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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

Friends Historical Society has recently lost two of its Presidents.

Hope Hay Hewison had a gracious, loving and courageous spirit. Her fine study *Hedge of Wild Almonds: South Africa, the 'Pro Boers' and the Quaker Conscience* (1989) reflected a long, deep and active interest in Africa to which she brought here a Quaker historical perspective. Her patient research into the years 1890-1910 also inspired her Presidential Address of 10 November 1990 – "Human Progress and the Inward Light"; The position of Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913) in relation to his contemporaries, *JFHS*, 56, no. 2 (1991) and an essay with the arresting title 'God at London Yearly Meeting 1900' in *A Quaker Miscellany for Edward H. Milligan* (1985).

Maurice J. Wigham had a long and distinguished record of service for Irish Friends. I recall a presence of quiet, gentle authority and a seriousness tinged with humour. His Presidential Address of 28 September 1996 – 'Some Irish Quaker Naturalists', *JFHS*, 58, no. 1 (1997) opened a new perspective on Irish Quaker history whilst his book *The Irish Quakers* (1992) should remain the standard introduction for some time to come. His *Newtown School, Waterford: A History 1798-1998,* reflecting nearly a life-time's association with the School, was published after his death. Altering only one word of a Friend's tribute to Maurice at the meeting for burial, the Society could also say: "with love and gratitude, we gather them now into our history".

This issue contains articles on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. J. William Frost's stimulating Presidential Address is the prelude to perhaps a decade's work on a new biography of William Penn.

Part of a new book on early Seekers and Quakers, Douglas Gwyn's article on Joseph Salmon is a fascinating reminder of the exciting period of spiritual turmoil and exploration in which Quakerism emerged.

David J. Hall presents a careful bibliographic survey of eighteenth century editions of a key Quaker work.

Through one Friend's spiritual journey Richard Allen introduces us to the growth of Quakerism in Wales.

1798 is a landmark date in modern Anglo-Irish history. Glynn Douglas succintly surveys the Quaker involvement in the disturbing events which shook Ireland and led to the Act of Union of 1800.

The Editor welcomes articles and short items for consideration for inclusion in the *Journal* but his decision is final as regards publication or revision.

Howard F. Gregg

"WEAR THE SWORD AS LONG AS THOU CANST". WILLIAM PENN IN MYTH AND HISTORY

In July 1940, before America entered the war, Harold Evans of the AFSC testified before the Senate seeking to justify the Quaker claim for conscientious objectors who would not serve in the military but who would provide alternative public service. Evans told the senators the story of young William Penn and his sword.[1] The anecdote says that Penn – who had shortly before become a Quaker – approached George Fox with the question whether he could continue to wear a sword. Fox's answer was: "Wear it (the sword) as long as thou canst." The next time Fox met Penn, he had no sword. The story has long been popular among Friends, but for Quakers, who have a testimony for truth telling, the issue is whether Evans was speaking fiction to power.

This article will be examining the documentary evidence for three popular traditions about William Penn – the sword story, the treaty with the Native Americans, and the "holy experiment." The topic is Penn in living memory and the means used by Friends, biographers, and the general public to maintain his fame. We will be concerned with William Penn the hero, or Penn as symbol or myth – bearing in mind that people create myths to capture and preserve what they regard as important truths. The conclusion will address the issue of the relevance of three centuries of traditions about Penn, who remains an elusive and monumental man.

The sword anecdote was mentioned in no eighteenth or early nineteenth century biographies of Penn and was not cited in the recent four-volume edition of Penn's letters. Its first appearance in print is Samuel Janney's *Life of Penn*, published in 1852. Janney's account provided a context for Penn questioning Fox. Penn knew that carrying a sword while in Paris had saved his life, because he disarmed an opponent who challenged him in a late night duel. The story also has Penn worried about adhering to a scriptural command: "Christ has said, 'He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.'" The answer of George Fox to Penn's query: "I advise thee to wear it as long as thou canst." "Not long after this they met again, when William had no sword, and George said to him, 'William, where is thy sword?' 'Oh!' said he, 'I have taken thy advice; I wore it

as long as I could.' " Janney, who sought to be a careful scholar, provides a footnote.[2] The story was related to him by I. P. of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, who learned it from James Simpson, b. 1743. I. P. is not identified. The story's authenticity rests upon oral tradition.

Now we know that there was an oral tradition surrounding Penn. William Sewel in his 1722 history tells us that he knew many stories that he is not including.[3] That comment comes shortly after a story he does include about the King, a Quaker, and the hat honour. A Quaker came to court wearing his hat. In the midst of people, he encountered the King, whose hat was off. Normally only the King wore his hat at court; everyone else uncovered as a sign of respect. When the Quaker asked why his majesty was uncovered, the King replied that only one person's head could be covered in the presence of the king. The story appears in both Gerald Croese's and Sewel's histories of Friends – the two earliest published histories – one of which was critical (1696) and the other favourable to Quakers (1722). Neither account says the Quaker was Penn whom they in the next pages discuss. By 1736 the story was recounted as involving Penn and Charles. Here is an example of the tendency of good stories to attach themselves to significant figures.[4]

There are other oral traditions involving King James and Penn. There is a supposed dialogue between Penn and King James over religion with the King asking Penn the difference between Quakerism and his religion. Penn asks for the King's hat and compares his plain hat with the King's beribboned headpiece. Penn's conclusions: Quakerism is a plain, unornamented religion without the superfluous finery of Roman Catholicism. Another tradition contained in Clarkson's biography is that King James came to Quaker meetings twice to hear Penn.[5]

The point is that since we learn from Sewel that there was an oral tradition, we cannot dismiss the sword story only because there is no early written record. And it should be noted that there is variation in the sword story in which Penn gives up his sword in a flamboyant gesture in Ireland on his first imprisonment – at a time he announced that he was a Quaker. It is easy to imagine the young radical convert making such a gesture, because at his second arrest, after publishing *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, Penn sent a letter to his father (and the Bishop of London and the King) announcing that before he would recant he was prepared to make his prison his grave.

This other sword story is based upon what is known as the Harvey manuscript dating from 1729. Penn in Ireland had been arrested. "As

he went to prison he gave his sword to his man & never wore one after."[6] The Harvey document is the only source for another story that on the same day when a soldier broke into the meeting, "W. P. Go's to him takes him by ye collar and would have throw'd him down stairs but a friend or two come to him desireing to let him alone for they was a peaceable people." Since the two events seemingly happened so close together, the Harvey manuscript has Penn learning the peace testimony very quickly.

At first glance Harvey's account would seem definitely to refute the second sword story. But it is not quite so simple. The Harvey manuscript is also based on oral tradition. It is headed "An account of ye Convincement of Wm Pen deliver'd by himself to Thom Harvey related me in a brief manner as well as his memory would serve after such a distance of time." Neither Thomas Harvey nor "me" have ever been identified.[7] So there is an interval from at least 1699 to 1729. Most of Harvey's account of Penn's conversion cannot be confirmed because it is the only source for the events, but there are at least two questionable assertions. Penn was "sent to Oxford where continued till he was expell'd for writing a book ye Preists did not like." There is no evidence elsewhere of a book written by Penn at Oxford, and there are alternative stories of why Penn was "banished." Historian William I. Hull concluded that the Oxford part of the Harvey's history is "not probable." Others have wondered whether it was credible that Sir William Penn had "Tears Runing down his Cheeks" at hearing Thomas Low. So while the Harvey manuscript tends to discredit Janney's story, it is not absolutely conclusive.[8]

To prove the authenticity of the Fox-Penn dialogue on the sword, it would be helpful to have accounts of an early meeting between Penn and Fox, but there is no account of when the young convert and older leader first met. Again, the negative proves nothing decisively. So we must raise the question as to whether the other actions of the two men are congruent with the story. Joseph Besse's 1726 biography attached to the *Collection of Works* told of the evolution of young newly converted Billy Penn's thinking through the implications of the hat honour. After a family friend in Ireland sent news of his son's conversion, Admiral Sir William Penn summoned the young man home. After several stormy scenes, the father asked William as a minimum to agree to uncover in the presence of the King, Duke of York, and himself. William asked to retire for a time of "Fasting and Supplication" to know the will of God, and soon returned to announce that he could not agree.[9] The father then turned the young man out of the house with blows, although his mother provided him

money.[10] Besse's account is interesting for the sympathetic way in which he treats the Admiral; one can almost imagine him worrying that young Quaker boys might find in Penn's behaviour justification for their own adolescent rebellions.

Besse's hat incident shows that young William Penn, who did not observe the hat honour at his first return home, seems to have made a complete acceptance of all the Quaker testimonies at his conversion; at least there is no historical record of a gradual growth. And while converted Quakers during the 1650s who had served in the army might have continued to wear swords, certainly by 1667, when Penn declared himself a Quaker, the peace testimony was well established and the Quaker testimony on suffering for faith would seem to preclude such a practice. So Harvey's account of Penn's giving up his sword seems more likely.

Fox's advice is also not typical. One cannot imagine Fox, for example, saying to Penn: "Attend the Church of England as long as thou canst," or "Swear oaths as long as thou canst." Now, it might be reasonable to expect Fox to handle Penn, as a prestigious potential convert, with care. Quakers did expect a growth in grace, but they also demanded that all follow the Light in their consciences. Fox rarely acted so indirectly on a matter of Truth. Yet there are exceptions. Rosemary Moore has discovered that Friends allowed a great deal of latitude to Isaac Penington, another prestigious convert. Larry Ingle notes that Fox wavered on whether Friends should accept judicial confiscation of estates for refusing to pay tithes and concluded "that on balance Fox was more attuned to compromise than he has normally been depicted, especially when it came to status and wealth."[11] Still, both Fox's and Friends' normal practice was to insist upon the totality of Quaker practices. Fox's success came not because he compromised and followed what we regard as psychologically astute practices, but because he so unyieldingly prepared to resist the demands of the Restoration Church of England

My conclusion is that Janney's sword story seems out of place in seventeenth-century Quakerism, but it certainly fits the mind-set of mid-nineteenth century American Hicksites like Janney who sought to legitimatize themselves by history. These were the people who popularized the term "inner light" to refer to the Light of God Within, published thousands of pages of the writings of early Friends, named their college Swarthmore to show that they preserved the seventeenth-century faith, objected strenuously to external authority or credal statements in religion, and saw religion as a search for truth in which the verification came from the

individual. Hicksites like Lucretia Mott flirted with Transcendentalism and Unitarianism and esteemed Penn as an exemplar of reason in religion who broke with priestcraft and evangelical orthodoxy. After all, one of the first signs of the impending break among Philadelphia Quakers was the reprinting of Penn's *Sandy Foundation Shaken*, a book which had landed its author in jail for its seeming denial of the Trinity. For Hicksites, the Penn and Fox of the sword story represent the earlier Friends as they wished to remember them, tolerant and arriving at community consensus through a growth in grace in the conscience rather than from external authority.

Thomas Clarkson's 1813 biography popularized other stories based on oral tradition to humanize Penn. These stories first appeared in Robert Sutcliff's *Travels in Some Part of North America*. Sutcliff, an Englishman who came to the newly independent country in 1804-6, told two stories about Penn in America. In one a boy in Merion, Pennsylvania at night crept up the stairs in a house in which the proprietor was staying, peeked through a crack in the wood, and saw Penn at prayer. Sutcliff provided a source: a sister of O. J., one of the Friends exiled to Virginia during the Revolution. This was probably Owen Jones, Jr. who was exiled to Virginia.[12] The boy or the teller of the tradition was Jones' sister's grandfather, probably Jonathan Jones of Merion. In the other story, Penn, while riding in the woods to a meeting at Haverford, encountered a barefoot girl named Rebecca Wood from Darby going to the same place. He offered the little girl a ride into the community and together they rode into town, he being unconcerned about a lack of dignified appearance. The moral was explicit: "he did not think it beneath him thus to help along a poor bare-footed girl on her way to meeting."[13] Again, we have no external verification of these accounts which rest upon oral traditions. In the Sutcliff version, the girl is not named, and Penn on the way to meeting "would occasionally take up a little-bare-footed girl behind him, to relieve her when tired." Like the sword story, these are designed to humanize Penn. But unlike the sword tradition which I think distorts what we know of Penn and Fox and fits the needs of the nineteenth-century Hicksite Friends, these stories, because they have not made the leap from England to America and seem less significant, are more likely true. A child who had ridden with Penn or a boy who, being naughty, had spied on the proprietor at night would remember and retell the incident. However, I would have more confidence in the Rebecca Wood story if I were sure that seventeenth-century parents would allow a little girl to walk alone

through the woods on a path for several miles to meeting. These two Penn stories can be retold if carefully labelled as one-hundred year old traditions because a likely provenance can be established and they fulfill the first requirement of medicine, which is "to do no harm."

When I mentioned my sceptical conclusions on the Janney's sword account to a responsible Quaker lady, she wailed, "But it's my favourite anecdote. Can I still tell it as a story?" My response: continue to tell it as an example of Quaker traditions, which tell us more about the faith of Hicksite and modern Friends than Penn and Fox. We should treat the sword story as analogous to reading medieval or Reformation biblical exegesis. Such exegesis contains many insights, but we learn more about the exegetes than the *Bible*. Perhaps, in keeping with the temper of the anecdote, I should have replied, "Tell it as long as thou canst."

II.

In 1869 President Ulysses S. Grant sought to reform the U.S. government's treatment of the native Americans west of the Mississippi. Having heard stories of Quakers' long tradition of work on behalf of the Indians and believing that they would be honest agents, he entrusted the implementation of government policy to Friends.[14] Quakers, who recalled not only the initial seventy years of harmony but their long history of advocacy for Indian rights beginning in 1755, also believed that they would be effective in working with Native Americans. (One Quaker Indian agent took an engraving of "Penn's Treaty" with him to the West.) Quakers then and now date the beginnings of American Quaker concern with the Indians with William Penn. The visible symbol of this tradition is William Penn's treaty with the Indians, an event which supposedly took place in 1682 on his first visit to America.

The first pictorial representation of Penn and an Indian was on a medallion made in England in 1731; in 1755, American Friends created a medal with a picture of George II on one side and a Quaker, presumably Penn, and the Indian on the other. The Pennsylvania government also commissioned a gorget, a piece of armour worn around the neck, with a picture of Penn and the Indian with hands extended in friendship.[15] (I haven't figured out why Friends would use a decorative piece of armour as a sign of peace. It's like a pacifist sword.) The coin and the gorget, created during Pennsylvania's first Indian war, were probably given to Indians during negotiations as a way of rebuilding confidence. With a commission from the Penn

family in England, Benjamin West in 1771 painted the famous picture of the treaty. Thomas Clarkson, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in his *Portrait of Quakerism*, said that an engraving of West's painting was the only work of art to be found in most Friends' houses.

Long before the Revolution, Philadelphians revered an elm tree under which the treaty took place. When, in 1810, this elm blew down in a storm, pieces of the wood were saved and sons and grandsons of the "treaty elm" were planted at a few places in the Philadelphia area. (Probably all the tree descendants were killed in the Dutch elm disease epidemic of the 1970s). In the 1850s Granville Penn donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a wampum belt which he claimed was given to William Penn at the time of the first treaty under the elm tree at Shackamaxon Creek.

Like the sword story, it is possible to date the first written account of Penn's treaty. Voltaire in his *Letters to the English Nation* describes the event as "the only Treaty between these people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never infringed."[16] Voltaire admired Friends, at least as much as he liked any religious sect, but his interpretation was also an attempt to embarrass the established churches in Europe. Voltaire could have read about the good results of Penn's and the Friends' policies on Indians from several sources. Before he visited Pennsylvania, Penn wrote an eloquent letter to the native kings in which he stressed his desire for good relations, justice, fair dealing, redress of any grievances, and peace. The Concessions and Agreements also show a desire to conciliate and live in peace with the Indians. Penn's 1683 *Letter to the Free Society of Traders* contained a long and sympathetic description of native culture and how they conducted themselves at negotiations over land.[17]

Early accounts of Pennsylvania, published and in manuscript, emphasized the harmony in Indian-colonist relations prevailing in the colony, which contrasted with events elsewhere in America. John Oldmixon's 1708 history of the British Empire stressed the peace between Quakers and natives as caused by just land dealings and mentioned that no Friend had ever been killed by an Indian. (This may be the origin of the tradition that the Native Americans never killed a Quaker.)[18] Caleb Pusey, an early settler who was an elder, a business associate of Penn, and defender of Friends against George Keith, wrote a manuscript history of Pennsylvania (pre-1725) in which he idealized Penn and stressed his creating peaceful relations among Quakers and Indians.[19] Pusey mentioned the Indians and a

The remnant of the Great Tree *as it now appears in* Stoke Park, *under which the celebrated Treaty was held between* WILLIAM PENN *and the* Original Natives of America.

governor in negotiations in 1721, referring to a "league" and "treaties" of friendship and peace between Penn and the Indians. His account would later be drawn upon by Samuel Smith of New Jersey and Robert Proud of Pennsylvania, who composed the first published histories of Pennsylvania.[20] Though they discussed good relations with Indians coming from Penn's policies, neither mentioned a specific treaty even though the tradition was established by the time they wrote. Their descriptions of the meetings between Penn and the Indians also did not mention the elm and did not locate the place at Shackamaxon Creek.

The most likely source for Voltaire's treaty is Besse's biography (1726). When Joseph Besse wrote what in essence was the first biography of Penn, though consisting mainly of Penn's letters with a little added narrative to tie them together, his very brief account of Pennsylvania reprinted Penn's 1682 letter to the chiefs. Here Penn announces that before he comes he will be sending over commissioners to treat about land and to enter into a firm "league of peace." Note that it is not Penn who is to make the league. Besse then went on to say "His friendly and pacifick manner of treating the Indians begat in them an extraordinary love and regard to him and his people, so that they have maintained a perfect amity with the English of Pennsylvania ever since.[21] Besse also mentioned the negotiations of the Indians with Governor Keith in 1723 in which the Native Americans evoked the memory of Penn and his covenant of friendship. Voltaire could have learned about negotiations with the Indians by Penn's laudatory description of a ceremonial meeting included in his "Report to the Free Society of Traders," favorably mentioned and reprinted in the *Collection of Works*. Not unreasonably, Voltaire concluded that these negotiations resulted in a formal peace treaty based upon a written document signed by Penn and the Indians.

