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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SEXUAL EQUALITY AND CONJUGAL HARMONY: THE WAY TO CELESTIAL BLISS. A VIEW OF EARLY QUAKER MATRIMONY

The attempt made by radical sects of the seventeenth century to bring about what some contemporaries judged to be a levelling project: equality of the sexes, is hinted at in George Fox's query whether: *"... the spirit of Christ (might) not speak in the female as well as in the male?"*.[1]

Spiritual equality of the sexes had indeed long been part of the social platform of many radical protestant movements of the first half of the seventeenth century, as it had been part of early medieval chiliasm in general[2]. In the England of the 1650s, however, female preaching and participation in church government, though occasionally allowed among Baptists and Independents, remained anathema for both the established church and the more radical fringes of Protestantism. Thus, whilst Quaker Publishers of Truth roamed the country to spread the doctrine of the Inner Light, a general consensus had not been reached amongst 'professors' concerning the *spiritual* equality of women with men, not to speak of plain equality of the sexes.

Many aspiring adepts of the Inner Light were content to pay lip-service to the concept as Fox's *Journal* shows[3], while Church of England clergy abhorred the thought. It soon became clear for religious activists of the Interregnum, Quakers included, that sexual egalitarianism was one of their more explosive doctrinal theories, threatening to 'turn the world upside down'. At the same time within the sects, social as well as sexual equality implying a balanced share of responsibilities in the church but also in the home, was to become the goal of many female prophets and professors of the Commonwealth and Restoration years.

To speak out fearlessly and boldly in church, to prophesy in the market place, or indeed to walk the streets naked to shame onlookers with their own spiritual nakedness, required a degree of self-assurance from women which only a feeling of being the social and spiritual equals of men could give. The Quaker movement in the years 1660 to 1670 seems to have provided its female converts with the necessary enticements to step out of the restricted role that had been allotted to them on account of Mother Eve's part in the Fall of Man. Needless to say, the new opportunities offered to Quaker prophetesses, which relied on Fox's interpretation of the Inner Light doctrine, were not to be enjoyed without having to be fought for. This explains why a great debate took place in the late 1660s within the movement to decide whether women were to be allowed to participate in church government. An angry controversy raged between Fox, the more enlightened Quaker leaders, and elements of the rank and file, conjugal harmony being implicitly at issue as much as church government. Women accustomed to speaking on matters of church government would obviously demand a greater share in the government of the family. The granting of one type of freedom to women immediately implying the other. The setting up of Women's Meetings in 1666 and 1667 throughout the country, signalled the successful outcome of this confrontation and meant that by the end of the 1670s, Quaker husbands and wives enjoyed an uncommonly high degree of shared freedom and authority.

How this came about is best seen by examining the way the Inner Light doctrine provided male and female Friends with a ready justification to practise spiritual and sexual equality, both in the home and outside of it.

The fact that early Quakerism offered staunch support for the defence of women's spiritual rights, more vocally perhaps than some of the Millenarian sects sprung up in republican England is stressed by

seventeenth-century historians. Keith Thomas and Antonia Fraser[4] have argued successfully that Interregnum sects were a choice breeding ground for the early stirrings of female emancipation. Spiritual equality, however, although widely asserted throughout the whole spectrum of English Protestantism, did not automatically entail an equality of social status between the sexes[5].

As journals and autobiographies of the period show, though seventeenth-century Protestants acknowledge the existence of friendly, admiring, fraternal and loving relationships between men and women, possibly enhanced by the trials the Civil War inflicted on families of both sides, husbands and elder brothers nevertheless continued to deny their womenfolk an equal share of authority in the home. The family roof and the church were after all the only two forums respectable women might make their voices heard in. Absolute power remained hence in male hands at home, in church and in politics, well after the Interregnum years.

Male ostracism of women existing among Friends in the late 1660s and early 1670s was denounced by Fox as contrary to Christ's teaching and the principle of the Light Within[6]. Friends who refused to recognize the eminence of the role given by Christ to his female disciples had fallen according to Fox, and to Margaret Fell before him[7], into an unregenerate state of post-lapsarian discord. The failure on their part, to see that the Inner Light shone with equal strength in both sexes testified to their spiritual blindness. These arguments, buttressed by the fact that the Quaker movement in 1666–67 had to rely increasingly on women for logistical support during the years of Restoration persecutions, convinced Fox of the need to set up Women's Meetings on the model of Men's Meetings.

By the early 1670s spiritual equality of women with men, had become part of Quaker doctrine and was paving the way for the granting of relative social and domestic equality to female Friends. That women Friends' rights in the home did not equate their rights in the church was obviously due to the apprehensions that female Friends' excesses might destroy the gains made by Quakerism in the 1670s in attaining a degree of social respectability. These fears were grounded on the high proportion of women within the ranks of the movement: as many as 55 per cent of Quakerism's adepts in the 1660s were women. Also, given seventeenth-century male prejudice concerning the "passionate" nature of women, it was believed that the sorry examples of female fanaticism among the Ranters, and above all the scandalous conduct in 1656 of Nayler's female disciples at Bristol and London,

might be repeated, should the domestic strictures they had been kept in hitherto, be relaxed. These and similar arguments were overruled however by Fox's forceful invocation of the Divine Principle, or Divine Light, illuminating and guiding all human beings. The acceptance by all Friends of God as immanent in Man, and a constant striving towards an awareness of the Inner Light in themselves and in one another, did away in the long run with sexist attitudes in the movement.

Quaker couples almost from the very first stirrings and leadings of the Inner Guide and the earliest glimpses of the Light within themselves, were confronted with the task of establishing a very novel relationship with their mates. One based on that revolutionary proposal of the time: the establishing of loving and free – in all senses of the term – relations between husband and wife. Early Quaker couples did in fact put into practice the theories of what historians have called the puritan sexual revolution, in that they based their marriage on a bond of mutual love and respect rather than on the reciprocal mistrust induced by the Fall. Quaker matrimony thus relinquished mercenary considerations and developed into a union founded on reciprocal love rather than financial attraction.

Love in the life of Quaker couples occupied a place of prominence, since the doctrine of the Inner Light presented each male and female Friend with the Edenic vision of regenerate Christians recreating an earthly Paradise within whose bounds attraction of the sexes to one another would be left to the guidance of the Light Within. Love is thus literally liberated from earthly and material constraints for Friends who have experienced the second birth. At the same time, their bodies becoming a receptacle in equal measure of the Inner Light, the Children of Light found it impossible to entertain ideas of submission of one human being to the other, regeneration having effectively wiped out sexual differentiation. The androgynous nature of matrimony conceived in such spiritual and mystical terms, reminiscent of Jacob Boehme's teachings, was to disappear outwardly whenever kindred souls sought to materialize their love through physical union. Quaker doctrine on marriage stressed in this way the spiritual and abstract quality of sexual relationships, finding it difficult to give material realization to such a spiritual mystery as love.

Renovating the whole concept of marriage, Friends, here as elsewhere of course, rejected forms, rites and ceremonies that Robert Barclay called *"... mere shadows and external manifestations of the true substance"*[8]. The rejection of 'outer manifestations' which belonged to the 'Church of the Apostasy' was not peculiar to Quakerism and had

been adopted by many Protestant sects. But what shocked Friends' contemporaries, well-inured to sectarian excesses, was the total discarding of all forms of nuptial ceremonial, the last obstacle it was felt that stood in the way of sexual licence. Friends choosing to marry from 1654 onwards, contented themselves with a simple, albeit public, declaration of intent before a General Meeting[9]. Hence the accusations of debauchery levelled at Friends by an outside world, horrified by the prospect that Quakerism might wish to follow the Digger Winstanley's advice: that every man and women might be able to freely choose his or her mate[10].

Like Ranters and Muggletonians, contemporary promoters of sexual equality, Friends conceived of matrimony as a union based on a strong central emotion, love, possessing strong spiritual implications before which paled the mere 'fleshly lusts' of money and sex. More important still and contrary to the then prevailing *mores,* Friends insisted that brides-to-be, when declaring their matrimonial intentions before both the Men's and Women's Meetings, explicitly abstain from professing to obey their husbands. For reasons seen above, acts of submission of one human being towards another being deemed incompatible with the spirit of the Inner Light doctrine. Husband and wife were placed from the start on an equal footing since both, through their 'spiritual travails', had regained a paradisiacal state of innocence and equality. This attitude enabled Quaker couples to fathom new depths in their relationship that only a minority of their contemporaries had ventured to explore.

Human expressions of love amongst early Friends, however, did not remain at such abstract levels and commonly found concrete expression as related by the spiritual autobiographies and journals. In the course of time, Quaker courtships and unions came to acquire, consciously or not, a symbolical significance. Friends' marriages become then microcosmic representations of the macrocosmic alchemical pairing of the Sun and the Moon, of Heaven and Earth, of Nature and God; a certain amount of hermetic and occultist thought having found its way into the movement's reflection at an early stage[11]. Such symbolical significance underlies for instance George Fox's marriage with Margaret Fell; the spiritual and mystical connotations of their union being both explicitly and implicitly put to the forefront of the couple's concerns. Indeed, so anxious were the father and mother of Quakerism to allay suspicions of mercenary considerations on Fox's part, that precise stipulations were made guaranteeing no financial advantage might come to Fox from this marriage. In marrying Margaret Fell, Fox gave up by contract all claims to his wife's fortune, much to the amazement of his contemporaries[12].

In this way, marriage abolished to a large extent for Friends the sexual inequality introduced by the Fall, life in the garden of Eden becoming a metaphor for Quaker married innocence. Love between Quaker husbands and wives had been cleansed of all guilt thanks to the new covenant of the second birth experienced by both, and married Friends were, theoretically at least, immune from the dissensions and strife induced by the material or sensual lures of 'carnal nature'.

To this extent a strongly platonic vision of matrimony emerges from the reading of Friends' autobiographies and tracts. These writings convey an impression of men and women striving to overstep the shoals of physical appearances. In some cases even, as in William Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude*, the ideal union is explicitly described as a love quest serving as metaphor for a spiritual quest:

> Sexes make no difference since in souls there is none... He that minds a Body and not a Soul, has not the better Part of that Relation; and will consequently want the noblest comfort of a married life. The satisfaction of our Senses is low, short and transient; But the mind gives a more raised and extended pleasure and is capable of an Happiness founded upon Reason; not bounded and limited by the circumstances that Bodies are confined to[13].

William Penn who also declared in the same treatise that: *"Between a man and his wife nothing ought to rule but Love"*[14], was not the only Publisher of Truth to extol the high emotional and spiritual levels reached by couples united under the auspices of the Inner Light.

The journals of John Banks, John Camm, John Audland, Thomas Ellwood, Elizabeth Stirredge, attest how married Friends managed to share equally the joys, trials and sorrows of lives often rent apart by the call of the ministry. An adventurous female missionary Katharine Evans held captive with Sarah Cheevers, by the inquisition at Malta, writes a letter home directed 'To my right and precious husband, with my tender hearted children who are more dear and precious to me than the apple of mine eye...'[15].

Elsewhere, the enforced separation, sometimes for long periods, of husband, wife and children, makes for pathetic reading as in John Banks' *Journal*. In a letter written to his wife whilst on a mission to the South and West of England the prophet exclaims: 'Dear wife, Thou art dear and near to me, together with our little one, in the nearness of that pure spirit and power, by which the Lord has nearly joined us together as one heart and mind'[16]. A letter which reflects the spiritual level on which Quaker couples rested their relationship. Man and Wife viewing one another as receptacles of the Inner Light, addressed themselves first and

foremost to what Fox had called *"that of God"* in every human creature. The Fall having shattered original divine unity, Fox's 'Children of Light', regenerate christians, offered to restore mankind to a prelapsarian state of harmony. Quaker doctrine thus enabled mankind to look at itself not with the eyes of the flesh, but of the spirit. And Quaker expressions of love and courtship are hence not so much directed to a person of flesh and blood, as to the spiritual entity of the 'Light Within' inhabiting the loved one. Love in early Quaker experience becomes the path leading to the discovery of divine love, with marriage symbolizing the earthly nexus of this mystical undertaking.

Marriage conceived as a mystical experience may explain why early Friends, in the wooing of future 'help-meets', took good care to avoid being guided by 'fleshly lusts' and emotions. Only the dictates of self-will lead the sexes astray, the choice of a companion should therefore be left to what are termed 'heavenly leadings' or the signs of Providence. The more brutish forms of terrestrial love stem from impulses of 'self-love', a burden inherited, in Quaker parlance, from 'Old-Adam's' unregenerate nature. Thus the love which irradiates from the Light Within might run the risk of being tainted by sexual passion instead of kindled by a purely spiritual fire. The deeper one scrutinizes outpourings of feelings in early Quaker writings, the more one becomes aware they belong to a puritan heritage imbued with platonic ideals.

Many seventeenth-century Quaker journalists have attempted to describe the mental anguish and doubts assailing them as they felt drawn towards a member of the opposite sex... The difficulty lay in ascertaining whether they were obeying the Inner Voice or answering the dictates of carnal nature. Richard Davies, Welsh Publisher of Truth, preferred to leave to God the responsibility of conducting his courtship with a young woman encountered at a London Meeting, rather than actively take matters into his own hands. Interpreting his feelings in terms of a revelation, Davies explains, one is tempted to say justifies himself, thus: 'It came to me from the Lord, that that woman was to be my wife...'. Drawing closer to the girl he takes good care however not to attract her notice: 'After meeting I drew somewhat near to her, but spoke nothing, nor took any acquaintance with her, nor did I know when or where I should see her again...'[17]. Introduced to her some time afterward, the providential nature of their meeting becomes clear from an identical revelation experienced by the young woman: 'In time... she confessed that she had some sight of the same thing that I had seen

concerning her... and I told her that if the Lord did order her to be my wife, she must come with me...'[18]. The fore-ordained nature of Richard Davies' courtship of his wife-to-be is further stressed by the latter declaring herself totally submitted not to her future husband's will, but to that of the Lord manifested through her husband's. Warned of the trials facing a Quaker prophet's wife, she readily replies that: '... if the Lord should order it so, she must go with her husband though it were to the wilderness'[19].

Bowing to God's dictates and blending self-will into God's will, early Friends managed to avoid the pitfalls of antinomianism and Ranterism. Yet the danger was always present, specially in matters of sexual relationships, that personal emotions and sensual impulses might be erroneously interpreted by Friends as providential leadings. Eschewing Ranterism, Quaker prophets and prophetesses concentrated on the 'Inner Light' as a supreme source of authority which forbade them to 'devour the creation' by 'using God's creatures unlawfully'. In this respect, early Quaker marriages reflect the existence of those two cardinal elements underlying Quaker theology: puritanism and mysticism.

