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# Friends' Historical Society

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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## Editorial

Quaker child's story book is that of Thomas Lurting, the "fighting sailor, turned peaceable Christian", whose quick wit enabled him and his shipmates to turn the tables on their captors when they and their ship fell into the hands of an Algerine corsair. They disarmed the pirate crew peaceably and put them ashore on the coast of their own country before continuing their voyage.

Thomas Lurting's story provides a happy ending. He was but one among a considerable number of Friends who, in their travels and trading, had cause to fear the Barbary pirates.

Kenneth Carroll's article on the "Quaker slaves in Algiers, 1679–1688" is the main item in this issue of the *Journal*, and it throws light on dark shadows in the experience of Friends who fell into servitude in towns in what is now Algeria and Morocco. The main evidence in the article comes from Meeting for Sufferings records which illustrate the efforts which Friends from both sides of the Atlantic made to secure early release for their unfortunate brethren.

Not all printers get it right, although it is unusual for a Quaker book (and a volume of obituaries of Friends, to boot) to earn the tag "2nd edition before publication". However, so it was with the 1760 Collection of Testimonies concerning several Ministers of the Gospel amongst the people called Quakers, deceased, and David Hall produces an extended

note based on an examination of the two printings and on the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, 1758-60, showing how a late surge of demand coming after the type for the original edition had been distributed forced Friends' printer to set the book up again, and to maintain the price at 2s. 6d.

This issue, the final number in volume 54, includes Reports on Archives, Notes and Queries, and the title-page and index to the volume, covering the years 1976-82.

We welcome the appearance this year of the second volume in the magisterial edition of *The Papers of William Penn* from the University of Pennsylvania Press. Editors and publishers are to be congratulated that this work is going on so well. The first volume was noticed in a previous issue (vol. 54, pp. 258-59). This second volume is largely concerned with the founding and early settlement of Pennsylvania, and it includes major documents concerned with events in 1680-1684 and extensive lists of First Purchasers.

In the eighty years since the *Journal* first appeared, the price per issue has increased from the original 2s. [10p], but the Historical Society still holds to the object of its Rule, stated at the inception:

"As funds will allow, but not more frequently than four times a year, a Journal shall be issued in the interests of the Society, and sent free to all members."

For many years now 'four times a year' has never been in sight, but with continued interest in Quaker history, an increasing flow of submissions for publication, and cash to support the work, there is an assured future for continuing research in Quaker studies.

# Quaker Slaves in Algiers, 1679-1688

Several times recently, while reading in the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting, I sensed the need for a deeper examination of the experiences of the seventeenth century Quaker captives in Algiers (and in the Barbary States). Brief references to their tragic situation appear in such works as Braithwaite's The Second Period of Quakerism² and Hirst's The Quakers in Peace and War.3 There is also a short pamphlet by Samuel Tuke, produced over a century and a quarter ago,4 composed largely of selected passages from minutes of London Yearly Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings. The story of these Quaker captives, however, is much richer and fuller than any of these works has suggested.

Algerine and Barbary crews roamed the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic looking for ships to capture and Europeans to enslave. George Fox, while on his journey to America in 1671, noted the consternation and fear caused on board his ship by the appearance in the distance of what was judged to be a "Sally man of warr" [Sali, Morocco], and the narrow escape which he and his fellow passengers then had.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Lurting and his Quaker captain, George Pattison, were captured by an Algerine corsair but escaped slavery in Algiers by taking their captors prisoner (and then landing them on the Algiers coast and setting them free).<sup>6</sup>

A large number of Quaker seamen and passengers, however, did not have the good luck of Pattison, Lurting, and Fox. Late in the 1670s growing numbers of Friends were taken captive—so that a small Quaker community came into being in Algiers. About the very time that the last members

3 Margaret E. Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War (London, 1923) pp. 78-80, 454.

5 Fox, Camb. jnl. (1911), II, 181-2, 215, 437.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, Friends House Library, London. These records are hereafter referred to as Meeting for Sufferings minutes.

William C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism, second edition and notes by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 431, 696.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Tuke, Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States Towards the Close of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1848).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hirst, op. cit., pp. 85–88.

of this group made their way to England, another body of Quaker captives appeared in Mequiness in South Barbary [Meknes, Morocco] and in Morbay (unidentified, several days journey away).

Probably Quakers first became slaves in Algiers in 1678, although our earliest references in Meeting for Sufferings records date from 1679, when John Lany and Levin Bufkin were being held prisoners there. On May 29, 1679, Meeting for Sufferings decided to lay the case of these two Friends before the next Yearly Meeting.7 The Yearly Meeting in June 1679, expressing its concern for "several friends taken captive by the Turks in Algier," instructed Meeting for Sufferings to recommend a general collection (to be taken up throughout the country) for the use of these captives.<sup>8</sup> Early in July a committee, appointed by the Six Weeks Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings, was asked to look into the questions of how many Friends were held captive, the cost of their redemption, how to handle the mechanics of reimbursing the "costs and charge" of their redemption, and "the method and manner to collect the money to be laid out."9 It was decided that all people to be redeemed by Friends should have "a sufficient certificate or testimony of their being friends of Truth from the monthly meeting they belong to or otherwise."10 Also, those Friends ransomed were to be asked to enter into a bond to repay the amount expended for their release.<sup>11</sup>

William Meade, John Osgood, William Shewen, and Samuel Groome were empowered to negotiate with some merchants trading with Algiers to ransom Levin Bufkin and John Lany. Mary Fisher was asked to write to Bufkin's relations for financial assistance. Ellis Hookes was requested to draw up a letter to "be dispersed abroad about the Nation about a Collection to redeem several friends in Captivitie in Algiers." This letter, actually produced by William Shewen,

<sup>7</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, I (1675-1680), 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, I, 67. These manuscript records are found in Friends House Library, London. They are hereafter referred to as London Yearly Meeting minutes.