Throughout the eighteenth century Indians recalled the just treatment of Penn and the covenant of friendship he had established. In 1720 they reminded Governor Keith that at their first council Penn had promised "so much Love and Friendship, that he would not call them Brothers, because Brothers might differ; nor Children, because they might offend and require Correction; but he would reckon them as one Body, one Blood, one Heart, and one Head."[22] A colonial governor in 1717 reminded the Lenai Lenape of nine policies affirmed by Penn in a league or covenant of friendship.[23] Stressing the covenant established between the proprietor and the Indians was a useful negotiating tool for the colonial government and the Native

Americans. Because Pennsylvania had no militia and the Quaker-dominated Assembly did not intend to establish one, keeping peace was imperative. Peace with the Indians served to justify Quaker reluctance to provide for military defence and served as a pragmatic justification for pacifism. For the Indians, who did not wish to be attacked and to preserve their lands, recalling Penn's just treatment would remind the proprietor's secretary, governors, sons, and the Assembly to live up to their heritage. So both Native Americans and Pennsylvanians reaffirmed the covenant made by Penn and the Indians. Soon both sides acted as if there had been a formal treaty with the Indians, even when each violated its spirit.

Before the American Revolution an oral tradition of Penn's treaty was well established. So when Thomas Penn commissioned the American-born Benjamin West to create the picture, West knew the traditions and, in the belief that his ancestors had been present, put his father and brother into the picture, although in the painting there is no treaty elm and the place is not Shackamaxon.[24] Almost immediately, those who were historically informed saw West's anachronistic touches: in making Penn too old, in dressing him in a later style of clothes, in the houses that were not yet built, and in having the Indians carry weapons at a treaty negotiation. West's picture, probably commissioned for family pride, also served to remind the colonists of the benevolence of proprietary government and the necessity of peaceful adjustments of dispute with the Penn family and British government. During the Revolution, the painting lost any immediate political content, but in the form of the Hall engraving it remained popular in Britain and America. Its appeal may have rested on its exotic content in harmonizing savage Indians, placid Quakers, and primitive America. In the nineteenth century Friends saw it as a tribute to the practicality of justice and pacifism in preserving tranquility. The picture also glorified the past for a new nation seeking historical roots. West's "Penn's Treaty" painting became an icon to contrast the results of Penn's justice with the incessant Indian wars fought by the United States.

The difficulty with Penn's treaty was that neither members of the Penn family in England nor antiquarians in post-Revolutionary Philadelphia, seeking to write biographies of William Penn and the history of Pennsylvania, could find in the colonial laws, records of the Assembly and Council, and papers of governors any written record of the treaty. Why, they wondered, would deeds for land sales be preserved but not the much more significant treaty? Thomas Clarkson, who wrote his biography of Penn to show that a Christian

could be a statesman, admitted that he could not find any documents of the treaty, but was certain of its existence. After all, Pennsylvanians revered the "treaty elm"and the Indians recalled the covenant. Clarkson learned that Joseph Kett, who lived near Norwich, had in his possession the blue sash worn by Penn at the time of the treaty. So Clarkson created a scene of Penn, a few Quakers, and many Indians signing a parchment treaty.[25]

Because they believed that an event so important must have merited a documentary record, the Philadelphia gentlemen who created the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the 1820s investigated thoroughly. John Watson's *Annals* used the recollections of Mary Preston, a 100 year-old woman of sharp intellect who died in 1774, who distinctly remembered Penn's arrival. Penn was the handsomest man she had ever seen and he had engaged the Native Americans in a jumping contest, which he had won.[26] She did not mention the treaty, but later biographers used her account of Penn's eating Indian food and competing with them as events occurring at the treaty negotiations. Of course, her memory is open to question. After all, Penn may not have been a handsome man. He had lost his hair from the small pox, a disease which often left scars on the face. He does not appear to have engaged in regular exercise, and had just completed a two-month voyage on a cramped ship in which he nursed passengers during a smallpox outbreak. In any athletic contest, he would have been competing against Indians who did not spend most of their time in reading, writing, and attending Quaker meetings. If Penn outperformed the Native Americans, they probably let him win. So, unlike Watson, modern historians will not find the woman's memory reliable.

Watson, Roberts Vaux, and other Philadelphia gentlemen learned from many good sources that Penn met with the Indians several times on both his first and second visits, and it is quite possible that one of those meetings was at Shackamaxon under an elm. The issue is not Penn's wanting peace with the Indians, but whether a treaty took place in 1682. Does the elm story authenticate the treaty? Our first written source is from Richard Peters, Jr. Peters, an old man in 1822, recalled an incident as a child swimming in Shackamaxon Creek. Benjamin Lay, an eccentric hunchback whose antislavery tactics were long remembered, used to remind the boys that they were swimming beneath the "treaty elm."[27] However, Lay migrated to Pennsylvania in 1733. A second source used to authenticate the treaty is the wampum belt given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania which the Penn family in the nineteenth century

claimed was given at the first treaty. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence connecting this or the other wampum belts preserved by the Penn family with the first treaty, and ethnographers are not even sure that the belts originated with the Lenni Lenape Indians.[28] Relying upon oral traditions of the treaty and the elm, the Indians' testimonial, and later the Penn family's wampum belt, one member of the Historical Society concluded that there was a Penn's treaty, and that it was not a land sale. However, the promises were verbal and not written down as the custom with illiterate Indians. The investigation by two other Philadelphia gentlemen came to an opposite conclusion because Governor Patrick Gordon in 1728 referred to it "in writing on record." So the treaty became, either – as the Frenchman Marsillac insisted, "the only treaty never written, signed, nor broken" – or a document once extant but no longer available.[29]

Qualms about the existence of the treaty did not hamper nineteenth-century biographers of Penn or historians of Pennsylvania.[30] The most reliable admit that there is no documentary evidence; not until 1900 does Sidney Fisher argue that there was no such treaty and that Penn and Indians followed normal colonial-American negotiation patterns of making rhetorical promises before getting down to the business of land sales. He concluded that the significance was not in the promises Penn made, which were not particularly original, but in the fact that Penn and the Quakers kept them.[31]

Throughout the nineteenth century historians of Quakers and Pennsylvania and biographers of Penn continued to discuss the treaty, basing their remarks on Voltaire's assertion, oral traditions, and West's picture. Penn and Indians appeared on tablecloths, china, playing cards, puzzles, and advertisements.[32] Part of the appeal remained romanticism: in an America undergoing constant Indian wars over land, these were non-threatening noble savages. For non-Quakers the meaning of the tableau changed from peace to trustworthiness, and the Indians became only background materials. For merchants, Penn represented honesty, a willingness not to take advantage. So the customer, in some strange sense now analogous to the savages, would not be cheated, because the product was of good quality. Representations of the treaty were used on bank notes, insurance policies, and the labels of a wide variety of products. When two Philadelphia Quaker merchants (one Orthodox and one Hicksite) created the Strawbridge and Clothier department store, they took as a sign of their business practices a medallion of Penn and the Indian. The reputation of Friends for probity rather than any

personal commitment to Quakerism led a new company of cereal makers to style themselves The Quaker Oats Company and to use a Quaker in broad-brim hat similar to that worn by Penn in West's painting as a symbol on their products. In America such symbolism continued until the 1930s, but then declined, either because Friends were no longer seen as honest, or even known, or because Quaker Oats was more famous than the Society of Friends.

The most familiar image to Americans of Penn's peace and the Indians now comes not from West but from the rediscovery after 1950 of the early nineteenth-century American primitive painter, Quaker Edward Hicks. Hicks' many paintings of "The Peaceable Kingdom" make a religious use of the image of Penn's treaty. Hicks' pictures have a dual focus: one side has the lion and the lamb and the little child and the other is a representation of Penn's treaty. The border has lettering from Isaiah about the future reign of peace which the church had for centuries interpreted as foretelling the birth of Christ and an eternal peace following the return of Christ and battle at Armageddon. Hicks' paintings link Isaiah's prophecy of a peaceable kingdom with Penn's Treaty. The lion and the lamb would co-exist in peace during the future reign of Christ; Quakers and Native Americans in early Pennsylvania prefigured the coming of Christ's Peaceable Kingdom. In West's painting, the centre of focus is William Penn, the virtue belongs to Friends, and the Indians are armed savages who respond to Quakers.[33] The emotion evoked from viewers is nostalgia, even complacency. For Hicks, the virtue comes from God and transforms both groups and even animals, and the emotion he hoped to create was prayerful hope symbolized in the origins of Pennsylvania which could prefigure the coming new creation of a "Peaceable Kingdom." Most amazingly, Hicks had a better understanding of Penn's intentions of his "holy experiment" than any past or recent historian.

The myth or icon of Penn's treaty had both a positive and negative impact on later history. For Friends, it served as a goal to keep the meetings aware of Indian rights and abuses of the British and American governments' policies. So Friends consciously set out to make sure that the U. S. government did not fraudulently take Indian lands. Yet the myth also precluded a careful evaluation of whether Penn's treaty and policies really had brought justice in Pennsylvania.[34] Did honesty, the sanctity of contracts for land sales, and unlimited immigration impede the removal of the Native Americans from lands? Or did Penn's policy serve to ease Quaker and American consciences? Until the 1930s Quakers supported

Native American assimilation to European cultural norms and Christianization, even though it should have been apparent that these policies led to demoralization and loss of lands. Penn, whose knowledge of Indians was rudimentary, seems to have respected native culture; later American Friends had little more accurate information and less respect. So when Grant turned to American Friends to carry out a policy of an honest implementation of a forced assimilation, the experiment failed miserably. The Quakers could not escape their blinders imposed by their uncritical acceptance of the Penn Treaty icon; captives of a myth, they failed to realize that what was noble in 1682 was irresponsible in 1870.

III.

The most famous phrase that Penn wrote in connection with the founding of Pennsylvania was contained in a letter to James Harrison in August, 1681. "For my

Country (I see?) the lord in the obtaineing of it: & mor(e was) I drawn inward to looke to him, & to o(we it?) to his hand & powr then to any ot(her way.?) I have so obtained it & des(ire) that I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that wch may answear his Kind providence & serve his truth & people: that an example may be Sett up to the nations. there may be room there, tho not here, for such an holy experiment."[35] The "holy experiment" has been used by many historians and biographers as capturing the essence of Penn's intentions for his colony. The letter containing the phrase was unknown to Besse, but printed with the "holy experiment" italicized in a footnote in Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* (1797) and more prominently in Clarkson's two-volume biography. Since then the phrase has appeared in most serious biographies as well as in shorter sketches designed for children. It was the theme of Benjamin Trueblood's 1894 speech at the time of placing the statute of Penn on the tower of Philadelphia's City Hall. The "holy experiment" served as the organizing theme of artist Violet Oakley's murals in the State Capitol in Harrisburg and is in the title of many histories of early Pennsylvania and a book calling for Quaker spiritual awakening, *The Holy Experiment II*.[36] Countless numbers of American undergraduates have read in textbooks, and probably memorized as a possible identification question, the phrase as the heading for the section on the early history of Pennsylvania. Unlike the sword story and Indian treaty, the myth of "holy experiment" is not about the authenticity of the source – the original letter exists – but in its meaning and significance for understanding Quaker Pennsylvania.

Virtually all scholarly and popular references assume that the meaning of the "holy experiment" is encompassed in the first meaning listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: a "test" or "trial"; that is, a kind of scientific or empirical experiment.[37] Just what Penn was experimenting with varies, with the most common assertions being self-government, religious liberty, freedom, pacifism, treating the Indians justly, providing a refuge for persecuted religious minorities – all of which were features of early Pennsylvania. On occasion, the term has been extended to having Penn experimenting with democracy, separating church and state, or reforming of the criminal code and abolishing capital punishment for most crimes. Again, all these were present in the colony to some degree. Almost no one asks whether the riskiest experiment was entrusting Quakers with the power to govern, though that clearly was new, and in later life Penn might not have judged that aspect of early Pennsylvania a success. All of these interpretations have in common an assumption that the experiment was about creating political arrangements so that Quakers could practice true Christianity; even religious liberty was to prove whether such freedom would create anarchy. Unfortunately for the political interpretation, there is little evidence that Penn thought that assembly government, the rule of law, religious liberty, or pacifism needed a trial or test to prove its value or that having a government following such policies would have a decisive impact on true piety. After all, Quakerism was flourishing in Britain which had none of them.

The common mistake of the myth-makers is to overlook what the *Oxford English Dictionary* refers to as the second meaning of experiment which is "to have experience of." In one of the most often quoted passages of his *Journal*, George Fox, in authenticating knowledge gained through inward revelation, commented, "That I know and know experimentally." Penn also referred to the experience of the Inward Light as "experimental."[38] As a person interested in the study of nature, Penn obviously knew both the "trial" and "experience" meaning of experiment. At issue is whether Penn's holy experiment was a trial of principles of government or a sign of grace. I think the latter, and argue that in 1681 Penn saw his receiving the charter as a testament of God's providential gift and as a sign of the approach of the millennium.

In the letter to Harrison just before Penn referred to the "holy experiment," he acknowledged that the grant came from "the lord" and that he "owe it to his hand & pow(e)r then to any ot(her) way." Since the land came from God, Penn had, like the biblical people of Israel, an obligation to "serve his truth & people; that an example,

may be Sett up to the nations." The same day, Penn wrote a letter to Robert Turner in which he used essentially the same phrase: "that an example, a standard may be Sett up the Nations."[39] The scriptural reference for both passages is Isaiah 11: 10: "In that day the root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples; him shall nations seek, and his dwellings shall be glorious." The Isaiah prophecy had originally been applied to the indestructible Mount Zion, the dwelling place of the Lord. The Christian Church had reinterpreted the prophecy as referring to the coming of Jesus and also to the return of Christ at the end of time and the creation of a new Jerusalem.

That Penn was not just using the verses metaphorically can be shown by looking at a letter written by Thomas Janney four days earlier. Again he referred to England as too crowded a land and contrasted it with Pennsylvania. "God will plan(t) Americha & it shall have its day: (the 5th kingdom) or Gloryous day of (Jesus?) Christ in us Reserved to the last days, may have the last part of the world, the setting of the son or western world to shine in."[40] Notice that it is God and not Penn who is planting America. The fifth kingdom is from the book of Daniel in which the prophet tells the king that the first four kingdoms will end because of flaws in their composition, but the fifth, whose foundation is laid by God, will endure. Penn testifies in several letters, using terms still current in the Quaker community, of his religious clearness in his actions in obtaining the charter. Penn's careful waiting and his purity of motive allowed God to be "over all,"that is, to show His power in creating the colony.

The "Gloryous day of Christ in us Reserved to the last days" is a reference to the book of Revelation where Christ returns at the end of time making way for a new Jerusalem that will need neither sun nor moon because "the glory of God is its light" and there would be no night. Penn's metaphor joins the sun's setting in the West (i.e. America) and the Light of Christ, conflating the "son" Jesus and "sun" light.

The example to the nations, the fifth monarchy, the last days – these are the biblical language of the apocalypse, the end of time. Additional evidence of the millennial significance of the "holy experiment" comes in the name and prayer Penn gave to the colony's chief city, Philadelphia. Virtually everyone comments upon the Greek derivation of brotherly love. One biographer, ignorant of the fact that there was a religious group of Philadelphians in England, gave Penn the credit for inventing the word. Only Sydney Fisher in 1900 also noticed that Philadelphia is a city mentioned in the book of

Revelation, but he misunderstood the significance of the biblical passage.[41] In Revelation 3 the "angel of the church in Philadelphia" writes, "I know your works," and prophesies that the town will become "the city of my God, the New Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven."

The messianic utopianism that Penn manifested before coming to Pennsylvania continued to be expressed during the first visit. In 1684 just before he returned to England, Penn wrote a farewell letter to prominent Friends in the government in which he included what has become known as the prayer for Philadelphia:

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin (settlemt) of this province, named before thou wert born, wt love, wt care, wt service, and wt travil, have there been to bring thee forth & preserve thee from such as would (abuse) and defile thee. o that thou may be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the god of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayst be preserved to the end. my soul prays to god for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children be blessed of the Lord . . .. "[42]

There are four parts of this prayer which are important for our purposes; two parts have double meaning: the "virgin settlement" and the significance of being "named before thou wert born." Philadelphia was a virgin, that is, a new and unsoiled town which Penn had named in England and founded in Pennsylvania. Yet the prayer also links the city with a birth, a virgin birth, recalling the purity of Penn's motives in founding the colony. Before "thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, what travail, has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee." Philadelphia, like the land of Israel in both Isaiah and Jeremiah, is a virgin; and the city, before its birth, was named not only by Penn but also named and described by John the author of Revelation. In Revelation 12:2 the woman was "with child, in anguish for delivery." And after the dragon comes, "her child was caught up to God . . . and the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God." Another significant phrase: "that . . . thou mayest be preserved to the end." The end of what? We think of the death of an individual as the end; but cities endure virtually forever – except that all cities except Jerusalem will cease at the eschaton. And what accompanies the end of time: the four horseman of the apocalypse and the war between Christ and the antichrist – a period of stress and trial. Penn's prayer is "that thou mayest stand in the day of trial;" the day of trial could be either the series of trials at the end of the world (I Peter 4:12 "concerning the fiery trial which is to come" or Revelation 3:10 in

which Philadelphia is preserved from the "trial") or the trial before God at the last judgment with the separation of the good from bad. On this occasion, it is crucial that the children of Philadelphia be "blessed."

Penn's vision of godly Pennsylvania was not unique. It was echoed in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's epistle to London Friends in 1683: "o(u)r god hath engaged us, yea he hath over Come us wth his Antient glory, the Desert sounds, the wildernesse rejoices A Visitation inwardly & outwardly is Come to America, God is Lord of all the Earth & at or setting of the sun will his name be famous."[43] Notice that the founding of Pennsylvania is the spread of the lordship of God over all the earth. One would have thought that God's name was already famous, but invoking the "setting of the sun" which is in the West where America is located is another reference to the apocalypse as described in Revelation.

The conclusion is clear: the myth that Pennsylvania was conceived as a "holy experiment"in free government and religious liberty is wrong, because Penn did not think such political arrangements were holy. Instead, he prayed and felt that his colony had the potential of becoming a holy experience, a meeting in the wilderness in which pure worship and righteous behaviour might lead God to inaugurate his new Jerusalem. America, specifically Pennsylvania, might be the promised land.

It is easy to understand why the "holy experiment" was later reinterpreted into a secular myth. Penn's new province proved extraordinarily difficult to govern and even the devout Quaker colonists proved obstinate. The caves along the Delaware where settlers lived the first winter were before 1700 rumored to be houses of ill repute. Penn soon dropped the eschatological language. After all, at the time he anticipated the end he also wrote multiple Frames of Government, approved laws, established a legislature, and sold lands. He, his sons, and the colonists soon came to defend Pennsylvania as a land of political and religious freedom and economic opportunity, "the best poor man's country." In the eighteenth century Pennsylvania could be thought of as an experiment in religious liberty, representative government, the rule of law, and Quaker government – all of which made the land prosperous but not holy. Still, Penn's success in creating the colony and its later history could be viewed as providential, as if God had a particular care for a Quaker colony.

