extravagant and absurd enthusiasts that ever lived".[4]

On the other hand, the High Tory Walter Scott, with his Quaker ancestor and friendship with the Waldies of Kelso, depicted Quakers sympathetically in *Redgauntlet*, and Carlyle in *Sartor Resartus* hailed "the Man in Leather Breeches" as "one of those to whom the Divine Idea of the Universe is pleased to manifest itself" and his appearance as "perhaps the most remarkable incident in Modern history". An anonymous article on "Quakers or Friends" in the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (1830) has been attributed to him; it is a dispassionate review, giving "an account of their tenets nearly in their own words".[5]

Tributes to Friends' good works were frequently combined with facetiousness about some of their usages. Rev.

1 Minutes of Edinburgh Two Months Meeting, 12.iii.1840; *British Friend*, 8th & 9th mo. 1871; *J.F.H.S.*, x (1913); G. Yuille, *History of Baptists in Scotland* (1926), 127.

2 R. Macnair, *The Decline of Quakerism* (1860).

3 *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1844.

4 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 4th edition (1810), 584–588.

5 T. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* (1906 ed.), 178; *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (1830), xvii, 289–290.

John Cunningham, afterwards Moderator, and Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, incurred special censure for his history *The Quakers* (1868), as being "tinctured with a satirical and ludicrous element". The *British Friend* indeed displayed excessive touchiness, belabouring in several issues the erring clergyman, much as humourless Humanists have ever since ponderously pummelled Bishop Wilberforce for his feeble jest anent Huxley's grandparents. Cunningham in a lecture the same year to Edinburgh Literary Institute suggested that Friends were fast dying out, but could "afford to disappear as a peculiar people for they have made converts of us all".[1]

The ministry of women particularly incurred the sarcastic censure of anti-feminist churchmen. Cunningham wrote: "the most excitable venture to preach, hence men generally sit and hear, while women speak." The *Edinburgh Review* (1848) affirmed that "Among Quakers the ministry has fallen into the hands of women . . . an evident token of a dying Society", while *Tait's Magazine* (1851) asserted: "Petticoat government prevails among Friends."[2] (Only in 1968 did the Church of Scotland accept the full ministry of women and ordain the first.) Sarah Smiley, one of the many Friends who travelled in the ministry in Scotland, was allowed to preach in a Free Church in Orkney (1869), for which the minister was rebuked by the Presbytery.[3]

A more serious charge, perhaps still relevant, was that already levelled by critics so different in outlook as William Cobbett and Frederick D. Maurice. The *Edinburgh Review* remarked in 1807: "A Quaker may suspend care of his salvation and occupy himself with business six days of the week"; and the *North British Review* (1860) affirmed: "A Quaker pursues the getting of money with a pace as steady as time and an appetite as keen as death."[4]

Puritanism also has been regarded as a seventeenth century import from England. In the popular sense of the term, which identifies it with Victorian prudery and pharisaism, it

[1] J. Cunningham, *The Quakers* (1868); *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1868 *et seq.*; *Scotsman*, 23.ii.1868.

[2] J. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 329; *Edinburgh Review*, 1848, p. 530; *Tait's Magazine*, 1851, p. 428.

[3] *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1869.

[4] *Edinburgh Review*, 1807, p. 30; *North British Review*, 1860, pp. 340–341.

was typical of Presbyterians and of nonconformists generally as much as of Friends. Singing, dancing and cards were taboo; the "pernicious tendency of music" was condemned. The General Meeting of Ministers deplored a tendency to seek "vain amusements" and called for "a decided stand against dancing and theatre-going".[1] Despite the hostility to the arts generally, William Miller (1796–1882) attained repute as an engraver, and Edward Walton became a noted painter of the "Glasgow School" and R.S.A.

Total abstinence was another manifestation, rather contrary to earlier association with brewing. It took one form as personal teetotalism. William Smeal's wedding (1845) was conducted "in strict accordance with the principle of abstinence". Crosshill Christian Association, in which Friends took a leading part, coupled personal abstinence with religious conversion as qualifications for membership. Friends were active in the Scottish Temperance Alliance and the British Women's Temperance Association.[2] In the further demand for legislative prohibition, Friends were associated with the "P.B." (Permissive Bill or Local Option) faction of the Liberal Party. In 1867 Edinburgh Friends sent a deputation to the licensing court, urging it to refuse new and to reduce old licences.[3]

A common phenomenon in mid-Victorian Scotland was the Hydropathic, originally an institution for the "Water Cure" by the internal and external application of cold water, designed by the German Priessnitz. It was a frequent outlet for investment, and was often conducted under religious auspices. Like the eccentric Edinburgh Professor J. S. Blackie, who wrote a pamphlet commending them, the *British Friend* "was pleased to hear of its rapid expansion" (1843).[4] Its advertisements included one of the "Science of Washing", by which, it was claimed, six weeks washing for a family could be done before breakfast at a cost of less than sixpence. The *British Friend* shared the fondness of the

1 *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1846; Minutes of General Meeting of Ministers and Elders, 7.v.1881.

2 *British Friend*, 10th mo. 1845, etc.; Crosshill Christian Association membership card.

3 *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1867.

4 *British Friend*, 7th mo. 1842, 9th mo. 1847; J. S. Blackie, *Water Cure in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1869). (For John Stuart Blackie see *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

Radical press for unorthodox medicaments, e.g. "aperient digestive pills", "Brand enamel" for toothache, James's "tincture for tic doloreux" and Cadbury's "homoeopathic or dietetic cocoa".[1]

The Editor of the *British Friend*, at the outset in 1843, asserted that Friends should have "no squeamish aversion to politics" but share in the "advocacy of good objects by political means". Forty years later it was affirmed that "influencing voters in the right direction is work for Christians" and condemned the "reckless and unscrupulous nature of Tory politicians" (1885).[2] The Radical *Tait's Magazine* declared in 1844, that "Quaker politics were closely identified with the religion and politics of the New Testament".[3] The Smeals joined John Bright in opposition to the Corn Laws so as to "obtain for the poor a cheap and abundant supply of food". John Wigham presided at an anti-Corn Law conference in Edinburgh in 1842.[4] Friends were usually actively associated with the Liberal Party. John Henderson (1797–1851), a Paisley ironmonger, had been involved in the Radical agitation of 1820, and had to escape to America. In later life he edited a radical paper and became Provost of his burgh. He joined Friends in 1837. William Smeal was on Glasgow Liberal Committee, John Wigham jr., on that of Edinburgh. Stephen Wellstood (1811–1886) who sat as a Liberal councillor 1873–1876, was long associated with Friends before his convincement in 1885. Walter Wilson (1796–1890) was active in the Reform movement and became President of Hawick Liberal Association.[5]

The Irish Home Rule issue brought division. A leader of 1887 lamented that "rarely were Friends so divided . . . the Irish problem was unsolved"; the separation of Bright and Gladstone was deplored. Walter Wilson and Robert Bird (1855–1919), a recently (1883) convinced Glasgow lawyer, became Unionists; the latter became Secretary of Glasgow and West of Scotland Liberal Unionist Association, and later

1 *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1849.
2 *British Friend*, 2nd mo. 1843, 9th mo. 1885.
3 *Tait's Magazine*, 1844; *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1844.
4 *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1843.
5 "A Paisley Provost" in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1924; *Biographical Catalogue* (1888), 631–634, *William Smeal*, 1793–1877; *Scotsman*, 4.ii.1874; *British Friend*, 2nd mo. 1886; *Hawick Express*, 21.vi.1890.

supported Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign. No Scottish Friend appears to have been present at the Quaker anti-Home Rule Conference of 1893.[1]

Friends participated in the unsuccessful campaign of the 1870s for Women's Suffrage. Priscilla McLaren (1815–1906), sister of Bright and wife of his coadjutor Duncan McLaren, was President, and Eliza Wigham and Stephen Wellstood were members of an Edinburgh Society for women's suffrage.[2] Robert Owen's partnership with Friends at New Lanark is well known, as is their objection to his system of education for children attached to the mills, particularly the encouragement of dancing; William Allen complained that he violated the terms of partnership which stipulated religious instruction. On his retirement the mills were acquired by one of his Quaker partners, Charles Walker, whose family retained them until their sale in 1881 to Birkmyres, later (1903) Gourock Ropeworks, who still carry them on. Apparently no records of the Walker régime survive. The *New Statistical Account*, in the 1840s speaks of "instruction in the ordinary branches rather than in accomplishments". Charles Walker retained membership in Westminster meeting; he was censured by Edinburgh meeting for non-attendance, and for allowing "a system of education partly inconsistent with the Society". After about three years' exchange of views, he was left to Westminster to deal with. His eldest son "married out" in 1869.[3]

Robert Mason (1780–1861) a Lancashire Catholic became cashier at New Lanark about 1800, and was admitted to the Society in 1814; he left legacies for Quaker purposes.[4]

Friends were chiefly middle class. Obituary lists of male adults 1863–1928 may be summarized as: professional 27, manufacturers and merchants 22, shopkeepers 10, manual workers 10.[5]

Two who were by origin probably of the latter category attained local note. John F. Yule (1839–1924), formerly a

1 *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1887; *Glasgow Herald*, 9.ii.1890.
2 *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1888.
3 *Life of William Allen* (1846–1847), ii.239, 373–375; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vi.22–27; Minutes of Edinburgh Two Months Meeting, 1828–1831; G. Blake, *The Gourock* (1963), ch. vii; *Glasgow Herald*, 6.viii.1869.
4 *British Friend*, 6th mo. 1861; Edinburgh Two Months Meeting, 11.v.1861.
5 List of burials, in Archives, Friends' House, Edinburgh.

miner active in the Fife Union, who became a commission agent, was admitted in 1900 and started a Meeting in his own house in Dunfermline, which is said to have been attended by other workers.[1] William Cooper, a joiner active in the trade union movement, and town councillor in Aberdeen, is described in a local history as "a member of the Society of Friends". The only reference in Friends' records appears to be that he was recorded as an Attender, *c.* 1884–1890, applied for membership in 1886 and after lengthy consideration was rejected, on the ground that it was not desirable "to add to the Society at this time". This seems to confirm the statement of Alex Hay, a veteran member, that in his youth the Society was reputed, in Aberdeen, to be a "secret society".[2]

The Adult School movement, which in England brought Friends in touch with manual workers, did not reach Scotland until the twentieth century, perhaps because church gilds and similar organizations were common; it was small and short-lived. There is indeed reference to a "Friends' First Day School" in Glasgow in 1866, with about twenty members, engaged in reading and religious instruction;[3] but no other reference has been found.

The Anti-Slavery movement is probably that which most evoked the enthusiastic support of Friends. The "Smeal Papers" in Glasgow Mitchell (Public) Library are almost entirely concerned with it. The subject has been studied by Professor George Shepperson of Edinburgh and his student C. Duncan Rice, now of Aberdeen. William Smeal was Secretary of Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society, founded 1822; after abolition in the British dominions, this became the Emancipation Society (1833). In Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society, Eliza Wigham was prominent. She wrote a pamphlet *The Anti-Slavery Cause* (1863), which was commended by the *British Friend*, but criticized for her use of titles and heathen names of days and months. The Freedman's Aid Society was formed in 1864. The Free Church was condemned for its acceptance of money from slave owners, and Irish Friends on one occasion similarly. Friends sup-

1 *Friend*, 8.iv.1924; Edinburgh Two Months Meeting, 1.xii.1900.
2 K. D. Buckley, *Trade Unionism in Aberdeen*, 24, 114; Minutes of Aberdeen Preparative Meeting, 1884–1890.
3 *British Friend*, 4th mo. 1866.

ported the more extreme faction of George Thompson and W. L. Garrison, who received the Freedom of the City on visiting Edinburgh in 1867. Dr. John Maxwell of Glasgow, and Harry Armour (1789–1867), an Edinburgh printer with "a rare knowledge of his art" were active in the cause.[1]

"Protection of Aborigines", including Indians, was stated in its opening number to be an object of the *British Friend*.[2]

Friends adhered to the traditional peace testimony, although their convictions were little tested during the "Century of (relative) Peace", 1815–1914, when apart from the Crimean and Boer wars, hostilities were mainly "colonial" and fought by "armies of mercenaries". There was no conscription and militia assessments became obsolete. At a Peace Congress in Edinburgh in 1853, William Miller presided and Henry Wigham was secretary. William Smeal was a member of Glasgow Peace Society, and William J. Begg (d. 1922), a "convinced" lawyer was secretary of Glasgow Peace and Arbitration Society about 1890. Among the infrequent public statements issued were those condemning the Sudan and Zulu wars in the 'eighties.[3]

The Testimonies against capital punishment and oath taking were observed. The outstanding examples come from Edward Cruickshank after his resignation from the Society. As a town councillor 1842–1847, he refused to take the "Burgess Oath" and proposed a resolution condemning the death penalty. His speech was printed in a pamphlet (1845) in which he invoked "the dispensation of grace, not to destroy lives but to save them". The *Edinburgh Review* (1831) credited Friends with "amiable and persevering zeal" in the cause. Their position on oaths was accepted in the Scottish Affirmation Acts of 1862 and 1865. They had sent a memorial to the Queen regarding a bank clerk, not a member, but apparently a son of Harry Armour (not yet a member) who

[1] G. A. Shepperson, "Free Church & American Slavery" (*Scottish Historical Review*, v, 27, 1958); C. D. Rice, "Anti-Slavery Mission of G. Thompson" (*American Studies*, i.13–31); *British Friend*, 8th mo. 1845, 8th mo. 1863, 3rd mo. 1867, etc.; *J.F.H.S.*, x (1913); Smeal Papers (Mitchell Library, Glasgow), *passim*.

[2] *British Friend*, 1st mo. 1843.

[3] *British Friend*, 10th & 11th mo. 1853, 4th mo. 1885, 11th mo. 1890; *Glasgow Herald*, 13.iv.1922.

was dismissed and imprisoned for refusal to take an oath as a witness in court (1847).[1]

Friends' concern for social work was exemplified in John Wigham's proposal (1851) for schools for the destitute, especially juvenile offenders, perhaps inspired by a visit of Elizabeth Fry. The outcome was an Orphans and Destitute Children's Emigration Home in Glasgow, in which Mary White (1837–1903) and Agnes Bryson (1831–1901) were prime movers; reports of progress were frequently made, as also of a Prison Gate Mission with which they were concerned.[2] In Edinburgh Eliza Wigham, the last of her family to reside in Edinburgh and to wear the old Quaker garb, was a moving spirit for 37 years of the undenominational Women's working Society or Mothers' Meeting (1860) and the Penny Bank (1859) in the Newington district of Edinburgh. Her labours are commemorated in a biographical sketch by Elizabeth Mein and an account of the district by a local city missionary James Goodfellow.[3]

Concern for sufferers from war and famine was displayed in hospitality to Polish refugees after the unsuccessful revolt of 1830, and in collections for relief of famine in the West Highlands around 1850 and recurrently in the Shetlands, *c.* 1869–70 and 1886. Visiting Friends had been welcomed in these islands.[3]

The earlier schools in Aberdeenshire had closed, and Scottish Friends obtained in 1819 a share in the management of that at Wigton. William Miller and Stephen Wellstood were on the committee of the Lancasterian School in Edinburgh. An Edinburgh Friends' Literary Society was founded in 1848, with William Miller as president, and was active in the 'seventies when "Essay meetings" were held. The Meeting in the Pleasance kept a lending library, of which the borrowers' book for the century 1835–1935 has been preserved. The volumes chiefly favoured in early years seem to have been

1 Th. Russell, *Capital Punishment* (Edinburgh, 1845); *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1831, 408; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 5.xi.1842; *British Friend*, 9th mo. 1841, 5th mo. 1847, 4th mo. 1865; *Annual Monitor*, 1868.

2 *British Friend*, 12th mo. 1851, 1st mo. 1872 *et seq.*; *Friend*, 3.i.1908.

2 E. M. Mein, *Eliza Wigham*; J. Goodfellow, *The Print of His Shoe* (1906), 72–78.

3 *Friend*, 9.i.1953; *British Friend*, 8th mo. 1852, 5th mo. 1864, 12th mo. 1869 *et seq.*

the Journals of travelling Friends; the last entry records the loan of the *Little Plays of St. Francis*.[1]

The rigid attachment to creed of which Friends were accused has some substance if it is applied to conduct rather than to doctrine. The *British Friend* opposed the relaxation *c.* 1860, as contravening "matters of principle", and some Scots were involved in the Fritchley secession. Insolvency and "marrying out" or "irregularly" were the chief offences penalized by disownment. Despite reluctance to admit and readiness to disown, membership grew steadily during the period from 144 to 357. In 1884 out of 193 members, fully half were in Glasgow.[2]

The Rev. Dr. George Burnet, the Presbyterian author of *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (1952) wrote: "The Quaker movement in Scotland was a notable epic for the most part . . . But it was ill-timed in the century which gave it birth, and probably would have been so in any succeeding generation. For neither the psychological nor the spiritual climate of Scotland suited it . . . But it may be that the Quakerism of our own times will get a chance in Scotland which the Inner Light of the past never enjoyed."[3]

In the present century progress in numbers and activities has continued. A future historian of Quakerism in twentieth century Scotland may verify this prophetic hope.

WILLIAM H. MARWICK

1 Minutes of Scotland General Meeting, 31.viii.1819; *British Friend*, 2nd mo. 1867, 10th mo. 1879.

2 *British Friend*, 5th mo. 1857, 5th mo. 1858, 5th mo, 1861; Minutes of Scotland General Meeting, *passim*.

3 G. B. Burnet, *Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (1952), 192–193.

The Quaker Deputation to Russia: January–February 1854

TWO months before the outbreak of the Crimean war, a deputation from the Society of Friends in Great Britain travelled to the court of Nicholas I, Emperor of All the Russias, in order to try to avert the conflict that was seen by the great majority of their countrymen as not only inevitable, but to be welcomed. The meeting between Nicholas and the Quakers was probably the last direct contact between the Emperor and any Englishman, but few historians have given much attention to this extraordinary mission. Perhaps most modern scholars feel the way that contemporaries felt, that the deputation was nothing more than an eccentric gesture on the part of a naïve religious sect, doomed to failure from the beginning and meriting, therefore, no serious consideration. For a number of reasons, however, it is an interesting phenomenon to study. Aside from the fact of its own intrinsic interest, a study of the deputation can tell us, in view of the reaction it caused, a great deal about the climate of opinion in Britain during the early months of 1854. Such a study also shows the pacifists Henry Richard[1] and Richard Cobden in an interesting light; and John Bright, who was to become the most eloquent critic of the war, reveals a negative sort of indifference which might surprise those who are acquainted only with his later pronouncements.

The contemporary accounts of the deputation written by Robert Charleton[2] and Henry Richard contain gaps that must be filled in, in each case, by reference to the other man's narrative. I have collated these two accounts and have tried to put the story of the deputation into its historical context by referring to related outside events. I have included more detail than is available in any of the secondary accounts and have corrected some of the errors which these accounts contain. The result is a single narrative of the deputation, based almost exclusively on primary sources and corrective of

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*
[2] Robert Charleton (1809–1872), of Bristol. *D.N.B.*

traditional errors—in most cases of detail, in one important instance of interpretation.[1]

The idea of sending a group of Friends to Nicholas, bearing with them an appeal that the Emperor do all in his power to avert a war between his country and England and France, originated with Joseph Sturge of Birmingham. Sturge's biographer relates that "in December, 1853, while Mr. Sturge was in earnest conversation with his friend Mr. Joseph Cooper . . . the idea was started whether some good might not be effected by a deputation from the Society of Friends waiting upon the Emperor of Russia."[2] Russia and Turkey had been at war for two months and in Britain agitation to join the conflict on the side of Turkey was at a pitch. The general war fever was aggravated by the Russophobe press, which clamoured constantly for the destruction of Nicholas, the "booted autocrat". The deputation, as its sponsors knew, would be decidedly a last ditch effort.

Sturge must have approached Richard Cobden on the subject of the deputation shortly after the conversation with Cooper. Cobden was not at all sympathetic. He wrote to Joseph Sturge, 28th December, 1853: "I don't think you ought to encourage the idea of sending a mission to the Czar. Your business lies with the people of Birmingham."[3] Less than a week later he returned to the subject:

> I rather think you overrate the effect of deputating to crowned heads. "Friends" have been charged with being too fond of the "great", and the memoirs of Allen and other biographies give

[1] The major primary sources are Robert Charleton's letters as they appear in Anna F. Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton* (2nd ed.; London, 1876) and Sturge's account of events in Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (London, 1864). It should be noted that Richard, in giving an account of the deputation, often draws heavily on the Charleton letters. For some reason—why, I have not been able to discover—Richard quotes the letters in a different form than they appear in Fox's *Memoir*. Although he presents them as direct quotations, he actually paraphrases the originals, giving them greater dramatic force. Secondary works which contain an account of the deputation are Margaret Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London, 1923); Stephen Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge* (London, 1919); Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 2 vols. (London, 1921); Mary H. Pease, *Henry Pease* (London, 1897); Richenda C. Scott, *Quakers in Russia* (London, 1964).

[2] H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 463. Joseph Cooper (1800?–81) was a recorded minister of the Society of Friends, active in the Peace Society and anti-slavery movement. See *Annual Monitor* for 1883, pp. 142–152.

[3] *Sturge Papers*, British Museum, Additional MS. 50131.