<sup>9</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, I, 108-9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., I, 109.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., I, 110.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., I, 110.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., I, 113.

was then "read, amended, and ordered copied" by Hookes to send to all the Quarterly Meetings in England and Wales.<sup>14</sup>

As Meeting for Sufferings was just initiating this redemption effort it was discovered that a number of other Friends were in captivity. A certificate was produced for Bartholomew Coale of Limehouse (and a member of Ratcliff Meeting). William Morgan of Redruth and Henry Tregenoe of Truro Meeting in Cornwall were also found to be captives. Homas Everden of Canterbury asked for help in ransoming his son George, although the son was not "found in Truth." Everden was asked to lay the case before his own Monthly Meeting first. Meeting for Sufferings discouraged private collections among Friends (such as Philip Dysey's efforts on behalf of William Morgan), saying that all efforts should come through the appointed committee. 18

On October 9 it was learned that Bartholomew Coale's wife had raised £50 towards his ransom, so that Meeting for Sufferings agreed to provide the additional £40 required. By December 4 Coale had been redeemed. Early in January 1679–80 Levin Bufkin was reported freed and set ashore "with Mary Forster's son" (John Lany?) in France. Bufkin was then seeking money for passage to England. In Early 1911.

Just when it appeared that the whole Quaker contingent might be redeemed, Friends learned that a number of other Quakers were captives. The well-known Friend Daniel Baker and three of his sons (Thomas, Daniel, and John) had been taken to Algiers in November 1679.<sup>22</sup> Thomas Tyleby [Taulby, Tileby, Tailbey], a "public" Friend on his way from Jamaica to London on Daniel Baker's ship, was also held prisoner there,<sup>23</sup> as was Gerard Serrenson [Sefferenson,

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14 Ibid., I, 116.
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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., I, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., I, 116, 117.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., I, 124.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., I, 115, 116.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 129. Meeting for Sufferings authorized the payment of £20 to each of the two Friends who had given the money needed for his redemption.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid., I, 135.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., I, 137.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., I, 138. It may be that this was the "ship from Virginia" mentioned in the 1679 letter appealing for funds (perhaps coming via Jamaica)—cf. Manuscripts, Portfolio 16, item number 13, Friends House Library, London.

Seffreason, Serencer], a Dane or Norwegian.<sup>24</sup> They were soon joined by Nicholas Coker and John Claggett (an apprentice to Henry Tregenoe).<sup>25</sup>

In March 1680 Meeting for Sufferings noted that Friends Stock (the fund for relief of captives) was too small for the demands on it. At the same time, however, that Friends were being asked for more money, it was thought advisable to recommend that they also contribute to the public collections for redemption of prisoners in Algiers "and other parts of Turkey" lest there be occasion "to debarr or exclude all such who are called Quakers from the benefit of this public Brief."26 Reports of the sufferings experienced by some Friends in Algiers speeded up redemption collections and efforts. John Clagget was "used very severely," receiving "20 stripes together and that most days to make him turn Moare [Muslim, that is]."27 Ratcliff Meeting reported early in 1680 that James Braynes had fallen "into the hands of a beastly Patrone, who because he will not prostrate his body to his cursed will, hath (as we are Credibly informed) beat him 2 or 300 Blows & more. Such Cruel things he hath and (as far as we know) doth yet suffer."28 Francis Cooley, a servant to Daniel Baker and also a captive in Algiers, suffered "great extremity of hard usage from his patroon, [and was] severely beaten because he would not submit his body to his patroone's sodomy or buggery."29

The National Stock Account records show a growing stream of contributions for "redemption of Captives," starting late in 1678. Most of the early contributions came from London, the South, and the West.<sup>30</sup> Soon, however, money began to arrive from the North: from Derbyshire, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.<sup>31</sup> Irish Friends contributed heavily, with £189..17..10 coming from Cork

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., I, 140.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., I, 142-3; see W. A. Bewes, Church briefs, 1896, p. 287.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., I, 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid., I, 148. Ratcliff Meeting reported that this "lad" had been orderly and had frequented that meeting when in England.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 171, 173.

<sup>3</sup>º National Stock Accounts, I (1678–1716), 8a. These manuscript records are found in Friends House Library, London.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 2a, 3a.

and £333..4..2 from Dublin.32 Irish Quakers expressed a desire to help redeem Daniel Baker and his three sons.33 They soon learned that Robert Barret of Cork (who had been a captive since 1675) had recently been convinced of Friends testimonies.34 The Men's Meeting at Port Royal in Jamaica expressed its hope that Meeting for Sufferings might procure the release of Thomas Tyleby ("late inhabitant of Jamaica") and promised that they would reimburse Meeting for Sufferings.35 Barbados Friends sent money for the ransoming of Richard Clare, with the provision that if he were dead the money might be used for Daniel Baker and his sons.36

Although Levin Bufkin, John Lany, and Bartholomew Coale had been redeemed by early 1680, no other redemptions proved possible during the next twelve months. Bufkin, who had reached London in March 1680, gave a "judgment and bond" to repay the £100 used to ransom him. He later became ill and required additional money for care before once more setting out for Virginia (where he had been bound when taken captive). He also gave security for this additional amount, as well as the cost of his passage to Virginia.<sup>37</sup> There is no mention of further aid to Coale or Lany.

Early in 1680 Meeting for Sufferings drew up a list of seven captives (out of the larger number there) which were recommended for redemption first.<sup>38</sup> Even while Friends were collecting money and negotiating for the release of these seven, a number of other Quakers were taken as captives to Algiers—including Thomas Swan (a "young boy," who is "an Honest Boy, professing Truth"), John Harris, and Benjamin Guy (both of Ratcliff Monthly Meeting), and William

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., I, 3a. Thomas Cook of Cork wrote that he believed Irish Friends would give much more toward this cause. Cork Friends expressed their desire that any Irish Friends who were captives might be assisted—cf. Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II (1680–1683), 6.