The ultimate illustration of Quaker conjugal praxis: the translation of nuptial joy into celestial bliss, is provided by the marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell. In 1669 the Quaker leader and Judge Fell's widow, celebrate a union judged eccentric by outsiders to the sect, not least because Fox, then 45, was marrying a woman ten years older than he.

Since their meeting in 1652, Margaret Fell turning her family seat at Swarthmoor Hall into a rallying point in the north of England for the spreading of the Quaker message, had given Fox the role of spiritual guide within the Fell household. But to Fox's spiritual counselling of the Fell family was soon added the role of charismatic father figure. That is, if we are to believe Margaret Fell and her daughters' expostulations of religious enthusiasm directed at Quakerism's founder. Here, expressions of mystical as well as of profane love intermingle, attesting to this confusion of roles assumed by Fox at Swarthmoor: 'O my dear father when wilt thou come...', asks little Suzannah Fell aged two, whilst her five-year-old sister Mary, surely precocious, exclaims in the same letter to Fox: 'Thou art the fountain of life...'. Intimations of earthly and divine attachment to Fox's person are even more explicit with Margaret Fell: 'We, thy babes... O thou bread of life... O our life... O our dear nursing father... O our life, our desire is to see thee again that we may be refreshed and established'[20].

Two patriarchal figures thus joust for preeminence in the Fell family's life, a genuine flesh and blood father-figure, Judge Fell, and the more abstract paternal image of George Fox, master of the spiritual and emotional outpourings at Swarthmoor Hall. Aware of the adverse rumours raised by her association with Fox following Judge Fell's death, his widow adopted an attitude in conformity with the teachings of the Inner Light doctrine. Margaret Fell awaited God's assurance that linking her fate to Fox's truly corresponded to promptings of the Inner Guide. Doubt in this instance was a source of moral discomfort, shared by Fox, who relates in his *Journal* the hesitations experienced by both at that time, not unlike the pangs of conscience described by Richard Davies:

> I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentionned it to her she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing unto me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishment of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest and went on in the work...[21].

Fox's uneasiness concerning the match is probably also due to qualms about what the enemies of Quakerism might make of this decision. Yet divine assent is eventually given to the union on Fox's return from Ireland in 1669.

The symbolical significance of this marriage really becomes clearer when, besides rejecting material benefits which might accrue to him, Fox explicitly banishes all carnal or sensuous purpose from his and Margaret Fell's compact: a decision which was obviously taken in common. Discussing his marital plans with an "ancient puritan", Fox, in the *Journal*, relates that the question of sexual procreation was brought up. To the "puritan" who had, correctly, reminded him that the final aim of marrige was procreation, Fox retorted that he had: '... never thought of any such thing...' adding, interestingly enough: 'And I judged such things *below* me'[22].

The true motivation that lay behind his decision, explained the founder of Quakerism, was for it to serve as symbol and example for the Children of Light. They would then be able to interpret the match as Edenic bliss restored between the sexes: '... that all might come up into the marriage as was in the beginning and as a testimony that all might come up out of the wilderness to the marriage of the Lamb'[23].

Enacting somewhat theatrically a mystery not given to 'those of the world' to understand, because of the low nature of their preoccupations, Fox and Margaret Fell hold leading parts in the drama of a Quaker

"Paradise Regained". Based on contrasting themes of terrestrial, versus celestial love, their paradisiacal betrothal was to serve, like most public acts of the 'father and mother of Quakerism', for the edification of Friends of both sexes. To give that event all the publicity it deserved, Fox was careful to announce his matrimonial intentions before a number of Men's and Women's Meetings. Anxious to parry hostile and sarcastic comment from Quakerism's enemies, Fox addressed a written declaration of intent to all these Meetings. But what really matters is his insistence on soliciting all Friends' adhesions to his matrimonial plans. This clearly indicates on the part of the Quaker leader a wish to transform a personal commitment into that of the Quaker movement as a whole. Fox's marriage provides thus not only a norm for Friends to observe, but a way to celebrate a new form of spiritual communion. Matrimony, surprisingly devoid of procreative intent, being here transmuted by spiritual alchemy into a mystical union of souls which all members of the Quaker movement are invited to emulate. The mystical nuptials of George Fox and Margaret Fell are therefore presented to the Children of Light as the acme of cosmic love and harmony in the movement's history.

Quaker marriages adopting a uniform procedure from about 1654, stripped of all ritual forms, must undeniably have been lent added symbolical value 15 years later by Fox and Margaret Fell's union. A marriage modelled after that of Adam and Eve in Paradise was doubtless thought sufficient to silence criticism and earn recognition from the world outside. Yet Friends had to wait until the end of the seventeenth century for a Nottingham judge to recognize the full legal validity of their unions. Quaker marriage was lawful, allowed that magistrate, since it was fashioned after the union of Adam and Eve, adding, significantly, '... it was the consent of the women that made the marrage'[24].

Upholding the freedom of both partners within Quaker love-matches, Friends went further than seventeenth-century radical protestant theories and actually gave equality of the sexes an application in conjugal experiences. The symbolic and spiritual content of Quaker unions failed however to dispel all the accusations of licentiousness levelled at the movement by its adversaries. Indeed, Friends actively sought to counter suspicions that Ranterish ideas 'all is ours', had contaminated Quaker sexual equality transforming it into sexual licence. Obviously, platonic standards set by Fox and Margaret Fell enabled the movement to brand sexual transgression as a mark of the Beast to be extirpated from its midst as quickly as possible. Yet James

Nayler's female disciples' fanatical conduct at Bristol in 1650 and throughout the Quaker prophet's trial and sentencing, had stained the movement's reputation. Female fanatics or enthusiasts equated with sexual transgressors by the nation at large, whose patience with sectarian eccentricities was wearing thin, had also become by the 1660s the bane of the more stable elements of Quakerism.

George Fox, the recipient of a personal illumination, was apparently able to keep a tight rein over the leanings of the flesh, if not to sublimate (as has been the case for catholic saints), carnal lusts which overpowered weaker Friends. For the founder of Quakerism, all Friends having passed through the 'fuller's fire' of the second birth and discovered the Light Within, betrayed their hard-won profession of faith by succumbing to the 'groanings of the flesh'. Quaker doctrinal conformity then, also consisted in the silencing of carnal nature.

Thus it is a rare instance of sexual misconduct which has found a way into Fox's *Journal*. The scarcity of such examples indicating perhaps a relatively high degree of moral conduct among early Friends but also a will to censor embarrassing facts from that famous autobiography. Interestingly, the culprit here happens to be a woman, Rose Atkins, whose lover is publicly heard by Fox boasting of his sexual prowess. The prophet, though taunted by that woman's male companions, places himself beyond reach of their aspersions telling them angrily: '... their wickedness should not stumble *him* for *he* was above it...'[25]. Yet George Fox's ire at sexual misdemeanor among Friends did not turn him into a supporter of celibacy. In accordance with protestant dogma he condemned bachelorhood as a diabolical and popish invention[26], while maintaining that chastity was eminently desirable. This position, doubtless ambiguous in the eyes of those Friends who had not attained mastery over their senses, encouraged him to recommend German Friends to the Lord's care comparing them to Gospel virgins: '... the Lord keep and preserve all Friends chaste in his power, as virgins with oil in their lamps, that they may enter in with the Bridegroom, and not only so, but be married unto Him Christ-Jesus, and keep him in the sanctuary'[27].

This is a piece of Foxian advice which is a striking metaphor for sexual sublimation. The founder of Quakerism lays open here the secret of the body's inner sanctum, that temple of an Inner Light kept burning thanks to the oil of sexual energy. This same ideal of sexual abstinence, though valid for Friends in Germany, induced elsewhere a degree of sexual frustration. A number of Children of Light having emigrated to New England, though married, had undertaken an exercise in chastity

lasting four years in some cases. The spiritual benefits of such carnal mortification are however doubtful, a few of these Friends being described in a letter belonging to the Swarthmore Manuscript as: '... besides themselves about it'[28].

Some difficulties lay all the same in the path of sexual abstinence in early Quakerism. Examining the social and sexual conduct of early Friends one should keep in mind, the fact that a rigorous code of ethics was difficult to enforce within a movement whose recruitment in the early years was largely rural. Sexual relationships before marriage being a common practice in seventeenth-century rural England as Barry Reay reminds us[29]. Moreover, the youth of the movement's adepts and leaders, a youth found elsewhere among the Civil War's factions and sects[30], along with the geographical mobility of young radicals of the period, means they were less tied down to the moral codes of rural societies than previously. Quakerism's increasingly bourgeois leadership thus found it difficult to enforce ideals of chastity inside the church and were keen in the 1670s and 1680s to root out lower-class licence from their midst[31]. In fact, as Quaker doctrine became increasingly rigid ethically towards the turn of the century, it upheld the concept of equality of the sexes in Quaker unions, along with ideals of chastity and marital abstinence, as worthwhile goals. One may question however whether this attitude, Malthusian in part, whilst effectively protecting women from brutish male lusts, did not reinforce the endogamic marriage practices of the movement and the drying up of its recruitment in the 1700s.

Nevertheless, Quakerism's success in this particular field of ethics lay in having promoted not merely spiritual equality but social and sexual parity with men as well. The instauration of the Men's and Women's Meeting in the late 1660s is significant in that respect.

Reappraising the role of women as a whole by declaring them capable, like men, of harbouring the Inner Light and helping to restore a sense of self respect in Eve's daughters, was a way for Quakerism to uplift male status at the same time. New-born esteem on the part of the Publishers of Truth for their help-meets, reflected a heightened sense of ethics kindled in male hearts by the Inner Light.

Margaret Fell's paraphrase of the Apostle Paul's teaching (Gal 3:28): 'For Christ in the Male and in the Female is one, and he is the Husband and his Wife is the Church...'[32] is no mere metaphor but an image of what was to a certain extent taking place in the ranks of the movement when she wrote in 1666. Quakerism did not negate sexual differences, divinely ordained, but gave its adepts the means to visualize and realize

beyond these outward appearances, the Edenic, androgynous fusion of men and women whose lives were guided by the Inner Light.

Jacques Tual

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[1] George Fox, *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1700), 81.

[2] Most early christian sects such as: Manicheans, Donatists, Valdenses, Patarins, Cathars, had granted women a status of equality and allowed them to preach.

[3] On this point see *Journal of George Fox* (Ed. John Nickalls, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952) 666–667; for reluctance on the part of Friends to accept female equality as late as 1673. (The edition of the *Journal* cited above is the one used throughout these notes).

[4] Keith Thomas "Women and the Civil War Sects", *Past and Present* no. 13 (1958) and Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984).

[5] As Lucien Carrive, a French scholar specializing in seventeenth-century Protestantism has shown in his study: 'Les Puritains et la Femme en Angleterre au XVIIe' in, *La Femme en Angleterre et dans les colonies américaines aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Actes Colloque Société d'Etudes Anglo-Américaines* (Lille: Publications Université de Lille, 1975).

[6] On this point see: *Journal of George Fox*, 8–9, 74, 81, 303, 667.

[7] See Margaret Fell's famous pamphlet entitled *Womens Speaking, Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures* (London, 1666), 6, 7.

[8] Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (London, 1678), Proposition 12: I.

[9] See Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts eds. *Early Quaker Writings 1650–1700* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William Eerdmans, 1973), 475, 492, 494; for Fox's recommendations to Friends concerning marriage; also, *Journal of George Fox*, 577.

[10] On this point see Lewis Berens, *The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1906), 252.

[11] See the chapter of my doctoral dissertation dealing with early Quakerism and hermetical, occultist and kabbalist influences: Jacques Tual, *Les Quakers en Angleterre: Naissance et origines d'un Mouvement 1649–1700*, 3 vols. Diss. Univ. of Paris III, Sorbonne-Nouvelle, 1986), I, 195–224. Manuscript copy at Friends House Library, London.

[12] On this episode see *Journal of George Fox*, 554–555.

[13] William Penn, "Some Fruits of Solitude" in *Works* 2 vols. (London, 1726), I, 826.

[14] *Ibid.*, 826.

[15] Katharine Evans cited in Ernest E. Taylor, *The Valiant Sixty* (London: Bannisdale Press, 1947), 72 (3rd edn., 1988), 68.

[16] John Banks, "Letter to My Wife", 14th of 3rd Month 1688, cited in H. Barbour and A. Roberts, *Early Quaker Writings*, 189.

[17] Richard Davies, *An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services and Travels of That Ancient Servant of the Lord* (London, 1710), 37.

[18] *Ibid.*, 37.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Extracts cited in, Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism* (London, 1949; rpt. York: William Sessions, 1984); 37.

[21] *Journal of George Fox*, 554.

[22] *Ibid.*, 557.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel*, 371.

[25] *Journal of George Fox*, 525.

[26] For George Fox's condemnation of celibacy and adultery, see R.B. Schlatter, *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1940), 241.

[27] George Fox, "Epistle No. 374" in, H. Barbour and A. Roberts, *Early Quaker Writings*, 497.

[28] Swarthmore M.S. I, fol. 373, Friends House Library, cited in Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1985), 36.

[29] See work quoted above, note 28.

[30] On this question of youth, see Joan Thirsk's, "Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century". *History* No. 54 (1954), 358–377; and also Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972; rpt. London: Penguin, 1975), 188, 366.

[31] On these points see Barry Reay's illuminating study: *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, 115 *et al.*

[32] Margaret Fell, *Womens Speaking*, 12.

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BARTLETT, Percy Walter (1888, London, England – 1980, York, England).
Career: Secretary, British Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1924–36, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1938–56, Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 1933–43, Embassies of Reconciliation, 1936–67; editor, *Reconciliation*, 1933–36; Society of Friends, Peace Committee, 1928–65, Meeting for Sufferings, 1924–51.

Percy W. Bartlett is a product of that rich Quaker tradition in Great Britain that has produced a disproportionately high number of men and women who have made significant contributions to international harmony. Bartlett joined the Society of Friends in 1911, and participated actively in its work for over 50 years. During World War I, he declared as a conscientious objector and was subsequently imprisoned. His pacifism was based primarily upon a deep religious conviction, although he did not ignore empirical and rationalist arguments. Following the War, the climate of opinion in Britain was highly conducive to peace work, and by the mid-1920s Bartlett was immersed in pacifist activity.