> some colorable sanction to the suspicion that you have *tuft-hunters* among your body. If a party of Friends were *now* to set off on a visit to Nicholas, it might I think expose them to the charge of seeking their own glorification. Nothing short of a miracle could enable such a deputation to accomplish the end in view; and miracles are not wrought in our times. Besides it is we after all who are responsible for the bloodshed.[1]

But Sturge was not deterred by Cobden's pessimism. He brought his concern to the Meeting for Sufferings in London and that body, on Friday, 6th January, 1854, appointed a seventeen-man committee to draft an address to Nicholas. On 9th January, the drafting committee called for a Special Meeting, which was held, accordingly on Wednesday, 11th January. At that time the draft of the address was submitted to the Meeting, altered slightly and approved of. Upon adjournment, the drafting committee was instructed to see that the address was "duly signed and to arrange for its presentation".[2]

The address, recorded in the minutes of the Meeting, need not be reproduced here in full.[3] It spoke to the Emperor "under a deep conviction of religious duty and in the constraining love of Christ", without presuming "to offer any opinion upon the questions now at issue". The Society of Friends, "as a Christian Church [which has] uniformly upheld a testimony against all war, on the simple ground that it is utterly condemned by the precepts of Christianity",

1 Cobden to Sturge, 3rd January 1854. *Sturge Papers*, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722. The reference is to William Allen, who had been friendly with Nicholas's predecessor, Alexander I of Russia. See also Cobden to Sturge, 10th January, 1854 (*Sturge Papers*, British Museum, Add. MS. 50131): "If I cared more than yourself for ridicule or the disadvantage of living in a minority. I should not take the course I have done. It is not to spare you from such ordeals that I deprecate a visit to the Czar. But I felt and still feel that we have too much to do at home to allow such diversions."

2 *Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, XLVI (Friends House Library, London). Strictly speaking, it was the 6th January Meeting which made the decision to send the address, not the Meeting of 17th January, as stated by Rufus Jones (*Later Periods of Quakerism*, II, p. 725) and others. The London Meeting for Sufferings, under the 1833 Discipline, would have been acting in its capacity as a standing committee of Yearly Meeting and, in approving of the deputation, would have been acting on behalf of the Society of Friends in Great Britain.

3 The address, along with the Emperor's verbal reply after the presentation of the address on 10th February, and his written reply, in French, dated 1/13 Février and signed by Nesselrode, may be found in *The British Friend*, XII (1854), 68–70; *The Friend*, XII (1854), 49–51; *The Herald of Peace*, n.s. XLV (1854), 26–27. Many contemporary daily newspapers also printed the address and the replies, in whole or in part.

approached Nicholas as a Christian ruler, in the hope that he would heed the gospel command to "love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you . . . ". That is to say, the address requested that the Emperor act like a Christian. It was signed by forty-seven Friends.[1]

Four days after the address had been accepted by the Meeting, Cobden wrote Sturge another impatient and discouraging letter:

> I am sorry you are going to Petersburgh and really cannot see what good you propose to do. It seems to me a very irrational step and calculated to weaken your influence where alone your efforts can have a chance of being attended to with any success, viz. amongst your own countrymen.[2]

Yet it was precisely because his own countrymen would listen to no counsel, were it not one of war, that Sturge had decided the last hope for peace lay in an appeal to the enemy.

On Tuesday, 17th January, a Special Meeting for Sufferings chose Sturge and Robert Charleton of Bristol as members of the deputation. A third member was wanting and his selection was left to the drafting committee, the spot for his name being left blank on the commission.[3] Since Edward Pease, in Darlington, noted in his diary on 19th January that his son, "yielding to the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings", was to accompany Sturge and Charleton on their journey, it is reasonable to assume that Henry Pease decided to join the others on 17th January after the Meeting, or sometime on 18th January.[4] In any event, it was known by Thursday, 19th January, exactly who would be attempting the mission.

It was on that Thursday that Cobden sent a final letter to

1 *Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, XLVI, pp. 380–382. The members of the deputation were not on the drafting committee, nor did they sign the completed address. An examination of the names subscribed to the address shows that all signatories were either correspondents, recorded ministers or appointed elders; and this was also true of those on the drafting committee. At this time, none of the deputation fell into any of these categories.

2 Cobden to Sturge, Jan. 15, 1854. *Sturge Papers*, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722.

3 *Meeting for Sufferings minutes*, XLVI, p. 383. Most historians imply that this was the first and only Meeting (e.g. Hirst, Hobhouse, Jones). Henry Pease was not appointed at this time, as Hirst and Hobhouse indicate.

4 Henry Pease (1807–81); *D.N.B.* See *The Diaries of Edward Pease*, ed. Alfred E. Pease (London, 1907), p. 310.

Sturge, in which he declined to give his friend a letter of reference to anyone in St. Petersburg.[1] Cobden's attitude in this affair is strange. It is doubly strange when one considers that on a previous occasion he praised Sturge for doing that for which he was at present condemning him. When Denmark was at war with Schleswig and Holstein in 1850, Sturge, Frederic Wheeler and the well-known American pacifist Elihu Burritt visited the heads of both factions in an attempt to prevent bloodshed. As Stephen Hobhouse has pointed out, Cobden was full of praise for Sturge on that occasion. He wrote warmly to him: "You have done good service by breaking through the flimsy veil with which the diplomatists of the world try to conceal their shallow craft . . . by your startling expedition to Rendsburg and Copenhagen . . ." "You have done good work . . . never mind the sneerers."[2] There is no mention of "tuft-hunters".

On Friday, 20th January, the deputation left London. The route to St. Petersburg took them through Düsseldorf, Berlin, Königsberg and Riga. A full account of this exhausting journey (two hundred horses were required for the coaches and sledges), undertaken in the dead of winter through the coldest part of Europe, is to be found in Robert Charleton's letters. (I omit them here, because, although they make entertaining reading, they contain nothing pertinent to the main purpose of the mission.)[3]

Arrival in St. Petersburg

The party arrived in the Russian capital at seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday, 2nd February. In the time between their departure from London and their arrival in St. Petersburg, the diplomats had not been inactive.

Briefly, the immediate diplomatic situation was as follows. On 22nd December, 1853, England and France had issued a joint demand that the Russian fleet take no action whatever against Turkey; and on 3rd January, 1854, the allies sent their own fleets into the Black Sea in order to enforce the demand. On 16th January, Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, ordered Baron Brunnow, the Russian

1 Cobden to Sturge, 19th January, 1854. *Sturge Papers*, British Museum, Add. MS. 43722.

2 S. Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge*, p. 138.

3 Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, pp. 62–69, for the journey.

ambassador in London,[1] to inquire whether the allies meant to keep Turkey from attacking Russia—whether, in Nesselrode's words, there would be *"juste réciprocité"*. On 23rd January, while the Quaker deputation was travelling from Düsseldorf to Berlin, the British Foreign Secretary, Clarendon, received Brunnow and considered Nesselrode's inquiry. Now Nesselrode's instructions to Brunnow had been that if a satisfactory answer to his inquiry were not given by Clarendon, diplomatic relations were to be broken off. It happened that on 31st January, Clarendon gave Brunnow what was to prove to be an unsatisfactory answer. The court at St. Petersburg did not yet know that and it appears that Brunnow did not, immediately upon receipt of Clarendon's reply, send a courier off to Nesselrode. Rather, he waited a few days before acting. The great question in St. Petersburg diplomatic circles at the moment the deputation arrived in the city was: what was Clarendon's stance and how would Brunnow respond to it? Obviously, the three Quakers had no idea of these developments.[2]

For a time, British diplomacy took no official notice of the deputation. The British press, however, had a field day with the Quakers.

As Kingsley Martin has shown, public opinion against Russia, as both formed and interpreted by the popular press, pushed many of the moderate politicians (most notably the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen) into a war which, left to their own devices, they would probably have chosen to avoid.[3] By the account of Henry Richard, "there were two reasons and two only" why there was a Crimean war, and one of these was public opinion "so inflamed by the press into fury against Russia that it swept the Government as with the force of a hurricane into the war".[4] Given the standards of

1 Count Philipp von Brunnow (1797–1875), Russian ambassador in London, 1840–1854, 1858–72.

2 For documents relevant to these manoeuvrings, see Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1853–1854, Vol. XLIV (London, 1865), "Correspondence respecting the suspension of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Russia, January and February, 1854", pp. 98–105.

3 *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston* (rev. ed.; London, 1963).

4 H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 486. The other reason was the war-like attitude of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, British ambassador at Constantinople. Those who held Richard's views argued that Stratford made war inevitable by assuring the Turks of England's support no matter what the situation.

the press, it would be expected that they would damn the deputation. Damn it they did, most of the periodicals attacking frontally, a few employing faint praise.

The Times of 21st January referred to the deputation as a "piece of enthusiastic folly", before launching into a wholeheartedly vicious assault in the issue of 23rd January.

Perhaps the best example of those accounts that might be called favourable, was one of the first to appear, on 21st January, in Henry Pease's own home town, in *The Darlington and Stockton Times*:

> It is well known that the Peace Society and especially the members of the Society of Friends, have always been consistent in their endeavours to inculcate peace doctrines; and however chimerical it may seem to some men, it must be admitted that they are earnest in the views they hold, and in the fact that a deputation from the Peace Society has actually proceeded to St. Petersburgh, we have the best answer to those who doubt the sincerity of their motives. We certainly have no faith in the success of their mission; the love of peace has not yet penetrated the cold regions of the north sufficiently to thaw the Autocrat into such a melting state as to induce him to pay much attention to the theories of the British Peace Society, however good they may be.

Sturge is written about in his own town by *The Birmingham Mercury*, in the same grudging way. The issue of 28th January says that "his mission, though a mistake, is a most amiable one. His benevolence, though pure waste, is still benevolence."

One of the few really encouraging notices appeared in Edward Miall's journal, *The Nonconformist*, on 25th January:

> Such an attempt will, of course, provoke only the ridicule of that unfortunately numerous class, who set down enthusiasm in any cause as fanaticism and who dread being in a minority. But it is, after all, men of faith and self-sacrifice, like Mr. Pease and Mr. Sturge, who are the pioneers of improvement . . .[1]

Miall was right in predicting the ridicule, which followed soon after news of the deputation had circulated. *Punch* was scathing enough, but its satire was gentle compared with the

[1] For Edward Miall (1809–81), M.P. for Rochdale 1852–1857, see *D.N.B.* This article was doubly generous, considering that Miall—who had actively supported the peace congresses—now favoured war with Russia; see Arthur Miall, *Life of Edward Miall* (London, 1884), p. 192.

onslaught of that citadel of crown and caste, *John Bull*. And the evidence suggests that *John Bull*'s view was typical of the hawkish majority in England when they found that their hatred of Russia had not been shared by the Society of Friends. In an article entitled "Czar Nicholas and the Three Wise Men from the East", *John Bull* compared the reception which the Quakers received in St. Petersburg with that accorded in London to Tom Thumb, or "the Kaffir Chief when he got abroad". But this was simply badinage. More vicious was the construction which it inferred should be placed upon the deputation's motives, unfortunately echoing Cobden's criticism.

> With all their "simplicity" we suspect that the "Friends" are much too shrewd a race to have imagined for a moment that any practical effect would result from this "mission". If so, knowing that they were going on a bootless errand, wherefore did Mr. Sturge, Mr. Pease and their nameless Bristol brother go at all? Was it to parade themselves before the world as more righteous than the rest of mankind? or simply to gratify their sectarian vanity, by showing what consequential people they are with whom even such a man as Czar Nicholas will shake hands?[1]

The contempt of the opinion represented by *John Bull* was to be expected, for it was against such opinion that the Quakers had always fought. What is striking is the fact that those who should have been sympathetic offered no support, or only offered it after the event. An article on the deputation did not appear in *The Herald of Peace*, the official publication of the Peace Society, until March, when the Quakers had been back in England for a week. In fact, when *The Times* stated that the deputation originated with the Peace Society (an error which occurred in many accounts), Henry Richard, secretary of the Society, was quick to issue a disclaimer. Richard's only comment on the deputation until after their return to England, is to be found in a letter to *The Times*, published on 23rd January, in which he denies any connection with them and any knowledge of the nature of their mission. It is worth noting that this disclaimer (which, in view of Sturge's active participation in the Peace Society,

[1] Issue of 25th February. At first, Robert Charleton's name was not given in newspaper accounts, but by this date it was certainly a matter of common knowledge.

seems a little gratuitous) won the approval of *John Bull*. That journal noted the denial with glee:

> The Peace Society is giving indications of returning sanity. Three gentlemen of unwonted humility and diffidence have volunteered to become the Horatii of the Eastern quarrel and to try the effect of the undoffable broadbrim upon Czar Nicholas. The Peace Society, whose credentials they meant to have borne with them, has wisely declined to endorse their errand and they will have, therefore, to proceed, if at all, "on their own hook".[1]

The Herald of Peace did finally print a handsome article in the March issue praising the efforts of the deputation. The fact remains that as the mission travelled across the European wastes, the Peace Society did nothing to counteract the ridicule to which they were subjected at home. But as the three were unaware of the diplomatic struggle taking place over their heads, so were they oblivious to the clamour in the press which centred directly on them. They were spared the knowledge that at home their names symbolized, to the great majority whose only desire was to get on with the business of battering the Russians, everything from the childishly naïve to the hypocritically self-interested. They had become scapegoats.

The deputation's arrival in St. Petersburg had been expected. W. C. Gellibrand, an Englishman resident there, told them on 3rd February that their mission was "doubtless well known to the Russian authorities", because the English newspapers had preceded them. Because the Friends did not intend to make any contact with the English authorities in St. Petersburg until after they had met the Emperor, and because their presence in the capital was so obviously a matter of common knowledge, Gellibrand advised them to apply directly to Nesselrode for permission to present the address to Nicholas. This they did on 4th February. Nesselrode sent an immediate reply arranging to meet them himself, in order to discuss the address and its presentation. This preparatory meeting was set for Monday, 6th February, at 1 p.m.[2]

While Nesselrode and the deputation were exchanging

[1] Issue of 28th January.

[2] Charleton's letter of 4th February, 1854, in Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, p. 72. Anna Fox does not indicate to whom Charleton's letters were addressed.

notes in St. Petersburg, Brunnow, in London, was informing Clarendon that the communication of 31st January did not satisfy the principle of *"juste réciprocité"* and that diplomatic relations between his country and England were as of that moment suspended.[1]

On the day appointed by Nesselrode for his meeting with the deputation, a messenger arrived at the Friends' lodgings to say that the Chancellor, because of business with the Emperor, would have to postpone his meeting with them until 1.30 p.m. "That he should thus send purposely," wrote Charleton, "in order to avoid keeping us waiting half-an-hour, we thought a rather unusual mark of politeness." When the meeting did take place, Nesselrode received the deputation "with great courtesy and affability" and "expressed his entire concurrence" with the address, after Sturge had read it to him. He promised to arrange an audience for the deputation with the Emperor.[2]

The Friends were dining at the home of another Englishman, A. Mirrielees, on 9th February, when the message arrived. The Emperor would see them the following day at 1.30 p.m.

What did the Friends think that they could achieve when they met the Emperor? Reading Charleton's letters or Henry Richard's *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* one is struck by the absence of false optimism. There is no evidence that they thought that the international situation would be radically changed by their visit to St. Petersburg. But neither do they exhibit undue pessimism. The best way to describe their attitude would be to call it "guardedly optimistic". Sturge, Pease and Charleton undertook this strenuous journey for two reasons. The first was the hope that some small good might come out of their mission and a belief that any contribution to the cause of peace, however slight, would justify the physical hardship and financial expense which they would have to bear. The second was more personal. They were acting for themselves, although not in the petty way suggested by *John Bull*. They felt it necessary to make a

1 Foreign Office, *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. XLIV, p. 104.

2 Charleton's letter of 6th February, 1854, in Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, p. 74. Henry Richard wrongly places the meeting between Nesselrode and the deputation on 2nd February (*Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 469).

personal testimony on behalf of peace, regardless of whether or not the diplomats should choose to emulate, or the masses applaud the gesture.

Was there any reason to believe that the mission might have a positive effect on a deteriorating situation? The evidence indicates that the situation was not as black as hindsight demands that we should consider it, and that the Quaker deputation could have acted as a bridge between the hostile powers—were it not for the diplomatic rupture of which St. Petersburg was still unaware. The Quakers were treated with a warmth and deference which their humble station would not merit, unless it were that the Russians believed that they could play some sort of role, even a minor one, in helping to avert a war.

W. C. Gellibrand, who was, according to Charleton, a well-informed and judicious observer of events in St. Petersburg, told the deputation "that the probability of such a mission being useful *now* is much greater than it would have been several months ago, or at any former period of the dispute".[1]

The assumption behind Gellibrand's judgement coincides with the opinion expressed by Sir Hamilton Seymour, British envoy at St. Petersburg, in a despatch to Clarendon dated 30th January. "I am told constantly," he wrote, "(the statement was repeated to me half-an-hour ago by a person in whose opinion I have great reliance) that Russia is very desirous of avoiding war—and I feel confident that the fact is so, but the wish applies only to the present juncture."[2] And concerning a dinner party at Lord Granville's on 8th February, John Bright wrote: "I had a good deal of quiet conversation with Lords Aberdeen and Granville on the subject of the threatened war. I think there is an impression among the ministers that Nicholas will give in and that peace will yet be maintained."[3] I cite these comments to support the judgement that the deputation was not engaged in an absolutely hopeless endeavour. The diplomatic rupture, news

1 Charleton's letter of 9th February, 1854, in Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, p. 78.

2 Public Record Office, *F.O.* 65/444/88. It must be admitted that Seymour was capable of contradicting any judgement as soon as he had uttered it. Sir George Hamilton Seymour (1797–1880); *D.N.B.*

3 Bright to his wife, 9th February, 1854. *Bright Correspondence*, the Library, University College, Gower Street, London.

of which was travelling toward St. Petersburg via diplomatic courier, would from the Russian point of view preclude a peaceful settlement, but again, no one there yet knew of Brunnow's decision. In meeting the deputation, Nicholas was, I believe, in a tragic position. He was grasping at peace, but circumstances had put peace beyond his reach.

Friends Received by the Emperor

The meeting between the Quaker deputation and the Emperor Nicholas took place on 10th February.[1] The address was read aloud by Sturge; and after the presentation, Sturge made some further remarks. He explained the nature of the Meeting for Sufferings, disparaged the war-like tone of the articles in the English press and made a final appeal to Nicholas, as a Christian, to avert a war whose major victims would not be those who started it, but rather "innocent men with their wives and children".

Nicholas replied in French, Baron Nicolay acting as interpreter. In his reply (taken down immediately after the meeting and submitted to Nicolay, who assured its accuracy), he stressed the nine hundred years' tie between Russian and Greek Christianity, and Russia's right to protect her co-religionists living under Turkish rule. He stated his admiration for England, his affection for Queen Victoria, his readiness to overlook personal insults if peace might thereby be maintained. He concluded by saying: "As a Christian I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion, my great duty is to attend to the interests and honour of my country."[2]

It was a very emotional encounter. The Friends reported that when the Emperor took his leave of them, there were tears in his eyes—a phenomenon which was noted by the Empress, whom the deputation met after leaving the Emperor. It is, of course, impossible to extrapolate evidence

[1] The sources for all subsequent writing on the subject are Charleton's letter of 11th February, in Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, pp. 78–81, and the account in H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, pp. 477–478. Richard makes use of what seems to be a free paraphrase of the Charleton letters to describe much of the interview, but his account includes the Emperor's verbal reply, which Charleton's does not. Mary Pease places the interview on a Thursday (*Henry Pease*, p. 61), whereas it took place on Friday, 10th February.

[2] H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 478.

of Nicholas's diplomatic intentions from his display of emotional sincerity. He was not about to play the Christian if it meant betraying what he conceived to be "the interests and honour" of his country. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that he had been willing to compromise in order to keep the peace and, when he met the deputation, he was probably quite sincere in stating his intentions to avoid war, if at all possible. He took the opportunity of the meeting with the deputation to unburden himself in a manner that it would have been impossible to adopt with the official representatives of a hostile power. From all that Nicholas would have been able to gather, Sturge, Pease and Charleton represented the only Englishmen in all the world who were prepared to give him a sympathetic hearing.[1]

On Saturday, 11th February, the day after their meeting with the Emperor, the deputation called on Hamilton Seymour, their first official contact with a diplomatic representative of their government in St. Petersburg. In a dispatch to Clarendon, Seymour notes that they had not contacted him earlier, and he comments ironically on the Emperor's assurance to the deputation that he is "intent upon Peace".[2]

The deputation had hoped to leave St. Petersburg as soon as they had transacted their business, but on the afternoon of Saturday, 11th February, they were paid a call by Baron Nicolay, who asked that they remain for a few more days. The Emperor, he said, wanted to present them with a written reply to their address; and the Duchess of Leuchtenberg, the Emperor's daughter,[3] wanted them to call on her the following Tuesday. Were they to agree to this, the Russian government would make their return easier by sending a

1 There is outside evidence that the Emperor was overwrought at the time of this meeting. Writing to Clarendon, Seymour states that on 9th February, General Castelbajac, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was advised by Russian officials "that in the present excited state in which the Emperor Nicholas has been for some days" it would not be advisable to see him (Public Record Office, *F.O.* 65/445/132). Barthélemy Dominique Jacques Amand, marquis de Castelbajac (1787–1864), maréchal de camp, served as French envoy to Russia 1844–1854.