<sup>33</sup> Meeting for Suffering minutes, I, 160.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., I, 156, 159. Lucretia Cook, once an influential Irish Friend but now living in England, had received a letter from Barret.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., I, 163.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., II, 24.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., II, 1, 11. In April 1680 the cost of his redemption and "charges homeward" were listed as £93..13..9. Another £ had been necessary for his "care" when ill and his passage to Virginia.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., I, 148. These were Daniel and John Baker, Henry Tregenoe, Gerard Serencer, Thomas Tyleby, George Everden, and John Claggett. Two of Baker's sons (older than John), Nicholas Coker, and James Braynes "the younger" (a cousin of James Braines, Sr.) were not included in this list.

Sidrole.39 In March 1681 James Braines, Senior, reported that his son-in-law Henry Tregenoe had been redeemed for 3,400 dollars (about £770 sterling), with £140 of this amount being provided by Meeting for Sufferings.40 In May 1681 Gerard Serrenson, Thomas Swan, and George Everden were redeemed and already in Marseilles on their way home to England.41 John Harris was ransomed by James Braines without any cost to the National Stock (having conducted private collections among Friends).42

Sometime quite early in the life of this Quaker group in Algiers, a meeting for worship was established among them. It may possibly have originated about the very time that Robert Barret was convinced (late in 1679),43 for it was about this same time that Daniel Baker and Thomas Tyleby (a "public" Friend) arrived there.44 The first official notice of this meeting, however, appears to have reached George Fox and English Friends in a letter from a captive (Daniel Baker?) dated December 1681, Fox responded in a letter of March 17, 1681/2:

I understand . . . that you have a Meeting there in Algier of about Twenty, I am glad to hear you meet; and it is very well, that you have so much Liberty from your Patroons; and my desire is, That the Lord may preserve you all, that do meet in the Name of Jesus, that in your Lives, and Conversations, and Words, you may preach Righteousness and Holiness, and Godliness, and the Life of Truth; so that you may answer the Spirit of God, both in the Turks and Moors, and the rest of the Captives.45

George Fox wrote several other letters "to Friends that are Captive in Algier," including one on April 10, 1683, in

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., II, 15, 24.

<sup>4</sup>º Ibid., II, 32. Tregenoe's own family was too poor to help in this ransom, for they were in 'low circumstances,' having suffered much for 'Truth's Sake,' Ibid., I, 126.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., II, 47-48. The cost for Serrenson and Swan was 413 dollars and 4 Ryalls (£208...11...9 1/2 in English money). Thomas Everden provided most of the amount for his son's ransom.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., II, 48.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., I, 159.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., I, 137, 138.

<sup>45</sup> George Fox, A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles (London, 1698), epistle 366, (p. 455). This letter is mentioned in Meeting for Suffering minutes, II, 101, where we also find mention of the meeting in Algiers (as if it were fairly recent in origin). Cf. London Yearly Meeting minutes for 1682, where the meeting is said to have been in existence for some time.

which he attempts to give them both encouragement and religious instruction. In addition to advising these Friends how to handle certain sayings of "Turks" against Christianity, Fox tell them that "I think you have more Liberty to meet there than we have here; for they keep us out of our Meetings, and cast us into Prison, and spoil our Goods. And therefore prize your Liberty in your Meetings, and do not abuse it."46 Fox likewise sent a number of Quaker publications to be given to the Turks, as well as advising the captives that

it would be very well for you, if you could get the Turks and Moors Language, that you might be the more inabled to direct them to the Grace and Spirit of God in them, which they have from God, in their Hearts; and then get[t]ing their Language, you would be able to write and translate any Papers to them, which may be serviceable to instruct them, and for the spreading of the Truth among the Turks and Moors.47

Moses Finch, who was one of those Friends meeting for worship in Algiers, later told Meeting for Sufferings in London that "They were suffered to meet openly [and] peaceably together; Moors and Turks having been there to see them without molestation."48 Ephraim Gilbert a short time later reported that "the Turks like very well of it that the captives read Friends books, they count them the better for it. Their meeting is quiet, twice a week, and [they] have no interruption by the Turks. The Turks and Moors say that the Q[uake]rs are a simple Innocent people, they know they won't steal."49 Roger Udy, even later, told Meeting for Sufferings that "the Turks Approved of Friends meetings there, and were very desireous to know Friends way of worship etc.—by Reason that they saw them to be a quiet sort of People and that they would not steal and Plunder from their Patroons as the other Captives did."50

With the establishment of this meeting for worship came a number of convincements to Quakerism among the other captives. The case of Robert Barret (of Cork in Ireland) has already been mentioned. Among those convinced were

<sup>46</sup> Fox, Epistles, epistle 388 (p. 493).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., epistle 388 (p. 493).

<sup>48</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV (1684-1685), 34.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., IV, 98.

<sup>5</sup>º Ibid., VI (1687-1688), 197.