The late-eighteenth-century Quaker historian Robert Proud thought Penn's aim was to provide as much freedom as was compatible with morality.[44] So when Isaac Norris II, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1752 chose an inscription for the state

house bell, he picked a passage in Leviticus "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land and to the inhabitants thereof." Perhaps it was a conscious tribute to Penn's 1701 Frame of Government, but in the nineteenth century the liberty bell became a symbol of American democracy. The making of that myth belongs to American, not Quaker history.

IV.

When evaluating the prominence of myth in religion and history, scholars need to be careful; for in relying only on documentary evidence our enterprise can be destructive rather than informative. Without oral history there would have been no synoptic gospels, no hadith of Mohammed, no lives of the Buddha. And in the case of the three myths described here, it is often historians devoted to documentary truth who helped to create and propagate these stories. Centuries before literature professors discoursed on deconstruction theories, even long before liberal or modernist theology, early Christian apologists and mystics discussed the symbolism in biblical stories and warned against too literal an interpretation of texts. Such a caution is useful in considering Quaker myths. The study of myth-making in a religious group like Friends devoted to speaking the truth will help us to understand the evolution of denominational history. And there is clearly a kernel of factuality in each of these myths: Penn did stop wearing a sword; he did meet with the Indians and seek a covenant of peace; and he did create a holy experiment.

When re-reading Robert Proud's history, I discovered an account of a negotiation between West Jersey Indians and Friends before Pennsylvania was settled. The Indians recited a history of the selling of alcohol by Europeans. The Dutch had sold alcohol; they had, said the Indians, "been blind, they did not see it was for our hurt." The Swedes had come next and also sold alcohol for profit. The Swedes also had no eyes. Finally, the Quakers came and they had kept their eyes open. They had seen the hurt and effects of selling alcohol on tribal life, and by mutual consent had abolished its sale.[45] May I suggest that the way Friends should approach their history and myths, as well as their role in the wider society, is with their eyes open. I would be glad if when the story of twentieth-century Friends is written, historians conclude that while others were blind, Quakers acted with their eyes open.

J. William Frost
Presidential Address given during
Britain Yearly Meeting in London, 24 May 1998

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2 Samuel Janney, *The Life of William Penn*, 2 ed., revised, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852), 51.

3 William Sewel, *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People,Called Quakers*, (London: J. Sowle, 1722), 609.

4 Ibid.; Gerald Croese, *The General History of the Quakers*, (London: John Dunton, 1696), 96, 105. William Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1851), 228.

5 Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn*, first edition, 1813, (Dover, NH, 1820), I, 185.

6 "The Convincement of William Penn," *J.F.H.S.* XXXII (1935), 23.

7 Thomas Harvey, a minister from Taunton Monthly Meeting, appears the most likely source. Harvey, who died in 1733, married in 1690, had children in 1694 and 1695, and lived in Horsington. In 1723 Thomas Harvey had a cow distrained for tithes. Penn would have been frequently in the Bristol area because this was the home of Hannah Callowhill, whom he married in February 1695/6, and because it was the logical place to embark for Ireland. He may have moved to Bristol in 1697 because of the illness of his father-in-law. There were also a Thomas Harvey Sr. and Jr. who lived at Hogstye End in Buckinghamshire, but the Sr. died in 1706 and the Jr. was born in 1693. Because the manuscript indicates that the person giving the information had talked to Penn, this seems to eliminate the Bucks County Harveys. It is possible that Thomas Harvey was not a Friend, but the careful wording of the manuscript as to the reliability of Harvey's memory seems congruent with Friends' testimony on truth telling. Testimonies Concerning Ministers, 1728-1758, p. 73; London Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1734, p. 87; Joseph Besse, ed., *Great Book of Sufferings;* Digest Registers of Birth, Marriages and Burials for England and Wales c. 1650-1837; Tyeth A. T. Spencer, *Quakerism at Hogstye End, Buckinghamshire*, (Leighton Buzzard, H. Jackson (1939). I am indebted to Malcolm Thomas for help in trying to identify Thomas Harvey.

8 There are three parts of the Harvey manuscript that make me conclude that it contains some reliable information. Penn at the first hearing of Thomas Loe in Ireland about 1657 mentions his father's black servant. Pepy's diary indicates that the Admiral brought back from Jamaica a Negro slave. Second, when Penn hears Loe for a second time, he is so moved that he begins to cry and he stands up so Friends can see his tears. This act sounds like that of a self-important young aristocrat. Third, when Penn surrenders his sword, he gives it to his man-servant. The offhand way the servant is referred to again indicates a gentleman. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, translated by Robert Latham and William Matthew, (Berkley, CA: University of California, 1970), II, 60.

9 Joseph Besse, ed., *A Collection of the Works of William Penn*, (London: J. Sowle, 1726), 4.

10 This is really the only thing we know about Penn's relationship to his mother. One biographer said Lady Penn "was a plain, mediocre person; or we would know more about her." Parson Weems, best known for his account of George

Washington and the cherry tree, in his biography created imaginary dialogue between Penn and his mother to show a tender domestic scene. Weems used Clarkson and other sources, but he also created dialogue between Penn and his parents, Kings Charles and James, and prominent Friends. A reader would have no way of separating fact from fiction. Sydney G. Fisher, *The True William Penn*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900), 39; M.L. Weems, *The Life of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1833), 23ff.

11 In a comment delivered at the close of the lecture, Rosemary Moore noted that Friends tolerated many deviations from Isaac Penington, like Penn a prominent member of the gentry. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism*, (Oxford, New York, 1994), 140-141; the quote is from a personal communication, July 1, 1998.

12 Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in Some Parts of North America*, (York, England: Peacock, (1811). Sutcliff could have learned both of these anecdotes from O. J.'s sister. Owen Jones' grandmother was Gainer Owen, whose brother was married to Ann Wood of Darby. There were Wood families with children in Darby at the time of Penn's visit, but we could not find Rebecca Wood's name in Quaker meeting minutes. Thanks to Patricia O'Donnell of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, for this information.

13 Clarkson, *op. cit..*, II, 83.

14 Clyde A. Milner II, *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work among the Pawness, Otoes, and Omahas in the 1870s*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1982), 2.

15 Nicholas Wainwright, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Collecting by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania 1824-1974*, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974), 3.

16 Voltaire, *Letters on the English Nation*, (London: Davis and Lyon, 1733), 25. A variant of this saying is in Clarkson, 131. "C'est le seul traite entre ces peuples et les Chretiens qui n'ait point ete rompu." *The Works of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, "Essays in Literature, Art, History,"(New York: Dingwall-Rock, 1927), XIX, Part 1, 209.

17 Richard Dunn and Mary Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), II, 127-128, 442-460; this is a more accurate text than even the first published version.

18 John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, (London: J. Nicholson, 1708), 167.

19 Henry J. Cadbury, ed., "Caleb Pusey's Account of Pennsylvania," *Quaker History*, 64 (1975), 49-51.

20 Samuel Smith, *History of the Province of Pennsylvania*, ed., William M. Mervine, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1913); Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Poulson, 1797).

21 Joseph Besse, *Collected Works of William Penn*, 121, 124.

22 "Presentation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Belt of Wampum,"*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (1858), VI, 256; see also Albert Cook Myers, ed., *William Penn His Own Account of the Lenni Lenape of Delaware Indians*, (Moylan, PA: published by Myers, 1937), p. 95.

23 Charles Keyser, *Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1882), 39, 43, 47.

24 The best account of the painting and its reproductions is Ellen Starr Brinton, "Benjamin West's Painting of Penn's Treaty with the Indians," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 30, (1941), 99-189.

[25] Clarkson, *op. cit.*, I, 129-131; Kett received the sash from Mrs. Mary Penn, daughter-in-law of the founder. Another sash, pink with blue stripes, which Penn is also alleged to have worn at the treaty, was inherited by Hudson Gurney, Esq., MP of the Barclay family. *Records and Proceedings of the Outinian Society*, (London: Nicol, 1822), p. 36.

[26] John Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*, first edition, 1842, (Philadelphia: Elijah Thomas, 1857), 55-56; *The Life of William Penn, The Founder of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1849), 98-100, 117.

[27] Roberts Vaux, "A Memoir on the Locality of the Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indian Natives in 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (1826), I, reprinted 1864, 87.

[28] "Presentation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Belt of Wampum Delivered by the Indians to William Penn, at the Great Treaty under the Elm Tree, in 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1858), VI, 205-282; Horatio Hale concluded after discussions with Iroquois chiefs that the design on the treaty belts proved of Iroquois origin. A later investigator argued that the belt could be from the Iroquois, the Lenni Lenape, or other Northern tribes. The Penn family owned several wampum belts which, when sold at auction, were all labelled as having come from Penn's treaty with the Indians. Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records: A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic Symbols," (London: Harrison and Sons, 1897), 244, 251; Frank G. Speck, *The Penn Wampum Belts, Leaflets of the Museum of the American Indian*, No. 4, New York, (March 22, 1925), 11-15; Lot 139 at Christie's Sale, July 10, 1916.

[29] Governor Patrick Gordon in 1728 stated to the Native Americans that "your Leagues with you(r) Father William Penn, & with his Governours are in Writing on Record" in contrast to the oral traditions of the Indians "& I desire that you may repeat them over and over again to your Children, & to all your People." Gordon then listed the nine links in the covenant chain of perpetual peace. "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,"*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* III, (Philadelphia: Severns, 1852), 329-330; see also 88; John Watson, "Indian Treaty For the lands Now the Site of Philadelphia and Adjacent Country," 132 and Peter S. Duponceau and J.F. Fisher, "A Memoir on the History of the Celebrated Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon, in the year 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, (1836), III, Part III, 192, 200-202; Marsillac quoted in William I Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography*, (New York, Oxford, 1937), 85.

[30] Captain Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, claimed to have had a parchment of the first or "Great Treaty" which the tribe had kept intact until it was destroyed during the Civil War. Thomas C. Battey, "The Penn Parchment,"The *Friend*, (1/30/1897). Henry Cadbury evaluated this story in "Letter from the Past 62," *Friends Intelligencer*, (1/20/1945), 43. Charles Keyser compared scepticism of the treaty with questioning the "precious story" of the "Divine Master" and insisted that this oral tradition enduring for many generations made the story inhabit the "secure treasure-house of Earth's most valuable possession - 'the credence of our common humanity.'" Keyser, *op. cit.*, 14.

[31] Fisher, *op. cit.*, 212-214, 234.

[32] Brinton, *op. cit.*, 129-132. Pictures of these artifacts are in *Symbols of Peace: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, (Philadelphia, 1976) and *An Image of Peace: The Penn Treaty Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potemkim*, (Harrisburg, PA; Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission).

[33] In 1805 West stated that "The great object I had in forming that composition was to express savages brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolance, by not withholding from them what was their right, and giving them what they were in want of, and as well as a wish to give by that art that a conquest that was made over native people without sword or Dagder." Quoted in Brinton, *op. cit.*, 114.

[34] For example, there is no modern history evaluating the entire story of Quaker relations with Native Americans in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[35] Dunn and Dunn, *Penn Papers*, II, 108

[36] Benjamin F. Trueblood, *William Penn's Experiment in Civil Government*, (Boston: American Peace Society, 1895); Violet Oakley, *The Holy Experiment: A Message to the World from Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, private printing, c. 1922); Maxwell Burt, *Philadelphia: Holy Experiment*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1945); Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment,"* (New York: Temple University Press, 1962); Paul Cromwell, *The "Holy Experiment:" An Examination of the Influence of the Society of Friends upon the development and evolution of the American Correctional Philosophy*, (Ph.D. diss., Florida State, 1986). Robert Grant Crist, ed., *Penn's Example to the Nations: 300Years of the Holy Experiment*, (Harrisburg, PA: Council of Churches for the Pennsylvania Religious Tercentenary Committee, 1987); J. Jason Browne, *A Holy Experiment II: The Resurrection of the Spirit of America*, (Scottsdale, AZ: Visionary Press, ca.1995); William Kashautus III, *The Making of William Penn's Holy Experiment in Education*, (Philadelphia: Committee on Education, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1992).

[37] *Oxford English Language Dictionary on Historical Principles*, III, 431-432.

[38] Proud, *op. cit.*, 40, 41, 44; Clarkson, op. cit.., II, 109.

[39] Dunn and Dunn, *op. cit.*, II, 110.

[40] *Ibid.*, II, 106.

[41] Fisher, *op. cit.*, 213.

[42] Dunn and Dunn, *op. cit.*, II, 591

[43] *Ibid.*, II, 523, 503. For other migrants who shared Penn's vision, see J. W. Frost, "William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107 (1983), 591-595.

[44] Proud, *op. cit.*, I, 168-9/.Penn's purpose was "to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could bear, in their civil state, and in a religious state, to restore to them those lost rights and privileges, with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race."

[45] *Ibid.*, I, 148.

The illustration of the "Great Tree" is taken from *Records and Proceedings of the Outinian Society*, (London: Nicol, 1822), opposite page 29.

JOSEPH SALMON
FROM SEEKER TO RANTER – AND ALMOST TO QUAKER[1]

During the turbulent years of the English Civil War, a period when politics and religion were uniquely fused, thousands of young, idealistic Puritans dropped out of all forms of Church life. They were usually dubbed 'Seekers', though they were more likely to describe themselves with names like 'mourners after Sion' or 'Sion's travellers.' These were not the 'happy seekers' that we often find among Friends and elsewhere today, who are often content to dabble among religious ideas and practices, in some cases determined never to 'find' in any definitive sense. The English Seekers of the 1640s were acutely melancholy and even desperate souls, seeking a true Church where they could settle and worship in peace with God, themselves and their neighbours. They were convinced that none of the churches was legitimate. A long, dark night of apostasy had settled over the entire edifice of Christendom, and the many different reforms of Protestantism had not achieved a true restoration of early Christian faith and practice.

There seem to have been two principle types of Seekers. These were described succinctly by John Saltmarsh in his last book, *Sparkles of Glory* (1647).[2] The classic Seekers were those who had left all churches and waited in spiritual wilderness for the true Church to be revealed. This would be a restoration of the primitive Church of New Testament times. Only new apostles, with an extraordinary gift of the Spirit, working signs and wonders like the apostles in the Book of Acts, could renew the true Church. They would institute the proper practice of the sacraments, ministry and Church government. Until then, it was best to mourn and wait for God's deliverance. These Seekers either remained isolated individuals or met in informal groups to read Scripture, pray and hold religious conversation together. Saltmarsh concluded, 'This is the highest of their Attainment'.[3] In effect, these Seekers were Protestants who had taken the Reformation's quest for 'primitive Christianity revived' to its ultimate conclusions. They had been driven by intense idealism and millenarian hope to radical conclusions. Rather than settle for a half-way reformation, they would wait for divine intervention in some form reminiscent of the Church's original founding.

'But,' Saltmarsh added, 'some speak of a further discovery, and more spiritual than this of the Seekers.' According to that view, the New Testament Church was only a transitional form. Apostasy aside, it was intended to pass away in any case. All dispensations are but for a season, and they are never restored. Therefore, to await the restoration of New Testament Church order is Antichristian. There is nothing in Scripture to warrant it. The truth is that Christ, the eternal seed is already in all true Christians. All true reformation, growth and improvement of the Church can only take place by Christ himself working through his people. The world will see Christ come in the saints (a common expression of radical hope), but it will be 'in a day of conviction and spiritual judgment upon themselves'. Far from being a day of signs, wonders and glory, the day of the Lord will be perceived by most people as a day of consternation.

Saltmarsh had been among this second type, whom he did not even call Seekers. During the previous year, he had served as a chaplain in Cromwell's New Model Army. There he found and helped nurture intense worship groups among soldiers who practiced ardent religious devotion and held the most utopian political expectation for the outcome of the Civil War. These groups met to 'wait upon the Lord' and experienced a deep, cathartic work of the Spirit, which Saltmarsh called the 'Fiery Tryall'.[4] Seekers of this second type were definitely starting to find something. They believed themselves to be crossing the threshold into a new realm, a new age of the Spirit. Previous ages, or dispensations, (Law and Gospel) had been preparatory for this day. God would not take Christians backward in history to an earlier dispensation, but would bring them into a new order of Church. This Church would not reinstitute sacraments of baptism and communion. These sacramental realities were now known in an inward, unmediated way by these new, 'spiritual Christians.' Spiritualist worship groups in the Army and elsewhere saw themselves as the vanguard of a new order that would soon sweep over all England and the world.

The second type of Seeker had gone beyond the pale of Puritanism, even Protestantism in general. While many of their ideas can be traced to the Spiritualist Reformers, ranging from Caspar Schwenckfeld and Sebastian Franck to Jakob Boehme, the extraordinary struggles and expectations of the Civil War had led them into realm of imminent expectation of God's kingdom on earth, of Christ's return in the purified bodies of the faithful, of a new dimension of human existence. Many of the religious ideas and practices that we associate with early Quakerism were already in

place: a strong emphasis upon the light of Christ within: an experience of the light's work as an apocalyptic day of judgment; a disuse of outward sacraments; a cessation of regular, professional ministry and probably an extensive use of silence; claims to moral perfection by the power of the Spirit; and the beginings of a Christian pacifist position. These Spiritualist Seekers were in some respects proto-liberal in their belief in progressive revelation (or dispensations), their disenchantment with the entire edifice of Christendom and their affinities with the republican politics of the Levellers. Figures like Saltmarsh also expressed confidence in the emerging world-view and discoveries of the new sciences.[5]

But between the heady days of 1647, when it seemed as if anything were possible, and the beginnings of a visible Quaker movement, these Seekers would have to pass through a dark night of political defeat and spiritual despair. Some of the most advanced Spiritualist Seekers were among those most deeply crushed when the end of the Civil War did not produce a new, utopian society. The new powers in Parliament and the Army did not enact even an official religious freedom or an abolition of tithes. The defeat of the Leveller initiative for a republican English Commonwealth in 1649 led to a collapse of radical hope, both political and religious.[6] The explosion of Ranter rage and nihilism in 1649–50 is directly related to those deep disappointments. A number of Spiritualist Seekers who were most exalted in their expectation in 1647 were most prone to Ranter outrage by 1650.