2 Public Record Office, *F.O.* 65/445/145. On 12th February, Seymour sent Clarendon a copy of the address presented to Nicholas (*F.O.*65/445/147).

3 Maria Nikolaevna (b. 1819), eldest daughter of Nicholas I, married Maximilian, 2nd duke of Leuchtenberg (1817–1852).

courier ahead of them to arrange for fresh horses at each stage. The Friends agreed to stay.[1]

On Sunday Nicolay called again. The Emperor wanted to give the Friends a "little present in token of his satisfaction" with their visit. The gift was declined. The deputation felt that accepting a gift of any sort would weaken their moral influence in England.[2]

The Emperor's written reply was delivered to the deputation on Monday, 13th February. In French, signed by Nesselrode, it was essentially a re-statement of Nicholas's verbal reply of 10th February.[3]

Until noon on Tuesday, 14th February, the three Quakers had been treated not only with politeness, but with great warmth and friendliness by all of the Russians with whom they had come into contact. That changed when they called on the Duchess of Leuchtenberg. There they were received with mere formal courtesy and all three were struck by the chilly atmosphere. The explanation for this development, as given by Charleton, was that "the arrival of news from England, with the tone of the debates in Parliament" had offended the Russians.[4] Henry Richard paraphrases Charleton's letter and makes, quite possibly as the result of a later conversation with Sturge, a conjecture into a certainty:

> "We called," says Mr. Charleton, "at the palace of the Grand Duchess as proposed. But here our reception was very different from what it had been a few days before at the Imperial Palace. Instead of the earnest and cordial manner of the Emperor and Empress, the Grand Duchess received us with merely formal politeness. Her sorrowful air and the depressed look of the gentleman in waiting, made it evident that a great change had come over the whole aspect of affairs. Nor were we at a loss to account for this change. *The mail from England had arrived*, with newspapers giving an account of the opening of parliament and of the intensely warlike speeches in the House of Commons."[5]

Since this conjectural interpretation of the events of 14th

1 Charleton's letter of 11th February, 1854, in Anne Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, pp. 80–81.

2 Charleton's letter of 13th February, 1854; *ibid.*, p. 81.

3 For the written reply, see above, p. 80, n. 3.

4 Charleton's letter of 16th February, 1854, in Anne Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, p. 83.

5 H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 480. The emphasis is Richard's.

February has been accepted and echoed by all of those who have since written about the incident at the Duchess's palace,[1] I have thought it worthwhile to investigate whether or not what the deputation thought was happening was in fact what actually happened. My conclusion is that they were very right in assuming that something was troubling the Russians, but that they were understandably mistaken as to the cause of the anxiety.

Dispatches in the Public Record Office show that a courier could make the winter trip between London and St. Petersburg, depending upon the weather, in somewhere between seven and ten days. In 1854, Parliament opened on 31st January, and had the Emperor wanted news of the speeches there, he could have had them in hand at least a day or two before he met the deputation on 10th February. And if he had been disposed to, he could have shown his displeasure at that meeting, instead of receiving the deputation so warmly. But the Emperor and his court were not waiting for news of Parliament. They were much more concerned with Clarendon's reply to the demand for "*juste réciprocité*", a hard diplomatic fact that would leave no more room for compromise, should it not be an answer to Brunnow's liking. That reply and news of Brunnow's subsequent action reached St. Petersburg on Monday, 13th February. On that day, at twenty minutes before two o'clock, Hamilton Seymour was informed by Nesselrode that diplomatic relations between England and Russia had been suspended.[2] The deputation would know nothing of this, but by noon on Tuesday the Emperor's daughter would. The Friends were fortunate that their reception was at least polite, for it must have been this news that caused the chilly reaction of the Duchess of Leuchtenberg.

Whereas the journey to St. Petersburg took thirteen days, the return trip, begun immediately after the encounter with the Duchess and sped along by the Russian courier, took only nine. The deputation arrived back in London on

[1] A brief history of this interpretation, in order of publication: Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (1864), p. 480; Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton* (1876), p. 83; Pease, *Henry Pease* (1897), p. 63; Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge* (1919), p. 147; Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (1921), II, p. 726; Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (1923), p. 258; Scott, *Quakers in Russia* (1964), p. 110.

[2] Public Record Office, *F.O.* 65/445/156.

Thursday evening, 23rd February. On Friday they paid a call to Lord Aberdeen and on Saturday reported to the Meeting for Sufferings. Saturday evening, after an absence of five weeks, the three went their separate ways, Sturge to Birmingham, Pease to Darlington and Charleton to Bristol.[1]

Postscript

There are two matters of interest connected with the deputation which would not fit well into the narrative.

(I) A. W. Kinglake

The first concerns the allegations made by A. W. Kinglake with regards to Nicholas's attitude towards the Quakers. When Henry Richard published his *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* in 1864, he noted that "Mr. Kinglake insinuates in his last volumes and promises to prove in his next" that the Emperor's warm feeling for the deputation "became afterwards changed into a frenzy of anger against the Friends for having deceived him". Richard announces that he will be looking for proof of Kinglake's charges, something better than "imaginary conversations" invented to substantiate a point.[2]

What were Kinglake's original insinuations, what were his later allegations and do any of them hold water?

The first two volumes of *The Invasion of the Crimea* were published in 1863. It is in Volume I that the "insinuation" to which Richard must be referring occurs. Giving a very brief and fanciful account of the meeting between the deputation and the Emperor, Kinglake makes the comment that "a little later and the Czar would have stamped in fury and driven from his sight any hapless aide-de-camp who had come to him with a story about a deputation from the English Peace Party". An appended note promises that "the scene of violence here prospectively alluded to will be mentioned in a later volume . . . "[3]

It is not until 1868 that Volume IV and the promised scene of violence are published. Richard's suspicions are

[1] The return is described by Charleton in Anna Fox, *Memoir of Robert Charleton*, pp. 82–88; an account of the Meeting for Sufferings to which the deputation reported is found in the *Minutes*, Vol. XLVI, p. 391.

[2] p. 482n.

[3] pp. 402–403.

justified: the scene is pure fantasy. Kinglake pictures the Emperor taking to his bed after the Russian defeat at the battle of the Alma. Railing at his comforters, he shouts:

> You are the men, you are the very men, who brought me to this —who brought me into this war by talking to me of the power of the English "peace party". Yes; you are the men, the very men, who persuaded me that the English would trade and not fight. Leave me! Leave me![1]

Kinglake's assertion is that the Emperor, having been misled by his advisers, believed that the peace party (which, in Kinglake's first volume was represented by the Quaker deputation) spoke for the majority in England. Believing that with the peace party in the ascendant there would be no war, Nicholas failed to take the proper military precautions and had paid the price by suffering a disastrous defeat. This accounts for the hypothetical scene of rage wherein he drives out the aide who would present the deputation.

In other words, Nicholas only admitted Sturge, Pease and Charleton because he was convinced that they represented the strongest party in England. When he discovered they did not, he was outraged. Several facts refute these conjectures.

First, the Russians knew what sort of men Quakers were, what values they held and in what esteem (or lack of it) they were held by their more war-like countrymen. At their first meeting, Nesselrode and the deputation discussed such mutual acquaintances as William Allen, Thomas Shillitoe and Daniel Wheeler—all Quakers and all well known to the imperial family.

Second, the deputation personally made disclaimers concerning their political power, enough to convince even those who might not already know how small a segment of opinion they represented.

Third, the government in St. Petersburg was aware that the Friends' deputation had no official sanction, through the newspapers mentioned by Gellibrand and in view of the fact that they did not work through diplomatic channels in order to contact the Russian authorities.

Finally, the Russians knew, from official dispatches and from the newspapers that it was the war party, not the peace party that was in the ascendant in England.

[1] pp. 45–46.

Further refutation of Kinglake's point comes from two sources. Henry Richard knew of Quakers who had met the Empress after the death of Nicholas. During these meetings, she referred favourably to the deputation, something she would not have done had the Emperor, whom she idolized, flown into a rage at the memory of being hoodwinked by them.[1] And Stephen Hobhouse quotes a personal remembrance of Prince Nicholas Galitzine in support of the fact that the Emperor never ceased thinking warmly of the three Friends.[2]

(II) John Bright

One final matter needs dealing with. It seemed to me, as I looked through the documents relating to the deputation, that John Bright would have had something encouraging to say about it. He was himself a Quaker, he corresponded regularly with Joseph Sturge and it is his name, moreover, which comes most readily to mind when we think of those who actively opposed the Crimean war. But I could discover no word of Bright's on the subject. Not only does he not offer support for the mission, he seems to be blackly pessimistic about the cause of peace in general.

The letters of John Bright to his wife, which are in the Library of University College, London, are the best guide to Bright's sentiments at this time. Because they have not, to my knowledge, appeared in print, and because they present the intriguing picture of a man feeling one way, yet controlling his feelings in order to act in a different, more positive way, I present the following extracts.

> Feb. 19, 1853: "Cobden and I are going today to dine with S[amuel] Gurney to talk over *peace* matters—tho' I don't see much use in it."
> Sept. 29, 1853: "I don't like the Peace Conference at all—don't feel as if I could make a speech to any good—I think I am hardly used by it."
> Oct. 3, 1853: "The Peace people are very urgent—and really I am in no mode for making a speech if I get to Edinburgh! What a nuisance it is to be a 'public man' and to be expected to be able always to make good speeches."

John Bright did in fact attend the Peace Congress in

[1] H. Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge*, p. 482n.
[2] S. Hobhouse, *Joseph Sturge*, p. 148, n. 2.

Edinburgh (the last in that series of Congresses which began in 1848) and he made what was considered a very good speech indeed. Still, in spite of his public valour, his private depression continued. His most pessimistic statement of all came on 18th February, 1854, five weeks before Great Britain declared war on Russia. He wrote to his wife concerning Lord John Russell's culpability in "dragging the country into this miserable and wicked war". He wrote:

> I am so distressed at the immorality of government and people on this question that, could I justify such a step to the world, I would retire from public life. I feel I must either allow myself to grow into indifference, or else sustain an injury to my temper from the disgust with which I am filled.

John Bright became the war's most eloquent opponent; and at Yearly Meeting in 1854, he went on record in support of the deputation to Nicholas.[1] Joseph Sturge and his friends badly needed support at the time of their journey and it was unfortunate that the foremost Quaker pacifist of the day was unable to offer it to them.

STEPHEN FRICK

The author wishes to thank Edward H. Milligan, Librarian at Friends House, for his valuable criticism of the draft article.

1 *The Friend*, XII (1854), 110.

Membership Statistics of the Society of Friends, 1800-1850

THESE notes were originally intended to be part of a survey of disownments by the Society in the first half of the nineteenth century which may still materialize one day. The figures quoted are drawn entirely from the J. S. Rowntree papers in the Library at Friends House (by permission of the Librarian), but the duplication of the figures for Warwickshire and Witham in the Hodgkin papers in the Durham County Record Office shows that John Pease had a similar interest and one may suspect that more statistics must exist in family papers of the period. Rowntree gathered these figures for use in writing his *Quakerism, Past and Present* but published only the conclusions he drew. He had considered the lack of adequate information about membership a partial cause of the Society's problems in the mid-nineteenth century (see *Quakerism, Past and Present*, pp. 135–136). The figures he did not publish, however, seem to fill some gaps in our impression of the period.

The total membership of the Society in the period was as follows:

1800	19,800	The first four figures are estimates made by Rowntree, based mainly on the record of births, deaths and marriages kept until 1837.
1810	18,920	
1820	18,040	
1830	17,160	
1840	16,277	An enumeration of members.
1847	15,345	An enumeration of members.
1851	14,364	Government Census of 1851, numbers attending meeting.

These figures help to place those quoted below for specific meetings in the national perspective. It should be noted that in most cases there are no explanatory notes with Rowntree's figures and therefore significant local factors may have been overlooked.

There is a great contrast visible between the number of new members by marriage (Table 2 below) and the number of disownments on grounds of marriage (see Table 1). This might be more instructive if the balance between the sexes

Table 1. Membership of monthly meetings

Meeting	No. of members		Resignations	Disownments		Marriages according to rule
	1801	1851		Marriage	Other causes	
Brighouse (note 1)	—	820	—	163	112	299
Bristol	—	—	64 (note 2)	97	196	264
Devonshire House (note 3)	—	—	26	120	133	166
Frenchay	166	80	7	12	24	—
Gloucester	84	112	19	18	27	—
Marsden	—	—	—	118	59	125
Pontefract (note 4)	—	430	12	68	79	159
Warwickshire North (note 5)	—	—	—	84	86	155
Wiltshire	122	48	5	14	9	—
Witham	—	—	4	26	50	68
York	—	302 (note 6)	19	26	34	—

Notes. Figures are not available where blanks are shown. The composition of the monthly meetings is not necessarily the same throughout the period, e.g. Warwickshire North gained two meetings by transfer from Worcestershire Monthly Meeting in 1819, and united with Warwickshire Middle Monthly Meeting in 1837.

1. Period 1800–1854.
2. Rowntree's correspondent in Bristol, Joseph Davis, who supplied the figure stated that resignations had no connection whatever with marriage questions (J. S. Rowntree papers 4/19 and other figures for Bristol in 4/18 and 5/41). His figures for 1830–1852 show 586 members in 1830, 440 in 1852, 77 resignations and 89 disownments.
3. Period 1800–1853.
4. Period 1800–1845.
5. Period 1800–1850.
6. Average number of members 1837–1854.

Table 2. Admissions, removals and deaths
(for the same periods as Table 1)

Meeting	Admissions				Removals		Deaths
	Births	Marriage to a member	Reinstatement	By convincement	Gains	Losses	
Brighouse	229 admissions, all reasons.						
Bristol (see note)	246*	—	13	59	502*	518*	258*
Devonshire House	84 admissions, all reasons.						
Frenchay	127	13	38 with convincements		346	415	129
Gloucester	144	11	34 with convincements		347	294	141
Pontefract	414	—	20	103	—	—	415
Warwickshire North	45 admissions, all reasons.						
Wiltshire	84	10	20 with convincements		139	196	95
Witham	387	—	9	20	—	—	203

Note. Items marked * are for 1830–1852 only but are included because of their size.

was known, the impression is that the majority of those disowned for marrying out were male but in three meetings it was as follows in our period:

Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting	Men 50	Women 34.
Marsden Monthly Meeting	Men 62	Women 56.
Pontefract Monthly Meeting	Men 31	Women 37.

The turnover of membership in those meetings for which the figures are comprehensive seems very high in relation to their total membership shown in Table 1. It may be that the mobility of Friends was greater than average in the west of England but in the absence of other figures at present no answer can be advanced. Although marriage was usually the most significant numerical factor in a meeting's list of disownments the variety of other reasons for which Friends were disowned is considerable and of interest as an illustration of some of the attitudes and temptations of Friends in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Table 3. Disownments for reasons other than marriage
(for the same periods as Table 1)

Meeting	Bristol	Devonshire House	Marsden	Pontefract	Witham	Warwickshire North	York
REASON							
Non-attendance	—	48	17	—	3	24	4
Doctrine	—	—	—	Nil	—	—	—
Differences	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Immorality	35	54	14	50	16	11	13
Fraud (note 1)	—	—	2	—	—	5	1
Excessive drinking	—	—	—	—	5	1	—
Insolvency (failure)	78	31	25	12	16	26	13
Enlistment	—	—	1	—	—	7	Nil
Paying tithes	—	—	—	—	1	4	—
Miscellaneous	79 (note 2)	—	—	17	9 (note 3)	8	3
Total	196	133	59	79	50	86	34
Marriage figures from Table 1	97	120	118	68	26	84	26

Notes. The appearance of "nil" against a category on the manuscript return suggests that the compiler anticipated a disownment on this account.

1. Includes heading "Stealing and Dishonesty".
2. This figure includes some resignations?
3. One of these disownments was for "stabbing his master".

The figures presented in the above tables cover a geographically representative group of meetings (this is accidental) with a membership that could have amounted to 20 per cent of the Society's total. They have been drawn entirely from one source and local records which could fill in the blanks probably exist; for example, a detailed study of minute books of the period would be able to provide material for further statistical consideration of disownments. It is hoped that they will be of general interest as background to diaries and biographies of the period, and throw some light on an aspect of Quaker history concerning which very little has been published.

DAVID J. HALL

Early Friends' Testimony against Carnal Weapons

IT has become fashionable of recent years to assert that the earliest Friends were not pacifists. Various utterances by seventeenth-century leaders can be cited, tending to indicate that in their view warlike acts by a civil authority might, under certain circumstances, be justified, or even laudable. Against these can be set some quite positive statements, such as the famous 1661 Declaration, totally condemning war. The modern reader may thus be left with the impression that early Friends had no consistent testimony in the matter at all.

The discussion has always seemed to me to be somewhat misconceived. Pacifism as such is a modern conception: it is in essence the belief that anything is better than war, a proposition which under modern conditions it is increasingly difficult to dispute. But 300 years ago conditions were not the same. War might then, not unreasonably, be regarded by some as, in itself, a lesser evil than certain other things, for example, the dominance of the Roman Catholic church. Under these circumstances the basis for what we should consider an absolute pacifist philosophy did not exist.

But this is not to say that early Friends had no consistent *personal* testimony in the matter. On the contrary, as with other matters, their testimony was all the more impressive because it was based, not on *a priori* reasoning, but on a spiritual compulsion arising out of their conception of the purpose of God, and the impact of this on their lives. They had been brought, they said, into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were. Therefore, and thenceforth, their weapons were to be not carnal but spiritual, and this meant that war and warlike preparations were not for them, and they were proscribed from taking any part in them. This was their testimony to the whole world.

It is sometimes supposed that this non-participation in war and preparations for war did not in fact amount to very much, in the conditions of the seventeenth century, except under quite abnormal circumstances, such as in Barbados.

But this also is a misconception. It is true that the volume of suffering for this cause, in England, is not to be compared with the suffering on account of the refusal to pay tithes, or to take the oath of allegiance, the two other special testimonies that brought early Friends particularly into conflict with the law. In his summary of the causes of Friends' suffering, Besse[1] puts right at the end of his list: "Their testimony against wars and fighting." But nevertheless the actual number of cases recorded by Besse is quite large, and these, as we shall see, can only have been samples. Before we turn to them it will be convenient to recall just what were the statutory provisions under which the seventeenth century sufferings arose. These were in connection with the raising of the militia.

The Militia Acts

Something like a militia, that is, a non-professional army recruited locally for temporary training or service, had existed in England for centuries, raised under what was first called the commission of array, and later the commission of lieutenancy. The name "militia" had come into use to describe similar recruitments during the Civil War, but it was only after the Restoration that the force was regularly raised, under statutory authority, the regulation of it being made the prerogative of the Crown.

Detailed rules governing the raising of the militia, or, as it was sometimes called, the trained bands, were laid down in two Acts of the first years of the Restoration.[2] The procedure was that the King appointed a lieutenant in each county (a relic of the old lieutenancy) and empowered him to require all but the smallest property-owners to contribute to the cost of providing soldiers, and equipment, for training periods of a few days at a time. The Acts laid down in detail what the pay of the soldiers should be, and what were to be their arms and equipment; these included the embellishments, like drums and banners, which are referred to in the Quaker records under the term "trophy money".

A precise assessment, graded according to means, was

[1] *Sufferings*, I, p. 2.

[2] 13–14 Car. II, cap. iii, and 15 Car. II, cap. iv. See D. Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, Chapter VII, "The Fighting Services", and *Encyclopaedia of the Laws of England*, 1908, ed. s.v. Militia.

made on each property-owner, and some of these were very small: for instance, in the Cornish cases, to be referred to later, whereas Loveday Hambly was ordered "to provide and send forth two arms in the trained bands", the demand on John Tregelles was limited to "the eighth part of an arms". In the Kent records of sufferings also, some odd fractions occur. The amounts assessed, in default of payment, were made recoverable by distraint.

Under the old commission of array power was given, or assumed, to "elect", that is, impress, men into service; but under the Militia Acts no such power existed prior to the Act of 1757, when a system of balloting was introduced.[1] Until then the property-owner summoned to serve had always the alternative of paying a fixed rate per day, in discharge of his obligations. It is true that in the Quaker records there are references to distresses "for refusing to bear arms". But this appears to be, strictly speaking, incorrect, and the reason for the penalty is more usually, and more accurately, given as "for refusing to bear arms or to contribute to the charge of the county militia", or in some such phrase as "for refusing to defray the charges of the militia" alone.

Among the cases cited by Besse there are a few where the defaulters suffered imprisonment, for varying terms, but this seems to have been quite exceptional: imprisonment did not produce the contribution that was the object of the exercise, and far the more normal procedure was recovery by way of distraint. In one at least of Besse's prison cases, that of Richard Snead of Bristol,[2] the imprisonment, though resulting from a refusal under the Militia Acts, was actually occasioned by the justices tendering the Oath of Allegiance to him when he appeared before them, a device often adopted by a malevolent Bench.

How Many Cases of Suffering Were There?

The instances given by Besse, though coming from many parts of the country, and widely dispersed also in point of date, seem clearly to be samples only; though in the case of

[1] Under this and subsequent Acts, Quakers were specifically exempted from service. As, however, they were distrained on for equivalent monetary contributions, as before, there was little difference in their position, though it was a satisfaction to them to have their conscientious scruples recognized by statute.

[2] Besse, i, p. 53.