Samuel New, 51 Thomas Fletcher, 52 Joseph Todderdell [Todderal] and his brother Henry, 53 Ephraim Gilbert, 54 and possibly Richard Long. 55 Other members of this meeting, either Friends when captured or convinced while enslaved (in addition to the individuals already mentioned) were John Legate, 56 James Hathaway [Hattaway], James Goodridge [Gutherige], Roger Udy, Nathan Stanbury (of Antigua), John Ward, Francis Jackson, William Starks, William Howard, Roger Rumney, and John Grimes. 57

Although there appears to have been a general appreciation of the captives' reading Quaker materials and attending meeting for worship, this did not enable all Friends to escape further sufferings. Daniel Baker in December 1680 wrote about the "great suffering of his kinsmen [sons]." 58 In 1681 it was learned that Francis Cooley

because he cannot submitt to their Wicked Wills they have most Barbarously Whipt him, and hung him up by the Middle till he was almost dead. In order to make him comply with their Sodomittish Lusts. But [they] could not prevaile, the Lord's Power preserving him; so that he chose rather to dye than to Lett their Wicket Lusts reigne over him.59

Joseph Todderdell had his arms beat "black and yellow" and his body abused. On another occasion it was reported that Joseph Todderdell's "head has lain upon a block several times, his patroon having a hatchet in his hand to behead him for his Testimony to the Truth and in keeping on his hat before him after he was convinced of Truth. Early in April 1685 Joseph was murdered by his patroon during one of the many cruel beatings he had received. James Hathaway wrote to London Friends that Joseph "was faithful to his M[aste]r and of a meek and tender spirit, and

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52 Ibid., II, 182.
53 Ibid., III (1683-1684), 165; IV, 33.
54 Ibid., IV, 98.
55 Ibid., IV, 104, 175. There is one suggestion that Long was not a Friend.
56 Ibid., II, 50 (perhaps the same as John Claggett or Cleggatt).
57 Ibid., II, 184; III, 166; IV, 40.
58 Ibid., II, 21.
59 Ibid., II, 70.
60 Ibid., III, 165.
61 Ibid., IV, 34.
62 Ibid., IV, 143. A Spaniard in the next garden buried Todderdell and
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told Ephraim Gilbert of the episode.

hath writ many a Testimony of the love of God." Ephraim Gilbert, who was born in Bermuda and was on his way to London when taken captive, reported that at first he was "pretty hardly used by stripes and fetters of iron." The Turks would not allow him to work at his trade of cooper, but forced him to carry stones in order "to afflict him" to call for a larger ransom. Once he was kept fourteen days in a cellar tied to two sheep and having "fetters of iron" on him, while being allowed only bread and water. Afterwards they beat him on the soles of his feet with a dried bull's pizzle to make him give them 3,000 dollars. Later they lowered this amount to 1,400 dollars and finally promised to let him go at 1,200 dollars—even during that time "afflicting" him with stripes. 64

Accounts of this type of treatment led George Fox to write his 1684 letter "To the Meeting of Friends in Truth, that are Captives in Algiers." After giving them advice on walking humbly but "Righteously, Justly, and Holily in all your Words, Dealings, and Doings," Fox (who himself had known great suffering and persecution) continued,

And now, Friends, we understand, That some that have come lately among you, have been under great Sufferings and Abuses by their Patroons, because they cannot honour them with that [hat] Honour as other Slaves do, or as they have done before. Now, if you wait in Patience upon the Lord in his Truth . . . the Lord in his time (though he may try you) can mollifie that Nature in them there, as he hath done in other Places, where he hath tried his People with such things. And when they have seen, 'tis for Conscience sake towards God, and it is from the Principle of Truth and the Spirit; in which Spirit and Truth they worship the Most-High God, who is an Eternal, Incomprehensible Spirit, who is God in Heaven and God in the Earth, and dwells by his Spirit in his humble People, they have been overcome.66

Each year London Yearly Meeting sent out an epistle to its constituent meetings and to Friends throughout the Atlantic Quaker community. The 1682 epistle had mentioned the existence of the meeting for worship in Algiers, with one "public" Friend (Tyleby) among them.<sup>67</sup> The 1683 epistle

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., IV, 143.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., IV, 98.

<sup>65</sup> Fox, Epistles, Epistle 391 (pp. 502-4).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., Epistle 391 (p. 503).

<sup>67</sup> As quoted in Tuke, op. cit., p. 12.

reported that the meeting was "kept up." The 1684 epistle carried an appeal for more funds for the redemption of more of the captives—especially calling for contributions throughout England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Barbados, and Jamaica. Contributions came flowing in from all over England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Barbados, Jamaica, and Maryland (with several contributions from both the Eastern Shore and the Western Shore).

In January 1681/2 Splandon Randt [Splandid Rand] was redeemed.<sup>71</sup> Daniel and John Baker were home in England by late April 1682.<sup>72</sup> Thomas Tyleby (whose brother William was a member of Meeting for Sufferings)<sup>73</sup> asked that no money be expended for him yet, for the demands seemed so unreasonable that he "is rather willing to endure, till God shall order otherwise for his release."<sup>74</sup> When Tyleby's ransom was upped to 2,000 dollars, Meeting for Sufferings noted the concern of Jamaican Friends that Tyleby be ransomed no matter what the cost might be. He was, therefore, redeemed a few months later.<sup>75</sup>

In February 1682/3 it was reported that Thomas Fletcher had been redeemed, but that an English merchant named Lionel Crafts had gotten hold of him and "detains him, to do his services." 76 Richard Clare was freed early in 1683 and assisted with his passage back to Barbados. 77 Nathan Stanbury, once a captive but now ransomed and returned to Antigua, wrote to London early in 1684 to acknowledge Friends' kindness in helping him. 78 James Goodridge, who had been ransomed by his relatives, was back in London by May 1684.79 William Howard, of Dover, was released and

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68 Ibid., p. 13.
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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>º National Stock Accounts, I, 14a, 16a, 17a; Meeting for Sufferings minutes, IV, 16, 68.

<sup>71</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II, 82.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., II, 115. There is no mention of the release of Baker's other two sons.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., II, 123.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., II, 123.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., II, 154, 190. Thomas Tyleby, as a "public" Friend, was at a number of London meetings in 1683–1684. Cf. First Day Meetings Supplied by Friends, 1682–1683 (O.S.), pp. 9, 13, 47, 59, 204. I have used the photostatic copy at Friends House Libary, London.