Joseph Salmon offers us an excellent example of that trajectory from Seekerism into Ranterism – and nearly into Quakerism. His background is largely unknown to us.[7] There are no university records of him at Oxford or Cambridge, though his use of English language is almost as richly playful and perverse as that of Abiezer Coppe, his Oxford-educated Ranter cohort. There does seem to be a mutual influence of ideas, attitudes and vocabulary between Coppe and Salmon, but we do not know if they were associated before their ranting period.

Salmon served in Ireton's regiment as both a soldier and a chaplain around 1647–48. He was evidently a leading figure among the Spiritualist worship groups, for his first published tract, *Antichrist in Man* (1648) breathes the same ideas and excitement we find in Saltmarsh's *Sparkles of Glory* and tracts published by Army members around the same time. Like the other Army Spiritualists, Salmon evinced a strong sense that he was part of a new revelation breaking forth. His preface to *Antichrist in Man* exhibits a typical tension

between humility and superiority. On the one hand, he claims to know God beyond the formal religion that his readers practice; on the other, he asks them to read what follows with charity, for 'I am a child in the things of God.' He assures readers that if they come to this new revelation, they will find 'your present light will be darkness and your form to be flesh'. Salmon makes it clear that his new revelation is nothing less than Christ's second coming within.

The main text begins by looking back over the conflicted history of the English Reformation. There has been a continual sense of Antichrist's taint in the English Church. Some have identified Antichrist with Papacy, others with Episcopacy and more recently others with Presbytery. Thus, all have found Antichrist on the outside and not the inside, in history and not in mystery. These are deluded perceptions.[8]

Salmon uses the apocalyptic terms Antichrist and Whore of Babylon interchangeably. These masculine and feminine images of the demonic both represent the 'mystery of iniquity,' the power that continues to defeat personal transformation and social justice. In both cases, Salmon defines this power as 'fleshy wisdom,' 'carnal policy.' The problem of the flesh is not an innate evil of material existence but an outward (that is, both sensory and subjectively rational) way of knowing. The apocalypse of Christ's second coming is known only within, though the saints who receive the inward Christ will also enact the new age without. Like a 'mystical Herod,' the demonic power aspires to kill every new appearance of God in us.[9] This work goes on by a variety of subtle operations in the human heart. Religion often serves Antichrist's purposes best of all. The whore 'wears a religious dress' to seduce believers from true knowledge of Christ, captivating the mind in formal observances.[10]

Salmon stresses that everything reported of Christ in Scripture, in history, must be known within, in mystery. He summarizes pungently: the history of Christ is 'Christ for us' while the mystery is 'Christ in us'.[11] Scripture and sacraments take us only so far. Then we are crucified with Christ to them and suddenly the elements become bare water, bare bread and wine. The soul must be patient in this dead condition and wait for the Comforter to come witin. Therefore, to 'wait upon the Lord' is the order of this day of uncertainty. But in that very process of waiting, the 'still and small voice' will call the soul forth, beyond self and creature, allowing one to see the self as never before. In this movement, one is carried away in spirit beyond all former strength, strategy, and emotion – into a wilderness, a 'lost condition.' There, God will 'ravish the soul' with beams of light,

making one's vanity and deformity all the more clear. This is a time of great 'amazement of spirit'.[12] Here, the great battle of the Lamb begins against the mystery of iniquity, to defeat and cast it out. This is the day of judgment. Salmon epitomizes this Spiritualist sense of apocalypse: it is nothing to read about the last day prophesied historically in Scripture; it must be known mystically within.[13]

This cosmic battle of divine and demonic forces breaks out both within and without. There are wars and rumours of war. Salmon follows here the apocalyptic imagery of Revelation 12. As Christ is born within, the serpent is cast down from heaven (i.e., the demonic power loses its place within), causing it to rage and chase the true Church, heavenly Jerusalem, into the wilderness. God will sustain her there until the day of salvation arrives. For Salmon, the wilderness Church is comprised of groups, like those in the Army, who gather to 'wait upon the Lord.' They are experiencing both intense spiritual warfare within and conservative Puritan attacks from without.[14]

This is where the true revolution is unfolding. The Civil War has been a grand diversion from the real struggle for Christ's kingdom on earth. Therefore, Salmon exhorts, do not so much desire the downfall of the Pope, Presbyter, or any other state; desire the ruin of this mystical Babylon.[15] He concludes that he has only sought to declare 'the manifestative minde of God unto me in all my mystical application of Scripture, I do not endeavor to ouverturn history [but] have only written about the history I have known verified in me, in the mystery.'[16] Thus, Salmon by no means discards Scripture; it is the historical code that identifies the forces working within the faithful. But in a culture saturated with biblical knowledge and debate, the work of liberation shifts toward knowing the revelation of Scripture enacted on an interior landscape.

Salmon shares much in common with Saltmarsh and some other writers (including the future Digger Gerrard Winstanley[17]) at that tremulous moment. But there is a clarity in his apocalyptic vision and internalizing application of the Book of Revelation we do not find in other writers, until George Fox in the 1650s.[18] Unlike Fox and the early Quaker apocalyptic message, we do not yet hear the same sense of empowerment and socially transforming witness. But Salmon has gone far to relate the inward, spiritual struggle of the Seekers with the outward, political events of the 1640s.

Salmon advanced his interpretation of inward and outward events further in his next bulletin from the Army, *A Rout, A Rout*, subtitled, *some part of the ARMIES QUARTERS BEATEN UP, By the DAY of the*

LORD Stealing upon Them. This piece appeared in February 1649, just after the beheading of Charles I, the abolition of the House of Lords and the Army's purge of the Presbyterian majority from the House of Commons. The Generals were taking control of the country, but the Levellers were denouncing them in *England's New Chains.*

Salmon addresses a first preface to the Generals, now at the height of their power:

> All that I have to say [to you] is this; That you go on as fast as you can with the work you have begun, for the time draws nigh that is allotted you...in this day of the Lords Wrath you strike thorow King, Gentry, and Nobility, they all fall before you: You have a Commission from the LORD to scourge ENGLAND'S Oppressors; do it in the Name of God, do it (I say) fully, hotly, sharply; and the same measure you mete, shall be met to you again; for the Lord ere long cast his Rod into the fire of burning and destruction: It will be a sweet destruction, wait for it.[19]

This is an ironic encouragement! Salmon invokes God's blessing, even commission, for the strike the Generals are making against the competing powers of monarchy and Parliament. But he adds that their time is running out too, and the force of their violent actions will soon double back upon them.

The tract is really written for the 'Fellowship (of SAINTS scattered)' among the Army's rank and file, whom he addresses in a second preface. The Spiritualists and Levellers he counts as brethren still hope to do God's work as members of the Army. He responds that

> I have fellowship with you in the Lord: but I am distant from your dark and fleshly enterprises. You are a scattered seed amongst tares, and it is your name that upholds the fame of the whole...if it were not for you, this power of the sword, would vanish and be annihilated. ... Thus saith the Lord of Hostes, The Day is coming, and now is, when I will gather up my jewels in the Army (from under this dark and carnal form of the Sword) into my self...when they shall no more contend with the world for outward Interest, but beholding all in Divine Fulness, shall in the enjoyment of it sit down and contented. And this I partly see fulfilled in my self and others.[20]

The Army is degenerating as God's instrument on earth. The righteous remnant is the only element saving it from God's wrath.

But this will not be for long. A final weaning from political and personal interest will soon draw them out. It sounds as if Salmon himself is already on his way out.

He expects nothing but censure and malice for his message. But he is willing to bear it: 'I will own it all, being willing to become sin from you, though the Lord in me knows no sin; that you, together with me, may be presented in the Lord an eternal righteousness.'[21] These words may indicate the onset of Salmon's Ranter phase. He is engaging in pure acts that others will regard as sinful, but the purity within him knows no sin. Whatever malice or retaliation he suffers for these acts will be a cross he must endure, a kind of *atonement* that he hopes will ultimately draw others with him into a higher form of righteousness. But at this point, as far as we can tell, the 'sinful' act in question is simply his prophetic message, not the outrageous behaviour that would soon make him a notorious Ranter. It is probably too soon to call Salmon a Ranter. He concludes by portraying himself and other soldiers waiting in the Army as being like Mary at the sepulchre. Christ is no longer here, but risen. He waits to see where the Lord's next appearance shall be. This is not a withdrawal into quietism, but a removal from the corrupted power of the Army, to await God's next move in the revolutionary drama.

In the main body of the tract, Salmon states his principle that God's power moves from one dispensation or party to another, accomplishing divine purpose in both religious and civil affairs. The power now rests in the Army. It is a low, dark form for God's glory.

> The Lord besmears himself with blood and vengeance, deforms his own beauty, hides his amiable presence under a hideous and wrathful form. ... Friends! Look about you, for the Lord is now coming forth to rip up your bowels, to search your hearts, and try your reins; yea; to let loose the imprisoned Light of himself in you.[22]

The Army is now 'far below the pure Light and Life of God.' The men of God in the Army must disentangle their hopes from the Army's designs. Hope must rest in God, not this 'beggarly thing.' An army is animated by a 'base, earthly Spirit' that 'seeks after the ruine and blood of creatures, for the enjoyment of that which is at best bitter-sweet, a well-being subject to all manner of casualties.'[23]

> The Lord was content to work through such dark spirits up to this point, but now

he is coming out of darkness, his secret place, into a light and open view...[and] in an holy shame, you will reflect upon your present Employments ... the Lord hath shewed us...a more easie and sweet way of Victory; we can overcome by being conquered, we can lose all, and yet be savers in the conclusion. ... Oh, that sweet and meek Spirit of Christ! Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again...you must shortly part with all; your name, fame, success and victory must all be forgotten, yea, you yourselves shall rejoyce at your own Overtures. ... All things are not yet reconciled in you, earth and heaven are not yet agreed... If you could see all men, all interests, all power in the Lord, you would be offended at none, you would not fear any.[24]

Salmon has clearly begun to articulate a pacifist Christian understanding. He has seen the cruelty and the vanity of war as an instrument of justice. While he is still willing to affirm God's hand in these military struggles till now, he finds God's power shifting toward nonviolent means.

Salmon speaks for some kind of pacifist group that may be outside the Army. It is not clear that this is the incipient Ranter party. There is no indication of the wild expressionism that will soon make Ranters so scandalous. But there is a rapturous sense of moving into some realm beyond all present categories:

> We see and behold ourselves, (as in the Lord) without fear or jealousie, because we are really reconciled to all men, all designs, all interests; and all they that know us are carryed forth in a spirit of Love towards us. The reason why we are hated, despised, and trampled upon is, because the world knoweth us not, they know not the Father in us. In [their] state of ignorance we are the objects of scorn and contempt, and it is our Freedom and Liberty to be so. ... the dyings of the Lord are manifested in us dayly: Here, O here's a way to bring forth peace and unity: the Lord is coming, (he is coming) to discover it....[25]

Salmon makes inspired use of ideas and phrases from Paul and from John's Gospel. Nevertheless, there is a sense of desperation here, from one who has moved to the edge and beyond. This becomes abundantly clear in the final sentences of Salmon's postscript:

> I was once wise as well as you, but I am now a fool, I care not

> who knows it: I once also enjoyed my self, but I am now carried out of my wits, a fool, a mad man, besides my self; if you think me any other, you are mistaken, and it is for your sakes that I am so. And now Friends, In him that was, is, and is to come, I take my farewel of you...The Lord was, when you were lowest; he is now, now you are highest; and he is to come, when you shall be nothing. Even so, Come Lord Jesus, Come quickly.[26]

Adapting the 'fool's speech' from Paul in 2 Corinthians, Salmon enters the Ranter eclipse. The entire Reformation project to restore 'primitive Christianity', the Leveller hope for a free English republic, even the Seeker quest itself - these are all now swallowed up into a strange, nether region. Salmon has charted the painful spiritual dialectics of this awful historical moment better than any other Spiritualist. But it has left him 'a fool and a mad man, besides my self.'

Little is known of Salmon's activities over the next year. He definitely was an associate of Coppe in London and elsewhere during this period. According to reports, Salmon indulged in 'wicked Swearing, and uncleaness, which he justified and others of his way, That it was God which did swear in them, and that it was their Liberty to keep company with Women, for their Lust.'[27]

In February or March of 1650, Salmon went to Coventry, where Coppe had been already been imprisoned the preceding month. He was arrested for preaching there in March. Salmon continued to defend his position for some months, preaching to crowds gathered outside his cell, and publishing his only true Ranter tract, *Divinity Anatomized*, which unfortunately is lost to us. An extant letter from Salmon to a Ranter associate, Thomas Webbe, gives us a taste of his outrageously playful and inverted state of mind:

> Eternal plagues consume you all, rot, sink and damn your bodies and souls into devouring fire, where none but those that walk uprightly can enter. Sirs, I wish you damnable well, because I dearly love you; the Lord grant we may know the worth of hell, that we may forever scorn heaven: For my own part I am ascended far above all heavens, yet I fill all things, and laugh in my sleeve to think what's coming...[28]

This excerpt illustrates the Ranter practice of swearing oaths; that is, taking God's name in vain, invoking heaven and hell. Ranter rhetoric expressed a sense of outrage at England's captivity to a Puritan

regime that had taken God's name in vain by invoking divine purposes in a revolution now subverted to the interests of a new ruling class. Ranter swearing was the intentional degradation of that misused language, an outrageous parody of the covenantal formulas that had been intoned by Puritan divines to bless war, religious repression and social inequality.

George Fox, the future Quaker leader, was still a fairly obscure figure when he visited Salmon in the Coventry prison sometime in the spring or early summer of 1650. He recorded the encounter twenty-five years later in his *Journal*. This was his first encounter with Ranters and he felt great unease when he entered their company. They began to 'rant, vapor, and blaspheme,' claiming to be God. With his typical tenacity, Fox replied that if they were God, they could tell him if it would rain. He reproved them and left.[29] Fox continued northward and was himself imprisoned at Derby in October, under the Blasphemy Act (passed by Parliament in August to quiet the Ranter phenomenon).

It was not clear how long Salmon spent in prison. He was already free when his recantation was published in August 1651. *Heights in Depths and Depths in Heights* may have been influenced by Coppe's recantation two months before. But there are significant differences. Salmon's repentance is less cringing, and he is able to articulate more fully the experience of Ranter mania.

The preface, 'An Apologeticall Hint,' explains that he has written 'in a homely Language' (in contrast to the exalted speech of his last couple of years) but adds teasingly that the tract 'steales like a Thiefe upon the benighted world: However, bee not shy of it; for it shal take nothing from thee but what thou shalt bee made willing to part withall.' Salmon has by no means lost his playful, ironic sense. He begins to explain his Ranterism, writing that after an initial, ecstatic experience of divine light (perhaps around the time of *A Rout*), he was suddenly covered with an 'enigmaticall cloud of darknesse,' that confused and disoriented him. Soon he was 'posting most furiously in a burning zeal toward an unattainable end.' That end is unfortunately not defined. He affirms that his behaviour was justly deemed uncivil by authorities, at least 'according to the present state of things.' After six months of defiance, his imprisonment became 'very irksome and tedious to my outward man.'[30]

But prison was also a cloister, a sanctuary from the clamour of the world, affording time to ponder his condition. There, he summoned his heart before the throne of divine justice and saw that he acted destructively. Slowly, 'I was led to consider that certainly Providence

had some end in leading (or suffering me to bee led) into these appearances'. He began to rise 'above the most insulting and daring Fury,' to see the Lord's purposes in his bizarre actions. Thus, 'the rage of man shall turn to the praise of God.' He writes appreciatively of two officers of the Army, Major Beak and Colonel Purefoy, who helped him define and condemn his offences, eventually gaining his release.[31]

The present publication honours his promise to make a public apology. He hopes to make this statement his last:

> I now am made to speak, because I am almost weary of speaking, and to informe the world that silence have taken hold of my spirit. The thunderstrokes of the Almighty have to purpose uttered their voices in me, heaven and earth have trembled at their dreadfull sounds: the Alarm being over there's silence now in heaven; for how long I know not. I lie quietly and secure in the Lord while I see the whole world consuming in the fire of envie one against another. I heare much noyse about me, but it serves onely to deafen me into the still slumbers of Divine rest. ... Come then, O my Soule, enter thou into thy Chamber, shut thy doores about thee, hide thyself in silence for a season till the indignation bee blown over.[32]

With amazement, Salmon looks out upon the continuing wrath and contention of English society. He has finally been delivered from its grips. After a season in hell, overcome by furious rage, he has found the stillness of eternity.

The main text reaffirms the Ranter sense of futility, taking Ecclesiastes as its starting point: 'Vanitie of Vanities, All is Vanitie saith the Preacher. The highest piece of wisdom, is to see wisdom it self but Vanity. The whole world is a Circle, including nothing but emptiness.' He reasserts the monistic principle of Unity. Life in the world is a 'State of variety,' in which forms exist as mere shadows. 'To descend from the oneness or Eternity, into the multiplicity, is to lose our selves in an endlesse Labyrinth. To ascend from variety into uniformity, is to contract our scattered spirits into their original centre and to find ourselves where we were, before we were.'[33] Such Neoplatonic speculation was popular among Ranter writers.

The Spiritualist Seekers had already placed great emphasis upon finding all truth within. Only their moral scrupulosity and political hope had maintained their moorings in the world around them. The overwhelming experience of political defeat combined with spiritual

exhaustion and resulted in a strongly *apophatic (via negativa)* mysticism[34] and a world-denying cosmology. Salmon's earlier apocalyptic dialectic between outward history and inward history was now swallowed up in an all-consuming Oneness that became both everything and nothing, an idealism intensified to the point of nihilism.

Still, Salmon maintains some tension between biblical theism and world-denying monism. He echoes his earlier theme of *waiting* in a state beyond desire or self-interest. 'How then shall a man attaine to a oneness, and communion with this inaccessible glory?... We must patiently expect its seasonable descenscion upon us; whose nature it is to consume us into itself, amd melt us into the same nature and likeness.' This advice is not that different from his earlier exhortations in *Antichrist in Man* and *A Rout*, or Saltmarsh's *Sparkles of Glory* but the outlook is no longer Spiritualist and apocalyptic. With a weary shrug, Salmon testifies, 'I have lived to see an end of all perfections; that which I now long for, is to see perfection it selfe perfected. I have bin led out to seek the Lord in manifold appearances, I must now (by himself) be found in himselfe, who is the good it selfe, and nothing but this can satisfie.'[35] This is the final phase of one Seeker's quest.