London, where there is a record of 72 distresses during the years 1679 to 1687, he may have incorporated a more comprehensive list. But in Kent, where he records only six instances in all, a search by Margaret Hirst[1] in the Quarterly Meeting Minute Books disclosed a large number more, of which there is no hint in Besse. Similarly, he only records six examples in Cornwall (all in 1688), whereas the "Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall, 1655–1686", published in 1928 as a *Journal* supplement, shows that there were many others. It seems reasonable therefore to conclude that the total volume of suffering was very considerable. The fact that it nearly always took the form of distraint, and that therefore the chief hardship, though an irksome one, lay in the frequent loss of goods to an amount out of all proportion to the amount of the charge, meant that there was little of a spectacularly oppressive nature to which Friends could direct the attention of sympathizers. Local opinion would indeed in most cases approve the distraints, on the basis that without them an additional charge would have to be met by others. There was no question of Friends being plundered by rascally informers, as under the Second Conventicle Act, or of languishing for years in prison for failure to pay tithes, or to take an unnecessary oath of allegiance.

Consequently, Friends were inclined to make comparatively little of this particular class of suffering; and there seems to have been some doubt at one stage whether the cases were worth including at all in the returns from the counties, although this was, eventually, done. But there is no doubt that all Friends were expected to maintain the testimony against "carnal weapons" as faithfully, and in the same way, as the testimonies against tithes and against the taking of oaths. Perhaps this is shown most clearly in two passages in *The First Publishers of Truth* (1907), that collection of early Quaker records which are particularly revealing because they convey the outlook, not of the Society's leaders, but of the ordinary members of the local communities of Friends.

In writing of Richard Robinson of Countersett, the record[2] states:

[1] *The Quakers in Peace and War*, 1923, p. 75.

[2] p. 314. He is to be distinguished from Richard Robinson of Brigflatts, as has not always been done.

> "He likewise bare a faithful testimony against the payment of tithes, and bearing or finding a man to the militia, for he was all along charged with finding a man, but always kept very clear and never after his convincement would pay anything directly or indirectly, but suffered for the same by fines and distresses, frequently encouraging other Friends to stand faithful in their testimony for truth."

And, on the other hand, with reference to Thomas Ayrey of Grayrigg it is said:[2]

> "Could suffer nothing for truth, for when like to suffer for keeping Christ's command in not swearing, he truckled under, and took an oath; when like to suffer for truth's testimony against fighting and bearing outward arms, he consented to take the arms."

These records express exactly the attitude of Friends towards this testimony: it was one of the testimonies that all Friends, just because they had accepted the duties and privileges of Friends, ought to bear witness to. They must not pay tithes; they must not take oaths; and they must have nothing to do with the weapons of carnal warfare.

And if, in the course of history, we have come to feel that our testimony against war is of supreme significance, and the other two testimonies are of comparatively little importance, this does not mean we are justified in criticizing those who, under the circumstances of the seventeenth century, regarded them as all of equal value. Still less are we justified in suggesting that this distinctive personal testimony of Friends was not, from the very early days of the Society, consistently and faithfully carried out.

ALFRED W. BRAITHWAITE

[2] p. 266. This was the Friend who in 1654 abandoned his companion John Audland in the middle of their mission to the South-West, "like another Mark" (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 158).

"Our Faithful Testimony"

The Society of Friends and Tithe Payments, 1690-1730

I

THE Society of Friends was the largest and most influential sect which consistently expressed a philosophical objection to the payment of tithes either to ministers of the Church of England or to lay owners. From the foundations of the organization, through to the debates on the Tithe Commutation Act (1836) and beyond, the Friends' arguments were the same. Compulsory maintenance of a Christian ministry contradicted Christ's command: "Freely ye have received: freely give." The Yearly Meeting of 1832 elaborated this maxim as fully as any earlier meeting. In issuing a "Brief Statement why the Religious Society of Friends Object to the Payment of Tithes", it emphasized that Christ taught:

> That the ministry of the Gospel is to be without pecuniary remuneration. As the gift is free, the exercise of it is to be free also . . . The forced maintenance of the ministers is in our view a violation of the great privileges which God, in his wisdom and goodness, bestowed on the human race.[1]

Further, the provision for Christian ministers in the form of tithes, not originating in Christ's teaching, must have been introduced—

> as superstition and apostacy spread over professing Christendom, and was subsequently enforced by legal authority.

The statement then went on to elaborate the sufferings which Quakers had undergone in defence of their refusal to comply with the laws respecting tithe payment.

It was generally believed that at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries especially, a great majority of Quakers were undergoing severe persecution for their religious beliefs. Gough, for example, states that:

[1] Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, 1832, Vol. XXIV, pp. 136–152, at Friends House, London.

> The distresses and prosecutions for ecclesiastical demands were numerous and many of them exorbitant . . . the rigorous enforcing of the ecclesiastical laws was rarely or never suppressed . . . The number of those plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of those who laid down their lives in prison in consequence of these prosecutions is too large to recite particularly.[1]

Alfred W. Braithwaite has analysed the legal remedies available to the tithe-owner in recovering his dues from Friends or others.[2] Norman Hunt has supplied a much needed corrective to Gough's views when he argued that many, perhaps a majority of Quakers suffered little or no persecution or prosecution as a result of their refusal to pay tithes.[3]

It is the purpose of this article firstly to examine a little further than Dr. Hunt permitted himself the extent of Quaker compliance in the payment of their tithes and the extent of their persecutions; and secondly, to examine the activities of the Meeting for Sufferings, that rich and still largely untapped mine of Quaker social history, on behalf of Friends who were suffering from the rigour of the law at a time when prosecutions reached their highest point.

It should be noted that much of the evidence which follows is taken from Staffordshire. Further research on the Quaker attitude to tithe payment would certainly be welcome and it is possible that the evidence from other counties would not support some of the conclusions which follow. This paper can at this stage report no more than the conclusions of an interim study. The present writer hopes that others may attempt similar studies in other areas. Only from a number of local studies will the national picture become clearer. Any conclusions at this stage must be tentative—if not presumptuous.

II

In the first place it is clear that there were Quakers who regularly and continuously paid tithes. Possibly few Friends

[1] J. Gough, *A History of the People called Quakers* (4 Vols., 1789–1790), Vol. II, pp. 414–15. See also: W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1879–1880), Vol. I, pp. 260–261, and N. C. Hunt, *Two Early Political Associations* (1961), p. 64, note 2.

[2] A. W. Braithwaite, "Early tithe prosecutions", *J.F.H.S.*, XLIX (1960), 148–156.

[3] N. C. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–72.

gave notice in due form to the tithe owner that the harvest was due and that he should come to collect his tenth. This was the classical manner in which tithes were supposed to be paid; but by the end of the seventeenth century such a form had become the exception rather than the rule even among the community at large, and there were many alternatives open to Friends to connive at payment of their dues. One obvious way was to rent a farm from a landowner who also owned the tithes, thus paying rent and tithe together in a lump sum. The Yearly Meeting, which by its frequent references to concern about payment of tithes clearly indicated the extent of the problem, warned quarterly and monthly meetings in 1693:

> Not to let fall their Testimony agst. Tythes by Agreeing with Landlords in taking of their farmes or Houses Tythe free, by paying on that Acct. more Rent or any indirect way, or by neglecting to bring in an Account when but little is taken.[1]

The Epistle of the Yearly Meeting of 1698 found it necessary to repeat the warning that the testimony:

> May not be avoided and shunned by any indirect ways or courses with landlords, or otherwise.[2]

One of the most convenient "indirect ways" which could be employed was for a neighbour to ease a Friend's conscience by paying his tithe for him at the same time as his own, in return for a suitable consideration. In some cases the tenth sheaf of corn was removed by a neighbour and given to the tithe collector when he paid his own tithe. The Rev. J. C. Atkinson (1814–1900), Rector of Danby for more than fifty years, remembered the assistance given to Friends in his parish:

> Dear old William and his co-religionists never paid a penny of the "cess" [rate] they were liable for. But somehow or other, when the churchwardens went their collecting rounds, a sheaf or two of corn, of an approximate value to the sum set down against their names, stood handy to the said churchwardens' hands, and no inquiry was ever made as to the person who had "conveyed" the Quakers' corn.[3]

[1] M.Y.M., 5.iv.1693, Vol. I, p. 339.
[2] *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends* (1858), Vol. I, p. 91; 1698.
[3] J. C. Atkinson: *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish . . . Danby in Cleveland* (1923), p. 224. (For William Hartas (1784–1864) see George Baker, *Unhistoric acts* [1906], and pp. 166–168 in particular [Ed.].)

None the less, such activities were just as much breaches of the "faithful testimony". The Yearly Meeting of 1702 thought it necessary to remark:

> In many places Advantages are taken upon Friends by making stoppages upon them in way of trade or by Debtors or otherwise or by kindred or Neighbours laying down the money for Tythes or Church Rates . . . and that this way of proceeding Grows & Increases upon Friends in many places.[1]

In many cases, neighbours were not slow to come to the help of Friends whom they considered to have been unjustly treated by a tithe owner. A rector or impropriator trying to obtain payment through a court of law might find it difficult to obtain material witnesses to give evidence for him. The Meeting for Sufferings in 1696 learned of many prosecutions in Lincolnshire against Friends in which neighbours refused to give evidence against them.[2] Richard Simpson of Keele (Staffordshire) found his neighbours similarly helpful. The Book of Sufferings for 1690 noted:

> Thomas Worthers, Priest of Keel aforesd. demanded of . . . Richard Symson five shillings and 3d. for small Tithes, and upon his conscientious Refusall to pay it ye sd. Priest comenced a Suit against him, but some of ye Neighbours Compassionating the poor Man's Case, as ye said Richard was Receiving money at ye Market for Goods Sold, rather than he should goe to prison upon a Surprisall, took of ye money to pay ye Priest and satisfie ye Law to ye Value of one pound fourteen shillings.[3]

William Williams, the vicar of Rye (Sussex) found an even more startling mode of community sanction against his attempt to impose tithe of fish in 1697 on a local Quaker, William Oake. With a warrant from the local Justices of the Peace, parish constables took from Oake's house in lieu of the tithe:

> 46 lb. of new Pewter wch. cost him 10d. per lb. and also a new Table which cost him 10s. in all 48s. 8d. for about 16s. 3d. demanded of wch. 4s. 1½d. was but the Priests pretended due.

The neighbours frustrated the vicar's attempt, because, as the report continued:

1 M.Y.M., 19.iii.1702, Vol. III, p. 69.
2 Minutes of the Meetings for Sufferings (Friends House), Vol. XI, p. 59.
3 Book of Sufferings, Friends House Library, 1690. Vol. VII, Staffs.

> The Country people Refused to buy any of the sd. Goods, giving out they were stoln.[1]

Most Quakers, however, despite the possibility of such assistance, refused to risk the prospect of legal proceedings. The Minutes of the Yearly Meetings are full of doleful reports from the various county representatives that Friends preferred meek compliance to the rigours of the law. The following, from Staffordshire in 1718, may be taken as typical:

> We ought to acknowledge . . . some few of those whose understandings are not so clearly convinced as might be wished of the unlawfulness of paying Tythes, especially those called Impropriate.[2]

By 1728 a combination of continued backsliding together with the need to amass suitably horrifying evidence in the long campaign to exempt Friends from all but summary jurisdiction for non-payment of tithe,[3] caused the whole problem to be thrashed out at length by the Meeting for Sufferings. Learning that: "some under our profession in ye Countyes declare themselves not convinced in Jugdmt. as to non-paymt. of them" the Meeting set up a committee to inspect all books and treatises published on the subject of tithes and to:

> reprint such passages as appear most strong and Pertinent to ye Poynt . . . adding such advice from themselves as they may think necessary for ye Enforceing ye Reasons and Arguements therein contained for ye support of this our said Christian testimony.[4]

One aspect of Quaker tithe payment in these years which has been little remarked upon is the frequency with which incumbents and impropriators took the tithe in kind from Friends without being asked, and without any warrant. Technically this was illegal, as the tithe owner had to be notified of the crop's readiness before being allowed to take his tenth. If he entered a man's field before being told that the crop was ready, then he was guilty of trespass and could be

[1] M.M.S. 17.xi. 1696/7, Vol. XI, p. 125. No further information is forthcoming on this case.
[2] M.Y.M., Vol. V, p. 327.
[3] For which, see N. C. Hunt, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, *passim*.
[4] M.M.S., 28.iv.1728, Vol. XXIV, pp. 221–222.

prosecuted in the common law courts.[1] Reference to the Books of Sufferings, however, indicates that it was precisely this mode of procedure which was the most common method of tithing Quakers in this period. The Quaker would, of course, not offer physical resistance, as others were likely to do if such a procedure were adopted. Indeed, it may well have been that tithing without permission was in most cases the most satisfactory arrangement for both sides. The Quaker's conscience was salved. He could not be said to have connived at the payment of his tithe. The tithe owner, for his part, would generally prefer a summary means of taking his dues rather than embark on what could be a long and tortuous procedure in the courts, at considerable expense to himself. He could be sure that the Friend would not invoke the law against him, provided that only his tenth were taken. There may, in fact, have been explicit agreements to this effect. At all events the summary mode of proceeding seems to have been the most popular.

An analysis of the sufferings of Staffordshire Friends in the period 1690–1730, for example, reveals that in only 7.2 per cent of cases were official legal proceedings resorted to to obtain payment.[2] In the great majority of cases, therefore, tithes appear to have been taken without process of law.

Table 1.[3]

Dates	Total sufferings	In court	Im-prisoned	By Warrant of J.P.s (after 1696)
1690–1699	89	3	1	2
1700–1709	117	3	2	4
1710–1719	142	0	0	9
1720–1729	142	0	0	11
	490	6	3	26

1 The best guides to the enormous complexities of tithe legislation are still the contemporary legal treatises. See especially R. Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law* (3 vols., 1767) and H. Gwillim, *A Collection of Acts and Records . . . Respecting Tithes* (1801). Useful also are H. Easterby, *A History of the Law of Tithes in England* (1888) and P. W. Millard, *The Law of Tithe Rentcharge* (1938).

2 Books of Sufferings, Staffs (and Worcestershire for some Black Country areas), Vols, 7-17.

3 The number of court cases given in this table differs from that given in the *Brief Account of Many of the Prosecutions of People call'd Quakers* (1736) (Friends House Tract, 145/1). That pamphlet states that 10 cases were begun in Court. The Books of Sufferings do not note the other four and it is impossible to check on where the anonymous author obtained his evidence.

These figures, admittedly, must be treated with caution. The Yearly Meeting often complained that lists of sufferings were not complete, and it may well be that the total number of sufferings should be higher. The over-all trend, however, remains abundantly clear. The sufferings list the name of the individual Friend, where he lived, and the suffering (generally for tithe) sustained. A typical entry is the following from 1690:

> William Silvester. Fradley. Aldestrey Had taken from him for Tithes by Walter Spooner Farmer of Tithes, Wool, Hay and Corn. 7s.[1]

Staffordshire Friends seem throughout to have been scrupulous about the manner in which they entered sufferings. If any legal proceedings were taken, then these were recorded as an integral part of the entry. It seems highly unlikely therefore that more legal actions were undertaken than appears in Table I. As if to emphasize that the prevailing arrangement was not entirely obnoxious to Staffordshire Friends, it is quite common to find a codicil to the suffering, indicating that the tithe owner had not taken more than was his due. After 10 distraints taken from 9 friends in 1694 totalling £15 13s. od. it was noted: "That the Tythes were taken from the aforesd. friends Exceeded not the pretended dues, as near as could be estimated."[2]

This apparently easy accommodation in many places in Staffordshire should not, however, obscure the fact that many Friends in the same county do not appear, from the sufferings records, to have been paying tithe at all, and were not prosecuted or distrained upon. It appears that the Quaker community in Staffordshire was at its strongest at the beginning of the period under study, with about 131 Friends' households in the county. By 1735, this had slumped to around 65, and it continued to decline throughout the rest of the century.[3] A study of the Sufferings books indicates, however, that even in the 1690s when the Friends

[1] B.S., Vol. VII, 1690, Staffs.

[2] B.S., Vol. VII, 1694.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Dennis G. Stuart of the University of Keele for this information, and I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to him also for many other ideas about Staffordshire Friends drawn from his exhaustive knowledge of the area.

were at their most numerous, no more than a dozen names appear in any one year, and the average for the period 1690–1699 is eight. The contrast with the total number of households is very striking.

Three explanations may be offered. In the first place, many Friends were concentrated in the town areas of Leek and Stafford. The tithe of towns, as Christopher Hill has shown for an earlier period tended[1] anyway to be negligible, consisting only of small payments of a penny or two for "Easter Dues", and certain other small money payments in lieu of the tithe of garden produce. If Quakers refused to pay these small dues, as many would, then the tithe owner had to consider whether it was worth while to pursue his claim. In many cases, especially before the Acts of 1696, the answer would definitely be "No". Secondly, many Staffordshire Friends seem to have been occupying tithe-free lands. Indeed, by 1740 one Staffordshire representative to the Yearly Meeting went so far as to argue that "most lands" in the county occupied by Friends were tithe-free.[2] In the earlier period it is very doubtful whether this could have been so. However, for fortunate Friends having tithe-free lands, there could be no crisis of conscience. For Friends occupying titheable land away from the towns, the problem of why no sufferings were recorded is more complex. As has been suggested earlier, some may have paid surreptitiously. Others might have farmed land which produced insufficient titheable goods to make prosecution or distraint feasible, while certain incumbents may genuinely have felt that, where the sums involved were not large, the conscience of the Quaker should be respected. Many vicars wrote that in any case they took in tithe far less than was actually their right, in order to preserve some kind of effective ministry and to avoid constant bickering. There is no reason to regard every eighteenth-century clergyman as avaricious and ready to grasp the last tithe penny. The differing characters of clergymen are essentially unquantifiable factors, but they clearly played their part. All in all, there can be no doubt that many Quakers were able to avoid payment of any tithe without damage either to their conscience or their pocket.

[1] J. E. C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church* (1956), Chapters V and VI, *passim*.

[2] M.Y.M., Vol. VIII, p. 511, 1740.

The two Tithe Acts of 1696[1] provided an easier remedy for recovery of tithes from Friends and others, in the form of summary jurisdiction before two Justices of the Peace. There can be no doubt that, although much Quaker energy between 1696 and 1736 went into the attempt to make this summary procedure the only legal remedy for the tithe owner, in its optional form it did much to alleviate the sufferings of Friends imprisoned for not complying with the requirements of the various Courts:

Table 2. Numbers of Friends Imprisoned on the Order of Common Law, Ecclesiastical or Equity Courts, 1691–1710 (from Yearly Meeting Epistles)

1691: 80	1696: 97	1701: 37	1706: 33
1692: 111	1697: 44	1702: 37	1707: [Not available]
1693: [No figure given]	1698: 34	1703: 43	1708: 27
1694: 132	1699: 37	1704: 31	1709: 16
1695: 134	1700: 40	1705: 27	1710: 12

The dramatic drop in 1696 and 1697 can only be explained by recourse to the provisions of the Acts. Of course, the expenses of the hearing before the Justices had still to be paid for out of the Quaker's goods, but these costs only amounted to a few shillings, instead of the many pounds which could be awarded as costs in courts of law. A typical example of action by distraint is provided from Staffordshire in 1699:

> Robert Heath, late of Teane, had taken from him by vertue of a Justice Warrant, Goods to the value of £1. 0. 0 for 5s. demanded by Nath. Taylor, Priest of [C]heckley for his pretended dues.[2]

Recourse by tithe owners to the Justices seems to have become more common during the early years of the eighteenth century, and the agitation of Friends, leading to the abortive Tithe Bill of 1736, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the 1696 Acts did provide a large measure of relief as they stood. From the passing of these Acts dates the beginning of the decline of the number of imprisonments

[1] 6 & 7 William III, *c.* 6 & 34. The Acts permitted warrants of distraint to be issued by two Justices of the Peace, when claims for tithe did not exceed 40s.

[2] B.S., Vol. IX, Staffs., 1699.

from well over a hundred per year to a mere one, two or three per year by the 1720s and 30s. By the 1730s Quaker stories of long imprisonments and deaths in prison, which litter the pamphlets[1] of the period, are anachronistic by almost a generation.[2]

III

The pendulum must not be allowed to swing too far, however. In the 1690s, prosecution and persecution was frequent enough to be a constant source of worry to the Meeting for Sufferings, as may be seen from the following letter from Worcestershire in 1690, concerning one William Sankey—one of many which tell much the same kind of story:

> That yesterday . . . his old adversary Priest Vernon's Plunderers, to wit John Ashley, his man and two Bayliffs came & took from him for Tythes pretended due to the Priest, nine Cows being all the poor man had, not leaving him one to give milk for his young child, which Cost him abot. Six or Seven and 20/- taken for about seven pounds etc. for a Judgment of 20/-.
>
> Note that the Priest told the friend formerly yt he had as good right to ye tenth as he had to ye ninth & this greedy Priest took 9 Cows for a tenth Cow, the poor Man not having a tenth for him.[3]

In dealing with problems such as these, the Meeting for Sufferings showed itself to be an extraordinarily flexible body, fertile in ideas and manifesting a high degree of administrative competence which was to serve the Quakers well in their long battles concerning the 1736 Tithe Bill. Above all, it worked as a kind of *ad hoc* legal aid society to Friends undergoing prosecution. The constant plea of Yearly Meeting was for full information about the various prosecutions in different courts. In part, this information was used to gain an adequate knowledge of the extent of sufferings, in

1 See, for example, the anonymous *A Brief Account of many of the Prosecutions of the People call'd Quakers* (1736); also *A full answer to the Country Parson's Plea against the Quaker's Tythe Bill* (1736); and the numerous "Remarks" and "Defences" which followed, 1736–1741. The Quaker side to the controversy is represented in entries catalogued in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue*, I, 254–256, under the name of Joseph Besse. The pamphlets are preserved as Friends House Tracts.