<sup>76</sup> Meeting for Sufferings minutes, II, 189.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., II, 192.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., III, 137.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., III, 166.

was in London by February 1685—followed a few months later by Moses Finch (a Cornishman), John Grimes, John Ward, and Ephraim Gilbert.<sup>80</sup>

By mid-summer of 1685 only three Friends (James Hathaway, Roger Rumney, and Francis Jackson) remained in Algiers, while a fourth one—Roger Udy—had been taken to the Levant as a slave to the Grand Seignure.<sup>81</sup> Francis Jackson (of Nottinghamshire) was redeemed in August of that year and was able to attend Meeting for Sufferings on August 24, reporting that he had made "the Turks Caps" while there, and had received only ten blows the whole time he was in Algiers.<sup>82</sup> Hathaway (of Redrift [Rotherhithe]) was finally released in May 1686, while Rumney (of Bristol) was able to attend the June 11 session of Meeting for Sufferings, after having been a captive six years and eight months.<sup>83</sup> Roger Udy (of Devonshire), a ship's carpenter, was ransomed by late spring 1688—the last of the Quaker captives.

Many of these Friends who had suffered so much in Algiers needed further help after they were ransomed. Gerard Serrensen "being a stranger here [in London] and Now out of Employ" was given assistance in 1681.84 Robert Barret was given £5 to pay his way home to Cork and to help him get to sea again.85 A sum of £3 was given to Francis Cooley for his "relief and clothing."86 Roger Rumney received £5 for clothes and necessities.87

A number of those who received help from the special collections for the redemption of captives made real efforts to pay back the sums expended in their behalf. Levin Bufkin, following his settlement in Virginia, repaid the total sum which had been used on his behalf.<sup>88</sup> Ephraim Gilbert, Splandon Randt, and Nathan Stansbury also returned some amounts of money.<sup>89</sup>

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80 Ibid., IV, 7, 34, 40, 69.
81 Ibid., IV, 98.
82 Ibid., IV, 150.
83 Ibid., V (1686-1687), 122, 147.
84 Ibid., II, 52.
85 Ibid., II, 171.
86 Ibid., IV, 14.
87 Ibid., V, 147.
88 Ibid., VII, 9, 13, 206.
89 National Stock Accounts, I, 7b; Meeting for Sufferings minutes, III, 137; VII (1688-1691), 9, 13, 206; X (1694-1696), 8.
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Some of these redeemed captives also wrote letters expressing their gratitude for the efforts of Friends. Among those letters still extant is one from Levin Bufkin, January 17, 1680, to William Meade in which Bufkin writes:

I am Redeemed out of Captivity I suppose by order of thee and other friends, which Delivrance is never to bee forgotten by mee for which my soul hath Cause to bless the Lord who hath Delivred mee from the soard and from the pestelence and from the Rage of Cruell faithless and blodyeminded men and hath been a presant helpe and a staye to mee in time of neede, blessed bee his name for Ever moare.90

Another such touching letter of thanks came from Roger Rumney, on September 1, 1686.91

Several of these Friends were forced to call upon Meeting for Sufferings for other assistance later on. James Hathaway, after his release from his slavery in Algiers, went to sea once more in 1686—going as mate on a ship to Jamaica.92 Four years later he was a prisoner in France, receiving money from Meeting for Sufferings to procure clothes to "keep him warm." Gerard Sefferson (Serrenson), a seaman who lived in Townberger [Tönsberg?], Norway, was arrested there for translating part of William Penn's No Cross, No Crown and circulating it among the inhabitants. When he arrived in London in 1687 he appealed to Meeting for Sufferings to help the growth of Quakerism in Norway.94

One final note might be made about the effort to rescue Quaker slaves from Algiers. It helped prepare the way for a similar mission to rescue Quaker slaves in Sally, Maquinez, and Morbay in Morocco starting in 1685. Some money was already available for this second effort, remaining from the earlier appeals and from sums paid back by those redeemed. The machinery was already set up and the pattern of operation already fairly well perfected (although the difference in situation, severity of treatment, and still other factors, required a somewhat different approach).

#### KENNETH L. CARROLL

9º Manuscripts, Portfolio 16, item number 17, Friends House Library, London. This letter was written from Marseilles where storms had forced his ship to stop.

91 Ibid., Portfolio 16, item number 14.
92 Meeting for Sufferings minutes, V, 259.

93 Ibid., VII, 206, 226.

94 Ibid., VI 31. Cf. Henry J. Cadbury, "Christopher Meidel, and the First Norwegian Contacts with Quakerism," Harvard Theological Review, 34 (1941), 7-23, on early Quakerism in Norway.

# A Collection of Testimonies, 1760: a bibliographical note

In 1760 Luke Hinde published for the Society of Friends the work entitled:

A Collection of Testimonies concerning Several Ministers of the Gospel Amongst the People called Quakers, Deceased: With some of their last Expressions and Exhortations.

The pre-publication history of the book is well-documented in the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings and deserves examination for the light it sheds on Friends' method of publication in the eighteenth century. In 1757 Yearly Meeting recommended to the Morning Meeting:

The Care of looking over and printing such Testimonies of Public Freinds [sic] deceased as now are and heretofore have been read in this Meeting and Publish them or such of them as they shall think proper for the Service of Friends.<sup>1</sup>

In 1758 it was reported back to the Yearly Meeting that the Morning Meeting had taken no action so the task was then entrusted to the Meeting for Sufferings to report back to Yearly Meeting in 1759.<sup>2</sup> Meeting for Sufferings considered the matter, noting the previous failure of the Morning Meeting to do so, and appointed a Committee of twelve (of whom any four members might act) "to select such of Testimonys as they may see meet."<sup>3</sup>

The Committee of Meeting for Sufferings brought in a minute to that meeting on 13th of 10th month 1758 seeking the Meeting's permission to have a transcript of the "record of testimonys" made for correction before submitting it for printing4 and on 25th of 5th month 1759 a corrected manuscript, for which Robert Bell was paid five guineas, was brought to the meeting with this minute:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, vol. XI, p. 259 (quotations from these and the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, both housed in Friends House Library, London, are by permission of the Librarian).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, vol. XXX, pp. 178, 200.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 225.