During his lengthy career, he held key positions in several peace societies, his chief contribution being administrative in nature. He served as general-secretary in a number of organizations, including the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, and the Embassies of Reconciliation. Despite his modest education, he was a man of considerable abilities. Meticulous, conscientious, efficient and highly industrious, he eventually developed a wide network of contacts and became personally acquainted with many of the world's leading pacifists. Also important was his close relationship with Barrow Cadbury, a Quaker businessman keenly interested in peace, who generously funded enterprises administered by Bartlett. Although a man of profound faith, he was no dreamer or utopian. Pragmatic and realistic, Bartlett brought sound judgment to his job and avoided the naïve idealism that occasionally discredited the pacifist cause. In collaboration with his two closest friends, John Nevin Sayre and Friedrich Sigmund-Schultze, he helped make the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Embassies of Reconciliation two of

the most influential and respected peace organizations during the inter-war period. To emphasize Bartlett's administrative talents is not to suggest he was indifferent to pacifist theory or its propagation. On the contrary, he wrote unceasingly, usually small pamphlets and brief articles in peace journals, and collectively his writings represent a reasonable contribution to peace literature.

When World War II came, Bartlett remained true to his pacifist convictions and did not defect as did so many other well known British "pacifists" of the inter-war period. After the War, he still maintained his commitment to peace activity, but he gave relatively more time and energy to his ecumenical work. Ever since 1931, Bartlett had maintained a vigorous interest in ecumenicalism and often represented the Society of Friends at some of the more famous ecumenical conferences. Bartlett never drew a sharp distinction between being a Friend, a pacifist and an ecumenicalist, but regarded each as all part of the same *Weltanschauung.* He continued to work actively until he was almost eighty, when he finally retired. Because he modestly worked behind the scenes and allowed other pacifist personalities to receive the publicity and acclaim, it is easy to underestimate his contributions. In this respect, it might be said that he was one of the most important and least known of all British pacifists in the twentieth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Percy W. Bartlett was a prolific writer, but most of his writings were brief articles and essays. However, he did publish two lengthy works. *Quakers and the Christian Church* (London, 1942), sought to explore the relationship between the Society of Friends and the Christian Church within the context of an emerging ecumenical movement. *Barrow Cadbury: A Memoir* (London, 1960), traces the life and accomplishments of an important and influential Quaker. The book is not so much a conventional biography as it is a "tribute" or "testimony" to a friend whom Percy deeply respected.

Bartlett also wrote a number of pamphlets, some of which received reasonably wide circulation and popularity within Britain's pacifist community. Among the more important pamphlets are: *Friends and International Peace* (London, 1925); *Get Rid of War* (London, 1928); *The Renunciation of War* (London, 1928); *Freedom and the Community* (London, 1929); *A Call to No Man's Land* (London, 1931); *Disarmament: The Christian Demand* (London, 1931); and *The Economic Approach to Peace: With A Summary of the Van Zeeland Report* (London, 1938).

Percy Bartlett's tireless literary activity is perhaps best reflected by his brief articles, which number well over one hundred, and appeared primarily in religious and peace journals. The bulk of these articles can be found in *The Friend* and also *Reconciliation* (the name was later changed to *The Christian Pacifist*), most of which were published between 1924 and 1960.

Biographical information about the life and career of Percy W. Bartlett is scarce. His ecumenical activities are outlined in David C. Lukowitz, "Percy Bartlett and the Ecumenical Movement", *The Friends' Quarterly* XXII, no. 5 (Jan. 1981), 418–425. Following his death, tributes and memorials appeared in *The Friend* (Feb. 1980), 123–125; *Yearly Meeting Proceedings, 1987*, 200–203; and there is an entry in that most excellent reference work, the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography.* An American historian, Dr. David C. Lukowitz, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota, is currently writing a biography of Bartlett. The Bartlett Papers, at present uncatalogued, are located at Friends House Library, London.

David C. Lukowitz

A LETTER BY JAMES NAYLER APPROPRIATED TO GEORGE FOX

In a number of manuscripts[1] in the Library at Friends House, London, are copies, all in seventeenth-century hands, of an undated letter beginning 'All Friends everywhere, who with the light that never changeth are convinced and turned from darkness'. In each copy the signature to the letter is given as that of James Nayler. But in the volume of George Fox's *Epistles* published in 1698, undated but with the year 1653 at the head of the page and with the address in the margin as 'To Friends in Cumberland, Bishoprick, and Northumberland', the letter is printed as by Fox, with his initials given by way of signature (Ep. 47, pp. 45–46). The identity of the two documents is noted on the relevant card for the Library's holding of Nayler MSS., but appears not to have been made the subject of any critical observation.

The manuscript versions do not significantly vary from one another and in what follows will be regarded as if a single entity; but collation between them and the version as printed reveals a number of variations. In terms of the letter as a whole these are statistically few; but in general they confirm the assumption that the manuscript version is the earlier, and that alterations were made when the letter was printed. In a few cases the wording in the manuscript may also be thought to be characteristic of Nayler rather than Fox, and the printed form to be more in line with the religious views of Fox (or his editor).

Where in the manuscript Friends are exhorted to dwell in the light 'that you may come to learn Christ', and the Spirit 'works to freedom', in print this reads 'that ye may learn of Christ', and the word 'to' is omitted; and as Hugh Barbour remarks[2], 'Fox stresed degrees or growth in Light less than did Nayler'. Where in the manuscript Friends are exhorted not to 'walk by imitation of others' in print the word 'only' is inserted, suggesting a change from the call by the Publishers of Truth to be spiritually independent of themselves to an acceptance that a measure of admiring dependence on the leaders was in right ordering. Where in the manuscript Friends are urged to 'mind their standing', the words 'upon Christ their rock' are added, very much in Fox's manner. In the manuscript the phrase 'the manifestation of him who is approved' is followed by the words '& this Man Cannot be revealed, but in the falling away'; these words are omitted, presumably because earlier

millenarian convictions were now abandoned. In the phrase 'that which will not come to the everlasting foundation is made to be tossed to and fro' the change in the printed version from 'made' to 'apt' may similarly be seen as the dropping of a Calvinist locution (which Nayler may have taken over from the Independent church of which he had been a member) as no longer appropriate. Other differences may be regarded as largely stylistic: these also, as where in the printed version the phrase 'but the end will be lost labour' becomes 'but in the end thy labour will be lost', suggest that the terser wording in the manuscript is the earlier.

Extracts from the document under consideration were reprinted as by Fox in L.V. Holdsworth's *Daybook of Counsel and Comfort* (1937), and again more recently in C.W. Sharman's *No More But My Love* (1980). If the attribution to Nayler be accepted, it raises a number of questions. Not much seems known about the editing of Fox's *Epistles*, apart from the fact that there was an enormous mass of material on which to draw. In editing *The Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (1939) Henry J. Cadbury excluded all papers known to be printed, so that his volume throws no light on the document under consideration; but the fact that the entry 92A (p.37) carries the bracketed heading 'J.N.' suggests that documents by writers other than Fox, and specifically that documents written by Nayler, *could* come to rest among Fox's papers. Perhaps this is what happened in this case. If so, one is bound to ask, was the editor of Fox's *Epistles* not aware of this? There is no need to question his good faith or general reliability; but it is in an interesting coincidence, if no more, that in the same year as that in which Fox's *Epistles* were printed the question of publishing a collection of Nayler's writings was raised by Yorkshire Friends[3]. Again, if one letter among Fox's *Epistles* was in fact written not by Fox but by Nayler, may the collection, one wonders, not include other letters written by Nayler, or by other Friends?

Geoffrey F. Nuttall

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Caton, MSS., i. 39 and ii. 1; Portfolio 36. 110; Box A: G, F, Ss; MS. vol. 298.
[2] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven and London, 1964), 150, n. 77.
[3] W.C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1961), 419.

FRIENDS' SUFFERINGS 1650 TO 1688: A COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

The two monumental folio volumes of *Sufferings* compiled by Joseph Besse and published in 1753 have been a constant source of material on early Quakerism by reference to particular people or places, or as a mine of illustrative examples. However, the large quantity of information contained there does not appear to have been examined as a means of comparing the incidence of suffering in one year or in one area with another. The wide variation in local response to the anti-Quaker legislation makes clear the need for such an analysis. The present reason for doing this is to provide a base-line of current events against which to set other activities of Friends of that time, for example the acquisition of meeting houses.

The full title of the work is:

> A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, for the testimony of a good conscience, from the time of their first being distinguished by that name in the year 1650, to the time of the Act, commonly called the Act of Toleration, granted to protestant dissenters in the first year of the reign of King William the third and Queen Mary, in the year 1689. Taken from original records and other authentic accounts, by Joseph Besse.

Besse had been a writing-master in Colchester and later moved to Clerkenwell in London, where he was much involved in literary work for Friends. He produced his work on sufferings at the behest of Meeting for Sufferings which in turn was carrying out a direction of Yearly Meeting 1727 to collect and digest the sufferings and imprisonment of Friends. This first appeared in print in 1733 as *Abstract of the sufferings...*, volume 1 up to 1660, volumes 2 and 3 (1660–1666) in 1737, with the intention that eight octavo volumes would complete the account up to 1689. In 1741, however, the form of presentation was changed to give a continuous account for each county rather than for each year, and to print the whole in two folio volumes.

Within London Yearly Meeting he adopted a chronological arrangement and narrative style for every county, describing each event, naming almost every person, usually indicating the place, day, and Act; and sometimes transcribing relevant documents. He concluded with a series of indexes of personal names.

The source material for this work, apart from the 200 or so contemporary and usually local books and pamphlets on the subject printed before 1689, was the written record made at the time by the meeting concerned. This was usually set down in a book kept for the purpose, and usually kept by the Monthly Meeting. A transcript would be brought to Quarterly Meeting, thence carried by the representatives to Yearly Meeting, where it was again transcribed, this time into another special book known as the Great Book of Sufferings. Six volumes of this were taken up with the period from 'the beginning of our being a People' up to 1690.

The work of transcribing was one of the duties of the Recording Clerk, who from 1689 to 1737 was Benjamin Bealing. Because of the immediate work needed by the half-dozen different meetings he served he fell far behind with the formal record of sufferings amongst other things, and it was to meet this need that Joseph Besse was first brought in, a year or two before he started on sufferings. The fact of such delay after 1689 suggests its likelihood before that date too, as one cause of deficiency in the finished work. To this may be added deficiencies in the original local record and in its transmission through the required stages. Thus some omission of small events must be expected in any part of the record, in addition to the self-evidently incomplete sections on Warwickshire from 1666 and Nottinghamshire from 1677. Overall, however, this work is the most comprehensive source generally available, and over the years those using it have found that it may generally be relied upon.

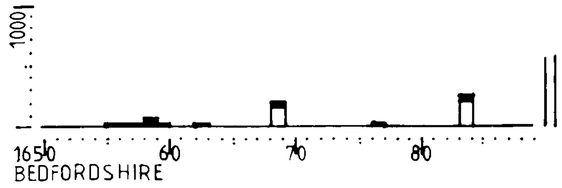
The legislation by which Friends were prosecuted varied from that passed by Parliament specifically in order to suppress the new movement, to old Acts found useful by ingenious Justices. Among those mentioned by Besse were the Quaker Act of 1662 and the First and Second Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670; with Acts of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and James I, usually those concerned with recusancy, attendance at church, travelling on Sunday, or vagrancy. The application of the legislation was, particularly in towns, very dependent upon local personalities, where an active prosecutor was in office one year, out the next. The acceptance in law of assembly for Quaker worship within certain bounds was brought about by the Act of Toleration of 1689. This did nothing however to reduce the difficulties facing Friends through their testimonies concerning tithes, the militia, and so on. The Great Book of Sufferings continued to record sufferings up to 1844, 44 volumes in all, and even that was not the end of the story.

Friends' refusal to pay tithes played a large part in their sufferings. The relationship of Friends to tithe-owners was different in kind from the foregoing legislation. Here the civil authorities did not initiate proceedings, nor were there group prosecutions. The decision to prosecute each defaulter lay with his parish priest, impropriator, or tithe farmer. Its incidence was dependent on local initiative, clearly exercised in a very selective manner and sometimes developing into a long-standing feud. The overall result for Friends was a fairly steady rate of distraint year by year, not related to Acts of suppression, insignificant in towns, and continuing unabated after the Act of Toleration. Sufferings for tithes are not shown on the accompanying charts, in order that they should not mask those related to suppression.

In order to express the incidence of suffering in a numerical and visual form a high degree of selection is necessary.There is no way in which the whole gamut of persecution can be brought into one simple expression, ranging as it does from arbitrary personal violence in the street and at Meeting, through fines and distraint of goods to imprisonment, banishment and excommunication, varying in effect from the trivial to the terminal. The first, personal violence, is excluded because it could not be assessed with sufficient clarity, the last two because they were relatively rare for much of the period. By far the most frequent penalties were through the loss of goods and of liberty, and only these two have been taken into account. The stated value of fines and goods distrained yields a straightforward sum in pounds. Goods taken but not given a money value by Besse have been excluded through the uncertainty of assessing a true sum. Imprisonment varied much in duration and quality, and Besse naturally drew attention to extreme examples. Nevertheless a great many terms seem to have been in the region of six to twelve months.

The method adopted here to express the incidence of suffering combines these, each occasion of imprisonment (without regard to its length) being taken as the equivalent of goods valued at £10. Since the cost of being in prison was expressed more than once as at least sixpence a day this factor seems not unreasonable. Thus on the charts each division in height represents either £100 worth of goods taken or ten people put in prison. The factor of ten, and indeed the method itself is open to refinement, but its application does yield a consistent and proportionate set of charts comparable one with another. Indeed no comparison with outside events is intended.