2 Figures in support come from the records of numbers of Friends in prison given in the Yearly Meeting Epistles (continuing at 5-yearly intervals the series from Table II above): 1715, 9; 1720, 11; 1725, 1; 1730, nil; 1735, 1.

3 M.M.S., 14.ix.1690, Vol. VII, p. 188.

order to have ammunition ready to throw at those in authority for a change in the law respecting tithe prosecutions. It was also most useful for the Meeting for Sufferings to obtain precise information about the technicalities of prosecution, so that the Meeting might first assimilate the complexities of the law relating to these prosecutions, and then give advice on the best means of defending a case. For such information, the Meeting relied on specially appointed county correspondents who sent up relevant information about the prosecutions taking place in the area of their competence. Prompt and efficient notification was of the essence. Essex Quarterly Meeting was reprimanded in 1713 for delaying the sending up of information about action taken against a local Friend, Samuel Parmenter. The Meeting briefed the Essex correspondents to get Parmenter released from gaol if possible, but they were also told to:

> write to the Quarterly Meeting that they be more carefull for ye future to give timely Notice here of Prosecutions agst. Friends, the above mentioned friend having lain soe long a prisoner and this Meeting not Informed of it.[1]

Armed with prompt knowledge, the Meeting for Sufferings was often able to give more expert legal advice to Friends than was available to any but more affluent laymen, able to purchase the services of an expert attorney. In the first place, the Meeting was able to procure the release from prison of certain Friends, and assist the acquittal of others who by some technicality of the law had been wrongly either cited to court or wrongly proceeded against. The complexities of the law, and the differing procedures in different courts, made this a fairly frequent occurrence. Without access to expert guidance, however, the layman would probably never realize that he had been wrongly proceeded against. Samuel Powell, a Gloucestershire Friend, was imprisoned in 1694 for non-payment of tithes, and the Meeting for Sufferings was informed by the correspondent:

> "It's supposed there be severall Erors in the Warrt. of his Commitmt, and yt. he might obtain his Liberty if pleaded at the Assizes there."[2]

[1] M.M.S., 4.vii.1713, Vol. XXI, p. 87.
[2] M.M.S., 24.vi.1694, Vol. IX, p. 215.

The Meeting duly instructed the county correspondents to: "advise with Counsell in the said friends Case, if they see meet for his Relief." Defendants could also on occasion be released if it could be proved that the tithe-owner had claimed too much as his right, or if, when a legal decision in favour of the tithe-owner were given, those empowered to execute it had exceeded their warrant. As in many other cases, the Meeting for Sufferings was able to draw on its experience of similar cases to advise James Stones a Kent Friend imprisoned in 1691. Stones denied liability to the amount of tithe demanded. The Meeting instructed the Kent correspondent:

> to know whether the Sequestrators have taken as much or more from ye said J.S. than the sequestration was granted for . . . The way to prevent him from making a further distress will be to move the Court by Councell ye beginning of next terme, that ye Sequestrators may give a true Accot. of what they have taken and what's become of it which hath been found an Effectuall Means to stop them in some other Friends Cases.[1]

Many legal problems of a similar nature were submitted to the Meeting for Sufferings. The Meeting generally either advised the Friend, through the county correspondents, the best course open to him, or, on a particularly difficult problem for which the Meeting as yet had no precedent, it would get in touch with a legal expert for his advice. Alternatively, the Meeting would make arrangements to search the legal records themselves. When a Worcestershire Friend was proceeded against in 1691 for not paying a steeple house rate, and arrested by a Writ "De Excommunicato Capiendo", the Meeting, on hearing of the case, ordered: "That a Search may be made in the Crown Office to see whether she be Legally proceeded against."[2]

If it were discovered that proceedings had been taken wrongly, especially if such proceedings resulted in imprisonment, then the wronged person could have redress. The activities of the Meeting for Sufferings and their delegates brought certain cases of wrongful prosecution to light, but the Meeting made it quite clear that they would not countenance any retaliatory legal proceedings. The wronged

[1] M.M.S., 16.xi.1690/1, Vol. VII, p. 209.
[2] M.M.S., 17.v.1691, Vol. VII, p. 260.

Friend should be satisfied with his liberty or an acquittal. When Thomas Hardcastle, who had been wrongly imprisoned in York Castle in 1692–1693, asked the Meeting's advice as to whether he should prosecute the incumbent of his parish for false imprisonment, the Meeting replied that "they are not for such prosecution".[1]

The unexpected legal competence of many Quakers could be a source of great annoyance to a litigious priest. The Cheshire county correspondent related in 1691, that the vicar of Wilmslow, "troubled in his mind" at the release from prison of Jeffery Alcock, upon appeal to the Judge of the Assize, stated:

> "If things go thus, Quakers being prosecuted in the Bps. Court and flung in prison and forthwith Released by the Judges, All the small Tyth will be lost etc." And upon hearing of his discharge [he] talked of shutting up the Church Door, [and] Spoake as if he woud Preach no more.[2]

The vicar of Blyth (Nottinghamshire) in 1694 had had Joseph Sheprees imprisoned for non-payment of tithe, but before legal proceedings were completed, the vicar died. Suitably awed, the county correspondent asked the Meeting:

> Whether Joseph Sheprees ought not to be discharged seeing his Adversarye Priest Turner of Blyth is dead, being strangely struck in his Pulpit as he was preaching & being helped home Lived but a few days. Noate yt, a little before he was thus strucken, he Threatened severall other friends he would proceed agst. them and send them to Prison for his Tythes.[3]

In certain circumstances, the Meeting was willing to defray the expenses of Friends, especially those whose cases were of special value as precedents. The case of William Mote and John Thompson in 1692 was of this description, and the minutes of the Meeting noted:

> Samuel Waldenfield brot. to this Meeting ye Accot. of wht. he Expended in Trying the Case of Will. Mote and Jno. Thompson who were Excommunicated for not repairing the Steeplehouse being eight pounds eleven shillings and four pence. And Samuel Waldenfield being desired by this Meeting to take care therein, that soe their Tryall might be as a President for friends in

1 M.M.S., 26.iii.1693, Vol. VIII, p. 262.
2 M.M.S., 8.iii.1691, Vol. VII, p. 241.
3 M.M.S., 21.vii.1694, Vol. IX, p. 225.

Generall in ye like Case & the whole Charge being about fourteen Pounds, The Friends of this Meeting did consent that the above sum of Eight Pounds Eleven Shillings and Fourpence should be repaid.

John Edge has brought in Councillor Fremaine's opinion in the Cases of Steeplehouse repairs and for not setting out of paying small Tythes, and also Exchq. Process, the charge thereon being 20/-. B. Bealing to pay it, Henry Goldney and put it in his Bill and also to enter the said Councill's Opinion in the Book of Presidents.[1]

Charges might also be defrayed if the Meeting considered that a Friend had had to bear a particularly heavy burden. John Tomkins, who was imprisoned in the Fleet in 1696–1697, after previously being a prisoner in Carlisle Gaol, and kept a long distance from his family, had his charges paid by the Meeting "in consideracon of his Great Sufferings".[2]

From time to time, the Meeting issued general advice to Friends on how to proceed if legal steps were taken against them. In 1709, for example, a general advice went out, together with the usual demand for the fullest information to be passed back to the Meeting for consideration:

> It is proposed that where any friend is Subpoenad into the Exchq. upon accot. of Tythes, that he or some of his friends doe desire his prosecutor to give him an Account in writing how much his demands are for Tythes—and John Field is desired to deliver this minute to ye Yearly Meet., that it may generally be taken Notice of.[3]

In 1720, similar advice was given respecting the ecclesiastical court. Defendants were urged, "Always to appear, and demand a Copy of the Libel, that No opportunity be lost for preventing their being run for an Excommunication".[4]

Useful as these directives were, possibly the most effective work done by the Meeting for Sufferings on behalf of Friends prosecuted for non-payment of tithe, was in the field of lobbying influential parties to secure either release or mitigation of sentence—a technique employed with considerable success in the agitation for the Tithe Bill in the 1730s.[5]

[1] M.M.S., 8.v.1692, Vol. VIII, p. 106. The Book of Precedents is more commonly known as the Book of Cases, 4 vol., Friends House Library.
[2] M.M.S., 19.i.1696/7, Vol. XI, p. 173.
[3] M.M.S., 22.ii.1709, Vol. XIX, p. 221.
[4] M.M.S., 22.ii.1720, vol. XXIII.
[5] See N. C. Hunt, *op. cit.*

When, for example, Robert Southgate was prosecuted in Norfolk, George Whitehead

> spake with the Bp. of the Diocese in the matter, who seemed to be concerned at the severe prosecution and sd. he would write to the Priest abot. it, and let G.W. know wt. he said therein.[1]

Heartened by this success, Whitehead immediately referred two other prosecutions to the attention of the Bishop of Norwich.[2]

The Meeting had tried one step higher in the case of Thomas Pollard, imprisoned in Canterbury Gaol in 1693. Pollard wrote to the Meeting, stating his belief that:

> The terme being over and hearing nothing from the Priest makes him conclude that the Priest will continue him in Prison.[3]

The Meeting referred the matter to William Mead and Theodore Eccleston, directing them to speak with the Archbishop, to try to obtain Pollard's release. There was no immediate response, but a month later two other Kent Friends reported back to the Meeting that they had tried a new line of attack in approaching the Dean or Prebend of Canterbury's sister. Here they were on more fertile, if unorthodox, ground. The good lady:

> Acquainted them she had writt to her Brother and recd. his Answer That he was willing to forgive the friend the Tythes demanded Provided he would pay the Court Charges.[4]

Three weeks later, Pollard himself reported joyfully: "That the priest hath let fall his prosecution against him and yt he is at present at liberty from prison".[5]

The Meeting for Sufferings provided legal expertise and a certain influence for the ordinary Quaker which was not available to many others. It was not universally successful. There were Friends who spent years in prison, and many others who could not escape the clutches of a greedy parson. These, however, were by no means typical. It has been argued in this article that the large majority of Quakers did not, in any

1 M.M.S., 24.xi.1695/6, Vol. X, p. 144.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
3 M.M.S., 9.iv.1693, Vol. VIII, p. 266.
4 M.M.S., 14.v.1693, Vol. IX, p. 7.
5 M.M.S., *ibid.*, p. 13.

case, need to brush with the law for their "faithful testimony" against tithes. Some paid meekly enough. Others contrived to have their payments made for them with no questions asked. More lived in areas where their tithe would be negligible and not worth collecting when even the most meagre resistance was put up. Many, it would appear, suffered the tithe-owner to enter their land and take what was required—an expedient which appears on analysis not to have been abused as much as might have been expected. On balance, community sanctions operated in favour of Friends, who seem to have been mostly popular, and may have deterred the activities of certain tithe-owners. Even when prosecutions were under way there was a chance that the legal knowledge which the Meeting for Sufferings commanded would be too much for an unwary incumbent or impropriator. In any event, the Acts of 1696 made recourse to the more cumbersome machinery of ecclesiastical, common law or equity courts less likely.

By 1730, the worst of the "persecution" was certainly over; and even at its height it was the exception rather than the rule. For most Quakers, the "faithful testimony" required no special privations, even though, as the Epistles of Yearly Meeting pointed out, not a few shirked the responsibility altogether. When persecution did occur, it was more often personality rather than principle that was at stake. A grasping parson and an overtly self-righteous Friend could provoke a crisis. For the majority the techniques of evasion and compromise were well enough advanced to avoid collision. Tithing obligations had become for Friends, as for many other sections of the community, an irritation and a nuisance rather than a real evil. The "faithful testimony" had rapidly lost its worth as a crusading banner.

ERIC J. EVANS

Public Friends Report to London Yearly Meeting on their Missions to America, 1693-1763

ENGLISH and Irish Quaker ministers who visited America during colonial times are generally considered important contributors to the success of Quakerism in America. Rufus M. Jones described their functions as prophetic; upon divine calling they went to pronounce the word of God or "Truth" among those within and without the fold.[1] More recently Frederick B. Tolles has pointed out the role of these so-called "Public Friends" as bearers of culture within the broad framework of the "Atlantic Community".[2]

The number of these ministers, both men and women, is remarkably high, and perhaps the most complete lists are those in the possession of Frederick Tolles and the Friends House Library in London. Although both are composites of pre-existent sources, neither presumes to be definitive. The first list records nearly 150 missions to America between 1655 and 1700, while the one in London cites more than twice as many between 1656 and 1900.[3]

At present, however, our knowledge of these "Publishers of Truth" is scattered and incomplete. Private correspondence and remote records of various meetings throughout England, Ireland, and America have yielded some material, but the printed journals of a relative few of these people, published as devotional literature before the end of last century, have been the most popular and readily available repositories of information.

One important source, hitherto unexplored systematically, is the manuscript minutes of London Yearly Meeting.[4]

1 Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, 1921), I, 227–230.

2 Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960), p. 3.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 28. The English version, in typescript, is a collaborative effort by the librarians at Friends House, London.

4 James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850), 2 vols. Here they are used for illustrative purposes but not examined *per se*.

Between 1693 and 1763 the Meeting received thirty-eight accounts of missions to America, representing the travels of approximately fifty men, some of whom made several trips and reported more than once.

Admittedly, minutes are questionable sources of knowledge. Often they are transcriptions of oral deliveries, liberally edited by various clerks who blur the truth through reliance on precedent established by the sponsoring organization, personal involvement, and varying capacities at taking dictation. To some extent, this argument is applicable to the relevant minutes of the annual meeting of Friends in London. Of all such accounts, about thirteen are almost useless either because of their brevity or their similarity to earlier minutes. Entries like these are usually written in the third person and cite little more than the name of the speaker, the destination of his mission, his safe return, and the Meeting's satisfaction with his endeavour. Others, although slightly longer and more distinctive in content, are also limited in value. Cast in the impersonal voice, they are the products of considerable editing.

By far the most valuable kind of minute, however, is the direct transcription of a written statement, fifteen in all in our period. These were presumably read aloud and later given to the clerk for entry into his book. Their length varies from three to eighteen manuscript pages, and sometimes they cite the signatures of the copyists, thereby indicating some measure of accuracy. Comparison of the actual manuscript reports given to the Yearly Meeting and the clerks' rendering of them shows they were rather careful, at least in this case, to preserve the spoken word.[1]

Considered collectively, however, the contents of this latter type of minute support what is already known about the increase in the number of colonial Friends and their simultaneous spiritual decline, especially during the eighteenth century. As regards growth, Josiah Langdale made this pronouncement before the Yearly Meeting in 1705: "The

[1] Compare a rough-copy MS. in Friends House Library, London, with the London Yearly Meeting Minutes, Volume 6, pp. 233–239; also two of Henry Frankland's in the Library's Portfolio 26.83 and 32.121 with the London Yearly Meeting Minutes, Volume 7, pp. 340–344; also the same for Joseph Gill in Portfolio 2.43 with the Yearly Meeting Minutes, Volume 8, pp. 333–339. Hereafter, these Minutes will be referred to as LYMM.

Lord is Inlargeing his Tents in those wilderness Countrys."[1] Four years later Thomas Chalkley was equally rhetorical in his opening remarks: "Truth prospers in the General, in a blessed manner, the Friends of it are in love and unity one with another." He found enlargement particularly evident in Pennsylvania, where there were thirty established meetings and more than twenty meeting houses, the largest built of brick.[2]

Further evidence of growth is found in the reports of those preachers who gained perspective from successive trips to the colonies; often they were impressed favourably by the results of their former labours. In 1715 James Dickinson reported that during his most recent trip with Thomas Wilson he found "good Effects of their former Travells",[3] and in 1717 Josiah Langdale said the same about the work of his predecessors, especially in Rhode Island and elsewhere in New England.

Expansion beyond this Quaker stronghold and those of Philadelphia and Nantucket into areas like Connecticut and the South is also documented in these minutes. The Puritan control of Connecticut was trying to early Quakers, but in 1700 Aaron Atkinson was able to say he was the first Friend to hold an informal gathering for worship in New London. Although John Richardson found Friends in Connecticut persecuted by fines, he must have had a similar experience to Atkinson. In 1703, referring to the residents of Connecticut colony, he said: "an Entrance is made among them."[4] New meetings in the South were mentioned by Dickinson in 1715 when he told about a place in Virginia where there had been no Friends before. A more precise illustration of Friends' penetration into new areas is in Samuel Bownas' report of 1729. He said:

> I observed it as a great mark of ye Increase of Friends in ye Several Provinces, the Number of our Meeting Houses Builded, where there were none in my former journey; vizt. in New England belonging to Boston Government, The Province of Maine and Rhoad Island Government, 12; In New York 6; In ye Jerseys nine; In Pensilvania 13; In Maryland 4; In Virginia 9; In

1 LYMM, Vol. 3, p. 199.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 65.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 131.
4 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 77.

North Carolina 3; in ye whole 56. And there are about 12 Places more that want meeting-houses to be Built where there are none, and several of ye old ones want to be Enlarged[1].

The corresponding decline in spiritual purity which followed the shift from an agrarian way of life to a more commercial and prosperous one is also noted in approximately ten other reports. Some are strikingly severe. In 1708 John Fothergill and William Armistead spoke of the integrity of Friends in Pennsylvania as well as the presence of potentially dangerous "backsliders", who "sometimes occasion inward sorrow to Friends".[2] Sixteen years later John Appleton told his countrymen that the eastern shore of Virginia exhibited "the greatest apostacy"[3] he ever saw, an observation echoed less strenuously about the same region by Samuel Bownas five years afterwards in 1729. Between 1757 and 1761 four out of six men, including Samuel Fothergill, Christopher Wilson, John Hunt, and John Storer, all lamented the "declension" of faith among believers.

Beside trends in size of membership and spiritual health, the minute-reports of these fifty men reflect the various issues which plagued their Quaker brothers in the New World, and references correspond well to the actual periods when the matters became crucial and receded in importance.

The controversy in the 1690s with George Keith, who asserted the importance of historical Christianity and the Scriptures, continued into the next century. Although Thomas Turner's account in 1705 indicates many former followers of Keith in the Jerseys had turned away from him by then, another by Samuel Bownas two years later describes a disturbance Keith caused at the Yearly Meeting in 1702 in Philadelphia and his own extended imprisonment (1702–1703) after an encounter with Keith on Long Island.[4]

Ranters, those individuals with antinomian and even anarchistic inclinations, were also considered trouble-makers like Keith, especially in New England. Their activities are similarly commented on by several Public Friends. Ranters were particularly strong on Long Island even at the end of

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 103. Punctuation modernized.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 396.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 230.
4 Compare LYMM, Vol. 3, pp. 331–334 with *An Account . . . of Samuel Bownas* (London, 1756), pp. 56–95.

the seventeenth century, a fact substantiated by Aaron Atkinson in 1700, and they continued to make things difficult there for some time according to John Fothergill's remarks in 1708. Ranterism was also the subject of Samuel Bownas' comments in 1707 in which he told his colleagues that Friends in New England were humble but the spirit of Ranters "does greatly Clogg the Wheels and wants more liberty than Truth".[1] The persistence of these emotionally religious people was registered by Joseph Gill in 1737 who found them at New Milford and by Samuel Hopwood in 1745 who encountered them in eastern Connecticut.

Early manifestations of commitment to Indians' welfare by Friends who followed the example of Fox and Penn are present in the narratives of men like John Fothergill, William Armistead and Thomas Chalkley. In 1708 Fothergill and Armistead told how an Indian at Nantucket "said tho he understood not our words yet laying his hand on his Breast, said it did him good there".[2] In a letter read before the Yearly Meeting in 1712, Thomas Chalkley described how an Indian queen told him he was the answer to a dream: transported magically to London she met William Penn who told her he would shortly come to her country to preach to her people. Anticipating the overt hostilities of the French and Indian War, Benjamin Kidd alluded in 1725 to trouble-some Indians at Dover.

While the dates of this study terminate prior to Friends' concentration on the plight of Negroes in America, the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting in London do reveal an early concern. An account by Aaron Atkinson from the beginning of the eighteenth century, tells how Negroes in North Carolina welcomed him with tenderness and broke into tears upon hearing him preach. Sixty years later, John Hunt echoed the remarks of Christopher Wilson and foreshadowed future events when he attributed some of the degeneracy among Friends in Virginia to "the keeping of Negroes and letting fall their Christian Discipline".[3]

Fresh information about Public Friends' itineraries, whereabouts, and duration of mission is readily apparent in the Minutes. This is especially valuable for those who are

1 LYMM, Vol. 3, p. 334.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 394.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 359.

relatively unknown, but it also holds for the group in general.

More than half of the narratives give some indication of the places visited by each individual, and study reveals a general pattern of travel. By far the majority either landed at Philadelphia or one of the smaller ports in the Chesapeake Bay area. Evidently the travellers made special efforts to attend as many quarterly and yearly meetings as possible, sometimes making the one at Philadelphia the beginning or climax of their tours. Often they spent several weeks and months in this stronghold of Quakerism, either working on the faith of believers there or holding "opportunities" in nearby areas. Many of those who landed in Maryland or Virginia had already been to the Caribbean, and they then ventured as far south as South Carolina before turning northward to Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. Long Island was inevitably a stop along the way to the strong colony on Rhode Island. Boston and Nantucket were usually visited, while Sandwich, Scituate, and Dover in Massachusetts and New London, New Haven, and New Milford in Connecticut colony less often. With the exception of Thomas Thompson and Josiah Langdale on their second mission and John Appleton, few began their journeys in New England.