Read through & Corrected the Testimonys concerning Publick Friends deceased, and Wm. Pitts & Josh Phipps or either of them, are desired to carry them to the Meeting for Sufferings, in order that they may be Transmitted to the Yearly Meeting.5

Yearly Meeting in 1759 received the collection and promptly entrusted its publication to Meeting for Sufferings:

referred to the case of the said Meeting to get the same printed with the Addition of such of the Testimonies brought to this Meeting as shall be judged proper; and the Publishing and spreading of the same is also left to the care of the said Meeting.<sup>6</sup>

Meeting for Sufferings proceeded to consider these matters soon afterwards and entrusted to the Committee the interesting and important question "what number may be of Service to have Printed" on which the Committee were to "confer with Luke Hinde . . ., and make report".7

So far, after the apparent lack of interest from the Morning Meeting, the course of preparation and publication had run smoothly. The next report from the Committee is of especial interest for its detail of costing:

It is agreed to propose to the Meeting for Sufferings the printing Two Thousand of them; and that Luke Hinde be desired to inform the several Counties thereof; & desire them to send up an Account what number of Books they will severally take as soon as they can, the Terms are as under viz: upon a Calculation that the Book will make Twenty seven Sheets, the Charge of One Thousand Copies on fine Demy paper £84 w[hi]ch is ab[ou]t 20d p[er] Book

Fifteen Hundred £120 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ Two Thousand £150 18 Three Thousand £212 179

Subsequently Hinde reported that he had sent a copy of the minute concerning publication to the Quarterly Meetings and he was asked to ensure that it went also to Monthly and particular meetings.<sup>10</sup> On 25th of 4th Month the text of the preface was approved.<sup>11</sup> Then orders began to come in and

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5 Ibid. p. 294.
6 Minutes of Yearly Meeting, vol. XI, p. 470.
7 Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, vol. XXX, p. 309.
8 The collation is actually 8°: a6 B-Aa8 Bb2.
9 Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, vol. XXX, p. 343.
10 Ibid. pp. 351-2.
11 Ibid. p. 413.
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exceeded the two thousand copies ordered by Meeting for Sufferings by a total of one hundred and thirty-five copies on 9th of 5th Month 1760, so that the Meeting agreed to order a further thousand copies<sup>12</sup> Two weeks later it was reported that Friends in Philadelphia had ordered eight hundred copies, so a thousand more were ordered from the printer, making now a grand total of four thousand.<sup>13</sup> But neither increased print order reached Hinde in time. It was reported to Meeting for Sufferings on 20th of 6th Month that the Books of Testimonies were almost ready for delivery, and the Committee were asked to "confer with Luke Hinde about the price thereof & make Report.' John Hunt brought back the report of that conference to Meeting for Sufferings:

the Press being broke up when the first two Thousand Books of Testimonies concerning Publick Friends deceased were printed off; the other Two Thousand which were ordered by the Meeting cannot come at less than the former price which will be Two Shills. & 6 pence p[e]r Book Bound.<sup>15</sup>

No more references have been found as to the quantities printed though it seems right to assume that the additional copies were prepared. There is a further substantial order, from John Rutty, for four hundred copies in sheets.<sup>16</sup> Concern was expressed about the counties that had not ordered copies so it may be that the second printing moved more slowly.<sup>17</sup>

One would not expect copies from the two printings to be identical in every detail. The examination of a small number of copies of A Collection of Testimonies has established that there are occasional differences in spellings and setting which demonstrate that there are at least two states but the examination in detail of a large number of copies might well show the existence of some made up of mixed sheets of the two printings. So far though I have seen seven copies (and been told of an additional two) with the 'A' points and two

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Ibid. p. 417.
Ibid. p. 418.
Ibid. p. 435.
Ibid. p. 452 (26th of 6th Month 1760).
Ibid. p. 526.
Ibid. pp. 472, 475, vol. XXXI, p. 13.
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<sup>18</sup> This suggestion was made to me by Mr. D. J. McKitterick of Cambridge University Library. The copies examined so far may be too small a sample, but they show no evidence of mixed sheets from the two printings.

copies (I know also of the existence of another) with the 'B' points. None of these have had owners' dates which would give any clue to the chronological order of 'A' and 'B'. In addition to the differences listed below, the result of a random rather than an exhaustive comparison of copies, it is my impression that the press-work in 'B' is slightly better and that there are some differences in the italic ligatures used.

R. S. Mortimer, in an examination of two copies in Leeds University Library, has noted 71 further points in which 'A' [Birkbeck Library 609] and 'B' [Leeds Friends' Old Library 29] differ. These points apply to the copies I have examined.

L	ocation	A	В
[p. 1]	line 9 line 10	Kirklinton Rigghead	Kirklington Righead
p. 35	last line	(begins) Minister	(begins) about
p. 75	line 24	(begins) end	(begins) Water-end
p. 216	line 10	Oustwick	Owstwick
p. 224	line 5	old	Old
p. 246	first word	sweet	weet
p. 259	line II	Crosfield	Crossfield

DAVID J. HALL

# Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts Accessions to repositories, and Reports added to the National Register of Archives, 1982 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1983. £5.75), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Durham University Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, The Prior's Kitchen, The College, Durham DH1 3EQ.

Backhouse family, bankers, of Darlington (addnl): deeds, corresp and papers 18th-20th cent.

York University Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW.

The Retreat, York: further records 1900-39.

Bristol Record Office, Council House, College Green, Bristol BS1 5TR. Champion family of Bristol: letter and commonplace books 1768-91.