There is much to learn from what Besse does not say. For instance an oath was required as part of several ordinary events of life such as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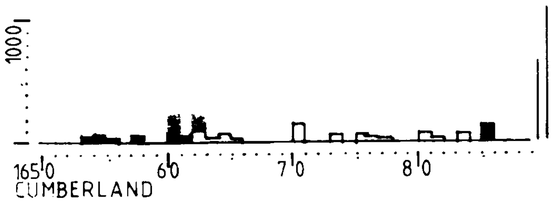
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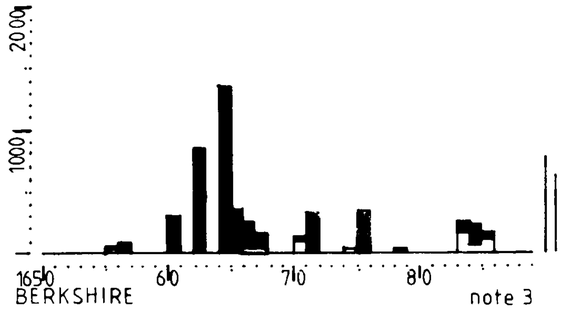
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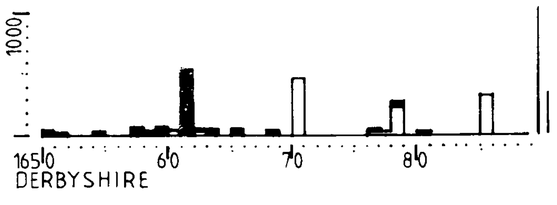
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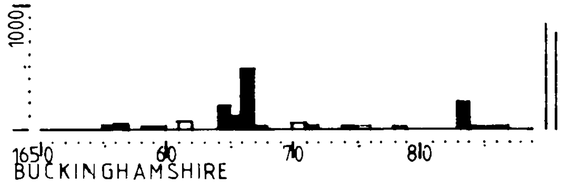
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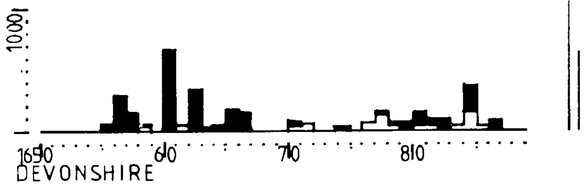
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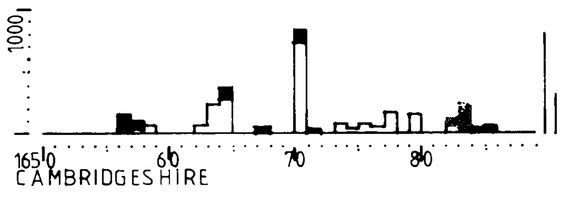
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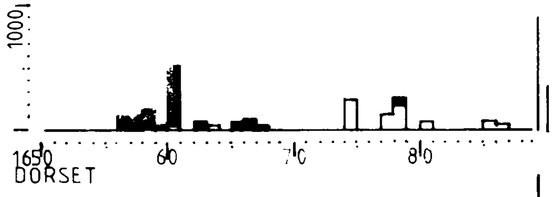
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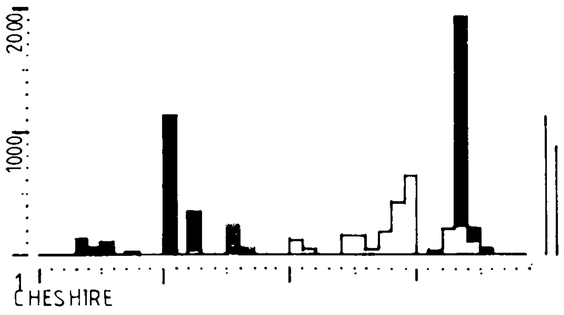
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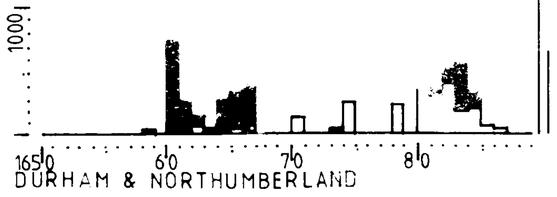
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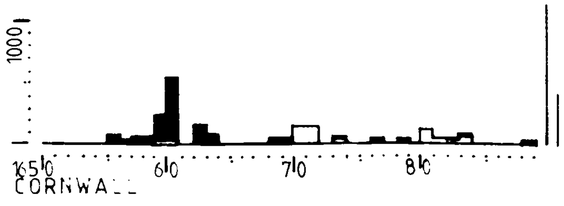
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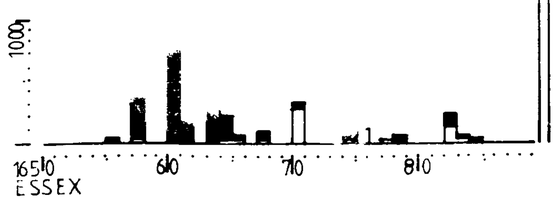
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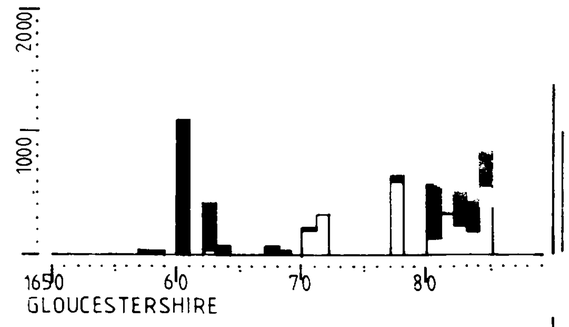
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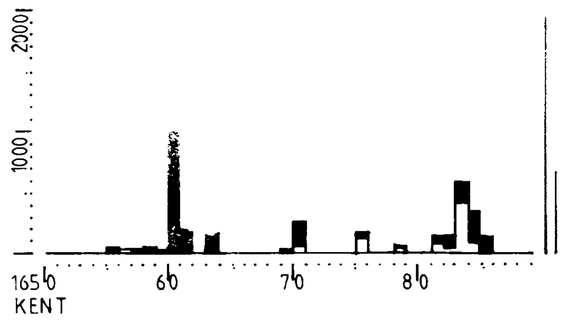
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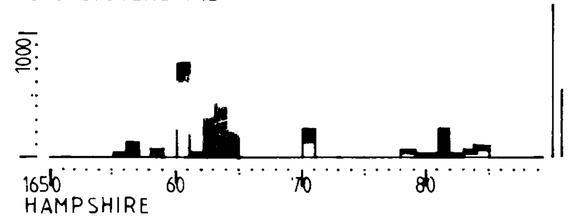
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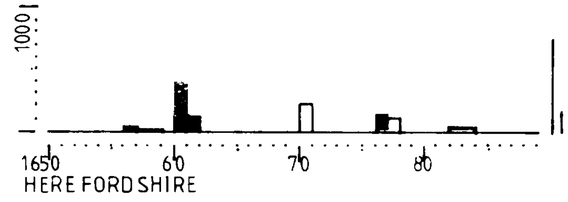
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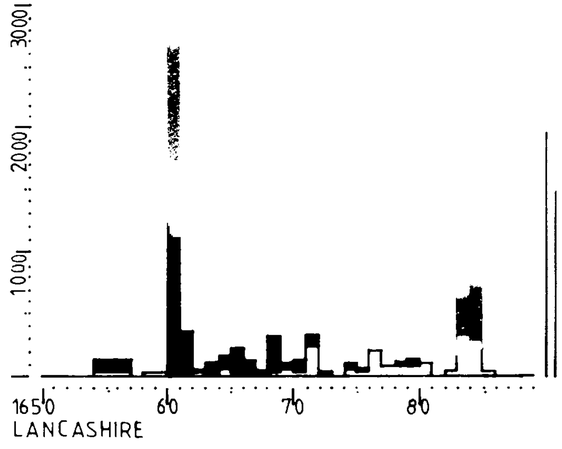
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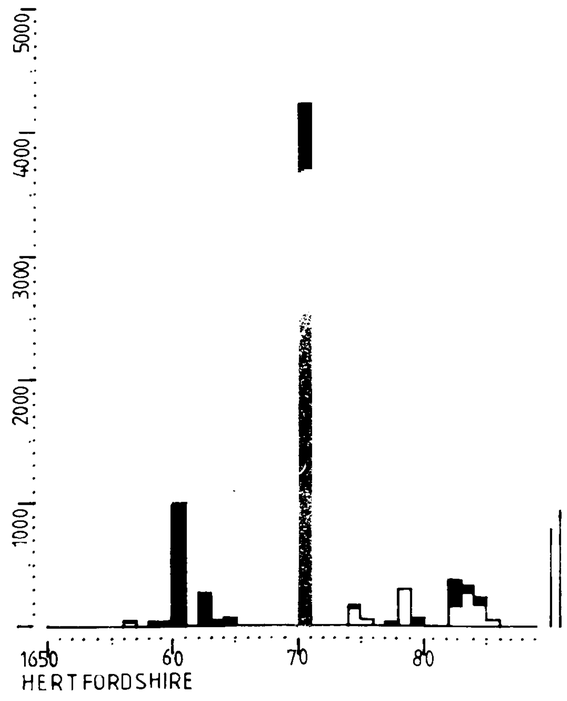
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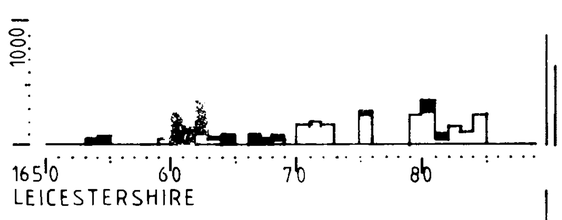
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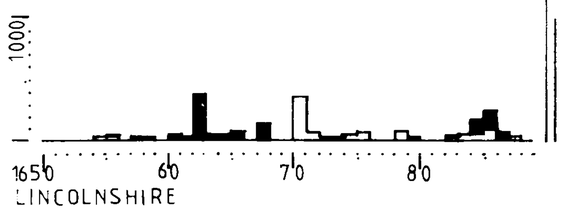
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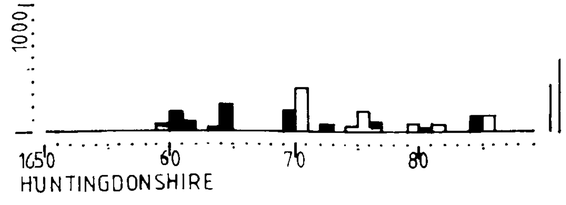
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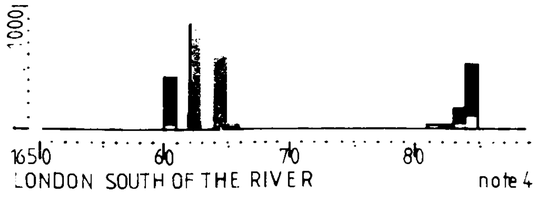
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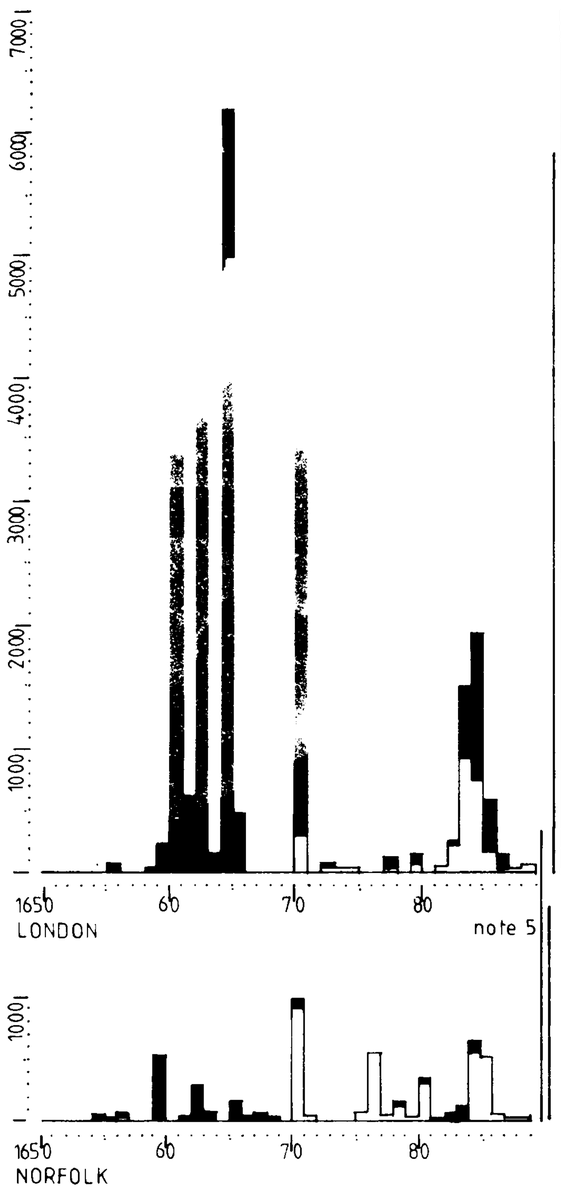
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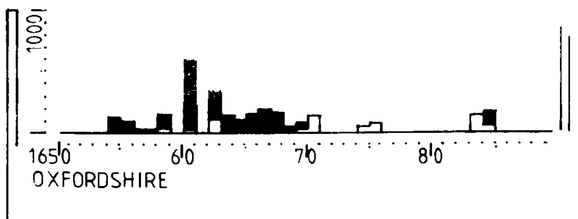
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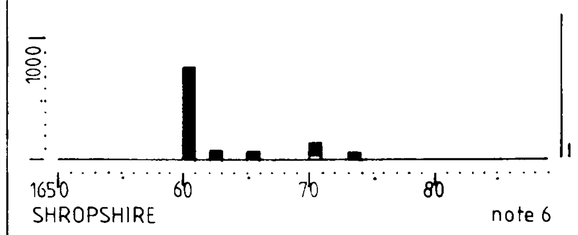
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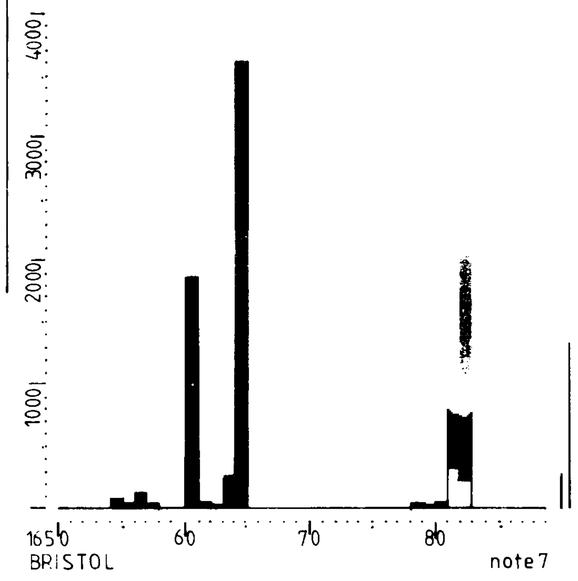
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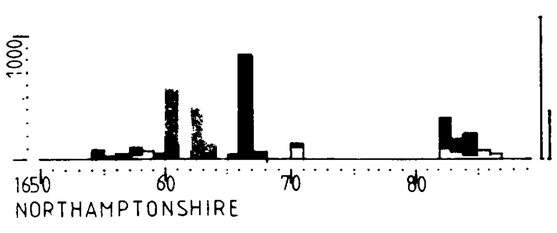
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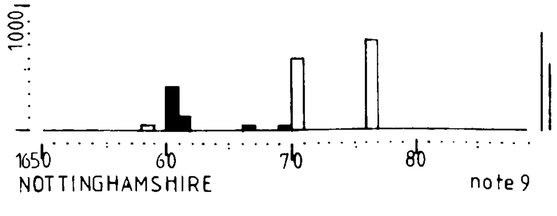
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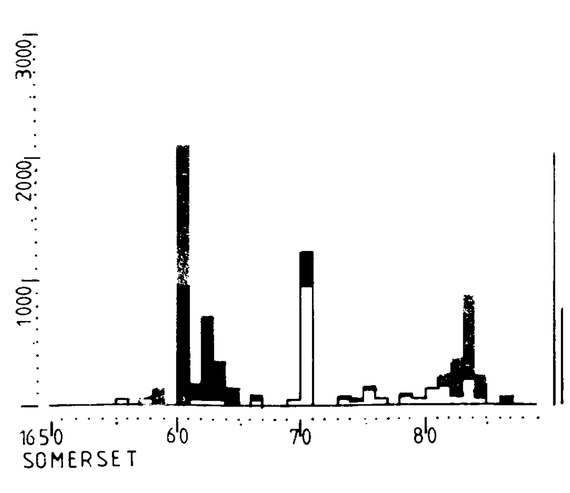
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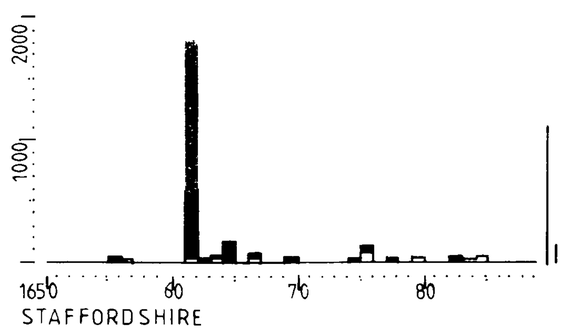
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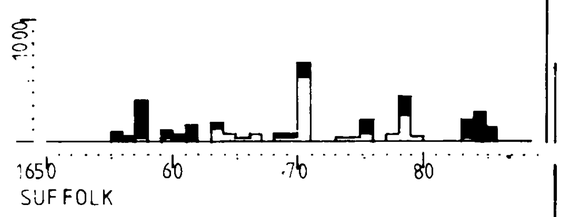
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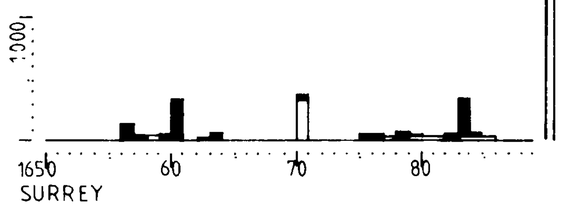
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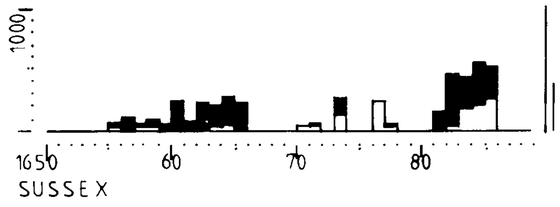
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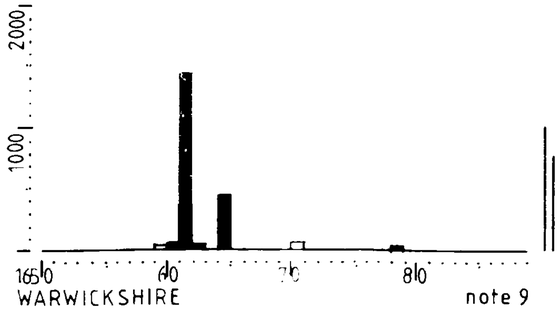
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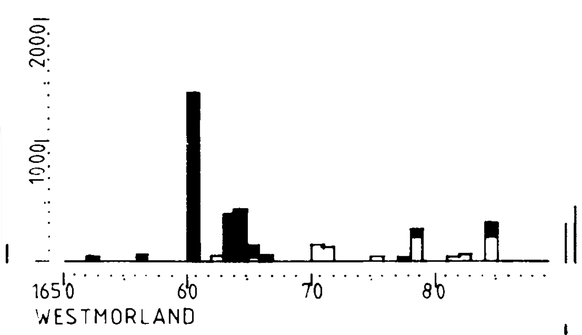
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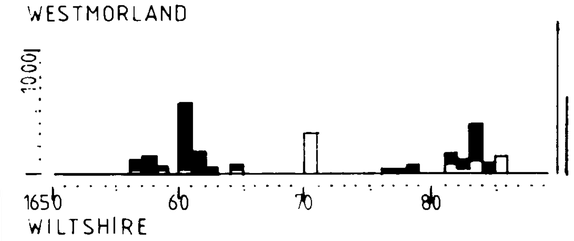
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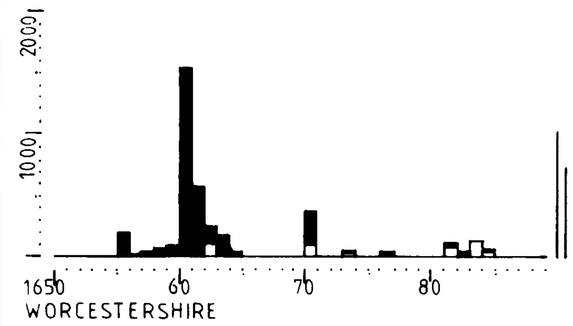
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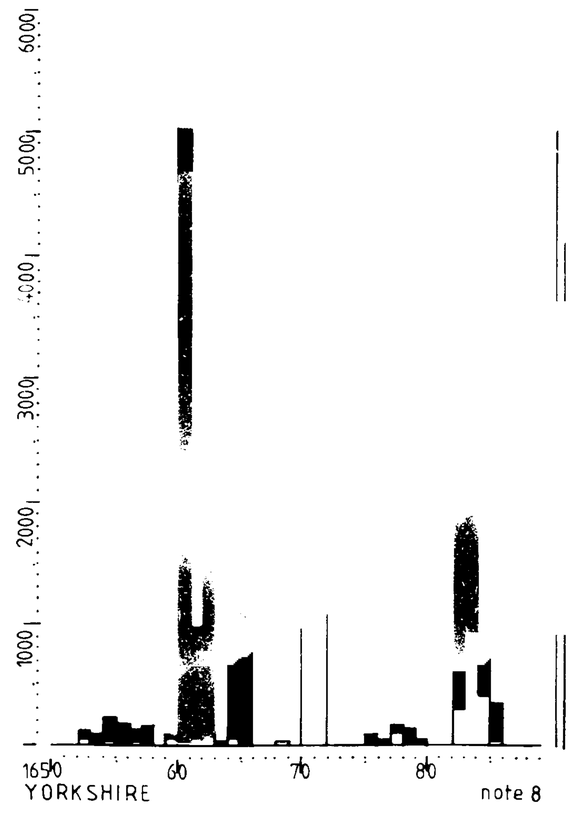
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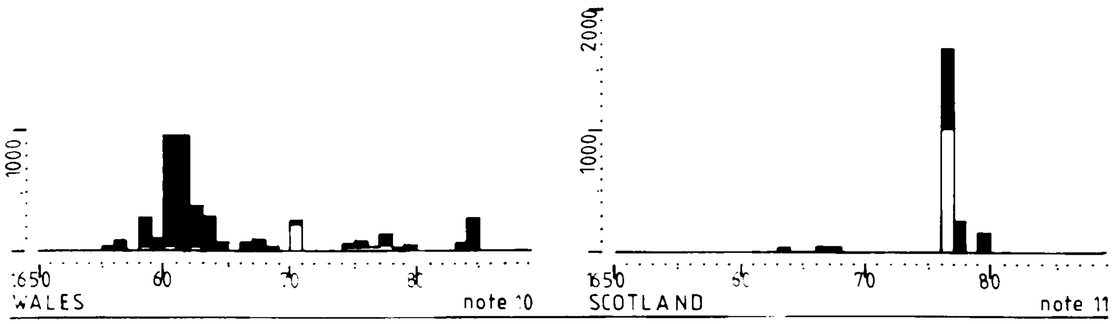
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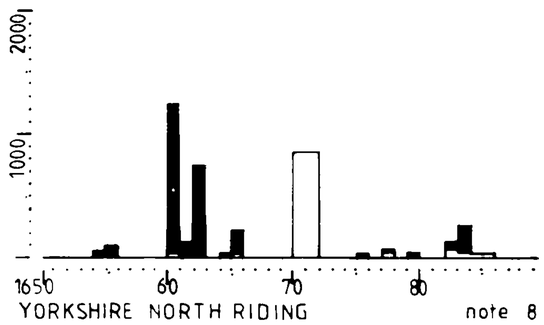
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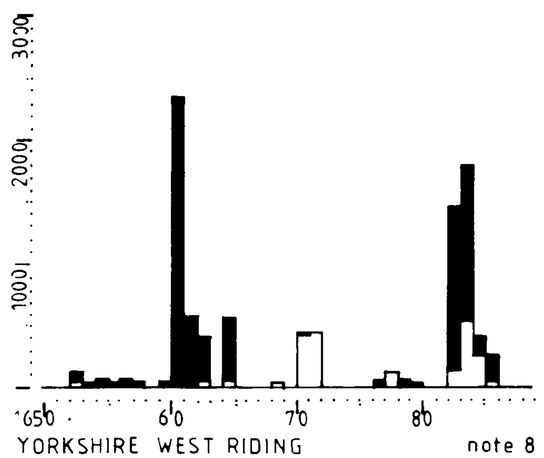
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YORKSHIRE WEST RIDING
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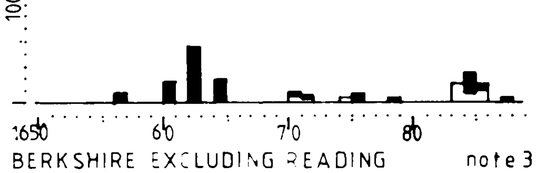
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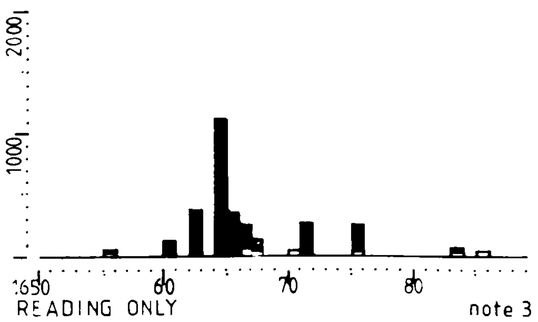
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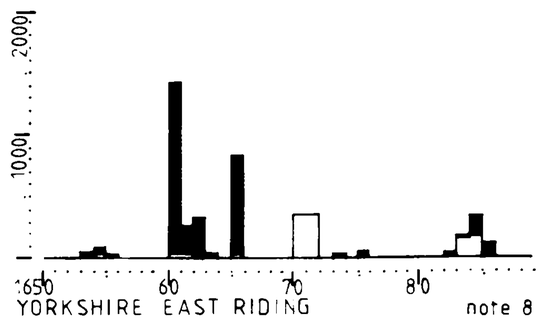
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proving a will, burying in wool, or entry to a trade guild on completion of apprenticeship; similarly a bishop's licence was required by a practising schoolmaster or a doctor. Difficulties over all these events are indeed mentioned, but so seldom as to raise questions as to the actual application of laws with which Friends could not comply. The text shows in fact a continuing undercurrent of good will towards Friends by the population as a whole and incidents abound to illustrate it. Perhaps the most interesting exception is of any reference to Quaker records. Given the enthusiasm of some prosecutors it seems surprising that there is no mention of minute books, account books, property deeds or other manuscript records being disturbed. Printed books were another matter altogether, and were burned with a will.