Although it is difficult to determine just how far these men ventured into the frontier because areas are more often referred to than towns, Charleston, in the Carolinas, where Joshua Fielding landed in 1725 and 1729, may well have been the southernmost point and Dover (New Hampshire), near Portsmouth and Kittery (Maine), where Benjamin Kidd preached, the northernmost.[1] The absence of references prevents consideration of a western boundary.

Commenting on the number of Public Friends from England and Ireland in the colonies at one time, Frederick Tolles says that "there was scarcely a time during the second half of the seventeenth century when one or more Friends from the British Isles were not travelling in some part of the American colonial world".[2] In spite of their

[1] In a letter from Charleston dated 2nd Mo. 26th, 1755, Samuel Fothergill told his wife he had been as far south as Georgia, "120 miles further than any Friend hath travelled on religious account". See George Crosfield, *Memoirs of . . . Samuel Fothergill* (New York, 1844), p. 175.

[2] Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, p. 28.

limited representation, the Minutes of London Yearly Meeting suggest, nevertheless, this statement is applicable to the eighteenth century as well. For example, the records show that during the year and a half or so William Piggot was in the colonies, between 1726 and 1727, he met three other ministers, Joshua Fielding, Joseph Taylor and Rowland Wilson. The records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting show Samuel Bownas was there at the same time,[1] making a total of five for one year. Similarly, in 1742, Samuel Hopwood met John Haslam, Edmund Peckover and Michael Lightfoot at Burlington. Here again, at least four ministers were in the colonies at the same time.

Perhaps the most immediately available details provided in these documents are the dates establishing the amount of time the men spent in the colonies. Twelve accounts contain such data, and this is especially helpful in the case of the following nine, for whom information is difficult to find.[2] Though sometimes inconclusive, the dates are as follows:

William Baldwin, Lancashire
  arrived in Virginia 11th 3 mo. [May] 1709
Thomas Thompson, England
Josiah Langdale, England
  left London after Yearly Meeting 1715
  arrived Boston 13 7 mo. [September] 1715
John Appleton, Lincolnshire
  left London 17th 6 mo. [August] 1720
  left America 11th 3 mo. [May] 1723
  arrived in Ireland 5th 5 mo. [July] 1723
William Piggot, London
  left London 2 mo. [April] 1726
  arrived Philadelphia 24th 4 mo. [June] 1726
  arrived at London 10 mo. [December] 1727
Joshua Fielding, London
  left London 8th 9 mo. [November] 1725
  arrived Charleston 25th 12 mo. [February] 1725
  left America 17th 4 mo. [June] 1728
Joseph Gill, Dublin
  left Bristol 7th 3 mo. [May] 1734
  arrived Philadelphia 6th 7 mo. [September] 1734
  left America 1st 9 mo. [November] 1735
  arrived Dublin 22nd 11 mo. [January] 1735

[1] As recorded in Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), p. 542.

[2] For the other three see *A Brief Journal of . . . Thomas Wilson* (Dublin, 1728); *A Journal of . . . James Dickinson* (London, 1745); and *An Account of . . . Samuel Bownas* (London, 1756).

Edmund Peckover, Norfolk
arrived New York 16th 7 mo. [September] 1742
Samuel Hopwood, Cornwall
left England 9th 5 mo. [July] 1741
arrived England 14th 7 mo. [September] 1744

Taken together, then, these manuscript minutes are of significance. In contrast to the frequently studied printed journals of Public Friends, they tend to reflect, all things considered, a greater sense of immediacy; they are vivid records of Fox's belief that religion is a personal experience, in this case as it pertains to divinely appointed individuals whose missions were exemplary, noteworthy, and conducive to further work in the field. The ministers' own awareness of this incentive value is apparent in the comments of Dickinson and Wilson who, in 1693, told those present at the Yearly Meeting how the colonists "have a great need of being visited, and Friends there much desire it".[1] Similarly, the hope of some Indians that more meetings be held among their youth was relayed by Thomas Chalkley in 1712.

The over-all objectivity of the more complete accounts also enhances their usefulness as historical documents. Unfavourable observations and experiences are included along with good news about "Truth's progress" in the colonies. Unaffected by the awesome assemblage at Yearly Meeting, the ministers spoke forcefully, honestly, and sometimes with a sense of humour that usually accompanies a sense of balance and respect for truth. In 1715, for example, Dickinson and Wilson very likely provoked a chuckle when they told how Cotton Mather, trying to establish a ministry on Nantucket, was told there were three things barred from the island: "Lawyers Priests & Wolves."[2] Somewhat less amusing, perhaps, is Samuel Bownas's statement in 1729 that in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania "Professors Flock to meetings, Especially when Strangers are among them".[3]

Clearly, the Yearly Meeting's general approval is implicit in its practice of devoting sometimes a full day at its gatherings to listen to those narratives and to register them in its permanent records. Although it continued to do this over a span of seventy years, its members sometimes were critical.

1 LYMM, Vol. 1, p. 349.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 133.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 96.

In a letter dated 4th 4th mo. [June] 1700 John Tomkins, a representative at the Yearly Meeting that year, wrote his friend Sir John Rodes about it, particularly the report of Aaron Atkinson:

> takeing up time unseasonably in giving a narrative of his travailes, with so much indescretion, as it gave advantage to some, who look not with the best eye towards America. So it greatly grieved his ffrds, and being that discourse took up an hour and a half of the last two hours we had to spend, the hurt both to himself and the meeting could not be recovered.[1]

More indirect evidence of disfavour is found in the increased brevity and sense of perfunctoriness in the minute accounts as the eighteenth century progressed. By far the fullest reports come from the first few decades of the century, while eight out of nine given between 1752 and 1763 are little more than one sentence in length.

Two possible explanations of this tendency come from a look at the general religious milieu in England at the time and at the shifting interests of the Yearly Meeting itself. By mid-century the religious fervour which was encouraged by evangelists like Wesley permeated Quakerism as well, but its quietest response may have inhibited public revelations of the sort prompted by missions abroad. At the same time, the Yearly Meeting was increasingly involved with matters of church organization, the formulation of discipline, answers to its queries, and visitation of the faithful.

If Rufus Jones is correct in describing the work of Public Friends who went to America during colonial times in terms of prophecy, their actual words as recorded in the minutes of London Yearly Meeting are also prophetic and worthy to be considered reliable records of the past. Their lack of reference to the "Great Awakening" and the pending Revolution does not diminish their value but underscores their true nature which transcended temporary religious and political events, thereby contributing to the permanence of the Atlantic Community.

G. J. WILLAUER

[1] *A Quaker Post-Bag*. Ed. Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson (London, 1910), p. 162.

John Philley in Turkey

FURTHER consideration of the subject of my note in this Journal[1] enables us now to identify John Philley with more certainty as the Friend referred to in the letter, dated from Pera, 20th October, 1665, from Heneage Finch, 2nd earl of Winchilsea, to his cousin, and future holder of the same office, Sir John Finch (1626–82)[2]. Though the letter does not name the Quaker concerned, his identification with John Philley need not be doubted, since Robert Frampton is known to have been in Constantinople at about this time on Levant Company business.[3] Before passing on to a consideration of the political context of Lord Winchilsea's letter, it may be noticed that he does not mention the presence of any companion of Philley, whereas Frampton does. We need not attach too much importance to this minor discrepancy in the narratives, since the companion seems from Frampton's account to have played a secondary role. However, it would seem more than likely that the unnamed companion was William Moore, the Scottish Friend who accompanied Philley in central and eastern Europe after their meeting in Holland in the latter part of 1661. They spent some considerable time in Austria and Hungary in the next two years, presumably after their ejection from Constantinople.[4]

In order to appreciate more fully Lord Winchilsea's attitude to Philley's appearance in the capital, it is necessary to survey his own diplomatic manoeuvres over the previous five

1 *J.F.H.S.*, lii (1968), pp. 62–3.

2 Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch. [Edited by S. C. Lomas.] Published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission [71]. Vol. 1 (1913), p. 400. (Henceforth referred to as Finch MSS.) The material portion of this letter has already been printed in *J.F.H.S.*, xxii (1925), pp. 76–7; the editor did not know the Friend referred to in the letter.

3 Finch MSS., Vol. 1, pp. 407–8. Letter of Consul Lannoy to Winchilsea, dated Jan. 15/25, 1665/6, from Aleppo: "The reverend Mr. Frampton arrived on the 7th instant, in good health, and at a court (called to hear your Excellency's letters) he gave a relation of what concerned our affairs . . . ". Robert Frampton was at this time chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo; he later became dean, and then bishop of Gloucester (deprived as a non-juror, 1691); *D.N.B.*

4 Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, pp. 420–32.

years. Lord Winchilsea had arrived in Constantinople at a particularly propitious time for the advancement of English interests at the Sublime Porte.[1] The French ambassador's son had lately been thrashed at Court and the ambassador himself had been thrown into prison as retribution for insulting behaviour.[2] The position of other diplomatic representatives also was rather uncertain. Moreover, the office of Vizier was then held by Mohammed Kiuprili (d. 1661), whose ambitions were directed against Germany, in which Transylvania (over which Turkey then exercised suzerainty) was to act as a stepping stone; the latter's usurping ruler, Kimenyi, was believed to be receiving encouragement from the Emperor,[3] and rumour had it that Kiuprili was intent ultimately in carrying the war into the imperial domains. Such a war would have been welcomed by Winchilsea as a means of diverting the Emperor's attention from France, then England's ally, and he began to press his view in his official despatches; however, he received no encouragement from the English ministers, who possibly doubted his power to effect anything of note. When the prospects of a war between Turkey and Austria seemed to be vanishing that summer, Winchilsea's letters sounded a note of disappointment.[4] In further letters he reiterated his regret at not having received instructions from the King to promote the possibility of war, which, he felt sure, he could do without risk of

1 The name usually given to the seat of the Sultan's government.

2 Finch, *loc. cit.*, p. 105. Letter from Lord Winchilsea to Henry Jermyn, earl of St. Albans, ambassador at Paris, dated 1st April, 1661, from Pera: "Some months since . . . the French ambassador, magnifying to the Vizier the greatness of his master, and threatening revenge for the injuries his subjects had sustained, the Turks, who cannot suffer anything that savours of a threat, struck his son in the face, dragged him by the hair of his head out of the Vizier's palace and committed the ambassador to the Seven Towers, where he was kept two months." Bettina Laycock's "Quaker missions to Europe and the Near East, 1655–1665" [unpublished typescript, 1950, in Friends House Library], p. 19, is wrong in assuming that the reception accorded to Mary Fisher by the Sultan and Vizier was representative of the Turks' posture towards all foreign dignitaries. The Turks were prepared, as in the case mentioned here, to maltreat offending ambassadors. They were to mete out further punishment on this son some five years later when he succeeded his father as ambassador. After having struck the Vizier accidentally on the breast with his portfolio, he was beaten, and thrown into a "bad, low chamber under the stairs", where he remained for four days before he was released on Winchilsea's intercession. (Finch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 406–7.)

3 Finch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 105–6. Letter to Lord St. Albans.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 127–8. Letter to Secretary Nicholas, 17th June 1661.

detection;[1] Constantinople, he pointed out, was not so distant that any success he might have would not be apparent at home.[2] The death of the elder Kiuprili in October, 1661, did not change the Turks' covert war policy. Kuprili's son Ahmed was also intent on waging a successful war against Germany. In such circumstances, it is unlikely that Winchilsea would not have entertained still his hopes of open warfare.

However, by 1665, when Philley came to Constantinople, Winchilsea had changed his tack completely, for reasons which require a brief digression by way of explanation. Since the establishment of the Ottoman empire, foreign subjects had been allowed to reside and trade in its territories under the terms of so-called "capitulations". The earliest European nations to take advantage of these guarantees after the fall of Constantinople (1453) were the Italian trading republics, followed later by France, which eventually acquired the right of protection over all European subjects in Ottoman territories who were not represented by their own ambassadors in the capital. Matters stood thus when English trading contacts with the Turks became properly established at the end of the sixteenth century with the granting of the Levant Company's charter of incorporation. As England and other smaller states, e.g. the Netherlands, established ambassadors in Constantinople, they gradually won the right of protecting their own subjects. This loss of their former privileges the French never accepted, and were making a determined effort to recover them when Philley arrived. Winchilsea was, of course, determined that the French plan should not succeed, and accordingly instructed his secretary, Paul Ricaut, and dragoman (i.e. interpreter) Georgio Draperiis in Adrianople to impress on the Vizier England's long-standing friendship towards the Sultan (as evidenced by the absence of English troops from the imperial armies then ranged against him), in contrast to the hostile attitude and activities of the French.[3]

While such delicate intrigues were in progress, Winchilsea would naturally react strongly to the activities of one of his own countrymen which might upset things, especially when

1 *Ibid.*, p. 130. Letter to the same, 21st June, 1661.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 131. Letter to the Privy Council, 24th June, 1661.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 368, letter dated 15th April, 1665.

that countryman belonged to the troublesome sect of Quakers, with whom he had had dealings earlier. Moreover, if the Quaker's letters had reached the Vizier, the appearance of official English support for a Turkish-Hungarian war which the ever-suspicious Turks would have seen in them would have placed Winchilsea himself in grave danger of being thrashed and thrown into prison. The Turks, he knew well from personal observation, had no compunction in maltreating a foreign representative who displeased them.[1] In his anger at Philley's activities in Constantinople—a hypocritical anger, since earlier he himself had not only harboured hopes of a Turkish-Hungarian war, but also tried to obtain official support for his schemes, dropping these only when he deemed it in England's interests to adopt a different attitude—Winchilsea was concerned solely with the possible political consequences of Philley's actions. Winchilsea did not mention any anti-papal motives on Philley's part, although Robert Frampton's account[2] notes that zeal against popery was the cause of the Quaker's journey. In this respect, Laycock's insistence on the absence of sectarian motives in the Quakers' missionary activities at this time on the Continent and in the Near East is to be born in mind.[3]

WILLIAM ASHFORD KELLY

1 See note 2 on p. 132.
2 Quoted in my note in *J.F.H.S.*, lii (1968), p. 62.
3 Laycock, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Index to theses accepted for higher degrees in the universities of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. 17 (1966–1967). Aslib, 1969.

Included are the following:

712. Johnson, W. G. (Manchester). Post-Restoration Nonconformity and plotting, 1660–1675. M.A.

720. Billington, (L.) (Bristol). Some connections between British and American reform movements, 1830–1860, with special reference to the anti-slavery movement. M.Litt.

774. Holt, J. H. (Trinity, Dublin). The Quakers in the great Irish famine. M.Litt.

* * *

The following was reported in *Dissertation abstracts A. April* 1969 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106).

The saving remnant: intellectual sources of change and decline in colonial Quakerism, 1690–1810. By David Robert Kobrin. University of Pennsylvania, 1968. Supervisor: Richard S. Dunn. (Microfilm $5.60; Xerox copy $19.80. 439 pages.)

Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *List of accessions to repositories in 1968* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Berkshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Reading, RG1 3EY.
Society of Friends (addnl.): Berks and Oxon Quarterly Meeting, papers, 1786–1910.

Birmingham University Library, P.O. Box 363, Edgbaston, Birmingham 15.
Single letters and small groups: John Bright (5).

Bristol Archives Office, Council House, Bristol, BS1 5TR.
Personal: Crofton Gane, diaries, notebooks and papers *re* Craft Movement, *c.* 1900–1940.

Westmorland Record Office, County Hall, Kendal.
Family and estate: Braithwaite of Kendal: letters from George to parents in America for Society of Friends, 1823–1828.
Crewdson of Kendal (addnl.): eighteenth-twentieth century.
Richardson of Newcastle upon Tyne and Yorkshire: eighteenth-twentieth century.

Greater London Record Office, Middlesex Section, 1 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.
Family and estate: Howard and Eliot: letters and diaries *re* family and Quaker affairs, eighteenth-nineteenth century.

Leeds City Library, Archives Department, Sheepscar Library, Chapeltown Road, Leeds, LS7 3AP.
Birkbeck of Settle (Quaker merchants and bankers): family and business papers and letters, eighteenth-nineteenth century.

Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, Central Library, Norwich, NOR 57E.
Personal: John Balderston, a Quaker from America, journal of visit to London, Norwich and Leeds, 1765–1766 (Xerox).

Shropshire County Record Office, Shirehall, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury.
Family, estate and business: Darby of Coalbrookdale: deeds, Coalbrookdale, etc. 18–19 *c.*; maps and surveys; family and business a/cs. and papers, incl. copy of agreement for casting pots 1707 . . . 3 letters from Abiah Darby, 1768–1775, letter about award for building the iron bridge, 1787 . . . description of Coalbrookdale works and environs, early nineteenth century.

Guide to the contents of the Public Record Office. Volume III: Documents transferred, 1960–1966. (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1968.)

[Transfer from the] General Register Office:
Registers, Authenticated: Society of Friends Series (R.G. 6). 1613 to 1841. 1,673 volumes, etc.

Registers of births, deaths, burials and marriages of congregations of the Society of Friends or Quakers in England and Wales. A number of original birth and burial notes and original marriage certificates are included. [p. 77].

Devon Record Office: Brief guide: part I. Official and ecclesiastical. p. 74

Society of Friends: East Division of Devon (Cullompton, Exeter, Kingsbridge, Okehampton, Spiceland, Topsham, Torquay)

Yearly Meetings:	
Epistles, pamphlets, reports and letters from London and Bristol (210)	1663–1829
Meetings of Sufferings:	
Minutes, Accounts, reports, etc. (34)	1677–1854
Quarterly Select Meetings:	
Minutes (2)	1777–1831
Select Monthly Meetings:	
Minutes (13)	1776–1898
Monthly Meetings:	
Minutes (37)	1678–1903
papers (648)	1666–1863
Preparative Meetings, Cullompton, Spiceland and Exeter:	
Minutes, accounts and papers (229)	1665–1886
Title Deeds:	
Cullompton, Spiceland, Colaton Raleigh and Okehampton (101)	1675–1944
Registers:	
Spiceland (4)	1765–1884
Exeter (2)	1864–1879
Papers	1827–1884
Plans, etc.:	
Spiceland and Exeter	eighteenth cent.–1895

The list of accessions to the archives in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, contained in the Report 1968–1969, includes the following:

From Mr. Anthony Tuke, Wherwell, Hants.:
The Tuke family papers consisting of a considerable quantity of correspondence of various generations of the Tuke family of York, dating mainly from the late eighteenth century; correspondence of the families into which they married, notably Scott, Favill and Copsie; genealogical material of these families; printed books and pamphlets, including Samuel Tuke's *Description of The Retreat* (1813); and some broadsheets, maps and plans of York interest (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).

Sources for the study of local history in Northern Ireland. A catalogue for an exhibition, January–July, 1968. (Northern Ireland Public Record Office, Law Courts Building, May Street, Belfast, BT1 3JJ.)

The Churches
(Page 35)

The most rewarding ecclesiastical archive for the social historian is that of the Quakers; the minutes of their meetings and books of sufferings from the late seventeenth century, provide much detail of their relations with the local community. Their birth, death and marriage registers date from the same period and often include detailed inventories of property for testamentary purposes. A comprehensive "Guide to Irish Quaker Records" edited by Mrs. O. Goodbody contains a supplement for Northern Ireland by Mr. Brian Hutton of this Office.
(Page 38)

The Quakers played a role in the development of the Ulster community out of all proportion to their numbers. We do not know, however, why they concentrated in the Lagan Valley and north Armagh and why meetings founded outside this area rarely survived into the eighteenth century. How can we explain the important role played by Quakers in the economic life of the province, especially in the linen industry? Was there a significant decline in their numbers in the closing years of the eighteenth century? Did they lose adherents to the Methodists?
Item 51 in the Exhibition was
Draft of a letter from Thomas Greer of Dungannon, to Danl. Bell of Wakefield and Bell, London, 30th of 9th Month 1782
[concerning the linen trade].

* * *

Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654–1860, by Olive C. Goodbody. With contribution on Northern Ireland records by B. G. Hutton. (Dublin, Stationery Office, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967. £2 17s. 6d.)

Mention of this *Guide* in the exhibition catalogue noticed immediately above causes us now to express our regret that we have not hitherto brought to the notice of our readers this key work. It embraces the Dublin archives of the Society of Friends, the documents in the Historical Library at Eustace Street, Dublin, the records of Ulster Province Meeting (Lisburn), and the Quaker material in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

The *Guide* will find an indispensable place beside *Quaker records, Dublin: Abstracts of wills,* which was edited by P. Beryl Eustace and Olive C. Goodbody for the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1957 (Dublin, Stationery Office). It should be found on the shelves of all libraries where historians congregate, and should be consulted by all who are interested in Quaker history before they visit Ireland, and by those interested in the spheres of Irish life in which Quaker families have played a part.

Recent Publications

Gilletts in the London Money Market, 1867-1967. By R. S. Sayers. pp. 204; 8 plates. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968. 35s.