So how did he come to this rarified state? Salmon narrates a classic Seeker trajectory from the Church of England, into Presbyterianism, Independency, Baptism and beyond. He felt uneasy about drifting from one thing to another, and tried to settle down in Baptism. But the Lord called him out, saying 'this is not your rest.' Thus, he continued following Christ until he expired with him and was buried in darkness with him. Out of this state of waiting in death, he was raised to new life, embracing love and peace, overwhelmed by unspeakable joy. This must be the time of *A Rout*, late 1648 to early 1649. 'I appeared to my selfe as one confounded into the abyss of eternitie, nonentitized into the being of being; my soule split, and emptied into the fountain and ocean of divine fulness: expired into the aspires of pure life.'[36] Seldom has mystical ecstasy been described as well.

However, Salmon explains that proud flesh soon tried to claim a share of this glory, causing

> a suddain, certain, terrible, dreadful revolution, a strange vicissitude. God sent a Thorn immediately; hid himself from me by a sudden departure. ... Angry flesh being struck at heart with the piercing dart of vengeance, begins to swell, and contracting all the evil humors of the body of death into one

> lump, to grapple with this throne of wrath, at last violently breaks out, and lets forth the very heart and coar of its pride and enmity. The rankor and venom of this subtil serpent, now discovers it self, and being sore sick with cup of pure wrath, disgorges its foul stomach upon the very face, and appearance of Truth. I...became a mad man, a fool amongst men. Thus tumbling in my own Vomit, I became a derision to all, and even loathed by those by whom I had beloved.... O the deep drunken bewitching, besotting draughts of the wine of astonishment that hath been forced upon me.[37]

Thus, Salmon's ego reasserted itself, seeking to wield, rather than yield to, this new spiritual power. This induced the inversion that Salmon interprets biblically as the Lord's cup of wrath, the wine of astonishment. The biblical allusion here is Habakkauk 2:15f. This strange potion induces 'shameful spewing' by those who are forced to drink it (vs. 16). The image is also found twice in Revelation (14:10; 16:19).[38] In addition, Salmon makes use of Paul's in 2 Cor 12:7-10, a 'thorn in the flesh' that bring's one's ecstatic flight back to earth. But unlike Paul, Salmon did not find the humility of spirit to accept the ongoing role of suffering. He instead fell into a state of uncontainable rage.

But the Ranter episode is not simply one man's tragedy. It is a sign, a warning to others. He chides those who think themselves superior:

> You little think, and less know, how soon the cup of fury may be put into your hands: my self, with many others have been made stark drunk with that wine of wrath, the dregs whereof (for ought I know) may fall to your share suddenly. I speak not this either to extenuate my own evil, or to cast approbries in the face of those who have (to the utmost) censured me; but rather to mittigate the severity of peoples spirits, and to give a by-hint of that doom and judgement, that is at hand upon the world.[39]

Salmon returns to the apocalyptic world-view, to suggest that the craven despair that claimed him may overtake others - indeed, the entire nation. When one considers the arrogant cynicism and moral debauchery that attended the Restoration period, beginning less than ten years later, this warning has a prophetic ring.

Salmon offers one more paradoxical commentary on his Ranter phase:

> I was indeed full sick of wrath, a vial of wrath was given me to

drink; the heavenly pleasure would not excuse me a drop of it... Well - drink I must, but mark the riddle. 'Twas given me, that I might drink, I drank, that I might stumble, I stumbled, that I might fall: I fell, and through my fall was made happy. It is strange to think, how the hidden and secret presence of God in me, did silently rejoyce while flesh was thus manifested; I had a sweet rest and refuge in the Lord, even while my flesh was frying and scorching in the flames of ireful fury. I was ark'd up in the eternal bosome, while the flesh was tumbling in the foaming surges of its own vanity...and this I know is a riddle to many, which none but the true Nazarite can expound; and til he is pleased to unfold it, it pleases me it should lie dark.[40]

Salmon has not completely abandoned the Ranter doctrine of salvation through saturation in sin. It is not unlike his earlier affirmation that the violence of the English Civil War had served God's purposes up to a point. Truly, the role of sin and evil along the path of redemption remains a troubling ride for all.

But at last, Salmon has passed on to an unearthly repose:

All the waves and billows of the Almighty have gone over me. I am now at rest in the silent deeps of eternity, sunk into the abysse of silence, and (having shot this perilous gulf) am safely arrived into the bosome of love, the land of rest. I sometimes hear from the world, which I have now forsaken; I see its Diurnals are fraught with the tydings of the same clamor, strife, and contention, which abounded in it when I left it; I give it hearing, and that's all. ... My great desire...is to see and say nothing. I have run round the world of variety, and am now centred in eternity...I see partly what the end will be, but I must not declare, neither will the world hear it.[41]

The rest of the tract is given over to individual questions of blasphemy, which he renounces, citing biblical authority. Most interesting, perhaps, is his reaffirmation of the Trinity:

> Unity is the Father, the Author and begetter of all things; or (if you will) the Grandmother in whose intrinsecal womb, variety lies occult, till time orderly brings it forth. ... In multiplicity they [Father, Son, and Spirit] are three, but in the unity or primary state all one, but one. I love the Unity, as it orderly discovers it self in the Trinity: I prize the Trinity, as it beares

> correspondency with the Unity; Let the skillfull Oedipus unfold this.[42]

Thus ends one of the most amazing and paradoxical pieces of English religious literature. Salmon may have regained his composure and civility, but he lost none of his impish genius.

After his release from Coventry, Salmon garnered a loyal following around Kent. He preached regularly on Sundays at Rochester Cathedral until he emigrated to Barbados around 1655. J.F. McGregor, historian of Ranterism, believes that Salmon's followers provided the nucleus for the subsequent Quaker community in Kent.[43]

Our final sighting of Joseph Salmon comes in a letter from Barbados in November 1656. Henry Fell wrote to the Quaker leader Margaret Fell regarding the new Quaker mission there. Despite many promising developments, Henry Fell notes that

> here is one Joseph Salmon who was a ringleader of the Ranters in England and has gotten a chance to speak, he seems to deny Ranting outwardly, but it is but to deceive the hearts of the simple. And truly many are deceived by him...and gotten into his image...he hath gotten the forme of truth in words the most that ever I heard any, and very bould and impudent...and yet his fruits plainly make him manifest that he is not on the foundation. Truly he is a great enemy to the truth... I know not any such a one in England as he is.[44]

Fell concludes that he has tried to warn the congregation against Salmon, but 'many of them are sore bewitched with him...they will hear nothing against him.' Clearly, Fell was deeply disturbed by this notorious character whose preaching was so close to the Quaker gospel, yet whose 'impudent' manner affronted the moral gravity of Quaker sensibility. In any case, it seems that Salmon either was pushed out of the Quaker meetings in Barbados or grew weary of them. A second letter from Henry Fell the following April makes no mention of him.

Salmon's writings offer us a colourful glimpse of the exhilaration and despair that many Seekers and other radicals experienced in the period from the latter 1640s into the early 1650s. Not all Seekers lapsed into Ranterism, however. Others, especially of those of Saltmarsh's first type, were less exalted in the late 1640s, but also less deflated during the dark days of 1650. They stayed 'low' in spirit and

continued to wait for God's deliverance. The genius of early Quakerism would be revealed in its ability to gather, reconcile and empower a wide variety of English radicals, vigorously shaking the true seed of divine promise out from the chaff of idolatrous expectation and vain excess. Many Seekers joined this powerful and more practical resurgence of radicalism during the 1650s. Some of them fell away in later decades, as utopian hope faded and the movement became a more organized entity. Others, like Salmon, were found for a time at the edges of the new movement, attracted by its vitality but not quite able to renew the energy, commitment and hope they had expended during the previous decade.

Douglas Gwyn

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 The following article is an adaptation from a forthcoming, book-length study of *Seekers and Quakers, with the working title, Seekers Found: Saints-Errant in Seventeenth-Century England and Today.*

2 John Saltmarsh, *Sparkles of Glory* (1647), pp. 114-121. John Jackson sketched a typology of Seekers along similar lines in his anonymously published *Sober Word to a Serious People* (1651). The Presbyterian Richard Baxter produced a six-fold typology of Seekers in *A Key for Catholics* (1659), pp. 332-34. It adds more gradations, but essentially confirms the earlier characterizations by Saltmarsh and Jackson. At that later moment, as the Commonwealth teetered on the brink of collapse, Baxter speculated that the wide-ranging phenomena of Seekers, Ranters, Quakers and others were in fact fronts for Jesuit and other Catholic subversion in England, aimed to destabilize the nation and make it vulnerable to reclamation by Catholic forces.

3 John Saltmarsh, *Sparkles,* pp. 114f.

4 Saltmarsh, *Sparkles,* pp. 189-93.

5 Saltmarsh's proto-liberal outlook can be seen in a number of earlier works, especially his *Dawnings of Light* (1645).

6 Saltmarsh's confrontation (only days before his death) with the Generals regarding the suppression of the Levellers in late 1647 is narrated in the posthumous *Wonderful Predictions* (1648).

7 For Salmon's biographical details, I rely primarily upon Nigel Smith's article on him in *The Dictionary of National Biography, Missing Persons* volume (Oxford: University Press, 1993), pp. 580f.

8 Joseph Salmon, *Antichrist in Man* (1648), p. 1. See also Christopher Hill's fine study, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: University Press, 1971), which follows the rhetoric of 'Antichrist' in English religion and politics up to Salmon's tract, showing the progressive interiorization and political neutralization of the problem of evil.

9 Salmon, *Antichrist,* p. 7.

10 Salmon, *Antichrist,* pp. 13f.

11 Salmon, *Antichrist,* p. 27.

12 Salmon, *Antichrist,* p. 38.

[13] Salmon, *Antichrist*, p. 47.
[14] Salmon, *Antichrist*, p. 64.
[15] Salmon, *Antichrist*, p.34.
[16] Salmon, *Antichrist*, p. 72.
[17] Winstanley published his first four tracts in 1648, the year before he began his Digger experiment in Surrey. They are strongly in the Spiritualist Seeker vein. See *The Breaking of the Day of God* (1648) for a good example of his interpretation of Revelation in terms of ecstatic experience.
[18] See my previous work on George Fox's apocalyptic thought in *Apocalypse of the World: The Life and Message of George Fox* (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1986); and *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill, 1995).
[19] Nigel Smith, ed., *A Collection of Ranter Writings from the 17th Century* (London: Junction, 1983), p. 190.
[20] Smith, p. 191.
[21] Smith, p. 191.
[22] Smith, p. 194.
[23] Smith, p. 195.
[24] Smith, pp. 196-98.
[25] Smith, p. 198.
[26] Smith, p. 200.
[27] Smith, p. 13.
[28] Smith, pp. 201f.
[29] George Fox, *Journal*, John L. Nickalls, ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), pp. 46f.
[30] Smith, *Ranter Writings*, p. 204.
[31] Smith, p. 205. Colonel Purefoy of Coventry was an avowed enemy to established religion and a sympathizer toward radicals of nearly every stripe. He was uncle to George Purefoy, the local squire of Drayton-in-the Clay, George Fox's home. For more on the Purefoys, see Joseph Pickvance, *George Fox and the Purefeys: A Study of the Puritan Background in the Fenny Drayton in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1970).
[32] Smith, *Ranter Writings*, p. 206.
[33] Smith, p. 207.
[34] Apophatic spirituality, sometimes referred to as 'the dark night of the soul' after the writings of St. John of the Cross, often befalls those of intense spiritual devotion. Early experiences of spiritual illumination suddenly give way to desolating experiences of darkness and the absence of God. The challenge is to learn to recognize God's presence anew, amidst the experience of absence, light in the depths of apparent darkness. An excellent contemporary guide to apophatic spirituality is Sandra Cronk's *Dark Night Journey: Inward Re-Patterning toward a Life Centered in God* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill, 1991).
[35] Smith, *Ranter Writings*, p. 209.
[36] Smith, p. 212.
[37] Smith, pp. 212f.
[38] The exact source of this biblical image of divine wrath is not clear. Habakkuk 2:15f may give some indication. It pronounces woe upon those who make their neighbours drink the wine of their wrath, causing them to stagger and vomit.

The cup of God's right hand will come around to them. Thus, some kind of debasing social act seems to lie behind the prophetic image of God's cup of wrath. Also see Jer. 25:15; Isa. 51:17; Psa. 60:3.

39 Smith, *Ranter Writings*, p. 214.

40 Smith, p. 215.

41 Smith, p. 215f.

42 Smith, pp. 222f.

43 J.F. McGregor, 'Ranterism and the Development of Early Quakerism,' in *The Journal of Religious Studies*, 9 (1977): pp. 356f. Also see Smith, *Ranter Writings*, p. 17.

44 Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, Barbados, November, 1956, Swarthmoor MSS., 1.66, Library, Friends House, London.

Eighteenth century editions of Barclay's *Apology*

There can be no doubt that Barclay's *Apology* ranks amongst the handful of the most influential of all Quaker Books. It is not so clear today how much this book, so formidable to most modern readers, was actually read by Friends or others. From its printing history it is clear that it was widely available but that could simply have been because the Society corporately thought that it should be widely read. It was certainly much reprinted and much translated in the eighteenth century. It was certainly much reprinted and much translated in the eighteenth century. There seem to me to be three important questions, here I address only the third in basic detail and this is the simplest of them to begin to attempt to answer. The questions are:

1 How widely read was the *Apology* and can its influence on eighteenth century Friends be assessed?

2 Did the text change, accidentally or as a result of conscious editing? (one of the main authorities referred to here is Joseph Smith's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, two volumes, 1867. There is an interesting note on page 184 of volume 1 about a printing error in Barclay's proposition eight).

3. What editions were available in the eighteenth century? In thinking about this third question there is no suggestion that it is the most important but I do suggest that the studies I think are needed of the first two will be helped by a reasonably accurate answer to the third. Rufus Jones considers that 'The *Apology* is beyond question the primary influence which made Friends quietistic' (*The Later Periods of Quakerism*, volume 1, page 60, 1921). Jones goes no further there in evaluating the influence of the *Apology*. D. Elton Trueblood in his *Robert Barclay* (pages 8-9, New York, 1968) describes briefly the distribution of the *Apology* as a means of evangelism and its use by and influence on prominent Friends such as William Savery, Thomas Shillitoe, John Woolman, Samuel Scott and Samuel Crisp.

Some seventeenth century versions would have been in meeting or private libraries in the eighteenth century. The *Apology* first appeared

in Latin in Amsterdam in 1676. It was published in English in both Aberdeen and London in 1678 and then in German in 1684. The text appears in the collected edition of Barclay's works *Truth Triumphant* in 1692. Listing the eighteenth century printings might appear to be an entirely straightforward matter which would simply show how available the text was (though printing figures would be essential to really fill out that picture). But when one comes to look at the various sources and to try to establish when the *Apology* was printed there is some conflicting information. Not every book printed in the eighteenth century actually survives in even one copy today but I suggest that some of the editions listed in earlier sources never did exist. They may appear to as a result of imperfect information available to Joseph Smith or simple errors of one digit in date in library catalogues. The table that follows should make this argument clearer. While Smith is generally quite reliable he does list books that he had not seen, particularly American printings that were unlikely to be systematically imported into England. I have not been able to check with a number of American libraries whether or not some other doubtful editions are present in their collections and it may be that American readers can supply further information as notes to the *Journal*.

A more comprehensive account would add material about the printing and publishing history of each version. While that is awaited it does seem worth adding as notes to the list what information is readily available. Some of this come from Norman Penney's manuscript notes on editions of the *Apology* in the Library at Friends' House. The printing figures seem high for their period when they can be provided but it must be remembered that quantities of copies were wanted for free distribution outside the Society. On that point it is illuminating to read the proposal by John Bellers in 1697 that 10,000 copies should be printed to be given away to 'all the Parliament-Men, Ministers of State, and the Magistrates, &c. in the Nation' (this can be found most conveniently on pages 267-9 of *John Bellers*, edited by George Clarke, 1987).

The table lists only English language editions. Those in other languages do not seem to present any problem. For the eighteenth century they seem to have been: Danish 1738; Dutch 1757; German 1740, 1776 (Germantown, Pennsylvania); French 1702, 1797 (different translations); Latin 1729; Spanish 1710.

David J. Hall

Printing	Year	Place	Sources
A	1701	London	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
B	1702	London	NUC
C	1703	London	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
D	1717	London	see note
E	1723	Newport, Rhode Island	NUC
F	1726	London	NUC
G	1728	America	Smith
H	1729	Newport, Rhode Island	Smith ESTC NUC
I	1736	London	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
J	1737	Dublin	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
K	1756	no place	NUC
L	1757	Dublin	NUC
M	1765	London	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
N	1765	Birmingham	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
O	1774	America	Smith
P	1775	Philadelphia	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
Q	1780	Philadelphia	Smith
R	1780	Dublin	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
S	1780	London	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC
T	1789	Philadelphia	Smith LSF ESTC NUC
U	1800	Dublin	Smith LSF BL ESTC NUC

Sources

Smith: Joseph Smith, A *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, two volumes, 1867; Supplement, 1893.

LSF: Friends House Library.

BL: British Library, printed catalogue.

ESTC: *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, now part of the *English Short Title Catalogue* and available on-line.

NUC: *National Union Catalogue*, volume 35, 1968.

NOTES

A Penney's notes observe that 7,000 copies were to be printed.

B As with E, F, K and L there is no other evidence for the existence of this printing at present. Further investigation is needed.

D This is the second volume of the three volume reprint of Barclay's *Truth Triumphant* and would not have been separately listed by the sources used. LSF has a copy. The other two volumes seem more commonly met with.

E Printing seems to have begun in Newport in 1727, see *Rhode Island Imprints 1727-1800*, Providence R.I., 1915.

F See B above.

G Possibly in fact H; Smith had not seen a copy. He describes it as 'An edition printed under the sanction of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England'.

H In Smith's *Supplement*, not the original edition. According to Penney's notes 1,000 copies printed. According to J.W. Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America*, New York, 1973, p. 224, Rhode Island Quakers subscribed to 500 copies. NUC differentiates two issues, with the same imprint.

I Penney notes that Yearly Meeting authorised the printing of 6,000 copies; 4,000 on small paper and 2,000 on large.

K See B above.

L See B above. The date is probably a simple transcription error for 1737 as the printer, Mary Fuller, died in 1737.

M Penney notes a printing of 3,000 copies; 2,000 octavo and 1,000 quarto. He says that in 1773 about 800 copies in sheets remained at Devonshire House.

N Dr John Fothergill was involved in the production of this finely printed version.

O Smith had not seen a copy.

P Frost, op. cit. notes that New England Yearly Meeting ordered 600 copies.

Q Not seen by Smith but listed as item 3985 in Charles R. Hildeburn, *The Issues of the Press in Philadelphia, 1685-1784*, 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1885.