The undercurrent of good will did nothing to lessen the impact of resolute law enforcement, whose prosecutors went well beyond the law in their enthusiasm to root out the new movement. The feeling remains, however, of a widespread acceptance of these people who lived quietly and worked hard to pay their way so as to be a burden to no one. It seems clear that for the greater number of Friends and for the greater part of the time near-normal life went on, albeit uncomfortably and with an ever-present prospect of harassment and disturbance.

Much more may yet be learnt from this text of Quaker life and thought; the present notes and charts are the results of a very selective use of the material. Thus it may offer the possibility of a better understanding of the life of individual meetings, of the actual consequences of the different Acts, of the flow of money into and out of the National Stock in response to the hardships recorded, of the itineraries of early travelling Friends, of how Friends achieved such unity of thought and action in those early days.

Meanwhile these charts indicating the sufferings of Friends year by year and county by county, with all their limitations, are presented for the use of students and as an indication of what Besse's *Sufferings* has to offer.

David M. Butler

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

That part of these notes which refers to the history of Besse's *Sufferings*... is based on *The story of a great literary venture*, [? by Norman Penny], in *JFHS* vol. 23 (1926), 1–11, with the thoughtful guidance of E.H. Milligan. The rest is the result of my own reading of the Work itself.

NOTES TO THE CHARTS

1. Charts.
   The horizontal scale is one year per division, from 1650 to 1688 inclusive. The vertical scale is 100 units per division, that is either £100 or 10 prisoners. Money is shown in outline, prisoners

solid black. Precise accuracy will not be found in the representation of small quantities because of the intention that none should be too small to show on the chart. In effect this means that no event reads as less than about £20 or two prisoners.

2. Population.
   It is desirable that the extent of suffering should be related to the Quaker population in the area, and that this should be related to the county population, so that comparisons may be made. Available figures nearest to the period in question appear to be those given by Michael Watts in *The Dissenters*, OUP, 1985, table 12 'Estimates of dissenting numbers in early eighteenth-century England'. The two bars on the right-hand edge of the charts are intended to convey this information. That to the left represents the population at 100 times the vertical scale shown, that to the right the Quaker Hearers at the scale given. Thus when the two bars are of equal height Quaker Hearers account for 1% of the population. With the exception of Bristol (6.11%) this is about the top of the general level; nationally 0.73%.
   So to look for example at Bedfordshire, the population is 54,760 and the Quaker Hearers 560, or 1.02%. Note that the figures for London are for the old county of London and Middlesex and therefore are higher than those for Besse's London; that Southwark is included with Surrey; that no breakdown is given for the Ridings of Yorkshire; and that insufficient information is available for Wales, none for Scotland.
3. Berkshire.
   The numerous references in the account for Berkshire to the County town of Reading illustrate the particular circumstances there. The specific references to events in Reading have therefore been extracted and shown separately, with a complementary chart showing the remainder, including any events in Reading which are not so named in the text.
4. London south of the river.
   Events in Southwark were included up to 1680 in the accounts for Surrey, after that date with London. All specific references from both accounts have been extracted to show events in an area roughly equivalent to Southwark Monthly Meeting.
5. London, 1664.
   The number of prisoners taken here in 1664 far exceeds that for any other year or place. Many Friends were deliberately released after four or five days and re-taken on the next Sunday, so that they could quickly be brought to the penalty of banishment on their third appearance at court. Because of this short time in prison the number of prisoners is multiplied by a factor of 3 instead of the usual 10, in an attempt to retain some comparability with events elsewhere.
6. Shropshire.
   Besse included Shropshire within his account for Wales. All specific references to the County have been extracted to give a minimum indication of events there, and the chart for Wales reduced accordingly.
7. Bristol.
   Bristol is shown here for its Quaker association with Somerset, rather than where Besse has it in alphabetical order.
8. Yorkshire.
   Besse treats Yorkshire as a single vast unit and the chart shows it so. However this leaves much to be desired in clarity of information. Separate charts are therefore given for each Riding, of all the events given a place-name. This leaves about 13 per cent of sufferings not accounted for, therefore the three Riding charts fall short of the County chart by that amount in total, though not proportionally in each year. Note that returns for 1670 and 1671 were largely combined.
9. Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire.
   Even though the level of suffering was relatively light in these counties, the total absence of events after 1677 and 1666 respectively suggests a failure in the record.
10. Scotland.
    Almost all the named events in Scotland are for Aberdeen, and on account of one particular city officer. The scarcity of other events casts some doubts on the reliability of the record as a whole.
11. Wales.
    These quantities exclude specific references to Shropshire. (see note 6).