In Volume 51, Number 2, of the *Journal* we gave a brief notice of the history of the former Gillett Country Bank, centred in Banbury and Oxford, written by Miss Audrey Taylor. The present volume deals with the second chapter of the Gillett family's adventures as bankers, and traces the story of their London discount firm, which from small beginnings a hundred years ago, grew into the flourishing public company of today.

Professor Sayers, like Miss Taylor, is not a Friend, and his main interest in his subject lies in the light it throws on matters of general monetary history, rather than in any consideration of the impact of Quakerism on business. He does find room incidentally, however, for some sympathetic appraisal of three generations of Quaker bankers, and Friend readers will find much of interest in this volume, as in the preceding one.

Jordans: the making of a community. By Arthur L. Hayward. With an introduction by John Macmurray. pp. 186, 5 maps. Friends Home Service Committee, London, 1969. £1.

To commemorate the jubilee of Jordans Village, this history of Jordans, written some years ago by the late Arthur Hayward, has been published, and many will be glad to have it, as a record of a unique piece of Quaker endeavour and witness over three centuries.

The fact that for nearly half that time no regular meetings were held at Jordans serves only to highlight both the period of intense activity at the beginning, centring round world-famous names, and its recrudescence at the beginning of the present century.

Those who still accept as proven Rendel Harris's theory that the barn at Jordans Hostel was built out of the timbers of the *Mayflower* would do well to study Arthur Hayward's dispassionate appraisal of the very insufficient evidence.

Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726. By Gary B. Nash. pp. xii, 362. Princeton University Press (London: Oxford University Press). 1968. 81s.

The difficulties that Friends encountered in reconciling ideas and institutions fashioned in England with a completely new environment in Pennsylvania, are the primary concern of this book. It is sometimes supposed that disagreement on matters affecting military

preparations was the chief reason why Friends failed to achieve the solid Christian polity that Penn had dreamed of; but, in fact, as Professor Nash shows, there were, from the beginning, fundamental differences on other matters as well.

His material is drawn largely from official records and from collections of letters, which may give a somewhat distorted picture of the degree of disunity prevailing among Friends; and it is likely that in their worshipping groups (apart from the disturbance caused by George Keith and his adherents) much greater solidarity was preserved. At any rate, it is comforting to remember that the Quaker tradition and influence emerged in the end strong and enduring, in society if not in politics.

There is a six-page bibliographical note at the end of the volume. In all, the book forms a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the period.

The Journal of West Midlands Regional Studies, published by Wolverhampton College of Technology, Vol. 2, 1968, includes a long article by John D. Hunter entitled "The Early Years of the Birmingham Friends' Reading Society". This describes in detail the early history of this Society, from its foundation in 1829, and contains full lists of its members, and of the books purchased or proposed to be purchased. It is hoped to publish at a future date an account of the Society's later years.

The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 26 (3rd series), no. 1 (January, 1969), includes papers by Richard S. Dunn (University of Pennsylvania) on the Barbados census of 1680, and William Howland Kenney, 3d (Kent State University) on "George Whitefield, dissenter priest of the Great Awakening, 1739–1741".

The Barbados census paper notices the presence of Quakers. The location of Friends Plantations can be seen outside Speights Town (Little Bristol) on Richard Ford's *New Map* which is reproduced, almost exactly full size. The influence of Whitefield among Friends is noted in the article by W. H. Kenney; he quotes from a letter in Fulham Palace, from Alexander Howie in Pennsylvania. Howie says, "all our Quakers flock to hear him, and one of their preachers say that there never appeared So Powerful a Preacher since the Days of George Fox".

Notes and Queries

America

English colonization of North America. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Elaine W. Fowler. (Documents of modern history.) (London, Edward Arnold, 1968.)

This volume of reprinted documents has the following items in a section on "Religion and education":

PERSECUTION OF QUAKERS JUSTIFIED, 1659—the Massachusetts General Court statement against William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson;

QUAKERS OPPOSE SLAVERY, 1688—the Germantown declaration, reprinted from *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, iv (1880), pp. 28–30;

WILLIAM PENN ON EDUCATION, 1693—from *Some Fruits of Solitude*;

DIVERSITY OF RELIGIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1750–1754—from the account written by Gottlieb Mittelberger in his *Journey to Pennsylvania*. The extract ends with a quotation: "There is a saying in that country: Pennsylvania is the heaven of the farmers, the paradise of the mechanics, and the hell of the officials and preachers."

The section on "Plans for Union" includes William Penn's proposal for colonial unity, 1697.

Bainbridge

"The Manor of Bainbridge", by D. S. Hall, a paper in the *Annual Report, 1968*, of the North Riding Record Office, is written from a study of the archives of the lords trustees of the manor. The documents begin with a fragment of paper listing the purchase money collected from each hamlet by Richard Robinson of Countersett and the expenses in negotiating the purchase of the manor from the crown, completed in London in 1663.

The original trustees included Anthony Fothergill, and it was another Fothergill — Alexander —who was appointed steward and treasurer over a century later in 1767. It is from the time of his stewardship and later that most of the documents survive. The author says that Alexander Fothergill "left many lively accounts of his deeds. By birth he was a farmer but an extrovert personality drove him far beyond the confines of the yeomanry. He lived at and farmed Carr End and was employed as surveyor, solicitor and land agent, clerk to Busk church, the Society of Friends and anyone else requiring a skilful pen."

Banbury

Supplement no. 4 to the *English Historical Review* (Longmans, 1969) consists of *Drink and sobriety in an early Victorian country town: Banbury, 1830–1860*, by Brian Harrison and Barrie Trinder. Friends appear.

Publicans and brewers were influential among Liberals and nonconformists in the 1830s, even Quakers were only in the process of shaking off their connections with brewing—beer, before the rise of teetotalism, being considered the temperance drink. During the period the only

denominations not represented in the licensed trade were Quakers and Primitive Methodists.

Friends were prominent in the Banbury Temperance Society. Samuel Beesley the maker of Banbury cakes, Reformer (d. 1843), John Head (draper, toy-dealer and woolstapler), Jeremiah Cross (grocer) and James Cadbury (grocer) are among the Friends mentioned. Friends were also active in the Ladies' Association for the Suppression of Intemperance.

Friends noticed include Joseph, Charles and Jonathan Gillett, the bankers, Henry Stone, bookseller, and John Harlock, draper and treasurer of the Peace Society's Banbury branch.

Brian Harrison, fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (the senior author referred to above) is engaged on a wider study of the nineteenth-century temperance movement.

Bedfordshire

Joyce Godber's *History of Bedfordshire, 1066–1888* (Bedfordshire County Council, 1969) is a handsome one-volume competent work, worthy both of county and author. The book has scattered references to Friends, and to other persons (like Bunyan) with whom they were in controversy from the days of John Crook onwards. There is a mention of the visit to Beckerings Park by George Fox in 1655.

The interior of Leighton Buzzard meeting house is illustrated from a photograph.

Bristol

Abraham Darby, Fry's Chocolate, the Champion family, Robert Charleton's pin factory, the pottery, are all mentioned in *The industrial archaeology of the Bristol region*, by R. A. Buchanan and Neil Cossons (David and Charles, 1969). This study brings to notice the surviving monuments of past Quaker industrial enterprise in the district.

Caernarvonshire

A History of Caernarvonshire, 1284–1900, by A. H. Dodd (Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 1968. 30s.) provides us with meagre references to Friends in the county. George Fox visited Caernarvon in 1657. A tract in English by Evan Jones of Llanengan was published in 1672. A group from the same parish emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1683, and one of these Friends — John Roberts — became a magistrate and member of the legislative assembly of the province. There is mention of a meeting at Penmachno in 1731.

Carlisle

Library history: Journal of the Library History Group of the Library Association, Vol. 1, No. 5, Spring 1969, includes (p. 170) the following note on accessions to Carlisle Record Office:

Carlisle Quaker Meeting House: the original library, of the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries, consisting of about 300 volumes. The books, in poor condition, were gathered from the floor of an old meeting house at Moorhouse, Burgh-by-Sands, and it seems likely that books were present from both the Carlisle and the Moorhouse meeting houses. No assessment can yet be made of the contents of the libraries. The Carlisle Prepara-

tive Meeting minutes include a loan register of books, 1798–*c.* 1824.

Coalbrookdale

In "The Coalbrookdale story: facts and fantasies" (*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 58, pt. 2, 1966 [issued December, 1968], pp. 153–166), R. A. Mott examines critically the accounts which have been received up to the present.

The author's examination of the Coalbrookdale MSS. to check the information given by Abiah Darby, Hannah Rose, and Samuel Smiles, leads Dr. Mott to the conclusion that Smiles based his account of Abraham Darby I and II on that of Hannah Rose, and: "He made but a sorry use of his other material and it is preferable to reject his account as being completely misleading."

"The mineral wealth of Coalbrookdale," by Ivor John Brown, a pamphlet reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society*, Vol. 2, pt. 5–6 (1965) includes some illustrations of workings and machinery, and gives facts about the life of the miner in the Shropshire coalfield as well within as without the Darby period.

Halifax

"Halifax attorneys", by C. D. Webster (*Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1968, pp. 69–87) has mention of "Quaker conveyancers, Jonas Stansfield of Shore in Stansfield in the early eighteenth, and Caleb Howarth and John Ecroyd in the early nineteenth centuries" (p. 70). Howarth and Ecroyd, "who practised in Halifax from 1821–1830, came from Marsden" (p. 73).

Rowland Bretton's article on "Heath Hall, Skircoat" (pp. 1–14, in the same volume) contains some notice of the Elams and Hodgsons, and the meeting house (sold 1920).

Gloucestershire

The Victoria County History, Gloucestershire, vol. 8 (1968), includes notices of Friends at the following places: Tewkesbury; Corse (17th–19th century); Ashchurch, Deerhurst, Kemerton (18th century); Grafton, Prestbury and Uckington (17th century).

Hampshire Meetings

A Hampshire Miscellany. III—Dissenters' meeting house certificates in the diocese of Winchester, 1702–1844, by Arthur J. Willis (1965) includes the following entries directly stated to be for Quaker meetings: Eling 11 Nov. 1710; Farnborough 30 April 1719; St. Peter, Cheesehill, Winton (Thos. Martin) 3 Aug. 1749.

Many entries lack any indication of the body of dissenters taking out the certificates.

Hertfordshire

"Politics and religion in Hertfordshire, 1660–1740", by L. M. Munby, a paper in *East Anglian Studies* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1968. 35s.), includes several references to Friends. The author has turned up some interesting material, like Quakers voting for a Jacobite in the county elections, 1727. Friends seem to have been influential in Hertford town and their names figure in the elections at the end of the seventeenth century. Henry

Stout at Hertford seems to have been active in the Whig Cowper (Hertford Castle) interest. There is a family tree for the Dimsdale family on the Tory side. A section deals with the trial of Spencer Cowper for the murder of Sarah Stout, 1699.

HULL

The Victoria History of the County of York: East Riding, Vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1969, £10.50) deals with the city of Kingston upon Hull.

Index entries under the words *FRIENDS, Society of (Quakers)* lead to various portions of the work. The section on Protestant nonconformity (pp. 311 ff.) begins with the early 1640s. Friends were not strong in the district. A visit by George Fox in 1666 is noted.

Hull meeting is estimated to have had about 20 members at the end of the seventeenth century. The names of John Holmes, William Garbutt and Edward Crowther, the Ellerkers (of Sutton), and John Lyth (in Marfleet) are noted. At a later period, Isaac Reckitt and Samuel Priestman are noticed as founders of two notable firms (p. 240). By the local Act of 1810, Friends were made eligible for election to the corporation (p. 199).

Meeting houses are listed (pp. 321–322). Average Sunday attendance at meeting was 150 (no Sunday school) in 1834, and 111 (morning) and 61 (afternoon) in the 1851 census.

The volume makes extensive use of a wide range of source material both national and local. Brief notices appear of the Sir James Reckitt charity (p. 339) and of Friends' adult schools (p. 355).

INDIA

The Lords of Human Kind: European attitudes towards the outside world in the Imperial Age, by V. G. Kiernan (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, 63s.), includes a note quoting *The Friend*, on the demands in England for vengeance in India after the Mutiny of 1857. In an editorial for January, 1858, *The Friend* called for wider promotion in India of both Christianity and commerce; the author comments—"Even the best of Victorians were over-ready to regard these two as parallel roads to human felicity" (p. 63).

The author refers here, and elsewhere, to J. H. Bell, *British Folks and British India Fifty Years Ago: Joseph Pease and his Contemporaries* (Manchester, 1891).

IRELAND

Isolated incidents in the 1798 rebellion involving Irish Friends are quoted by Thomas Pakenham in *The Year of Liberty* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1969. £3 15s.) mainly on the authority of Thomas Hancock's *Principles of peace exemplified in the conduct . . . of Friends in Ireland . . . 1798* (1825), and *The Leadbeater Papers* (1862) supplemented by the Leadbeater MSS. (for these papers, refer to Olive C. Goodbody's *Guide to Irish Quaker Records*, 1967).

Encyclopaedia of Ireland (Allen Figgis, Dublin, 1968, £6) includes an article by Olive Goodbody on the Society of Friends, giving succinctly the salient facts of the historical outline and present position of Quakerism in the country. There is an illustration of the Shackleton school at Ballitore. Two works appear in

the bibliography: Grubb, I: *Quakers in Ireland.* London, 1927, and Rutty, J. and Wight, T.: *History of Quakers in Ireland.* Dublin, 1751.

Irish Friends

I

Analecta Hibernica, no. 15 (1944) is now in print again with a Dawson Reprint issue (1968). The volume contains reports by Edward McLysaght. Among the Ussher papers (wills) we note:

> "13 Feb., 1815. Elizabeth Ussher (Quakeress). Codicil, unwitnessed, cancels all legacies to servants because of unfaithfulness of one."

Captain Stephen Rich is mentioned in the Commonwealth state accounts.

The Brown (of Clonboy) papers (report on pp. 81–91) include much of interest to Friends, and the editor notes that material from this collection concerning Friends in Limerick is now preserved at Eustace Street, Dublin.

II

Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660–1800, by L. M. Cullen (Manchester University Press, 1968), includes some material from Friends' Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin, and from the Gurney Manuscripts, at Friends House Library, London. The author notes the close connections which Friends were able to maintain across the Irish Sea. The Gurney manuscripts in particular provide the author with information concerning the yarn trade between Munster and Leinster and Norwich.

Lancashire

Nikolaus Pevsner: *The Buildings of England* has reached Lancashire (North, 30s., South, 35s. 2 vols. Penguin Books, 1969). In the Northern volume the meeting houses at Height in Cartmel, Swarthmoor, Colthouse, Yealand, Lancaster, Crawshawbooth and Brierfield (Nelson) are noticed. Also mentioned is John Wilkinson the ironmaster (see under Lindale); Robert Lawson and Sunderland Point (p. 153, under Lancaster); and the mill in Calder Vale built by Richard and Jonathan Jackson, 1835.

The volume on South Lancashire is perhaps not quite so rewarding, but such is the nature of the material. Meeting houses at Manchester, Penketh, Rochdale, St. Helens and Warrington appear, as also does Dalton Hall 1881–1882, by G. T. Redmayne). It is with a little jolt that one sees John Bright's name linked with Manchester's slums (p. 267).

Leighton Linslade

"Friends' Meeting House, North Street. Of 1789, with wooden cross-windows. Happily simple interior with the usual seating." This entry appears (p. 110) in N. Pevsner: *The buildings of England. Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Penguin Books, 1968).

London Companies

In Edward Mayer's *The Curriers and the city of London: a history of the Worshipful Company of Curriers*, 1968, there are two references to Friends. On page 121 the Court minutes for 1st October, 1720, give order that no liveryman be admitted into the hall on Lord Mayor's day without his gown "except such as are of people commonly

called Quakers". This rule seems to have held good in the 1760s when, except Quakers, no persons were admitted to walk without their gowns (p. 136).

Liverpool

"William Roscoe, the Roscoe circle and radical politics in Liverpool, 1787–1807", by Ian Sellers (*Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 120, 1969, pp. 45–62) includes a notice of the founding of the Liverpool branch of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1788. "It was an act of considerable moral courage on the part of the four Quakers, Dr. Binns, Nathaniel Daulby, the two William Rathbones and the three Unitarians, Roscoe, Wallace, and Yates who were the original members" (p. 49).

The author notes that in the 1790s the "theological liberalism" of the Rathbones "proved finally incompatible with the Quaker tradition" (p. 54).

Massachusetts

"On toleration in Massachusetts" by E. Brooks Holifield, Department of Religious Studies, Yale University (*Church History*, June, 1969, pp. 188–200) deals with the situation in the colony in the 1670s when Baptists and Quakers came at least to be tolerated tacitly by some sections of the community.

Middlesbrough

The History of Middlesbrough, by William Lillie (Middlesbrough Corporation, 1968) is a workmanlike official history of the town up to the time of its incorporation in the new Teesside County Borough. It includes a paragraph concerning the Friends' meeting in the town. Before 1849 Friends went to Stockton; from 1849 to 1871 the meeting house and burial ground was in Wilson Street. That property was sold to the corporation, and in 1873 Friends built a meeting house to seat 400 together with other rooms and a caretaker's cottage. At the outbreak of war in 1939 this property was requisitioned, and Friends went to Cornfield Road. In 1961 Friends took a large house at the corner of Cambridge Road and Eton Road.

Nidderdale, Yorks.

The National Register of Archives, West Riding (Northern Section) committee, has produced an inventory in five volumes of the Ingilby records, owned by Major Sir Joslan Ingilby, Bart., of Ripley Castle, Harrogate, in September, 1966. The inventory is not indexed. The land records concern properties in various parts of Yorkshire, including estates in Nidderdale. The Dacre deeds include a settlement before the marriage of Elizabeth Buck and John Fothergill, of Carr End, Aysgarth, yeoman, 1726 (605), and in the following deed (lease and release, 1726, no. 606) the name Bosvile Middleton of Boroughbridge, yeoman, appears. 678–80 concern Ann Ellis, of Ingleton, later of Clapham, widow, 1813–17. John Jowitt, of Holbeck (1661) (2152) leased closes in Wortley, Leeds, from Sir John Ingilby, 1716 and 1732.

An informed reading of the inventory would doubtless reveal more Friends.

Norwich

A footnote to an article on "Norwich bills of mortality, 1707–

1830", by J. K. Edwards, in the *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, Vol. 21, No. 2, November, 1969, p. 113, assigns certain numbers to the membership of dissenting sects in the city (of a probable total of 1,100 to 1,200, some 3 per cent to 3½ per cent of the entire population during the latter half of the eighteenth century). "Members of the Congregational sect probably numbered 100 by 1770, those of Baptists, 55 by 1790; of Methodists, 160, by 1770; of the Society of Friends, 300–400 throughout the period 1750–1800. The total was in the region of 750, to which perhaps 100 could be added for Jews and Catholics." The author adds 40 per cent for persons under 16 years to reach his total estimate of 1,200.

The author has used the Friends' records at Norwich Record Office.

Oxford

In 1697 and 1769 Quakers were at 65 St. Giles, Oxford, according to the evidence gained from leases recorded (p. 214) in *Survey of Oxford*, by the late H. E. Salter. Edited by W. A. Pantin and W. T. Mitchell, vol. 2, 1969 (Oxford Historical Society. N.S. 20).

Pennysylvania

Politics of colonial policy: the Board of Trade in colonial administration, 1696–1720, by I. K. Steele, professor of history in the University of Western Ontario (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968. 48s.) illustrates the value to Friends of having regular and frequent meetings in London where matters affecting their welfare could be discussed and appropriate action concerted. When a bill against the colonial charters was introduced unexpectedly in the House of Lords in the spring of 1701, Meeting for Sufferings was immediately able to lobby support to delay the bill (which would have threatened to restrict the liberties of Friends in the American colonies) until more direct instructions could be received from William Penn who was in Pennsylvania. (See *J.F.H.S.*, vol. 51, p. 229.)

Scarborough

An item on p. 22 of *A descriptive catalogue of the records in the possession of the corporation of Scarborough*, by G. C. F. Forster (Jan., 1968), reads:

"J 11 Quaker Papers 1661–1821: Cupboard G, Box 38", together with the note that the item "includes lists of Quakers, proclamations and warrants against them, summonses and prosecutions".

Sussex

The Penguin *Buildings of England* series volume on Sussex, by Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner (Penguin Books, 30s., 1965) includes brief notices of meeting houses and property connected with Friends at Ifield (Crawley); the Blue Idol; Horsham; Brighton; Penn's Rocks, Lye Green, Groombridge; Lewes; Saddlescombe (see *A South Down Farm in the Sixties*, by Maude Robinson).

Wensley, Yorks.

The following entries appear in the parish register of Wensley, vol. 2 (1701–1837) of which was published by the Yorkshire

Archaeological Society Parish Register Section in 1967:

[p. 1]
March 5 1701/2 Anne Horner of Leyburn (a Quaker) bur there

[p. 23]
October 18 1721 Margareta Tennant Quaker de Leyburn bapt

October 19 1721 Geo. Warriner & Marg. Tennant prdict. Ambo de Leyburn (Bannis Matrim Secun morem a Dom. Johan Clayton publi. Matrim Con ab eodem)

[p. 28]
May 17 1725 Henry Ianson an adult Quaker Husbandman bapt

[p. 85]
May 27 1781 Ann & Deborah I'anson Adult Quakers bapt

Whitby

Whitby inhabitants to the number of 28 certified for Mr. Christopher Stephenson, 4th August, 1679, that he was not a "nonconformist, a Consorter with quakers and phanaticks". Ever since he had arrived in the Whitby and Fylingdales district he had been a constant Church man, and was a fit man to have a licence to teach school in Whitby. The certificate is printed in facsimile (Document no. 9, from R.I.V.N 65, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research) in a sheaf of documents illustrating sixteenth and seventeenth century handwriting, edited by Ann Rycraft. Series 2, 2nd edition, 1969, to be purchased from the Borthwick Institute.