S Issued on both small and large paper.

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A PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. A WELSH QUAKER'S SPIRITUAL JOURNEY. FOUR PAPERS WRITTEN BY THOMAS LEWIS OF SHIRENEWTON, GWENT. C.1741-2

'When I was but very young in years I took my journy into a far Country, where I did wast[e] my goods by riotous living: there were Ringleaders of Wickedness and I took great delight in their companies, then I drank Inquity as the Ox drinketh water.'[1]

These words were not penned by any well-known religious leader or social commentator, but were composed by a less prominent figure who concluded his allegory with the following line:

> 'From me whose name is Thos Lewis, one of the People called Quakers at the Place of my Nativity in the County of Monmouth near Shirenewton the 8th of ye 9th Mth 1741.'[2]

In this parable entitled 'A Warning for all Youth', Thomas Lewis described his early life, his 'spiritual journey' and his eventual escape from a land of wickedness and debauchery. Such articles, written by members of the Society of Friends advocating a well ordered life, were warmly welcomed and stoically preserved. This tale, which was one of four papers written by Lewis and transcribed into the Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting minutes from October 1741 to February 1742, demonstrates Friends' view of themselves as an especial people and provides an insight into how members interacted with the world about them. The purpose here is to explore some of the themes which Lewis touched upon in these papers.

Thomas Lewis - 'our spiritual guide'

Little is actually known about the man who penned these papers.

There are very few references to him or to members of his family in the minutes of the Quarterly or Monthly Meetings of Monmouthshire Friends or in other records. The evidence available does note that he had a son called Thomas,[3] a daughter Mary, and that he lived in or near the town of Shirenewton. According to the Monthly Meeting where his papers were read, he was 'bedrid these several years', and in 1736 he was given financial assistance by the local Meeting because 'he had been a long while visited with sickness',[4] while in 1744 his daughter-in-law was given 2s. 6d. for his maintenance. This relief was subject to the periodic scrutiny of Friends who observed that the arrangement was to be continued only 'till Friends think proper to alter it'.[5] Shortly before his death in December 1746, Thomas Lewis and his daughter, Mary, were reprimanded by Friends for their behaviour towards Michel[le] his daughter-in-law. The Monthly Meeting appointed three senior members to speak with him advising Lewis 'to be more kind and affectionate to ye Daughter in law and that he will keep peace at home.'[6] He was nevertheless interred in the Shirenewton burial ground with Friends paying all his funeral expenses.[7] (See fig. 1).

Quakers in Monmouthshire

It is now important to turn briefly to the development of Quakerism in Wales and particularly in Monmouthshire to provide a context for Lewis's papers. In the first chapter of *Protestant Dissenters in Wales 1639-1689,* Professor Geraint Jenkins noted that the origins and significance of many of the Welsh Dissenting congregations have been researched and analysed. Yet, in contrast, he noted that 'we still await a full-scale study of Welsh Quakerism'.[8] My own study does not claim to be that work, but it does complement previous investigations into Quakerism in Wales,[9] and may assist further research work and ultimately the study to which Professor Jenkins referred.

To begin any journey a point of origin is needed, and it is to the Quaker point of origin that attention must now briefly be given. As a consequence of the Civil Wars and the growth of radical dissent during the Interregnum, a proliferation of religious movements emerged.[10] In this period of upheaval, George Fox, a weaver's son from Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, had a vision of a new community of believers and found willing converts to his ideas. In Monmouthshire, converts to Quakerism, who came from a variety of backgrounds, sought solace from the uncertainties of a world which had been 'turned upside down', and, as a result, turned away from the local parish church which had failed to meet their spiritual needs.

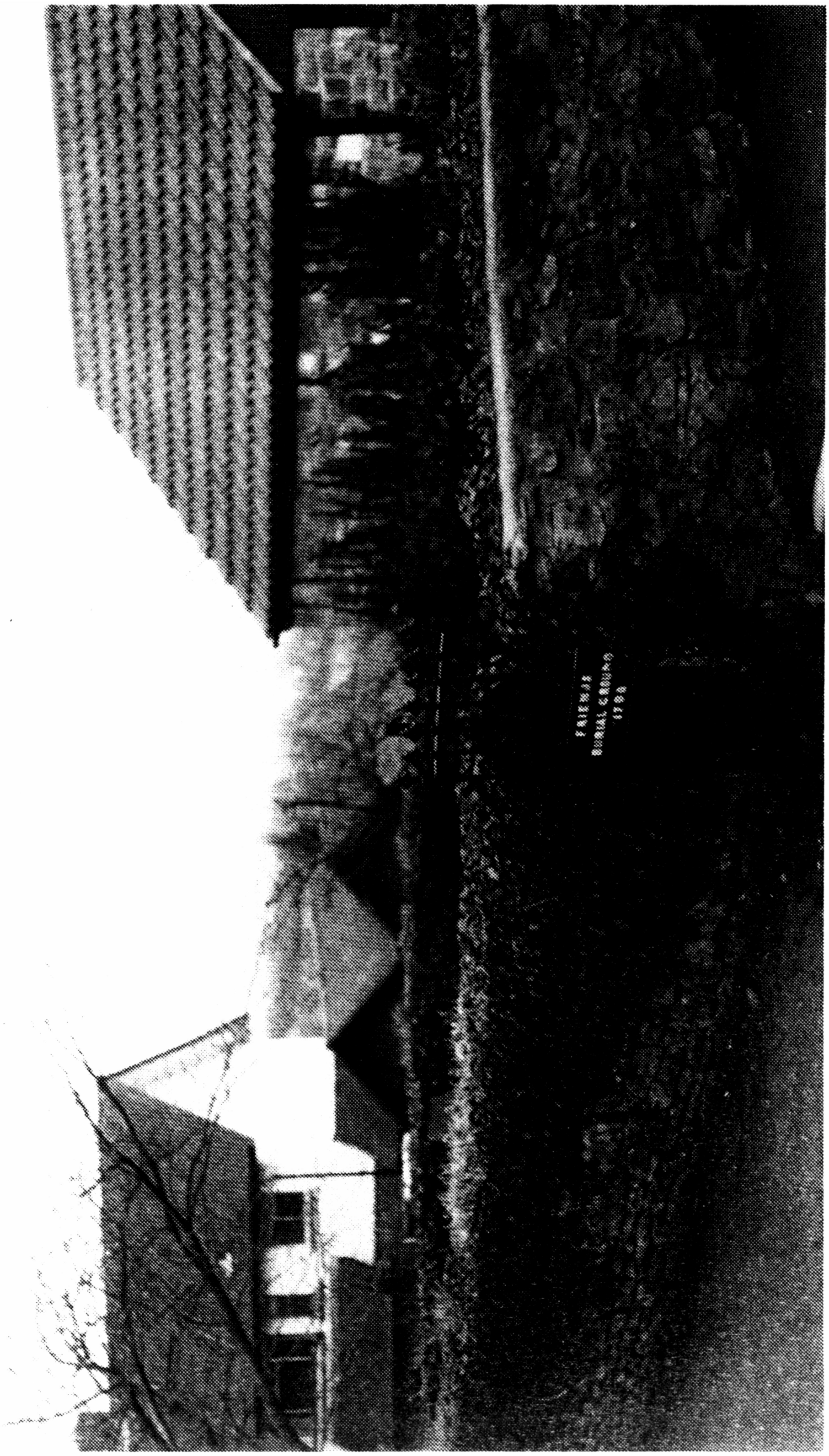

Fig. 1. Friends' Burial Ground, Shirenewton, c.1996

Friends' rejection of Calvin's doctrine of predestination and its replacement with the message of 'Inner Light', as well as the suggestion of salvation for all, proved to be seductive in the county. As a consequence, Friends rejected many of the accoutrements of the parish church by creating a religion based upon simplicity and plainness, and upon their own spiritual experiences.[11]

Quakerism in Monmouthshire developed in five distinct areas, namely in the north-east of the county at the Pant, Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern (near Monmouth); along the main trade route from Chepstow to Cardiff with Meetings at Shirenewton in the east and St. Mellons/Castleton in the south-west; in the eastern valley at Pont-y-Moel and later at Trosnant (Pontypool); and in the north-west at Llanwenarth and Abergavenny. The maps (at the end of the Transcripts following this paper) suggest that the geographical location of these meetings was significant. The first map drawn by Thomas Kitchin in 1763 (see Map. 1) provides detail of the parishes in the county of Monmouth and the main roads in use during that period.[12] Clearly, with the possible exception of the Pant Meeting which was at a short distance from the main road, all the other Meetings were on or close to a main road and were reasonably near market towns. At such places itinerant preaching would have been fairly common accompanying the spread of new religious ideas. The second map drawn by Richard Blome in 1673 (see Map. 2) shows the difficult terrain that Quaker preachers and members had to overcome when travelling to Meetings.[13] The great distances which Friends were prepared to travel, often on poorly maintained roads, shows clearly their commitment to the Society.

It is now pertinent to return to our 'spiritual guide', Thomas Lewis.

The 'Road to Damascus': A Quaker 'convincement'

Thomas Lewis freely admitted that he was prepared to remain in a land of loose living and moral decay believing the 'Idol Shepherds Doctrine'. Yet he recognised that he was spiritually unfulfilled, and he turned to other religious congregations commenting that: 'it came to my mind to seek out another way'. This proved to be equally unrewarding as he found himself still 'in the same Country' and he was left, as he graphically suggests, 'like a Tree, that did wither between the barren Mountains and the desolate Hill'.[14] It was during this period of spiritual torment that he was confronted with the message of Quakerism. Nevertheless, in spite of his willingness to seek out Friends, he remained in this 'barren land' and failed to understand the significance of the Quaker message. The continued

presence of Friends in the area gave Lewis another opportunity to search for the peace and contentment for which he longed, but he often found that he was struggling against a powerful enemy:

> 'I found the way very easy into the Country, but to return from thence I could not by my own strength, no more than I could remove mountains; for when I was resolved to forsake the Countrey I could see much Rubbish, and the way very Rough.'[15]

Yet with the help of 'God's mercy' and the 'Inner Light', he had succeeded in abandoning his former lifestyle and had become a Quaker. The expression of joy and contentment is clearly in evidence as he spoke of his freedom to 'go through Town and Countrey void of that slavish Fear unto which I was subject, while in the strange Country'.[16]

Social and Religious comment in the Lewis papers

Apart from providing an insight into the way he was convinced, Thomas Lewis also gives additional information on a variety of social and religious practices. It is to these observations that the remainder of this paper will now be devoted.

[i] The Church and Hat-Honour

Friends' dealings with the clergy, especially in the period before the 1689 Toleration Act, often led to their persecution. It was believed that the growth of the sect and its radical religious beliefs would lead to a decline in standards of worship. Quakers, with their unorthodox views, challenged many of the tenets of established religion and refuted the authority of the 'Visible Church'.[17] Clergymen, therefore, felt threatened by a new group of religious zealots who consistently denied the view that membership of the established church was a proper test of political loyalty. JoshuaMiller, the Puritan clergyman of St. Andrew's Church, Cardiff,[18] and a fierce critic of Friends, remarked that he had never:

> 'met with such railing, reviling, brawling spirit, or heard the like...such words as these I have had from them, thou priestly deceiver, false prophet, hireling, thou preachest nothing but lies blind guide; with such a bed-rose of junctives, that the Oyster women of Billingsgate would blush to name...'[19]

Furthermore, Friends' call for a ministry of men and women who spoke simply and could reach the consciences of men, instead of university-trained pedagogues, aroused suspicion. Thomas Lewis's papers, written in the mid-eighteenth century, similarly condemned the clergy for their vanity, claiming that they loved 'Greetings in the markets, and to be called of men - masters' and thought more of their own stomachs than of the welfare of their congregation.[20] He suggested that the clergy were no more than 'idol shepherds' who took little notice of the debauched world that surrounded them and 'some of them took delight in the same themselves.'[21]

The clergy were also denounced by early Friends as the oppressors and exploiters of the poor. As Francis Gawler, a seventeenth century Glamorgan Quaker, alleged, the clergy were 'fighters and strikers, false accusers, pullers by the hair of the head, evil speakers', who only secured their livings by underhand methods,[22] or by the taking of tithes to the obvious detriment of the poor and the destitute.[23] The church's claim to the enforced payment of maintenance for the ministry provoked Friends to bear testimony against tithes and call for the abolition of maintenance.[24] Thomas Lewis echoed these earlier sentiments when he commented that the clergy were false preachers who took a perverse interest in offering their parishioners hope of salvation while also pretending 'to deliver some of them unto Satan'. Here the damned were to remain 'without any Hope or Remedy forever' unless the parishioners paid the church a sufficient sum of money to ensure that they were safe 'from the custody of Satan'.[25] This was nominally a tithe or a tenth of their annual income or produce.

Agitation against the tithe was a direct challenge to the Church for, if parishioners refused to pay, then there would be no 'livings' for the clergy and, therefore, a complete breakdown in church worship and authority would follow. There is some truth in the view that opposition to the tithe was based on Scripture, but there were also economic and social grievances. This underlined the antipathy not only to the existing structure of society based on social gradations but also fervent hostility to the impositions of the clergy. The disproportionate spread of wealth between rich and poor, and between urban and rural areas, helped to inflame passions, especially as the burden of paying tithes normally fell upon the rural and the poorer sections of the country. Lewis commented in his second paper that:

> He that entreth not by the Door into the Sheepfold but climbeth

> up some other way, the same is a Thief and Robber - Thieves and Robbers, have an Armour, and their weapons are very keen; they have a spear to frighten the People. If a poor man have a few Goats upon a free common they claim a share in them, If a poor widow have a Couple of Ewes and Lambs they likewise claim a share in them...

He added that if the weak or sick who 'Lie upon a Bed of Straw perhaps with hungry Bellies' were visited by these men then

> it is much if they open their mouths unto them much less give them an Advice concerning their latter End...I could never find that the said Thieves and Robbers do ever own any poor or such that are relieved by Parishes while they are alive - But when they are dead and laid in the grave then the Thieves and Robbers - Cry out the Soul of our Dear Brother or Dear Sister here departed: - O the Leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy! The Sons of Ely do exercise Lordship over the People! They put money at usury, and purchase Houses and Lands with the Gain of oppressions.[26]

The fervent campaign organised by the Quakers against clergymen and the extraction of tithes gave both the Church and secular authorities every opportunity to persecute Friends. The loss of many of the Llandaff Church court and Quarter Session records for Monmouthshire, including details of the presentments for non-attendance at Sunday worship and failure to pay fines or tithes, however, means that any investigation into the persecution of Friends is incomplete and consequently frustrating. Indeed, most of the evidence of persecution for south-east Wales derives from Quaker sources and has to be treated with appropriate caution. Thomas Lewis refers to the persecution of the 1650s in the following manner:

> The Presbyterians and Anabaptists had spears in their Hands in that Time of Oliver Cromwell, that Blood thirsty man; And they did hunt after Blood as the scribes and Pharisees did at Jerusalem in the Time that Saul Received Letters from the Chief Priest to bring both men and women bound to Jerusalem that he could find confessing the name of Jesus - But their downfall came to them at Jerusalem, and likewise ye Presbiterians in England. It has been such a time in England that those

> Dissented from those Hunters after Blood were condemned to be burnt at the stake. If the Hunters after had their will, I am apt to think that it would be even so now.[27]

Attacks on the law, wealth and social status also drew hostility from prosperous members of the local community as well as from those who jealously guarded their social position. Coupled with their attack on wealth was the onslaught on privilege waged by Friends. Inherent in the Quaker code of conduct was the assertion that no man should adopt a superior attitude simply because of his social position, and since all men were equal in the sight of God, Friends refused to act with deference to those in authority. In keeping with this assertion they refused to remove their hats or hat-honour their social superiors or to address them according to their titles. This refusal to hat-honour, as the following Welsh ballad shows, was not confined to Friends, but it was one method adopted by them to distinguish between the honour accorded to God and that which men had usurped:

> 'One day a learned bishop,
> In measured voice and deep,
> Pronounced the benediction
> Above his gathered sheep;
> And listening with attention
> To what his Lordship said,
> He noticed there a peasant
> His hat upon his head.
>
> The Bishop when he saw him,
> In anger did cry out,
> 'Now there, while I am speaking,
> Take off thy hat, thou lout!'
> 'I won't' the peasant answered,
> 'The merit must be small
> Of words that will not enter
> The brain through hat and all.'[28]

Examples of the refusal to remove hats were commonly recorded in Friends' accounts as well as in the records of their adversaries. In 1659, Francis Gawler noted that when he was presented before the magistrates at Cardiff, he refused to take off his hat. The constables refused to remove it, but threatened Gawler with a fine for contempt

unless it was taken off.[29] One of the fullest Welsh accounts, however, was provided in 1741 by Thomas Lewis:

> In a little Time a small Persecution did arise so that I was to appear before one of the Rulers of y^{t} Country where I had been and it was a Publick House where much People was, and the Custom of this Countrey was to bow unto Idols, which I was not to do. Then he was in a Rage, and thought to compell me; but thro' mercy I feared him not which could kill the body. When he saw that he could not prevail over me, he compelled the People to take off my Hat, and if they had stript off my Coat as they did my Hat, I believe that I had strength enough to bear it...afterwards I did talk with that same Ruler several Times without any more reverence than Mordecay gave unto Hamar, and within his own private Chamber where I drank without any bowing or crouching. I do earnestly desire that such who have a Zeal for the House of God, that they take care not to Bow and Crouch unto Idols...[30]

[ii] Moral Reform v. Popular Culture

As noted earlier, Lewis described his own reckless youth in a parable, depicting his life in a strange land where there was much idleness and debauchery. In his third paper Lewis gave instructions to the younger members of the Society on how they ought to behave. It is to this society that attention will now be drawn, particularly to those aspects of popular culture which Lewis most abhorred. In the first of his four papers, Lewis gave a rendition of the Lord's prayer and his own opinions on those unsuitable for the 'kingdom':

> Thy Kingdom come; I doubt there is a great Numb^{r} of people y^{t} knows not where his Kingdom should come; but Fornicat^{rs} and Adulterers, Thieves, and Robbers, Common Drunkards & such as can call for Damnation upon their Brethren & fellow Creatures, except they repent, his Kingdom will not come; his Kingdom will not come into an old nasty Bottle: for new wine must be put into new Bottles.[31]

Apart from attending to the necessities of everyday life, the Monmouthshire Meetings, like Friends elsewhere in England and Wales, reacted to that which they considered to be frivolous, immoral or simply unnecessary.[32] The Quaker code of conduct was an attempt to address some of the pressing social evils of the day and was

enacted by both men and women Friends. It was not the intention of the Society to restrict individual freedom, but rather, by applying the code, it was hoped that members would be forewarned about the dangers of too close a fraternisation with the 'vanities of the world'. Thomas Lewis's attack on the evils of the world was clearly meant to assist in the process of educating Friends about people who:

> Love those evil membrs more than they do ye Living. Because they do Love this World more &c. Because they Love Drunkeness more &c. Because they Love fornication & adultery more &c. Because they Love Thievery & Robbery more &c. Because they Love Lyes & Blasphemies more &c. Because they do Love to Curse & Swear more &c. Because they Love to follow Idleness & Gamings more &c. Because they Love Pride more &c. Because they Love to sing ungodly Books & Ballads more &c. Because they do Love envy, hatred & malice more &c. Because they Love to bow unto Idols more &c. Because they Love to fight (wth) one another & to murder more &c. Because they Love to grind ye faces of ye poor more...[33]

Lewis, however, concluded with an appeal that 'People may repent & forsake those evil members.'[34] The employment of the code, therefore, helped to prevent Friends from committing misdemeanours and provided sage counsel for those who had fallen into bad practices. Disownments and warnings, such as Thomas Lewis's papers, were recorded for posterity in the Meeting minutes and read out at public meetings. This gave Friends an opportunity to reflect upon their own lives and endorse standards of behaviour expected from members of their religious community.