Francis Yeamans: notebook rel to family history 1663-1746.

Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Shire Hall, Cambridge CB3 oAP.

Society of Friends, Cambs and Hunts Quarterly Meeting: digests of registers 1631–1837 (transferred from Norfolk Record Office).

Cumbria: Record Office, 140 Duke Street, Barrow-in-Furness LA14 1XW.

Society of Friends: records of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting 1722–1970, Swarthmore Particular Meeting 1797–1967, Colthouse Preparative Meeting 1788–1859, Height and Cartmel Preparative Meeting 1798–1976.

Gloucestershire County Record Office, Worcester Street, Gloucester GL1 3DW.

Bellows family of Gloucester: papers 1882–1948.

Hertfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Hertford SG13 8DE. Society of Friends: deeds and papers of Hertford and Hitchin Monthly Meeting Trusts 1587–1967.

Greater Manchester Record Office, 56 Marshall Street, New Cross, Ancoats, Manchester M4 5FU.

King, Wadkin, Barrow and other Quaker families in Lancashire: family and estate papers 1682–1909.

Shropshire Record Office, The Shirehall, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury SY2 6ND.

Darby family of Coalbrookdale (addnl): deeds, assignments of shares in Coalbrookdale Co. 1779–1879.

Shropshire Meeting of the Society of Friends: records 1661-1976.

Surrey Record Office, County Hall, Penrhyn Road, Kingston upon Thames KT1 1DN.

Kilsby family, feltmakers, Kingston: papers and Quaker birth certificates 1686–1855.

Tyne and Wear County Archives Department, Blandford House, West Blandford Street, Newcastle upon Tyne NEI 4JA.

Pumphrey family of Newcastle: papers 1770-1945.

#### Among the Reports listed are:

- 25050 Cadbury family, chocolate mfrs. of Birmingham: family and business papers. 89pp. Birmingham Reference L.
- John and Katharine Bruce Glasier, socialists: corresp. and papers. 122pp. Liverpool Univ L.
- 25374 Henry Pease & Co Ltd, woollen mfrs, Darlington. 10pp.

  Durham RO
- 25375 Wallis family of Darlington: family papers. 158pp. Durham RO
- Ernest J. Batten, farmer and conscientious objector: papers. 22pp. Suffolk RO, Bury St Edmunds.
- 25518 Elizabeth Fry, prison reformer: family corresp. 3pp. Devon RO

**\* \*** 

Devon Record Office (Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ) in its Report for 1981 to 1982 records the deposit of East Devon Monthly Meeting minutes, 1950–1970; and the membership book, 1848–c.1967 (D.874 adds. 2 and 3); and also the purchase of Membury and Thorncombe Monthly Meetings minute books (2), 1677–1727 (D.3408). These two last minute books came up at auction from a private owner and are described by Christopher Holdsworth on pages 15 and 16 of the Report.

## Transcripts of Minute Books of Friends' Meetings

The following transcripts have been printed:

- The minute book of the monthly meeting of the Society of Friends for the Upperside of Buckinghamshire, 1669–1690. Transcribed . . . by Beatrice Saxon Snell. (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society. Records Branch, 1) 1937
- The first minute book of the Gainsborough monthly meeting of the Society of Friends, 1669–1719. Edited by Harold W. Brace. (Lincoln Record Society, 38, 40, 44) 3 vol., 1948–51
- Minute book of the men's meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1667–1686; 1686–1704. Edited by Russell Mortimer. (Bristol Record Society, 26, 30) 2 vol., 1971–77
- Society of Friends: Kingston men's monthly meeting book, 1667-1691. Transcribed by Joan Wilkins. Reproduced from typescript, 1975
- The Somersetshire quarterly meeting of the Society of Friends, 1668–1699. Edited by Stephen C. Morland. (Somerset Record Society, 75) 1978
- 6 Leeds Friends' minute book, 1692 to 1712. Edited by Jean and Russell Mortimer. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Record Series, 139) 1980

The following typed transcripts are available in Friends House Library:

Central minutes transcribed by Edward H. Milligan:
Morning meeting of ministering Friends 1675-1700

Central minutes transcribed by Craig W. Horle: [no indexes]: Meeting for Sufferings 1675–1681;

Marking of Tarabas 5075-100

Meeting of Twelve 1679–1682;

Six Weeks Meeting 1671–1692/3

Berkshire minutes transcribed by Beatrice and Nina Saxon Snell: Quarterly meeting 1669–1678/9, 1681–1730 (1679–1681 not extant);

Newbury & Oare MM 1674-1723;

Reading MM 1668-1716 (includes Curtis party minutes from 1683 until the cessation of the separation in 1716);

Reading MM orthodox 1685-1730;

Vale of White Horse MM 1673-1722;

Vale of White Horse (women) 1676-1730;

Windsor MM 1668-1723

Bristol Men's Meeting minutes 1704-1751. Transcribed by Russell Mortimer. (Following the printed items listed in 3 above)

London & Middlesex minutes transcribed by Beatrice and Nina Saxon Snell: Longford MM 1670–1730

Oxfordshire minutes transcribed by Beatrice and Nina Saxon Snell:
Quarterly meeting 1671–1730;
Warborough MM 1670–1716;
Witney MM 1675–1704

Somerset minutes transcribed by Stephen C. Morland:

Ilchester (from 1691, South Somerset) MM 1668–1699; Mid Somerset MM 1691–1699 (formed out of Ilchester MM 1691); North Somerset MM 1667–1699; West Somerset MM 1676–1699

Wiltshire minutes transcribed by Beatrice and Nina Saxon Snell:

Quarterly meeting 1678–1730;

Charleote MM 1677–1705, 1700–1730 (1706–1708 not extant):

Charlcote MM 1677–1705, 1709–1730 (1706–1708 not extant); Chippenham MM 1669–1709, 1714–1725 (1709–1714 not extant); Lavington (Southern) MM 1704–1730

The Librarian at Friends House would be glad to hear of similar indexed transcripts of minute books held locally.