"EVERY MATERIAL OF THE BEST QUALITY". THE FOUNDATION OF BLOOMFIELD HOSPITAL, DUBLIN.

'On the 29th day of the 4th Month 1807 the Representatives of the yearly Meeting of Friends of Ireland (together with some other Friends) being convened for the purpose of considering of the expediency of providing accommodation for Friends who may be Afflicted with Disorder of the Mind.

'On enquiry being made it appeared to them, that some of that Description were then in this Nation, requiring care, better suited to their States and circumstances, and more in unison with the Ideas of Friends than could be had in the public Hospitals for Lunaticks in this Country, when the following Judgement was come to–

'That such an Institution is desirable and necessary, on a scale calculated to meet the circumstances of Friends of Ireland.

'And in order to carry the same into effect, they entered into a Subscription among themselves, and the Sum Subscribed being such as to afford encouragement to persevere, they appointed James Abel, Richard Davis, Reuben Harvey, Samuel Bewley, Jonathan Pim Junr., Samuel Elly and William Harding to solicit further Subscriptions from Friends, and authorized them to call a Meeting of the Subscribers when they should think it advisable.'

So begins the first page of Bloomfield's "Committee's Proceedings" which are our main and, unfortunately, often the only documentary source of information about the psychiatric hospital founded by Friends in Ireland.

Psychiatry at that time was, at the best, largely custodial and, at the worst, brutal in the lack of care and deliberate infliction of worthless and painful physical treatments. This awful picture was gradually changing as a result of William Tuke's foundation of the Retreat in York in 1792 and the concomitant changes in management introduced by Pinel in Paris. Tuke's reforms were mainly humanitarian while Pinel's were more political – the right of freedom.

William Tuke was a Quaker tea merchant with no medical knowledge but with a great compassion for the mentally afflicted and, in particular, for a young Quakeress who died from presumed neglect in isolation in the "York Lunatic Asylum". Despite the strong opposition of many members of the Society including his wife, who ridiculed the

idea, he founded the York Retreat which was the first hospital to treat the mentally ill as patients, not solely for custodial care, and with the minimum of physical restraint. Chains were never used whereas it was estimated that eight out of ten inmates of English asylums were at one stage chained. The Retreat practice was for chains to be removed as soon as the patient arrived.

With these revolutionary ideas being publicised and especially because of the dramatic Quaker involvement in York, it was understandable that Irish Friends should consider the establishment of a similar hospital. There was evidently close liaison between William Tuke and the Bloomfield committee but records are scarce and the first note of the relationship was on 20 January 1810 when 'William Todhunter, Jonathan Pim and Robert Fayle are desired to continue their care respecting a superintendent and to write again on some material points to W. Tuke at York'. This they did and a week later, on 27 January it was recorded that a letter had been sent to W. Tuke 'respecting the intended building' and his reply was read but details are not given and the letter is not available. On 31 January the above three Friends were exhorted to find a superintendent with 'as much Dispatch as convenient being considered by this Committee and recommended by William Tuke that such a person might derive much advantage by spending a little time at the Retreat at York previous to his commencing here.'

The appointment of a suitable superintendent and also of a housekeeper was, indeed, vital for the success of the venture. The post of superintendent, at that time a non-medical one, concerned the whole administration of the hospital but, despite the urgency noted above, little was achieved and it was not until twelve months later, on 19 January 1811, when the building was nearly ready, that a circular letter was sent to all Monthly Meetings in Ireland appealing for applications for these two posts. A month later the committee was able to consider the letter from John Allen of Richill offering his services and that of his wife and a letter from Jane Eustace of Cork. It was decided to interview John Allen and to reply to Jane Eustace 'when the Committee are enabled to do so' which was not until 2 October, this seemingly ungracious delay being partly due to the Committee not appreciating that Jane Eustace was offering to work for no salary, but also to her not wishing to be involved in patient care.

The Committee being 'not capable of judging of his fitness' decided to send John Allen to York to get William Tuke's opinion so that, if suitable, he would see how a revolutionary hospital was managed. His expenses were to be paid and it was agreed that, if appointed, his salary

would be £50 a year and his wife as Housekeeper and Matron, would receive £25 a year. Presumably the Committee did not consider sending 'John Allen's wife' to York and it is interesting that she is only recorded thus as if she were John Allen's property and did not have a name of her own.

A letter was sent to William Tuke introducing John Allen saying that he was considered to have been appointed to the post of Superintendent unless William Tuke considered him to be unfit. William Tuke's reputation was such that the Bloomfield committee had complete confidence in his opinion regarding the appointment; after all, William Tuke had chosen George Jepson, a Yorkshire weaver, to fill the same post in York and this had proved an excellent choice. A postscript to the Committee's letter of introduction tentatively suggested George Jepson's coming to Dublin with John Allen to 'set the Institution in motion' and subsequently making periodic visits but there is no further reference to this matter; had it been implemented the early days of Bloomfield might have been different and less troublesome.

John Allen went to York and, although William Tuke saw less of him than intended, his opinion was very favourable –

> 'I perceive better abilities than I looked for in a young man from Farming and Weaving – there is modesty and diffidence respecting his own abilities, that are rather an indication of usefulness than a discouragement to your entrusting him with the management of your Institution; especially on trial'.

Perhaps it was significant that William Tuke added the caveat 'especially on trial', and so partly avoided the final decision Bloomfield Committee had entrusted to him. William Tuke added that John Allen 'seemed to be a little short of money' so the Bloomfield Treasurer was instructed to refund William Tuke 'Six pounds English'.

On 6 November 1811 it was recorded that 'John Allen and his wife' had arrived to take up their duties as Male and Female Superintendents, 'John Allen's Wife' having been accepted on the basis of 'a very agreeable account' from Irish Friends.

The Committee had sought earnestly and long for suitable premises and, in September 1809 had decided to buy Bloomfield House and grounds. The title deeds show that Robert Emmett, the Irish patriot who was executed in 1803 for leading the rebellion of that year, was at one time the owner. The building subcommittee appears, from the minutes, to have been busy altering and adding to the premises but the main committee was unhappy and reprimanded them gently by informing them of the 'uneasiness which the Committee feel in this backwardness in putting forward the business of the Building...'

There are many references to the structure and equipment of the building and, again, William Tuke provided much help even to details such as 'lining the Patient's Lodging' as well as the 'Thickness & kind of Flooring' and the slating with 'every material of the best quality'. He advised about windows and offered to send models of useful articles such as bedsteads, which were to be made of oak.

The proposal to found a new psychiatric hospital involved an act of faith that there would be sufficient financial help quite apart from the assumption that there was a need for such an institution and that patients would be forthcoming. At the first Committee, as noted above, the Friends involved had already 'entered into a subscription among themselves and the sum subscribed being such as to afford encouragement to persevere...' – surely a very worthy gesture. It was only a year and a half later, in September 1809 that Bloomfield House and grounds were bought for £1500 and £25 p.a. In October it was agreed to issue debentures to raise the necessary money. There were many individual and Monthly Meeting donations including one from Henry Tuke, brother of the founder of the York Retreat, who offered the profits from the sale of his books in Ireland.

On 26 April 1811, the accounts showed a balance of only £97.13.0 in addition to debentures valued at £305.8.10½. The first subscription from the Monthly Meetings had raised (to the nearest penny) £2592, the second £1160 and there was interest of £293, legacies of £70, and £33 from the gardens. The expenses were £1545 for Bloomfield, £2042 for the new buildings, £59 for rent and taxes, £25 for printing, advertising and stationery, £26 for furniture, £42 for the gardener and gatekeeper and near £4 for coal and carriage. On 9 October 1811, 'The funds being exhausted and several sums being now wanted' an appeal was made with apparent confidence to the Monthly Meetings for a third subscription. Money does not appear to have been a problem in the foundation of Bloomfield hospital.

The Retreat, as it was known for many years, was at the end of 1811 not yet ready for occupancy and, on 27 November 'a young woman Friend disordered in mind' could not be accepted. On 11 December the request for admission of 'a female patient' was rejected according to the rules of the institution as she 'had forfeited her rights of Membership by marrying contrary to the Rules of our Society'; one wonders what was the outcome of that sad decision. On the 1 January 1812, Monthly Meetings were requested to send names of prospective patients and, on 15 January Dr. Baker was appointed Physician at £20 per annum 'being most proper for this situation'. On 22 January the building was insured

for £2000 and the furniture for £500 all for a premium of £5.13.7. Fees for patients on the 'lowest terms' were to be 7s.7d. weekly but for others 10s. to £1 weekly. Everything appears to have been ready but there were still no acceptable patients and it was not until 16 March, 1812 that the first patient, a man, was received into the house. The Retreat was now in operation.

Who was the driving force or who was the man of vision? No name is more prominent than others in the Committee minutes. There was no William Tuke fighting against derision and ignorance to provide a dramatic picture of the foundation. Rather, one is impressed by the solid painstaking work of the Committee which met nearly every week at 8 a.m. and sometimes at 7.30 ensuring that Bloomfield would be based on the best of the York Retreat, that the seemingly harsh rules about loss of rights of membership would be meticulously and unkindly applied for a few months, that no woman served on the Committee, that 'John Allen's wife' derived significance from her husband, but that 'everything would be of the best materials'. The care and efforts of the Committee resulted in the solid foundation of a hospital which tended the mentally sick throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and, in the present century, has broadened its care to include the elderly and now, in 1988, is expanding further. A worthy living memorial to those industrious determined Friends hidden in the anonymity of a committee.

J.E.O'N. Gillespie

This article is based on the first volume of the "Committee's Proceedings" of Bloomfield Hospital, then known as The Retreat. This large handwritten leather-bound book of 366 pages, originally unnumbered, covers the period 27 April 1807 to the 12 April 1815. It is one of the treasures of the hospital archives which, alas, are few in number.

THE BEACON SEPARATION

In the year 1818 an experiment in the formal teaching and expounding of the Scriptures was in progress at the Friends' school at Ackworth. It was designed to provide the basis for a new system of religious instruction, incorporating the use of a catechism on knowledge gained by reading and study and contained the implication that faith could be acquired by the exercise of the powers of reason. It met with much criticism from conservatively minded Friends and John Barclay* wrote several letters to the school committee, saying that they were 'as it were putting the Cart before the Horse, teaching Children to *profess* a *set* of *doctrinal* truths before their *minds* are altogether ready and ripe to profess such belief'; Barclay also considered that 'we are in danger of having a set of young formalists rise about us, whose heads are more likely to be filled with notions than with that nothingness of self which is as truly the introduction to all right knowledge on these subjects as the other is a snare and a stumbling block in the way of it.' The experiment, revolutionary in itself and clearly showing the influence of evangelicalism, was a straw in the wind, indicating how a breach in the unity of the Society might be expected to develop.

Thirteen years before the Ackworth experiment the gentle and sincere Henry Tuke of York had published a short book entitled *Tuke's Principles of Religion*, which proved very popular and ran into ten editions by 1828. In his introduction to his book Henry Tuke directed his readers to Barclay's *Apology*, but he departs from Barclay in two important particulars. On pages 16 to 17 he sets out a view of the last judgement and eternal damnation for sinners which is not contained in the *Apology* and which has a particularly evangelical emphasis, while on page 20 he emphasises the divine and pre-eminent authority of the Scriptures as given by God as against Barclay's view in Proposition III of the *Apology* that they are only a declaration of the fountain itself and therefore a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit. Henry Tuke qualifies his view of the Scriptures in the following passage from pages 42 and 43 of his book:-

> Highly however as these writings are to be valued, and highly indeed do we esteem them! there is not only a possibility but a danger, of placing too much dependence upon them, by preferring them to that Divine Spirit from which they proceed, to which they direct our attention, and by which only they can be opened to our understanding.

Rufus Jones considered that although Henry Tuke wrote his book in a time of controversy to defend what he saw as the orthodox position, he raised 'evangelical doctrine into unprecedented prominence'[1]. But he departed from Barclay's *Apology* only on the two points indicated and on the rite of baptism and the sacrament of the Last Supper he was firmly in line with early Friends. There is in his book the germ of evangelical thinking and that this was in line with tendencies developing in the Society is supported by the abrupt change to evangelical language in the wording of the Epistles from London Yearly Meeting from the year 1800 onwards.

It would be a mistake to assume that evangelicalism swept into the Society in the years from 1800 onwards and revitalised it; on the contrary, it is difficult to chart a clear course through the confusion of the first 35 years and the climate of opinion swings like a pendulum backwards and forwards between the Quietism of the latter half of the eighteenth century and the new movement towards evangelicalism. Thomas Shillitoe, for example, was at first strongly influenced by evangelicalism, but is said to have renounced it on his death bed, in a solemn testimony[2]. Quietist ministers like Sarah Lynes Grubb (1772–1842) were still very active throughout this period and the evangelical Joseph John Gurney could write to Jonathan Hutchinson in October 1821 as follows:–

> When we look at the scattered and desolate state of our little Society as it respects outward and inward particulars, I believe both thou & I are liable to discouragement in the prospect of its possible perhaps probable dissolution[3].

and to the same in 1834:–

> In many parts of the Kingdom, our Society seems rapidly losing its numbers & strength – & yet from time to time, there is that to be felt & enjoyed amongst us, which throws a hopeful gleam over the prospect[4].