It could be argued, however, that Friends' views excluded them from the 'invigorating realms of music, drama, politics and sport',[35] and made them appear disagreeable neighbours.[36] Dr. Barry Reay has argued that as the Quaker 'middling sorts' accepted the principles of the puritan 'reformation of manners',[37] many Friends were admonished or expelled for participating in popular and traditional pastimes.[38] He has observed, however, that such a reformation was never achieved as the Society constantly had to remind the constituent meetings to watch over its members, especially in their relations with the 'world's people'. The clash between popular culture and reformed behaviour led many Friends to challenge the tenets of the Society.[39] More serious, however, was the diminution of numbers when Friends found themselves unable to conform to the standard pattern of ethics of the Society.

Friends' abhorrence of ungodly behaviour in places of public diversion, such as inns, led them to challenge some of the established social activities in the life of Monmouthshire people. Friends, therefore, set themselves against 'debauched' practices and issued strong warnings against excessive drinking because of its effects on society and the way it contaminated both mind and soul. Alcohol abuse, throughout the early modern period, was a serious problem and was justifiably condemned as leading to idleness.[40] Friends were sternly warned against the evils of excessive drinking, especially when travelling to or residing at inns.[41] In January 1701, George Newcombe, a nailer of Pont-y-Moel, was testified against for excessive drinking. Friends asserted that he brought great shame upon the Society by giving 'occasion of reproach and ignominy unto ye precious truth'.[42] In the case of John David, a tailor of Castleton, references in the Monthly Meeting minutes in 1706 and 1707 note his 'excessive' drinking and 'sitting up late'[43] which may well have hastened his death in 1709.[44] This episode is sad enough, but is made more poignant with the knowledge that he had reformed his 'ill course of life'[45] and had been married less than two years before he died. In the mid-eighteenth century, Monmouthshire Friends censured another two members for drunkenness. In 1749, Zacharias Jones of Cowbridge was denied membership after he was 'many times extream drunk' and had tarnished the image of Friends.[46] Again in 1762, William Williams of Abergavenny was disowned after failing to heed Friends' warnings about his excessive drinking.[47]

Yet it would be wrong to assume that the measures taken by Friends stemmed solely from a concern to restrict the harmful effects of alcohol abuse or to preserve their growing acceptance in the wider community. By attacking excess, Friends were attempting to limit the consequences of such behaviour, and avert the dangers posed to family life and economic prosperity. In 1775, for example, in the testimony against Owen Edwards of Pontypool, there is a clear indication that the consequences of his heavy drinking was that his business had gone bankrupt and that he had left his wife, Rebekah, in 'a helpless situation'.[48]

Friends were also warned about the 'nurseries of debauchery and wickedness' such as cock fighting arenas, racecourses, gambling halls, and theatres.[49] Indeed, Evan Bevan, a Quaker teacher from Pont-y-Moel,[50] condemned wakes and revels, common harvest shouting and horse racing.[51] In the *Gloster Journal*, Bevan published an article entitled *Of the evils of Cockfighting* in April 1731.[52] This paper condemned what he saw a debasement of God's creation 'to gratify the Lust of depraved Nature'. This stinging condemnation stated that

for both the rich and the poor alike cockfighting and gambling led to 'Covetousness and Idleness, and lays a Snare before Multitudes to do Evil'[53] Thomas Lewis later observed that Monmouthshire was typical of early modern Welsh and English society:

> 'There was such idleness as Cock fightings, and a great number of those Country People did flock into it. Some did curse, and some did swear; some did hoop, and some did Quarrel; there was such idleness as Dancing, Singing of ungodly Books, and Ballads; there was likewise such idleness of Gamings as Balls, Bowls and Pins, Cards and Shuffleboards; and a great many of that Country People took much Delight in them both old & young.'[54]

Furthermore, in 1746 Joseph Rule, a teacher who lived at the Pont-y-Moel meeting house, was brought before the Monthly Meeting to explain why he had vacated the premises without notifying Friends.[55] As part of his reply to the Meeting, he complained that on one side of the meeting house was a cockfighting arena and on the other a 'skittle ground the 'noise of which he could not bear'.[56] Friends, however, were not fully convinced of his motives and were not prepared to allow him to indulge in a planned visit to England.[57]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, leading Friends still counselled against leisurely pursuits and influences in spite of the acceptance by some Monmouthshire Friends of such activities. A letter from Richard Reynolds of Ketley, Salop, to James Lewis of Pontypool in July 1788, refers to the custom of selling lottery tickets in the county. This custom was seen as 'a species of gaming, and not to be practised by Friends'.[58]

To conclude, Thomas Lewis's outspokenness on Monmouthshire Society casts further light on this Welsh country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although he made critical observations on the world which he inhabited, Lewis nevertheless hoped that people would 'Repent before it be too late'.[59] It is, therefore, worth ending with an uplifting comment from this Welsh Friend who believed that if people held 'fast ye Truth ye living and eternal God will neither leave thee nor forsake thee'.[60] The presence of Friends in Wales and in America today surely bears testimony to this belief.

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(This paper was presented at the Third Annual Conference of the North American Association for the Study of Welsh Culture and History in 1997. Details for future conferences can be gathered from Marcella Barton at the University of Rio Grande, Rio Grande, Ohio, USA. 45674. (e-mail: Welsh@Urgrgcc.edu) *H.F.G.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Glamorgan Record Office (hereafter G.R.O) D/DSF/353. The Monthly Meeting Book of Monmouthshire Friends 1734-44. Meeting held at Pont-y-Moel (Pontypool), Monmouthshire, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

2 Ibid.

3 Thomas Lewis II had married Michel[le] Jones of Skenfrith (Ynysgynwraidd) on 7/11 (January)/1740/1, but was subsequently disowned for failing to resolve a lengthy dispute with his sister-in-law, Elizabeth Lewis. See Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.). Society of Friends Registers. (Monmouthshire). No. 677, p. 138; National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, (hereafter N.L.W.) Microfilm. Non-Parochial Registers (hereafter N.P.R.) 44; G.R.O., D/DSF/354. The Monthly Meeting Book of Monmouthshire Friends 1745-91. Meetings held at Pont-y-Moel and Shirenewton, minutes dated 7/7/1762, 2/2/1763, 1/12/1763, 18/4/1764.

4 G.R.O., D/DSF/353. minutes dated 29/1/1736.

5 Ibid., minutes dated 1/6/1744.

6 G.R.O., D/DSF/354, minutes dated 1/8/1746.

7 P.R.O., Society of Friends Registers. (Monmouthshire). No. 677, p. 176; N.L.W., Microfilm. N.P.R. 44; G.R.O., D/DSF/354, minutes dated 29 December 1746.

8 G.H. Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales 1639-1689* (Cardiff, 1992), p.7; Cf. the general studies on the Quaker faith most notably W.C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912); Idem., *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919); A. Lloyd, *Quaker Social History 1669-1738* (London, 1950). Recent general studies include R.T. Vann, *Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); E. Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (London, 1970); B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London, 1985). The development of local Quaker studies, especially at Lancaster University under the supervision of Michael Mullett, has led to a proliferation of theses and articles including Nicholas Morgan, *Lancashire Quakers and the Establishment 1660-1730* (Halifax, 1993).

9 Most notably T. Mardy Rees, *A History of the Quakers in Wales* (Carmarthen, 1925); H.G. Jones, 'John Kelsall: A study in religious and economic history' unpublished University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1938; M.F. Williams, 'The Society of Friends in Glamorgan 1654-1900' unpublished University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1950). It is also worth noting the two Welsh Quaker novels by Marion Eames. Written in Welsh as *Y Stafell Ddirgel* (Llandybie, 1969) and Y *Rhandir Mwyn* (Llandybie, 1972) they have both been translated into English as *The Secret Room* (Llandysul, 1995) and *Fair Wilderness* (London, 1987).

10 Notably the Fifth Monarchists, Muggletonians, Ranters, Familists and Seekers. For an excellent review of the secondary literature ot Puritanism and Nonconformity, and a discussion of the terminology of the period, see R.L. Greaves, 'The Puritan-Nonconformist Tradition in England, 1560-1700: Historiographical Reflections', *Albion*, 17 no.4 (Winter 1985), pp. 449-86.

11 Helpful studies on the origins and doctrines of the Society are provided in W.C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, passim; E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire', unpublished University of Nottingham Ph.D. thesis, 1968, pp. 276-317; B. Reay, 'Quakerism and Society' in J.F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds.), *Radical Religion in*

the English Revolution (Oxford, 1984), Ch.6. A brief examination of the origins of the Society is also provided in Michael Mullet, 'George Fox and the origins of Quakerism', *History Today* (May 1991), pp. 26-31. The roles of George Fox and Margaret Fell are further examined in W.C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, Ch. 2; I. Ross, *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism* (London, 1949); H.L. Ingle, *George Fox and the creation of Quakerism* (London, 1994).

12 Gwent Record Office, C. Misc. Maps. 67. *A New Map of Monmouth Shire* by Thomas Kitchin (1763). Appended at the end of this Paper.

13 N.L.W., PB1440. *A Map of ye County of Monmouth Shire with Hundreds by Ric. Blome by His Majesty's Command.* From *Brittania: or a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1673). Appended at the end of this paper.

14 G.R.O., D./DSF/353, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 For a discussion of Quaker beliefs and an appraisal of Robert Barclay's, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1692) and the works of William Penn, see E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire', pp. 277-316.

18 For further details, see G.H. Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters*, p. 36.

19 Joshua Miller, *The Anti-Christ in Man, Christ's Enemy* (London, 1656), p. 8.

20 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 5/8/1741. Lewis refers to the clergy as men 'whose God is their Belly'.

21 Ibid., minutes dated 28/10/1741.

22 Francis Gawler, *A Record of some Persecutions in Wales* (London, 1659), pp. 17-18.

23 Ibid., p. 27.

24 Cf. other early dissenters. See William Erbery, *'The Grand Oppressor, Or, The Terror of Tithes; First Felt, and now Confest. The Sum of a Letter, written to one of the Commissioners in South Wales, April 19, 1652.' The Testimony of William Erbery* (London, 1658), pp. 50-1; H. Shaw, *The Levellers* (2nd ed., London, 1973), particularly pp. 41-2, 116. For a brief survey of the impact of the Leveller and Digger movements on Quakerism, see E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire', pp. xvii-xx.

25 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

26 Ibid., minutes dated 5/8/1741.

27 Ibid.

28 'The Bishop and the Peasant' (Yr Esgob a'r Gwladwr). The original Welsh version given below was based upon the singing of Thomas James of Llanofer Inn, Pontypridd, and provided in *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru - Journal of Welsh Folk Song Society* I (1909), p. 27. The translated version was presented in *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru II* (1910), p. 45; *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 9 (1912), pp. 171-2.

'Fel 'ry-doedd rhyw Esgob
Mewn modd dysgedig iawn,
Ryw dro'n cyhoeddi'r fendith
Uwchben rhyw lannaid llawn,
'Roedd yno ryw hen wladwr,
Tu fewn i'r adail fawr
Yn gwrando'n brysur ddigon
Heb dynu'i het i lawr.

Yr Esgob hyn pan welai
A waeddai maes yn hy
'Tyn d'het i lawr y drelin
Tra yn fy ngwrando i'
'Na wnaf' be'r dyn yn wrol
'Ni thal eich bendith fawr
Os nad a'i mewn i'r menydd
Heb dynu'r het i lawr.'

For further details of the Quaker refusal to acknowledge social distinctions, see A.M. Gummere, *The Quaker: A Study in Costume* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 67-71, 75-86; A. Anderson, 'Lancashire Quakers and persecution 1652-1670' (unpublished University of Lancaster M.A., 1971), pp. 33-5; C. Horle, *The Quakers and the English Legal System, 1660-1688* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 15-16.

29 Francis Gawler, *A Record of some Persecutions*, p. 14; T. Mardy Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 28-9. Gawler later complained that after he had removed his expensive hat it was taken away and never returned. He was also able to claim that, since this court appearance took place on a Sunday, the magistrates were breaking the Sabbath. Cf. The Montgomeryshire Quaker, Richard Davies who recorded that when he was summoned before the High Sheriff and magistrates of that county they 'stood as People in amaze'. See Richard Davies, *An Account of the Convincement, Exercises and Services and Travels of that Ancient Servant of the Lord, Richard Davies* (London, 1710 ed), p. 59; J.E. Southall, *Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity...Autobiography of Richard Davies* (Newport, 1899), p. 44.

30 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

31 Ibid., minutes dated 5/8/1741.

32 See John L. Nickalls (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox*, (Cambridge, 1952), p. 37 where George Fox warned those 'as kept public houses for entertainment that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good, and in testifying against their wakes or feasts, their May-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness'. See also comments in Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity...* (8th ed., London, 1692), p. 512; M. Mullett, 'From Sect to Denomination: Social Development in 18th century English Quakerism', *Journal of Religious History*, 13 no. 2 (1984), pp. 171-4; B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp. 118-20; D. Scott, *Quakerism in York 1650-1720* (York, 1991), pp. 14-5, 21-2. Cf. Methodism which appealed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards for the middling sorts to set new standards of personal morality and to avoid the harmful effect of some popular pastimes. See W.G. Hughes-Edwards, 'The Development of the Methodist Society in Wales c.1735-1750' (unpubl. University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1966), p. 215ff; G.H. Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780* (pbk. ed., Oxford, 1993), pp. 368-9.

33 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 3/12/1741.

34 Ibid.

35 N.L.W., MS.17743E. Many of these entertainments were necessary in periods of hardship as a means to avert the boiling over of social tensions. See for fuller coverage on this topic G.H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), p. 111; R.W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1750-1850* (London, 1973); K. Thomas, 'Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society', *Past and Present*, 29 (1964), pp. 50-62; C.J. Williams,

'Glamorgan Customs in the Eighteenth Century', *Gwerin*, I (1957), pp. 99-108; B. Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1985), particularly Ch. 1, 3 (Popular Religion); Eamon Duffy, 'The Godly and the Multitude in Stuart England', *The Seventeenth Century*, I no. 1 (1986), pp. 31-55; D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion. Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (pbk ed., Oxford, 1987), especially Ch. 3-4, 9-10; P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (rev. ed., Cambridge, 1994), particularly pp. 238-40; R.T.W. Denning (ed.), *The Diary of William Thomas of Michaelston-super-Ely, near St. Fagans Glamorgan, 1762-1795* (Cardiff, 1995), passim.

36 For examples of anti-Quaker literature in popular literature, see G.H. Jenkins, 'Quaker and Anti-Quaker Literature in Welsh from the Restoration to Methodism', *The Welsh History Review*, 7 no. 4 (1975), p. 424 n. 125, passim.

37 Fuller details are provided in K. Wrightson, 'The Puritan Reformation of Manners' (unpubl. University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1973). See also R.B. Shoemaker, 'Reforming the City: The Reformation of Manners Campaign in London, 1690-1738' in L. Davison, T. Hitchock, T. Kearn and R.B. Shoemaker (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive* (Stroud, 1992), pp. 99-120.

38 Dr. Reay has suggested that 'Quaker culture was a serious culture, with no time for the frivolity and self-indulgence of drama, painting, sculpture, music and dance, or the even less serious forms of popular leisure.' See B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 118; Cf. Michael Mullet who has noted that Friends reluctance to join in community events stemmed from the way in which they viewed their neighbours. Even in the post-Toleration period Friends recalled the years of persecution when their neighbours reviled their presence. They, therefore, chose to remain outside this 'world' believing that their local communities, and especially the parish church, were still full of animosity and spitefulness towards them. See M. Mullett, *Radical Religious Movements in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1980), p. 90. This religious 'cleavage' is further discussed in M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), particularly pp. 346-9; D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture*, pp. 254-5; T.A. Davies, *'The Quakers in Essex 1655-1725'* unpublished University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1987, Ch. 7.

39 Indeed, as Dr. Reay demonstrates many rank and file Quakers were similar in their addiction to social pursuits as were their non-Quaker contemporaries. See B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 120.

40 G.R.O., D/DSF/2, pp. 823-4, 897-8. The Yearly Meetings at Wrexham and Newtown, minutes dated 8-10/5/1764, 28-30/4/1773. See also G.H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, pp. 92-7. For a detailed study of the alehouse and efforts to curb excessive alcoholism, see P. Clark, 'The Alehouse and the Alternative Society' in D. Pennington and K. Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47-72; L. Davison, 'Experiments in the Social Regulations of Industry: Gin Legislation, 1729-1751' in L. Davison et al. (eds.), *Stilling the Grumbling Hive*, Ch. 2.

41 G.R.O., D/DSF/2, p. 498. The Yearly Meeting held at Coed Ecionaidd, Denbighshire. Minutes dated 18/1/1692-3. Cf. R. Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol' unpublished University of Bristol M.A. thesis, 1946, pp. 226/7; B. Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp. 118-19.

42 G.R.O., D/DSF/325, minutes dated 1/11/1700, 2/2/1700-1, 7/1/1701. Friends

did hope for an end to this excess but he was never re-admitted.

43 G.R.O., D/DSF/351, minutes dated 6/9/1706, 4/10/1706.

44 P.R.O., Society of Friends Registers (Monmouthshire). No. 677, p. 247; N.L.W., Microfilm. N.P.R. 44.

45 G.R.O., D/DSF/351, minutes dated 7/3/1707. A copy of his recantation is provided in G.R.O., D/DSF/325, minutes dated 2/5/1707.