# Notes and Queries

#### PEACE SOCIETY

Alexander Tyrrell, of la Trobe University, writes on "Making millennium: the the midnineteenth century peace movement", in The Historical Journal, vol. 20, 1978, pp. 75-95. The author deals with the part Friends played together with political figures on the radical side in national affairs in publicising their advocacy of peace. Not all Friends were persuaded to go along with Joseph Sturge and Samuel Bowly, and the author has a quotation from the mouth of Samuel Gurney, who said he did not go to meetings of the Peace Society to listen to attacks on the aristocracy. The author mentions the work of Stephen Frick on Joseph Sturge, recently published in this Journal.

#### Prophecy and Millenarism

Prophecy and millenarism: essays in honour of Marjorie Reeves. Edited by Ann Williams (Longman, 1980) includes an essay by Christopher Hill on the Muggletonians which has much concerning relations with Friends.

In another essay, "Christian magistrate and Romish wolf", William Lamont mentions Richard Baxter's attack on Friends as crypto-Papists, and James Nayler's reply in his An Answer to a book called the Quakers Catechism (London, 1655, p. 13) stating that Friends did believe the Pope was Anti-Christ. Nayler, indeed, cast his net wider; what he wrote was:

"we confess the Pope to be Antichrist, and all your Popish Clergy of his Linage".

#### QUAKER ACT FINES

Record Society The Lancashire Cheshire's and volume 121 (1981) containing Proceedings of the Lancashire Justices of the Peace at the Sheriff's table during assizes week 1578–1694 prints evidence (pp. 109, 114) that fines from Quakers under the Quaker Act were assigned to the maintenance of the County jail, concerning whose conditions George Fox and others were complaining (1663, 1664).

#### SLAVE TRADE

The campaign for the abolition of the British slave trade: the Quaker contribution, 1757–1807, Judith Gaile Jennings (University of Kentucky Ph.D., 1975; University Microfilms International, 1978) uses Friends House and other Quaker records to very good effect in tracing the ways in which abolitionist Friends used their expérience in political activity to alert public opinion and try to persuade Parliment to end the slave trade. The victory and the Parliamentary success belongs to Wilberforce, but he could not have begun to work if the ground had not already been prepared by Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and "Quaker stalwarts" whose energy and perseverance carried the moral campaign to the country.

"The anti-slave trade agitation in Manchester", by E. M. Hunt (Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. 79 for 1977, pp. 46-72) traces Manchester involvement up to 1792 in the campaign which succeeded with the passing of the Abolition Act in 1807, twenty-four years after the London Meeting for Sufferings had set up its committee on the slave trade.

The author brings out the connection between this movement and other humanitarian and developing radical activities in the town. The Manchester Friend most prominent was Joseph Atkinson.

#### WEALTH

of property—the very in Britain since the wealthy industrial revolution (Croom Helm, London, 1981) by W. D. Rubinstein bases conclusions on a study of estates from probate records. The author calculates that 5 percent of the total wealth-holders were Friends—a much greater proportion than their numbers in the whole population.

"When one has named the most celebrated Quaker dynasties, like the Gurneys, Peases, Barclays and Cadburys, one has virtually exhausted the roll-call of Quaker wealth; in contrast to the Anglicans, there are very few names of those who were just as wealthy but unknown."

(p. 154)

#### WELSH LITERATURE

Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660-1773 by Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff, 1978) repeats some of the information in his Welsh history review article noted in this Journal in 1978 (see pp.

164-5), but sets it to advantage in the much wider context of religion in Wales, showing for example both the contribution of Friends to the religious attack on profane language and the opposition of other dissenters to Friends' preaching and publishing.

#### D. J. H.

#### WHITBY FRIENDS

James Cook, maritime scientist, by Tom and Cordelia Stamp (Whitby, Caedmon of Whitby Press, 1978. £3.95) introduces John Walker (the Quaker shipowner to whom James Cook was apprenticed for three years), the Walker household in Grape Lane, where the house still stands, and the circle of Whitby Friends, who in the eighteenth century were known to find themselves in receipt of reprimands from meetings for discipline for sending their ships out armed.

An Appendix reproduces some of Friends' Advices of the period.

#### WHITE HART COURT, LONDON

"Seven centuries in White Hart Court", by Priscilla Metcalf {Guildhall studies in London history vol. 4, no. 1. pp. 1–18, 1979) adds information to that already available concerning Friends' occupation of the site, which for just short of two centuries included the Gracechurch Street Meeting House. Beginning with the "slightly mysterious" advent of Friends to a portion of the property a year or so after the Great Fire, the account traces the descent until Friends finally surrendered their lease in 1862 (pp. 13-16).

Four plates illustrate the article, including a plan of the 1680s, and a plan on a lease of 1760.

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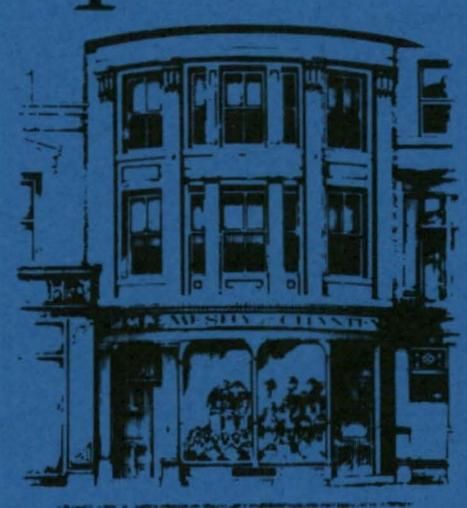
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