Joseph John Gurney was the most notable exponent of the evangelical point of view, who, coming from a background of wealthy, unconventional Norwich Quakers, had in 1811 taken the decisive step of declaring himself a 'plain Friend', a position only reached after a long personal struggle. He was a rationalist, but whereas in eighteenth-century Ireland rational criticism of the Scriptures had led many Friends to a complete rejection of biblical authority, for Gurney and his friends the reverse was true. The Canaanite wars, which had so troubled Abraham Shackleton[5], were seen by English Quaker Evangelicalism as a just punishment

for transgression. In this acceptance of the righteousness of public calamity as the justice of God there is an echo of the reaction to the Lisbon earthquake of 1750 and the curious incidence of evangelical language in the Epistles from London Yearly Meeting between the years 1754 and 1760, which did not recur until just before 1800[6].

Joseph John Gurney believed that the cultivation of the power of reason is man's responsibility and that the rational faculty should be used both in preparation for the acceptance of the word of God and in the subsequent sharing of faith and experience. Such a view was so diametrically opposed to the Quietist view that in the struggle which developed within the Society, Gurney finally became to the Quietist group the arch-antagonist. A steady stream of books and pamphlets flowed from him during the years 1820 to 1826, many of them distributed free among Friends; they advised, explained, and exhorted Friends to 'the necessity of studying religion by the powers of the human mind'[7].

At a public meeting for the youth of the Society on 6 June 1831 the Quietist minister John Grubb, writing to his brother Joseph in Ireland, described Joseph John Gurney as speaking:–

> a very long time – some thought it in degree like a *lecture*, more than Gospel ministry, but we should be cautious of judging[8].

and again to his brother Joseph:–

> I believe Sally & I think very much as thou dost respecting J.J.G.'s services as a Minister in our Society and some endeavours have been made to stir up Friends to take care lest the beautiful simplicity of Gospel Ministry as practised by our religious Society from the beginning & practised by its approved Ministers all along, should degenerate into a kind of learned theological lecture[9].

It would be an over-simplification of the situation within the Society to regard it as sharply divided between Quietism on the one hand and Evangelicalism on the other. Sarah Lynes Grubb, corresponding with a friend on 20 March 1837, writes as follows:–

> As regards the sad schism within *our* borders, I trust that which openly and vauntingly declared itself against the principles of Friends, has already begun to wax feeble; but what is to be done with that spirit that is still temporising, and standing between the decision of truth, and that which seems to expect to be made perfect in the *letter*, after having known what it was to begin the great work of salvation in the spirit? I cannot think that this middle rank will be able to escape the scrutinizing power of that living *word*[10].

and again on 8 February 1838:–

> We have a third class in our Society, who appear to me to stand at present in the way of our arising in ancient simplicity and brightness, more than those who have separated themselves, and even opposed the old school with much violence; and that is the class who would compromise, and if possible, mix up light with darkness, that there may be no breach of what they miscall charity, love and unity[11].

It is suggested from the foregoing that in the period leading up to the publication of *A Beacon to the Society of Friends* by Isaac Crewdson in 1835 there were three distinct strands of thought within the Society. The tensions can be clearly seen. At one extreme the remnant of eighteenth-century Quietist thought, on the other the evangelical Friends led by Joseph John Gurney and in the middle a body of Friends who were not committed either way and it is probably due to the existence of the solid, middle of the road group that the Beacon Separation when it came did less harm than it might have done to the Society.

Isaac Crewdson published his pamphlet *A Beacon to the Society of Friends* in the early months of 1835. He was an acknowledged minister and a member of Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting and gave as the reason for the publication of the pamphlet his intention to refute what he considered to be the errors of the American Quaker Elias Hicks, and throughout the subsequent controversy Hicks' doctrine played an important part. Elias Hicks was an extreme Quietist and carried his concept of the Inward Light to a point which appeared to reject all training of the mind not strictly required to meet the day-to-day needs of a farming community. Such training he considered as not only unnecessary, since God himself would supply more learning than could ever be gained from books, but as an impediment to that perfect communion between man and his Maker which was the cornerstone of his faith. Isaac Crewdson's method of refuting this doctrine was to take extracts from Elias Hicks' writings and set them side by side with passages from the Bible.

It is worth noting at this point that there had been considerable lack of unity in the area of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting even before the *Beacon* appeared. The first open expression of differences occurred as the result of the formation in Manchester in 1831 of an association for the purpose of lending Tracts to working class men and women who were not members of the Society. All went well until some Tracts were objected to by a number of Friends on the ground that the phrase 'the word of God' was applied to the Scriptures; the difference of opinion could not be resolved and the Association ceased its work. In 1833 William Boulton, a brother-in-law of Isaac Crewdson, started a series of

meetings for the social study of the Scriptures; the first meeting consisted of 12 young men and this was later increased to 25, including some Friends. No objection was made to these meetings until the spring of 1834. A proposal that the assistance of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders should be sought was not accepted[12]. The situation deteriorated so badly that Lancashire Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee of 21 Friends to assist Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting, but the approach of the 1835 London Yearly Meeting prevented this committee from starting its work.

The publication of the *Beacon* was received with alarm and disquiet by all shades of opinion within the Society, except among extreme evangelical Friends. Early in 1835 Joseph Gurney wrote to Isaac Crewdson, setting out what he felt to be the Quaker position on the doctrine of the Inward Light, to which he considered Isaac Crewdson had given insufficient weight. Gurney tried to show how the Holy Spirit operated in applying biblical principles to the conduct of daily life, reminding Crewdson that the traditional Quaker expressions of 'centring down', 'dwelling deep' and 'turning inward' described a personal approach to the universal availability of the Holy Spirit[13]. In February the *Beacon* was condemned by many members of the Morning Meeting[14], Peter Bedford refused to send John Grubb a copy on the ground that he would not encourage its sale by the purchase of a single copy[15] and a Quaker bookseller to whom it was sent declined to accept it for distribution[16]. The appearance of the *Beacon* produced a flood of pamphlets and letters, charges and counter-charges, among them a publication by Joseph John Gurney, showing how close he was in fact to the position taken up by Isaac Crewdson (*Strictures on Truth Vindicated*, published in London in 1836 in answer to *Truth Vindicated*, published in 1835 by Henry Martin of Manchester).

By May 1835 differences within the Society had become public knowledge and the proceedings of London Yearly Meeting were fully reported in the *Christian Advocate*, the weekly paper of evangelical dissent. Representatives from Lancashire Quarterly Meeting had reported that publication of the *Beacon* had produced a breach of love and unity amongst them. Discussion of this report from Lancashire extended through several sittings, in a manner totally foreign to the normal conduct of Yearly Meeting business, until after a stormy debate, fully reported in the *Christian Advocate*, a committee of 13 of the most important and weighty Friends was appointed to assist Lancashire Quarterly Meeting.

No account of this painful debate appears in the minutes of London Yearly Meeting, but the distress caused to Friends is reflected in the wording of the minute appointing the committee:–

> In consequence of the painful defection in regard to unity set forth in the summary from the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and which on enquiry is found to relate principally to the Quarterly Meeting of Lancashire. This meeting has been introduced into a deep feeling of sympathy with the said Meeting and concludes to appoint a Committee for the purpose of rendering such assistance to the said Quarterly Meeting as they may be enabled to give. The following Friends were appointed a Committee for the service, viz:–
> Barnard Dickinson, Edward Pease, Joseph Marriage, Peter Bedford, William Allen, Edward Ash, Josiah Forster, William Forster, George Stacey, Joseph Tatham, Samuel Tuke, George Richardson and Joseph John Gurney.

The composition of this committee is interesting. George Stacey was Isaac Crewdson's cousin; it contains on the one hand the evangelical Friends Edward Ash, Joseph Forster and Joseph John Gurney, on the other hand the conservative Quietists Edward Pease, Peter Bedford and William Allen. But the majority of its members were middle of the road, uncommitted Friends and although all its members had more or less expressed their disapproval of the *Beacon*[18], it was probably as well based in fairness to Isaac Crewdson as the Yearly Meeting could achieve.

The Yearly Meeting committee met with Isaac Crewdson on a number of occasions, but their discussions with him failed to make any impression. He had accepted quite literally the biblical injunction:–"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. 28, 19), as requiring baptism by water, refusing to accept Barclay's argument in Proposition XII of the *Apology* that baptism by Christ is by The Holy Spirit and by fire, or the similar position held by Joseph John Gurney, and also Gurney's advice that the inner meaning of the Scriptures can be revealed by the operation of the Inward Light.

In April 1837 it was rumoured that Isaac Crewdson had not only been baptized himself, but had baptized others; the rumour was correct and in June 1837 a number of well known Friends were baptized by Crewdson while he was in London. Among them was Maria Hack, who, in order to counteract what appears to have been a bowdlerized and possibly scurrilous account and to vindicate the character of Isaac Crewdson, described the ceremony in detail in a letter to her son, from which the following extract is taken:–

> I had a private interview with I.C. at Clapton that very evening, and I can hardly tell you how much comforted I was to find him a very superior kind of man to the idea I had conceived of him – I expected meekness, humility & sympathy – I also expected from his benevolence that I should meet with kindness and Christian sympathy, but I was not prepared for so much dignity, nor for the *cautious* inquiry into the progress of conviction as to this ordinance... As we were going downstairs he stopped and turning round said to me that tho' no doubt remained in his *own mind*, yet as most unjust reports of the proceedings of himself and his friends had been circulating, he hoped I would not think he asked *too much* if he requested that before the ceremony I would explicitly state my belief in the Divine nature and the Offices of the Saviour, lest it should be said he had baptized a *Unitarian*...[19].

Crewdson emerges as a sincere, gentle and unsophisticated man, of limited intellectual ability, who believed that in writing the *Beacon* he was meeting a genuine need and that its publication would be welcomed by his evangelical friends. He failed to realise that Gurney himself was steering a difficult course in making evangelicalism acceptable to the delicate susceptibilities of Friends and that the publication of the *Beacon* and Crewdson's subsequent behaviour marked an extreme point to which Gurney did not wish to go. The separation when it came was small. About 300 Friends from different parts of the country left the Society and styled themselves Evangelical Friends[20]. The headquarters of this group was in Manchester, where they built a chapel to seat 600, but the schism failed to establish itself and after Isaac Crewdson's death in 1844 the chapel was sold to the Baptists, most of the group being absorbed into the Church of England or the Plymouth Brethren[21].

Beaconism, as it came to be called, caused much distress in the Society. Families and friends were divided in their allegiance, the publicity given to the Society's proceedings was painful and echoes of the differences aroused reverberated through the Society for many years, but it was in effect no more than the extreme high water mark of the evangelical movement which assumed for a time an importance out of all relation to its true significance. The current of thought of the first 35 years of the nineteenth century led up to it, it surfaced and peeled away, but because there were those solid, middle of the road Friends whose existence Sarah Lynes Grubb so much deplored, the present writer believes that although damage was indubitably done it was not so serious as has been thought and that the verdict of history on the Beacon separation will be that in the final event it did not matter. London Yearly Meeting weathered the storm and moderate evangelicalism became the practice of the great majority of Friends almost until the end of the nineteenth century.

In conclusion, although it is no part of this paper to trace the subsequent history of evangelicalism within the Society, a brief note on what has been described as 'moderate evangelicalism' will help to clarify the Quaker position. This moderate evangelicalism, led at first by Joseph John Gurney and later by J. Bevan Braithwaite, differed in important respects from the evangelical movement which swept through the mainstream churches. Friends stood firmly apart from the rite of baptism and the sacrament of the Last Supper and although the Scriptures assumed an importance which had not been attached to them during the Quietist period, they were still to be interpreted by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Joseph John Gurney is quite clear that *outward knowledge* of the Scriptures is not indispensable to salvation; all men have received a measure of the divine influence. The Son, or Word of God, is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John i.9)[22].
and again:–

> the Holy Scriptures [and the Spirit] will ever be found in accordance with each other. The law written in the book, and the law written in the heart, have proceeded from the same Author; the only standard of both of them is the will of God; and therefore they can never fail to correspond. Scripture is a divinely authorised *test*, by which we must try not only all our sentiments on matters of doctrine, but all our notions and opinions respecting right and wrong... It ought, however to be remarked, that the written law, for the most part, consists in *general directions*. Now, the inward manifestion of the Holy Spirit... will instruct us how to apply them in our daily walk, and under all the various circumstances and exigencies of life[23].

Both Quietists and Evangelicals made use of the analogy of the seed, or the spirit of Christ in the heart, but while to the Quietists the seed could only be strengthened and illuminated by the Inward Light, the Evangelicals turned more positively than the Quietists had done to the biblical concept of the seed of Abraham in the children of Israel, with whom they continued, as early Friends had done, to identify themselves. The outward trappings of evangelicalism, such as hymn singing and bible reading, were later to appear in Quaker meetings for worship, but Friends continued to adhere faithfully to the direct experience of the divine, without any intermediary, on which their faith was founded. In essentials, with the two exceptions from Barclay's *Apology* noted above, they remained faithful to their early traditions and their position remained substantially unchanged from that adopted by Henry Tuke.

The careful course which Joseph John Gurney steered led the Society away from the low ebb reached by eighteenth-century Quietism, past the pitfalls of Beaconism, into a period of emergence from within the hedge which had enclosed it into a fuller participation in the affairs of the world, as, for example, the field of foreign missions. There was a greater willingness to take part in the 'creaturely activity' condemned by the Quietists and the idea of good works became a part of Quaker thinking to an extent not previously realised, but which was in full accord with the quickening spirit of the age, as it moved into Victorian England.

Mollie Grubb

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*John Barclay was a cousin of Joseph John Gurney, who was responsible for the Ackworth experiment. Barclay was a traditionalist, opposed to the evangelical group. The experiment was confirmed at the school's General meeting in 1819.

[1] Jones, Rufus, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 286.
[2] *JFHS* vol. XLIII, 10.
[3] Friends House Library MSS 3/357.
[4] Friends House Library MSS 3/385.
[5] Carlow MM minutes 2 Aug. 1799: Dublin Hist. Library MSS C312.
[6] Epistle From London Yearly Meeting, 1750.
[7] Hodgson, William: *The Society of Friends in the 19th Century.*
[8] Dublin Hist. Library MSS SGD b/46.
[9] Dublin Hist. Library MSS SGD b/47.
[10] *Letters of Sarah Lynes Grubb*, 351.
[11] *Ibid.*, 365.
[12] Friends House Tracts 33, 7–12.
[13] *Ibid.*, 124–15.
[14] Dublin Hist. Library MSS SGD b/154.
[15] Dublin Hist. Library MSS SGD b/153.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Yearly Meeting minutes Vol. 24, 515–516.
[18] Friends House Tracts 33, 16.
[19] *JFHS*, Vol. 17 (1920) 82–87.
[20] Russell, Elbert: *The History of Quakerism*, 346.
[21] Memoir prefixed to Glad tracts, 13: cf Richard Cockin to Mary Fox, 10 April 1842; printed in *JFHS* (1930) 31 and quoted in Isichei, Elizabeth, *Victorian Quakers*, 51.
[22] Gurney, Joseph John: *A Peculiar People*, 35.
[23] Gurney, Joseph John; *loc. cit.*, 93.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Encounter with Silence: Reflections from the Quaker tradition. By John Punshon. Friends United Press, Richmond, Indiana, and QHS. 1987. £3.75.