Wiltshire

Catholic recusancy in Wiltshire, 1660–1791, by J. Anthony Williams (Catholic Record Society publications. Monograph series, vol. 1), 1968, includes a useful annotated alphabetical list of Wiltshire names in the Recusant rolls, 1664 to 1690 (P.R.O. E.377/82: 68–91). Included in this list of 624 persons are more than seventy who probably were Friends, like Arthur Eastmead (Ismeade), Israel Noyes and John Tibboll. Further search might identify others.

Worcestershire

I

The 23rd report of the County Archivist, Worcestershire (Worcester 1967), contains the following paragraph:

"One of the most interesting accessions which this Office has had was made initially in 1951 and has continued at intervals until 1965. It comprises the archives of the Religious Society of Friends and covers most of the activities of that Society from the 17th century in the Worcestershire, Shropshire and Herefordshire areas. One of the interesting aspects of the Quaker movement is that it has acquired over the years a terminology of its own. For instance, the words 'concern', 'sufferings', 'queries' and 'inner light' have a special significance for Quakers, and the situations which led up to their use are to be discovered by a careful examination of the Society's archives. So also are the contemporary references to George Fox's visits to the County."

II

Nikolaus Pevsner: *The buildings of England—Worcestershire* (Penguin Books, 1968, 35s.) includes brief notices of the Friends'

meeting houses at Bewdley and Worcester (1701).

York Races

An anecdote in *Memories of half a century* (1899, 2nd ed. 1903), by Richard W. Hiley, vicar of Wighill near Tadcaster, Yorks, an old Tory parson who kept a school at Thorp Arch Grange for thirty years in Victoria's reign, may bear repeating. Unfortunately one character is not known to us.

The story goes (p. 320) that the Archbishop of York from 1807–47, Edward Vernon Harcourt, used in his earlier years to go to see York races, but,

"As he advanced in years he was not seen on the course, but he got a glimpse from his own grounds, a particular spot affording a view of the horses as they turned one corner. On one occasion the spectator, observing two horses running neck and neck, became excited and exclaimed: 'Two to one on brown jacket,' 'Done! your grace,' exclaimed a voice from the ditch below, much to the archbishop's astonishment. The voice came from an old quaker who had desired to be also an unseen spectator of the race, but had also been unable to repress his excitement."

Yorkshire

The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research has issued a "Summary list of certificates of dissenters meeting houses" (1968) preserved in the York diocesan archives for the years 1767–99, 1833 and 1836–52.

Positive statements in the list makes it possible to identify two certificates as concerning Friends:

1772—Balby, House of Thomas Haigh (certificate 112);

1794—Quakers' Meeting House, Clifford, parish of Bramham (certificate 730).

Doubtless others could be identified by a searcher with knowledge of the names of local Friends of the period, for instance it would be tempting to identify.

1783—Wooldale, Town End, parish of Kirkburton, House of Jonathon Heap (certificate 364) with the Wooldale meeting house recorded (under 1784) in David Butler's list (*J.F.H.S.*, vol. 51, p. 210).

Cleanliness

"Be cleanly. In this let Methodists take pattern by the Quakers." Thus, John Wesley to Richard Steel, one of his preachers in Ireland, 24th April, 1769.

The above is quoted (p. 210) in *The Eighteenth-Century Pulpit: a study of the sermons of Butler, Berkeley, Secker, Sterne, Whitefield and Wesley*, by James Downey (Oxford University Press. 50s.). The author also notes accounts of Rhode Island Quakers flocking to hear George Berkeley preach when he visited the colony.

Diggers

"Another Digger broadside", by Keith Thomas of St. John's College, Oxford (*Past and Present* no. 42, February, 1969, pp. 57–68) prints *A Declaration of the grounds and Reasons, why we the poor Inhabitants of the Parrish of Iver in Buckinghamshire, have begun to digge and manure the common and wast Land*, 1650, from the only recorded copy in the Guildhall Library, London. The editor has used Beatrice

Saxon Snell's edition of the Upperside minute book (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1937) in his search to identify the ten signatories of the broadside.

Literacy

An article on "Literacy and education in England, 1640–1900", by Lawrence Stone (*Past and Present*, no. 42, February, 1969, 69–139) notices the influence of the Puritan ideal in encouraging good education of children. The author states (as a measure of success) on p. 80, that "in post-1754 Quaker marriage registers, there is not a single mark to be seen, by either bridegroom or bride".

The Plague

Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* has been republished by Oxford University Press (1969, 35s.) edited and with an introduction by Louis Landa. The account, which is attributed to one, H.F., a Londoner who witnessed the events of 1665, includes mention of Solomon Eccles and his prediction of the plague as a judgement on the city; and also mentions Friends' burial ground at Bunhill Fields:

"The Quakers had at that time also a burying Ground, set apart to their Use, and which they still make use of, and they had also a particular *dead Cart* to fetch their Dead from their Houses" (p. 234).

Slavery

Racial Thought in America: 1—From the Puritans to Abraham Lincoln. Edited by Louis Ruchames (University of Massachusetts Press, 1969. $8.00) includes the classic documents issued by American Friends. The Germantown document of 1688; George Keith's *Exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying or keeping of Negroes* (1693); and the works of John Hepburn, Elihu Coleman, Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman and Anthony Benezet all figure in this useful compilation. The author is chairman of the Department of History at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, and has taught also at Smith College.

Sport

Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne, by Dennis Brailsford (*Studies in Social History*, Routledge, 1969) includes a chapter on "Sport and the Puritans". The author notes that George Fox rejected the notion that "the outward body was the body of death and sin", and points to this as a "strain in Puritan thinking which generally kept the body free from deliberate mortification". He goes on to quote from Roger Crab, the ascetic hatter of Chesham (who gets the asterisk of a backslider in Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*).

Stewed Quaker

Stewed Quaker, burned rum with a piece of butter. An American remedy for a cold. (Francis Grose, *A classical dictionary of the vulgar tongue*. London, 1785.)

Toleration, 1789

Charles, 3rd Earl Stanhope (1753-1816), made his mark as an inventor, man of science, and in politics. An advocate of parliamentary reform as early as 1781, he was from 1786 in the House of

Lords on the death of his father, the 2nd Earl. In the summer of 1789 he introduced two Bills into the Lords, one to repeal obsolete laws on ecclesiastical matters restricting personal liberties, the other to relieve Quakers from some of the more annoying and irksome features of recovery suits over tithes. Both Bills failed to pass the second reading. (See *The Stanhopes of Chevening: a family biography*, by Aubrey Newman, *Macmillan*, 1969, pp. 148–149.)

Elizabeth Bathurst

The occasion when Elizabeth Bathurst interrupted the service at Dr. Annesley's meeting house in Spitalfields, 20th October, 1678, is recorded in *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (Epworth Press, 1968), by John A. Newton (p. 26).

Bellers Family

In an Eighteenth Century Kitchen: a receipt book of cookery, 1698. Edited, with an introduction, notes and glossary by Dennis Rhodes; a preface by Beverley Nichols; and illustrated by Duncan Grant (Cecil and Amelia Woolf, 1968. 25s.), is a volume which reproduces a manuscript found by Beverley Nichols when he took over the Huntingdonshire house which he described in *A Thatched Roof* (1933).

The introduction assigns the book to the Bellers family, on the strength among other things of the initials F B on the title-page. The F.B. perhaps stands for Frances (Fettiplace) Bellers, 1666-1716, or for Fettiplace Bellers, born 1687, the wife and son respectively of John Bellers the social reformer. Entries in the book were made at least up to 1760, and there are more than a score of names of the sources from whom the recipes came. These sources include Hanah Fream [of Winchmore Hill?] and "Esquire Sands of Miserdine".

Priest Boyes of Goathland

Joyce Dixon of Pickering meeting, and of the Goathland Local History Group, working on Goathland documents at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, has found the following reference (York District Probate Registry, Vol. 2, p. 22) to William Boyes at his induction in 1626 [amend the note in *J.F.H.S.*, xlix (1960), 179 accordingly], as "a man known for his good life, conversation & behaviour, & for winning people to the Zeale of God's Worde".

Before long, under his guidance, the villagers had asked and been given permission by the Dean of York to bury their dead at Goathland, instead of having to take them along the rough tracks over the moors to Pickering. (Archbishop Sharp's MSS.)

Joyce Dixon thinks it would be likely to be the little church at Goathland to which Fox refers in his Journal. It was quite literally in the moors, a little distance from the present building.

John Bright

John Bright and the Empire, by James L. Sturgis of Birkbeck College, London (Athlone Press, 1969), surveys the subject under the headings of India, the Colonies, and Ireland (in which section the author has made use of the letters of John Bright to

Jonathan Pim in the Friends' Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin).

John Dalton, F.R.S.

The best brief biographical sketch of John Dalton, the Friend and Fellow of the Royal Society as Friend to appear recently is "Old Quaker Dalton", a lecture by John T. Marsh to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (*Memoirs and proceedings*, Vol. 111, 1969, pp. 27–47). There is no mention of the atomic theory. The author deals with the background, upbringing and life of the scientist under the following heads: The Quaker background; Cumberland; Young Quaker Dalton; The Quaker schoolmaster; Meteorology; Colour vision; Grammar; The Manchester scientist; Quaker simplicity; Smoking and drinking; Dalton Hall; Death and funeral.

An illustration shows the "General meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science", 1842, held in Manchester Friends' Meeting House.

Lady D'arcy

Sir Cuthbert Sharp's *The Bishoprick Garland*, a collection of legends, songs, ballads, etc., belonging to the county of Durham, first published in 1834, has been reprinted (Frank Graham, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1969, 10s. 6d.). It contains the following:

"A GRACE

"Good Lord of thy mercy,
"Take my good lady D'arcy
"Unto her heavenly throne;
"That I little Frank,
"May sit in my rank
"And keep a good house of my own."

The note records:

"Lady D'arcy, who was the second wife of Sir William Bowes, of Biddic, and widow of Godfrey Foljambe, of Walton, Co. Derby, Esq., on whose estate she had a large jointure, married thirdly, Lord D'arcy, of Aston. She was a puritan, and entertained many godly ministers. The next in the entail, who thought she had lived long enough,

"The jointur'd widow long survives,"

went to see her, and was invited to dinner, when she desired him to say grace; and with the attitude of a starch'd puritan, after the usual pause, he expressed his wishes *graciously* as above.

Early of Witney

The Blanket Makers, 1669–1969: a history of Charles Early & Marriott (Witney) Ltd., by Alfred Plummer and Richard E. Early (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), traces the development of the blanketmaking firm back to family roots in seventeenth century Witney, when there lived Richard Early, "man-mercer" (or men's outfitter), a Quaker, whose son Thomas was apprenticed at the age of 14 in 1669 to a blanketmaker named Silman. Thomas succeeded to Silman's business. Thomas Early's brother John (1657–1733) was also a Quaker, but there is no further mention of any of their successors being of that persuasion.

The book is well produced, and there are two family trees.

Henry Tobit Evans

"The Liberal Unionists in Wales", by Kenneth O. Morgan, in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Winter,

1969), pp. 163–171, includes a notice of the work of Henry Tobit Evans of Llanarth, Aberaeron, in the politics of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Evans reacted against Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and became Liberal Unionist agent for Wales in 1889. The writer comments that Evans was "indeed a Friend with many foes".

John Harris, 1812–1869

"John Harris, Quaker engineer & investor, 1812–1869", by H. J. Smith (*Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, Vol. 69 N.S., 1969, pp. 330–343) gives a brief sketch of the life and business activity of one who made some mark in the development of Darlington and Teesside. John Harris transferred his membership from Pardshaw monthly meeting to Darlington in 1835, and in 1836 became resident engineer to the Stockton and Darlington Railway. There is a genealogical table, showing family connections with the Dixon, Pease, Whitwell, Wilson and other families.

Thomas Edmund Harvey

Edmund Harvey is mentioned in the course of an article by A. E. Day entitled: "From Irish navvy to Royal librarian" in *The Library World*, Vol. 71, No. 831 (September, 1969), p. 70. The article concerns Patrick MacGill, author of *Songs of the Dead End*, who was born in County Donegal in 1891.

Mr. Day raises the possibility that the Leeds University Library copy of *Songs of the Dead End* (1913), which was received as part of the T. E. Harvey bequest in 1955, has a letter from MacGill to Canon J. N. Dalton inserted in it. It seems much more likely, however, that the letter, which has no name of addressee, is to T. E. Harvey.

Preserved with the letter is a printed extract from the *Daily Express* of 29th November, 1911, containing a poem, "The Men of the Thames", by Patrick MacGill, which was recited at the great "Express" meeting held at Greenwich to demand a warship for the Thames. This poem may, perhaps, explain why T. E. Harvey, then Liberal M.P. for West Leeds and no Navy man, does not seem to have opened up correspondence further to assist the poet in his career.

Joseph Lancaster

M. H. Mackenzie in an article on "Cressbrook and Litton mills, 1779–1835" (*Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 88, 1968, pp. 23–24) justifies Joseph Lancaster's bizarre methods of keeping discipline in school without resorting to corporal punishment, against the strictures of S. D. Chapman in *The early factory masters*, 1967, p. 203.

Thomas Lawson

"Puritanism and science: the anatomy of a controversy", by Richard L. Greaves of Eastern Washington State College, an article in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (July/Sept., 1969, pp. 345–368, mentions Thomas Lawson the botanist. The author argues that there is a relationship between Puritanism and science, but not a direct one.

James Logan

James Logan had a copy of the 1632 edition of Robert Burton's

Anatomy of Melancholy, and Charles Heventhal, Jr. in "Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* in early America" (*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 63, pp. 157–175, 1969) quotes Frederick Tolles on the possibility of Logan's own sufferings from black melancholy and despair having been some explanation for his interest in the book.

John Mayott

John Mayott, gent. and Quaker, Chelmsford, 212 ER 35, indicates the will proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Essex in 1795. The entry occurs (p. 220) in the *Index to wills now preserved in the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford*, Vol. 3, 1721–1858 (London, British Record Society, 1969).

Richard Milner

(Parish register of Braithwell, Yorks.)

"1724 1 July baptism of Richard, s. of Richard Milner, Quaker."

[Entry printed, p. 58, of Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Parish Register Section. Vol. 132. 1969.]

Henry Stanley Newman

Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales, pt. 28 (The National Library of Wales journal supplement. Series 2, No. 28), p. 332, includes (among miscellaneous correspondence 12871C (Gwern-y-pant 7),) the following:? a reply to a query *re* Quakers of the Dolgellau district . . . Henry Stanley Newman, Leominster, 1882 (? Quaker schools at Penketh and Sidcot, the writer's interest in a new edition of Richard Davies . . . his library of "old Friends Books", an invitation to pay a visit . . .

Robert Owen

Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: the quest for the new moral world, by J. F. C. Harrison (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969) is a handsome book. It is well written, and complemented with a hundred-page bibliography. The author is currently professor of history at the University of Wisconsin and has brought to his assistance material fully to illustrate his subject from both sides of the Atlantic. There is one picture of an idyllic scene at New Harmony, Indiana, across the Wabash River from Morris Birkbeck's settlement in Illinois.

William Penn

"William Penn's *English Liberties*: tract for several times", by Winthrop S. Hudson of the Colgate Rochester Divinity School, appears in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, Vol. 26, No. 4 (October, 1969), pp. 578–585. The author discusses the various editions, and notes the possible influence of the book in preparing the minds of American colonists for the American Revolution.

Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century, by J. A. W. Gunn (Routledge, 1969) has a perceptive chapter on "Conscience and Interest after the Restoration". In it the author pays considerable attention to William Penn, and touches on his views on civil rights and his attitude towards religion in politics, the catholics, and a balance of parties.

William Penn's political activity is mentioned in Richard E. Boyer, *English Declarations of Indulgence, 1687 and 1688.* (Studies in European history, 15. The Hague & Paris, Mouton, 1968.)

In *Manuscripts and Men* issued by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts on the occasion of the centenary of its establishment, 1869–1969 (H.M. Stationery Office, 1969. £1), item no. 68 (from the Finch Papers) is a letter from William Penn to Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, 21st November, 1692, praying that he might be released from his voluntary parole, there being no truth whatsoever in the charges made against him of plotting with the Jacobites.

Penn writes: "I am so much broaken in my health by a Rhumatisme, Imposthumation, and feaver ... and my wife so very ill these 9 weeks, and now dangerously relapst, so that she can't come to me & I must not goe to her (a most uncomfortable state) and my poor family and affaires in so great disorder by these and other afflictions, that I beg leave to renew my last request for my liberty."

JOHN RICHARDSON WIGHAM
(1829–1906)

"Science and government in Victorian England: lighthouse illumination and the Board of Trade, 1866–1886", by Roy M. MacLeod of Churchill College, Cambridge (*Isis*, Vol. 60, No. 201, Spring 1969, pp. 5–38), deals in part with the efforts of John Wigham to have his gas light inventions used in the Irish lights adopted in the British lighthouses and the political forces which eventually frustrated this.

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 4d.

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 4d.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68 pp., 8s., post 4d.

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 4d.

26. JAMES NAYLER, A FRESH APPROACH. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall, D.D. 1954. 2s. 6d., post 4d.

27. THOMAS RUDYARD, EARLY FRIENDS' "ORACLE OF LAW". By Alfred W. Braithwaite. 1956. 2s. 6d., post 4d.

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. 1s. 6d., post 4d.

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.

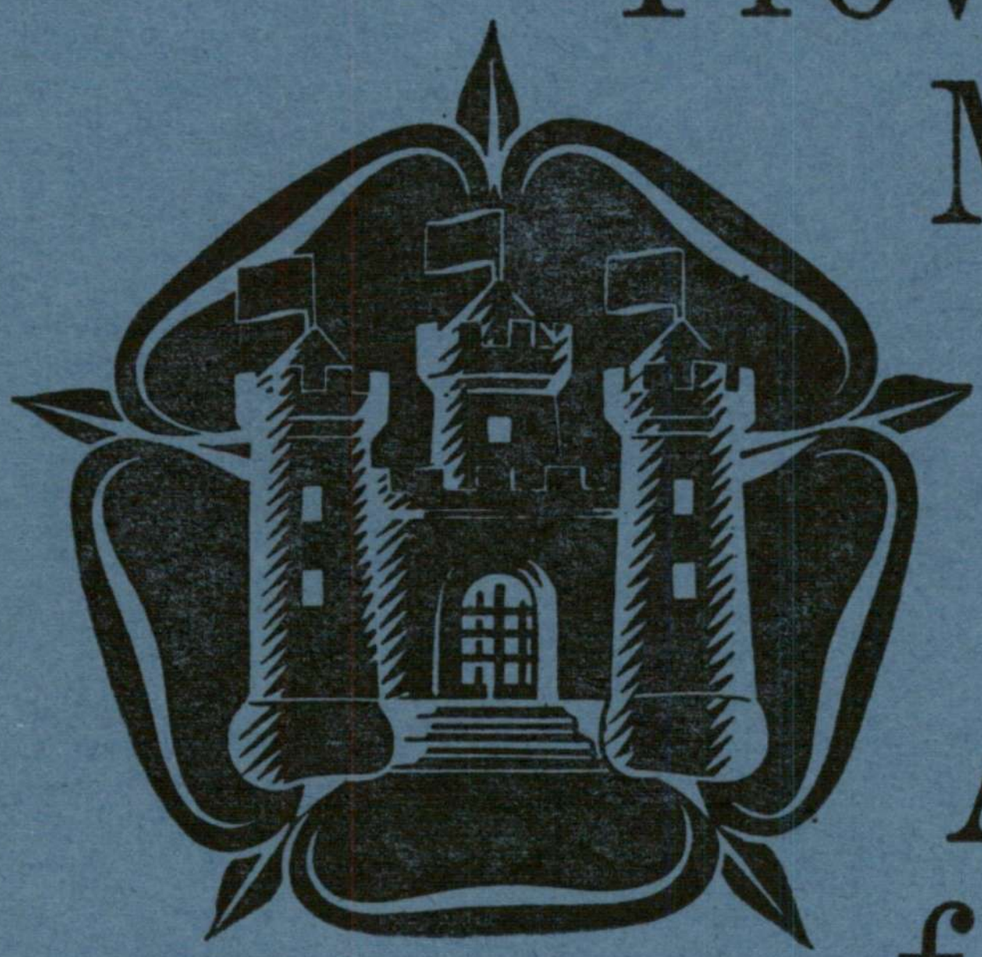
31. GEORGE FOX AND THE PUREFEYS. By T. Joseph Pickvance. 1970. 6s., post 4d.

Journals and Supplements Wanted

F.H.S. would be glad to receive unwanted copies of back issues of the *Journal* and of the Supplements. Address to F.H.S., c/o The Library, Friends House, London N.W.1.

Friendsplan

. . . a brand new
Life Assurance Policy
linked to Friends'
Provident Units.
Many special
features.
Write to the
Agency Manager
for details
of the policy and units.



Friends' Provident & Century Life Office

7 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY HEADLEY BROTHERS LTD
109 KINGSWAY LONDON WC2 AND ASHFORD KENT