To review this book for the Friends' Historical Society is not to comment on it as a devotional exercise or as an exposition of the writer's understanding of Quakerism, but to consider his attitude to history, and in particular to Quaker history.

In one way, the book is itself an historical document, a 'Testimony to the Lord's dealings with John Punshon' in a form which strongly recalls Quaker journals of the past; and as he tells of his experience John Punshon calls in the traditional Quaker vocabulary ("convincement", "measure", "light", "truth", "baptisms", "ministry", "gathering") to explain what happened to him and to define the experiences they encapsulate.

He also justifies this approach in general terms. He sees 'the insight of a particular group of Christians into the nature of their faith as the wellspring of their distinctive worship' and adds 'The public aspect is primarily remembrance, the private aspect, experience. The ideal is harmony between the two. Perhaps the most important function of public worship is to tell the story of the group, how it began, what it has been through, and how God has dealt with it'. Since Quakers do not observe 'the Lord's Supper' as 'a living reminder of the life of Jesus' and 'a two thousand-year-old link with his first disciples'; and nor do we observe the cyclical landmarks of the Christian Year, Lent and saints' days, we find our own way to recall our values and concerns through figures like John Woolman, Isaac Penington, James Nayler, Margaret Fell, Rufus Jones and Lucretia Mott with incidents like Fox on Pendle Hill, Woolman's Indian Journey, Caroline Stephen's first Meeting, and passages from their writings in our official handbooks.

There is, however, an important difference: for other Christians the Eucharist or Supper, Easter or Lenten observance, are not merely remembrance but re-enactment of historical events. Friends do indeed climb Pendle Hill 'with much ado' in re-enactment of Fox's experience, and may in imagination walk in the rain with Woolman to Wyalusing; but the contribution of the Friends' Historical Society is to show the very complex background to these events. We see Lucretia Mott's insights against the opposition she met both as a woman and a political activist; we know more of the Moravian and the Indian circumstances at the time of Woolman's journey; we realise what Fox himself never mentioned, that Pendle Hill was and is a centre of witchcraft, that seventeenth-century curse. Sometimes our researches enrich, sometimes they modify the mythical quality of our favourite people and episodes, and sometimes (as with William Penn and his sword, which is certainly a central anecdote of Quaker observance) they force us to abandon historical validity without however denying mythical truth, But then, the little that John Punshon has to say *directly* about early Quaker history only reminds the present reviewer that we all see it differently: history is a construct rather than a record. Even personal history; John Punshon's fascinating account of his spiritual progress contains perhaps a shade more self-disparagement (from his Puritan background it may be) than the Recording Angel will allow, and a shade less

of the sense of Divine Sonship which got the Early Friends into so much trouble and brought them into spiritual as well as physical danger, but triumphantly liberated them from the burden of 'sin'.

Ormerod Greenwood

The English Baptists of the eighteenth century. By Raymond Brown. Baptist Historical Society (A History of English Baptists vol. 2) 1986. Pp. vii + 187 including index.

This deceptively concise, economically produced work contains a good deal of information and will be a standard reference on its subject. There are few specific references to Friends and its importance to Quaker historians will be to provide an up to date study of a parallel movement to offset some of the dangers of treating Quaker history in complete isolation from that of other denominations.

Friends may well need to be reminded that throughout the eighteenth century there were two distinct Baptist traditions, the General (Arminian) and the Particular (Calvinist). The General Baptists experienced problems with internal disagreements on their view of the person of Christ early in the century and the resulting division led to some becoming Unitarians. Like Friends, Baptists were subject to general hostility aimed at nonconformists which increased around the period of the American War of Independence because of their anti-establishment stance. Around 1715–18 there were about 19,000 General Baptists and 40,000 Particular Baptists, rather more in all than there were probably Friends then. The average Baptist congregation was probably about fifty.

There were some similarities to Friends as well as great differences. The attitude of the General Baptists to marrying out, their later social concern, opposition to the slave-trade and to gaming and problems about the plainness of lifestyles would all strike chords. Friends indeed drew some members away from the Arminian wing. While many General Baptist ministers were employed full-time in secular occupations it was though thought desirable to have a full-time paid ministry when this could be financed. Early in the century the Baptists did not sing hymns and there was opposition to set forms of prayer. These, like marrying out, were a source of concern to the Particular Baptists too. Other important themes are the competition with Methodism, the growth of evangelism and, less likely to be familiar to Friends, the clear and detailed discussion of the theological questions and differences that were so important in Baptist history.

David J. Hall

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE COMPLETE CORRESPONDENCE OF MICHAEL FARADAY (1791–1867)

It has been decided to prepare an edition of the correspondence of Michael Faraday. This project is supported by the Institution of Electrical Engineers and will be carried out by Dr Frank James at the Royal Institution.

To make this edition as complete as possible will anyone possessing letters to or from Faraday or knowing of their location please contact Dr Frank James, RICHST, Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, London, W1X, 4BS, England.

WOMEN IN LOCAL POLITICS

Patricia Hollis's *Ladies elect: women in English local government, 1865–1914* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987) concentrates on activity in education (the school boards), the poor law (women Guardians), as well as general political activity on local councils. Names such as that of Isabella Ford and Mrs Alice Priestman (wife of Henry Brady Priestman, of Bradford, 1853–1920, clerk of London Yearly Meeting, 1912) appear in the index, and there are many references to Sturge family activities in Birmingham and Bristol.

THE LONDON MOB AND QUAKERS

Hostility towards Friends was latent before and after the Restoration, and that it broke forth actively at periods of political crisis is documented in the recent study by Tim Harris *London crowds in the reign of Charles II* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

This is illustrated by attacks on the house of William Mullins in Vine Street, Holborn in June 1659, and the attack on the Quaker shop in Tower Street which was open one Sunday in the following October, which preceded the attack on the Friends' meeting in New Palace Yard in February 1660 by Monk's soldiers. The author notes the lack of sympathy expressed for Quakers, even among nonconformists of other persuasions, and the particular sufferings experienced by Friends who consistently refused to take an oath. On the other hand neighbourliness would sometimes in local situations mitigate the harmful effects threatened by mob violence.

WALTER KIPPON (Kippen/Kipping) 1656–1704)

The signature printed as *Waltr Shippin* at the foot of a removal certificate for Mary Loafty issued by Bristol Men's Meeting, 3 ix 1701 addressed to Friends in Pennsylvania (see *The Papers of William Penn*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987, vol. 4, 123) is most likely that of Walter Kippon.

Walter Kippon, son of Joseph and Ruth, was born 16 iii 1656. He followed his father and became a tailor. In 1679 he married Hannah Goodhind, daughter of Thomas Goodhind of Saltford, one of the most prominent North Somerset Friends (see Stephen Morland's *The Somersetshire Quarterly Meeting*, Somerset Record Society, 1978). Walter and Hannah had a numerous family; both suffered in the Bristol persecution of 1682–83. Walter was active in the service of the Men's Meeting (see Bristol Record Society's volumes 26 and 30). He was buried in Bristol, 21 viii 1704. It is not surprising that Walter should sign that removal certificate for Mary Loafty, because Mary's brother Thomas was a tailor likewise – indeed in 1702 the two were in dispute.

WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS

Friends' workhouse schools of the eighteenth century never achieved a happy relationship when children and adult or aged poor were housed in the same building.

Evidence for this difficulty is revealed tellingly in the London Record Society's most recent volume (vol. 24: *Richard Hutton's Complaints book – the notebook of the Steward of the Quaker Workhouse at Clerkenwell 1711–1737,* edited by Timothy V. Hitchcock, 1987). Troubles with scholars and inmates within, and with people in the immediate neighbourhood without are well illustrated by this memoranda book which has happily survived among the records of the school which is now at Saffron Walden.

FRIENDS' SCHOOLS IN GEORGE III's REIGN

J.H. Abraham's *Juvenile essays* (Sheffield, 1805) reprints prize compositions of pupils belonging to the Milk Street Academy, Sheffield, and prefixed to it is a brief history of education. On page 35 is the following short account: (After dealing with the dissenting academies) –

> 'The Quakers too, have schools, in London, as well as in the country. At Ackworth, they have a very respectable school, which the late Dr. Fothergill has remembered in his last will, and conferred upon it considerable legacies. The buildings are neat and convenient. There are five school-masters, and three school-mistresses, subject to an overseer, who teach about two hundred boys and one hundred and forty girls. Besides which number, the children of opulent Quakers are taught at the expence of their parents. At Clerkenwell they have also a well regulated school and workhouse.'

Readers, whether opulent Quakers, former Friends' school scholars, or citizens just interested in history, are encouraged to bring to the notice of the editor literary references which may have escaped the librarian at Friends House in indexing Quaker material.

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, RAWDON NEAR LEEDS: ADMITTANCE BOOK 1883–1918

The book listing the names, ages, residences etc. of pupils educated at Rawdon School between 1883 and 1918 is not now preserved among the other School records. Any information about the present whereabouts of the volume would be greatly appreciated.

Rawdon School was established by Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends and admitted its first scholars in April 1832. The School closed at the end of the Summer term 1921. Some pupils went on to Ackworth School, but a group of more than thirty went on (together with the Rawdon headmaster, A. Leonard Stapleton) to continue education at Friends' School, Great Ayton. The old School records were deposited in the Quarterly Meeting safe at Clifford Street Meeting House, York, and since 1981 they have been with the other Friends' records deposited in the Brotherton Library (Special Collections) at the University of Leeds. The Admittance books were not deposited.

Walter J. Kaye's *The history of Rawdon School* (1882) includes a list of scholars admitted between 1832 and 1882, and this is the only printed record. The first manuscript Admittance book with much fuller detail (an oblong folio of nearly 150 pages, approximately 13″ by 9″, in worn half-leather) was at Ayton School until 1984 when it was transferred to Leeds for deposit with the other School records. The continuation volume (1883–1918) has not been found and is the subject of the present enquiry. A new Admittance book was begun in September 1918; that volume was subsequently used at Ayton for another purpose, but Margaret Alderson the School Archivist kindly provided a photocopy of the relevant pages (for 1918–21) and these are now available with the first book [Leeds University MS. [Deposit] 1981/2. IX 10].

The 35-year gap between 1883 and 1918 cannot be filled even after a thorough examination of the School Committee minute books. The School Committee received notice of applications for entry to the School, but evidence of age, parentage, dates of arrival and leaving School is lacking. The missing volume is probably similar in size and format to the earlier book, and anyone who can help to locate it is encouraged to get in touch with Russell Mortimer, c/o The Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

Russell S. Mortimer

THE LIBRARIES OF PETER COLLINSON AND JOHN CATOR

A recent sale by Bloomsbury Book Auctions on 22 October 1987 was devoted largely to 313 lots amounting to about 700 titles from the library of the Friend John Cator. Cator (*c.* 1730–1810) of Beckenham in Kent, was a timber merchant and friend of Samuel Johnson and the Thrales. He had inherited about half the books of his father-in-law Peter Collinson, also a Friend, botanist and antiquary (1694–1768). The catalogue provides valuable evidence (one lot was a manuscript catalogue of the collection) for the kind of books and therefore presumably the range of interests of a prosperous eighteenth-century Friend that is otherwise hard to come by. Others of Cator's books had appeared in the antiquarian book trade before this sale. Not all the titles are actually listed in the sale catalogue but a higher proportion probably are than would have been given separately in a contemporary sale catalogue. The books ranged over the sciences (including astronomy), natural history, architecture, law, travel, literature and history with a sprinkling of Friends' books. Many of Peter Collinson's copies were identified.

David J. Hall

CROMWELL AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

Maurice Ashley's *Charles I and Oliver Cromwell: a study in contrasts and comparisons* (London and New York, Methuen, 1987) has the following passage, in a paragraph in which he comments on Oliver Cromwell's contacts with George Fox: (p.202).

During the Protectorate Oliver Cromwell was absorbed in a struggle to establish order and peace at home and win prestige abroad. Not unnaturally he felt that the Levellers, the Fifth Monarchists, the Quakers and other extremist groups and cranks (whose often comical notions have been elaborately investigated during the twentieth century) were a threat to his objectives. Yet in his maturity he became more and more convinced of the importance of liberty of conscience for all Christians so long as they did not provoke disorder.

Russell S. Mortimer

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Friends who have enjoyed Frederick Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic culture* (1960) and his previous *Journal FHS* Supplement 'The Atlantic community of the early Friends' will appreciate a broader study recently published by Oxford University Press: *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740* by Professor Ian Kenneth Steele of the University of Western Ontario, Canada.

This study of English Atlantic communications is full of marshalled detail about regional climatic variations, trade routes, postal and mail services, newspaper publishing and disease epidemics influencing developments in transmission of commercial and other intelligence over the period which saw the flood of Quaker group migration across the ocean.

The author has used papers at Friends House Library, London. He notes that the Quakers' network was among the best in the period, demonstrating 'a level of communication between migrants and their English brethren that had been quite impossible for migrating dissenters half a century earlier' (264). On Quaker journals, the author comments: 'No other type of travel account can be quite as devoid of description or wonder at the worlds encountered.' (12). A note quotes (from George Willauer's article in *JFHS* 52 (1969), 130) the contemporary criticism of Aaron Atkinson's lengthy report to Yearly Meeting in 1700 on his American travels taking up time unseasonably.

The James Logan/William Penn correspondence of 1702–13 showing interest and care for the development of the Quaker colony, the author finds, compares favourably with the epistolary efforts of royal government officials.

The author opens the final paragraph of his preface with a remark which other writers may have wished they had dared to print: 'Without the help of my family, this book would have been finished years ago...'.

Russell S. Mortimer

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Supplements to the Journal of Friends' Historical Society

12. ELIZABETH HOOTON, First Quaker woman preacher (1600–1672). By Emily Manners. 1914. 95pp., £3.00.

20. SWARTHMORE DOCUMENTS IN AMERICA. Ed. Henry J. Cadbury. 1940. £1.50.

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24pp., 50p.

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68pp., £3.00.

23. SLAVERY AND "THE WOMAN QUESTION". Lucretia Mott's Diary. 1840. By F.B. Tolles. 1952. £2.00, cloth £3.00.

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF EARLY FRIENDS. Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £1.00.

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. £1.00.

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34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827–1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25.

35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866–1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00.

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