46 G.R.O., D/DSF/326, minutes dated 26/4/1749, 1/11/1749.

47 G.R.O., D/DSF/354, minutes dated 5/5/1762.

48 Ibid., minutes dated 22/3/1775. The minute runs on to say that the Meeting owed a debt of gratitude to Nathaniel Beadles Senior (Rebekah's father) for otherwise she would have been 'under ye care of ye meeting'.

49 Friends were requested by the London Yearly Meeting to be 'careful to avoid all vain sports, places of diversion, gaming and all unnecessary frequenting of ale houses or taverns, excess in drinking and intemperance of every kind'. Ibid., minutes dated 1/10/1755. For further details, see R. Bauman, *Let your words be few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence among Seventeenth-century Quakers* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 23. These were not new concepts as the radical sects of the Interregnum and earlier Puritans had challenged matters pertaining to public traditions. A stimulating article on the Puritan denouncement of Christmas festivities is given in C. Durston, 'Lords of Misrule. The Puritan War on Christmas 1642-60', *History Today*, (December 1985), pp. 7-14.

50 The life of Evan Bevan and his American Quaker relatives are captured in J. Rakenshaw', 'A Memoir of Evan Bevan', *Friends' Library*, 13 (1849), pp. 174-8.

51 G.R.O., D/DSF/352, Monthly Meeting of Monmouthshire Friends 1720-34. Meetings held at Pont-y-Moel, minutes dated 5/6/1724, 4/4/1729, 4/8/1731; G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 3/6/1737. Cf. The efforts of the members of the Montgomeryshire and Shropshire Monthly Meeting who in 1701 decided to translate into Welsh, John Kelsall father's *Testimony against Gaming, Musick, Dancing, Singing, Swearing and People calling upon God to Damn them. As also against drinking to excess, Whoring, Lying and Cheating...* (London, 1682) to strengthen Friends resolve against such diversions. Five hundred copies of the translation were later produced and given out among Friends. See G.R.O., D/DSF/379, minutes dated 27/12/1704-5, 27/1/1705. Details are also provided in G.H. Jenkins, 'Quaker and anti-Quaker literature in Welsh', p. 413. The diaries of John Kelsall are full of scathing attacks upon popular pastimes. For example, in May 1722, he complained of the wickedness of the townspeople of Oswestry who were 'drinking swearing &c, all night long', and the following month at Llanfyllin he commented upon the disturbance made by 'rude company all night long'. He went on to add: 'It is indeed most sad to consider wt wickedness and profaness abounds daily scarce we can go to any place but people seem as they had loos'd full Reins to all sort of vanity without any consideration of God or a future being'. See Friends' House Library, London. Kelsall MS. S. 193/1, pp. 114, 117 (transcript S.186, pp. 92, 94-5). Entries dated 18/5/1722, 9/6/1722) and partially cited in H.G. Jones, 'John Kelsall', p. 100.

52 *Gloster Journal*, 13 April 1731, p. 2.

53 Ibid. The Journal did, however, record cock-fights or proposed contests. See *Gloster Journal*, 18 May 1789, 24 May 1790 and cited in R. Nichols, 'Articles on Cockfighting', *Pontypool and District Review*, 12 (February 1973), pp. 14-16.

54 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

55 G.R.O., D/DSF/354, minutes dated 7/3/1746.
56 Ibid., minutes dated 4/4/1746.
57 Ibid., 2/5/1746, 6/6/1746. The following year Joseph Rule had left the county and took up residence in Somersetshire. The Clarum Meeting requested a certificate of removal from Monmouthshire Friends, but the reply shows their displeasure at Rule's casual behaviour: 'his conduct and behaviour far as we can find has been inoffensive and therein we are in unity with him and likewise find that he was solvent. But as to his ministry his Travelling & visiting other meetings in those weighty respects He does [not] appear so settled and stayed as we could desire.' Ibid., minutes dated 30/1/1747.
58 Gwent Record Office, D/2200.17.
59 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 5/8/1741.
60 Ibid., minutes dated 28/10/1741.

Transcripts

1st Paper. [61]

This is in Love to all true Seekers: for a great Numb^{r} of People flock together as they did in primitive Times to hear some new Thing but the Lamb is y^{e} Light thereof & y^{e} nations of them y^{t} are Saved shall walk in y^{e} Light of it. There are in the Kingdom of England several Profesions: but there is but one true Religion w^{ch} is this, Thou shall Love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy strength; and such as have this, the Lord, even the Almighty God will shew them of his Ways, and he will warn them for joyning with any Evil whatsoever: but I never read of any of the Believers in Christ y^{t} ever persecuted any for not joining with them; but the old Dragon cast a Flood thinking to destroy the Woman; and when she could not prevail she went to make War with the Remnant of her Seed; and so he doth now; for y^{e} Enemy hath a great many Instruments, in as much that they have compassed Sea and Land to make one proselyte, and when he was made, he was two fold more like the child of Hell then themselves: if the blind lead y^{e} blind both shall fall into the Ditch: both the Preacher and the Hearer fall into the same Darkness. They are they y^{t} Love Greetings in the markets, and to be called of men - masters; they do appear as white Sepulchres, and People walk over them, and are not aware of them; they are such whose God is their Belly, who mind earthly Things: for Satan can transform himself into an Angel of Light: How much more his Ministers? There is a great Number of

People, yea the most part of the Kingdom, that make much use of that Lesson which our Lord Jesus gave unto his Disciples; but those Disciples were such people as were worthy to receive it: for they were Chosen out of the World: they also received a free Gift and they were to give freely, not as the Hirelings do, who pray more for the Fleece then for the sheep; but let us return unto the Beginning of that Lesson which is *Our Father w^ch art in Heaven*. I do remember the Time when I was not worthy to say that God was my Father, neither was I worthy to be called his son; yet at the same Time I could say or read it over. It may be read what our Saviour said unto the unrighteous Jews you are of your Father, the Devil, and his works ye will do; but our Adversaries do very much abase our Friends because they do not delivver the Lesson unto all vain Fathers of the World; but I firmly believe that whatsoever preceeded out of his mouth, as he was the very Lip of Truth is certain & True. *Hallowed be thy Name;* but how light People can blaspheme his holy Name by talking the same in vain by Cursing, Swearing and many idle words, yet let such assuredly know y^t according to ye holy Commandments God will not hold him Guiltless y^t taketh his Name in vain. *Thy Kingdom come;* I doubt there is a great Numb^r of people y^t knows not where his Kingdom should come; but Fornicat^rs and Adulterers, Thieves, and Robbers, Common Drunkards & such as can call for Damnation upon their Brethren & fellow Creatures, except they repent, his Kingdom will not come; his Kingdom will not come into an old nasty Bottle: for new wine must be put into new Bottles. *Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven;* but such as follow Gamings & Idleness; such do not will God on Earth as it is in Heaven. *Give us this Day our Daily bread;* I doubt y^t there is a great many People y^t knows not what was y^e Apostles Daily Bread; It was y^e Spiritual Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, w^ch is taken & received at ye Lords Table for y^e unrighteous cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table and of the Devils. *Forgive us our Trespasses as we forgive them that Trespass against us;* an hard Lesson to be so freely spoken by such or from them y^t are smitting Eye for Eye, and Tooth for Tooth. I know not of any in the World that are more ready to persecute y^n those that do make most use of that Lesson. Viz. in reading of it. *Lead us not into Temptation;* God leads not into temptation any such that Love Him w^th all their Hearts. *Deliver us from Evil;* Verily y^e Apostles had great need to pray to Almighty God to Deliver them from all Evil, for the Enemy was very busy about y^m but that their Guide was near y^m. I am of the mind they did not know but as their Lord and mast^r Revealed unto them for he told one of them in particular, Satan hath desired you

that he may sift you as wheat; but I have praised y^e^ Father that y^r^ Faith fail not. *For thine is ye Kingdom;* the Kingdom of God is his own Kingdom; and hath no fellowship w^th^ ye Kingdom of Darkness; and in such as his Kingdom doe Rule and Reign, his Power and his Glory will remain in them for ever and ever. I wish that people may take the Apostle's Advice. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: for whatsoever People sow, the same they shall Reap. I wish that People may Repent before it be too late: for There is joy in Heaven over one sinner y^t^ Repenteth more than over ninety and nine just Persons that need no Repentance.

Tho^s^ Lewis one of the y^e^ people called Quakers being a weak old man y^t^ caused these few Lines to be written - y^e^ 20th of y^e^ 6th M^th^ 1741.

Written by me Evan Morgan. [62]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[61] G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 5/8/1741.

[62] A labourer from Langstone. See N.L.W., LL/1758/50. His will is dated 31 March 1758.

2nd Paper.[63]

He that entreth not by the Door into the Sheepfold but climbeth up some other way, the same is a Thief and a Robber - Thieves and Robbers, have an Armour, and their weapons are very keen; they have a spear to frighten the People.

If a poor man have a few Goats upon a free Common they claim a share in them, If a poor widow have a Couple of Ewes and Lambs they likewise claim a share in them; but if a [blank] had one or Fatherless that Lie upon a Bed of Straw perhaps with hungry Bellies (whilst Thieves and Robbers fare sumpuously every Day) and any of them happen to meet any such poor Fatherless or any weak old body in the way, it is much if they open their mouths unto them much less give them an Advice concerning their latter End. They have not the free Gift. Therefore they cannot give freely: I could never find that the said Thieves and Robbers do ever own any poor or such that are relieved by Parishes while they are alive - But when they are dead and laid in the grave then the Thieves and Robbers - Cry out the Soul

of our Dear Brother or Dear Sister here departed: - O the Leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy! The Sons of Ely do exercise Lordship over the People! They put money at usury, and purchase Houses and Lands with the Gain of oppressions. The Presbyterians and Anabaptists had spears in their Hands in that Time of Oliver Cromwell, that Blood thirsty man; And they did hunt after Blood as the Scribes and Pharisees did at Jerusalem in the Time that Saul Received Letters from the Chief Priest to bring both men and women bound to Jerusalem that he could find confessing the name of Jesus - But their downfall came to them at Jerusalem, and likewise y^{e} Presbyterians in England. It has been such a time in England that those Dissented from those Hunters after Blood were condemned to be burnt at the stake. If the Hunters after had their will, I am apt to think that it would be even so now. - For the God of this world hath blinded the Eyes of those that believe not, Lest the Light of the glorious Gospel should shine upon them. It is written for thy violence against thy Brother Jacob shame shall cover thee and thou shalt be cut of[f] for ever. - They have shed the Blood of Saints, and Prophets and he hath given them Blood to drink. O repent, repent, Mount Esau! for the Lord God Almighty, the Lord of Heaven and earth, can throw down the strong hold of Satan. - Be careful my Friends, the Son of God hath overcome the World. The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom. Blessed and Holy are they that have part in the first Resurrection, on such the second Death hath no Power. I could never find but that there were stumbling Blocks in Israel since the Time that a man was sent out of every Tribe, thereof to spy the Land of Canaan. - But he that overcometh shall eat of the hidden Manna. It is written the hour cometh that the Dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God and they that hear shall live. Unto thee, the onely Wise and eternal God do I return Praise and Thanksgiving, and be they ascribed unto thy worthy Name from henceforth for ever and ever more. Amen, from me whose name is Tho^{s} Lewis One of the People called in scorn Quakers y^{e} 20th of y^{e} 7th Mth 1741.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

63 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 5/8/1741.

3rd Paper. [64]

A Warning for All Youth

To Remember their Creator in the Days of their Youth lest they may take false Liberty as I did.

When I was but very young in years I took my journy into a far Country, where I did wast[e] my goods by riotous Living: there were Ringleaders of Wickedness and I took great Delight in their Companies, then I drank Inquity as the Ox drinketh water. There were such idleness as Cock fightings, and a great number of those Country People did flock into it. Some did curse, and some did swear, some did hoop, and some did Quarrel; there was such idleness as Dancing, Singing of ungodly Books, and Ballads; there was likewise such idelness of Gamings as Balls, Bowls and Pins, Cards and Shuffleboards; and a great many of that Country People took much Delight in them both old & young. But there were in that far Country idol Shepherds who took but little notice of such idleness, and some of them took delight in the same themselves; however they did perswade those Country People that they could make Christian members of Christ, Children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven: But if any of those People for whom they pretended to do such a great thing for did not take care to give them the Fleece, they were ready to persecute them; and they did pretend to deliver some of them unto Satan, there to remain without any Hope or Remedy forever, as the said Shepherds did pretend; Except the People did provide sums of money to pay them for their Pretence, to pay them back again from the custody of Satan. They likwise did perswade those Country People that there was nothing better to be had than what they sold unto them. One thing was their Goods were delightsome to those People for their shops were very plentiful had it not been the great Mercy of God, there should I end all my Days believing the Idol Shepherds Doctrine. It came in the view of my mind that I never received any Benefit from them concerning the World to come: for their Way did perish. Again it came to my mind to seek out another way as I thought. Yet alas! it proved to me that I was still in the same Countrey. Then I was left like a Tree, that did wither between the barren Mountains and the desolate Hill. But the time came through Mercy that the Lot of some of the Messengers of the new Covenant was to draw into those Parts of my Nativity, and I was willing to seek what I could find by them, but alas! I had been so long in the above said Country that I could understand but little of their Doctrine: but thro' Mercy one Messenger came after another; and I was willing to seek, neither did I see my Labour too good; then I took better care in Reading of the Scriptures; but alas! my abode had been so long

in the said Country, my apprehension was too short to understand the Prophesy of the same; and my House was so foul that I knew not where to find the piece [sic. peace] which I had lost. I found the way very easy into the Country, but to return from thence I could not by my own strength, no more than I could remove mountains; for when I was resolved to forsake the Countrey I could see much Rubbish, and the way very Rough; but thro' the great Mercy of the Almighty who said His Judgments upon me for my Trangression; the same brought it forth to victory and made that smooth which I said Rough. Then I could go through Town and Countrey void of that slavish Fear unto which I was subject, while in the strange Country; then I could say that Christ's yoke was easy and his burden light. By that time People did gaze at me, as if I had come out of some strange Land; some did speak evil of me, and some did mock me, and gave me a Name which I had not while in the strange Countrey, even the scornful name of a Quaker, In a little Time a small Persecution did arise so that I was to appear before one of the Rulers of y^{t} Country where I had been and it was a Publick House where much People was, and the Custom of this Countrey was to bow unto Idols, which I was not to do. Then he was in a Rage, and thought to compell me; but thro' mercy I feared him not which could kill the body. When he saw that he could not prevail over me, he compelled the People to take off my Hat, and if they had stript off my Coat as they did my Hat, I believe that I had strength to bear it thro' mercy, but afterwards I did talk with that same Ruler several Times without any more reverence than Mordecay gave unto Hamar, and within his own private Chamber where I drank without any bowing or crouching. I do earnestly desire that such who have a Zeal for the House of God, that they take care not to Bow and Crouch unto Idols. Our Lord Jesus gave a Commandment to beware of false Prophets, and also to the Believers a sign, that they might know them by their Fruits, but such as do receive that knowledge it is better for them to seal it with their Blood than to deny it. Our Saviour gave another Commandment to beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy, but such that are aware of them they cannot sit down nor rise up with them, where they sell their Goods. Lovi[ng] Friends, if thou dost hold fast y^{e} Truth y^{e} living and eternal God will neither leave thee nor forsake thee. From me whose name is Tho^{s} Lewis, one of the People called Quakers at the Place of my Nativity in the County of Monmouth near Shirenewton the 8th of y^{e} 9th Mth 1741.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

64 G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 28/10/1741.

4th Paper.[65]

Thomas Lewis's 4th Paper 1741

It is written why seek ye y^e^ Living among y^e^ Dead? I doubt there is a great Number of people in y^e^ Kingdom of England y^t^ knows where to seek ye Living Because they Love y^e^ Right hand & the Right Eye more than they do Love y^e^ Living. Because they Love those evil memb^rs^ more than they do y^e^ Living. Because they do Love this World more &c. Because they Love Drunkenness more &c. Because they Love fornication & adultery more &c. Becaue they Love Thievery & Robbery more &c. Because they Love Lyes & Blasphemies more &c. Because they do Love to Curse & Swear more &c. Because they Love to follow Idleness & Gamings more &c. Because they Love Pride more &c. Because they Love to sing ungodly Books & Ballads more &c. Because they do Love envy, hatred & malice more &c. Because they Love to bow unto Idols more &c. Because they Love to fight (w^th^) one another & to murder more &c. Because they Love to grind y^e^ faces of y^e^ poor more &c. as it is written by y^e^ Prophet unto them y^t^ grind y^e^ faces of y^e^ poor. It is better to enter into Life w^th^out those evil members then to run y^e^ hazard of Everlasting Punishment where there is wo & misery forever. Where y^e^ worm dieth not & y^e^ fire is not quenched & old Heaven & ye old earth will not pass a way while those evil members are not cast away. It is written y^t^ there were Six men prepared w^th^ slaughter weapons to go through Jerusalem, but one of them had a writors inkhorn by his side to set a mark upon them w^ch^ did sigh & mourn for y^e^ abominations y^t^ were done in y^e^ midst thereof. I hope y^t^ there is now some y^t^ sigh & mourn for y^e^ abominations of those evil members.

My name is Tho^s^. Lewis one of y^e^ People called Quakers who doth wish y^t^ People may repent & forsake those evil members.

y^e^ 24^th^ of y^e^ 11^th^ M^th^ 1741.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[65] G.R.O., D/DSF/353, minutes dated 3/12/1741. Read at the Shirenewton Monthly Meeting by adjournment dated 29/1/1742.

Maps 1 and 2

Key

1 **Abergavenny/Llanwenarth**: Early gatherings were held in these parishes from the mid-1650s onwards. A Meeting was settled in Abergavenny in 1707 and removed to Goetre in 1722. It was discontinued c. 1725.

2 **The Pant, Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern:** The home of Walter Jenkins and the Beadles/Hanbury families. The Meeting was established in 1668 and discontinued c. 1756.

3 **Shirenewton:** A Meeting was established here in 1668 and discontinued in 1823. A purpose built meeting house was built in 1724.

4 **St. Mellons/Castleton:** A Meeting was established either in the parish of St. Mellons or in the parish of Marshfield in 1668. Registers for the seventeenth century are recorded as 'The Melance (sic. St. Mellons) Meeting while Friends' registers for the eighteenth century are from the Castleton Meeting (Marshfield Parish). There was no meeting house and, therefore, the gatherings were held in Friends' houses.

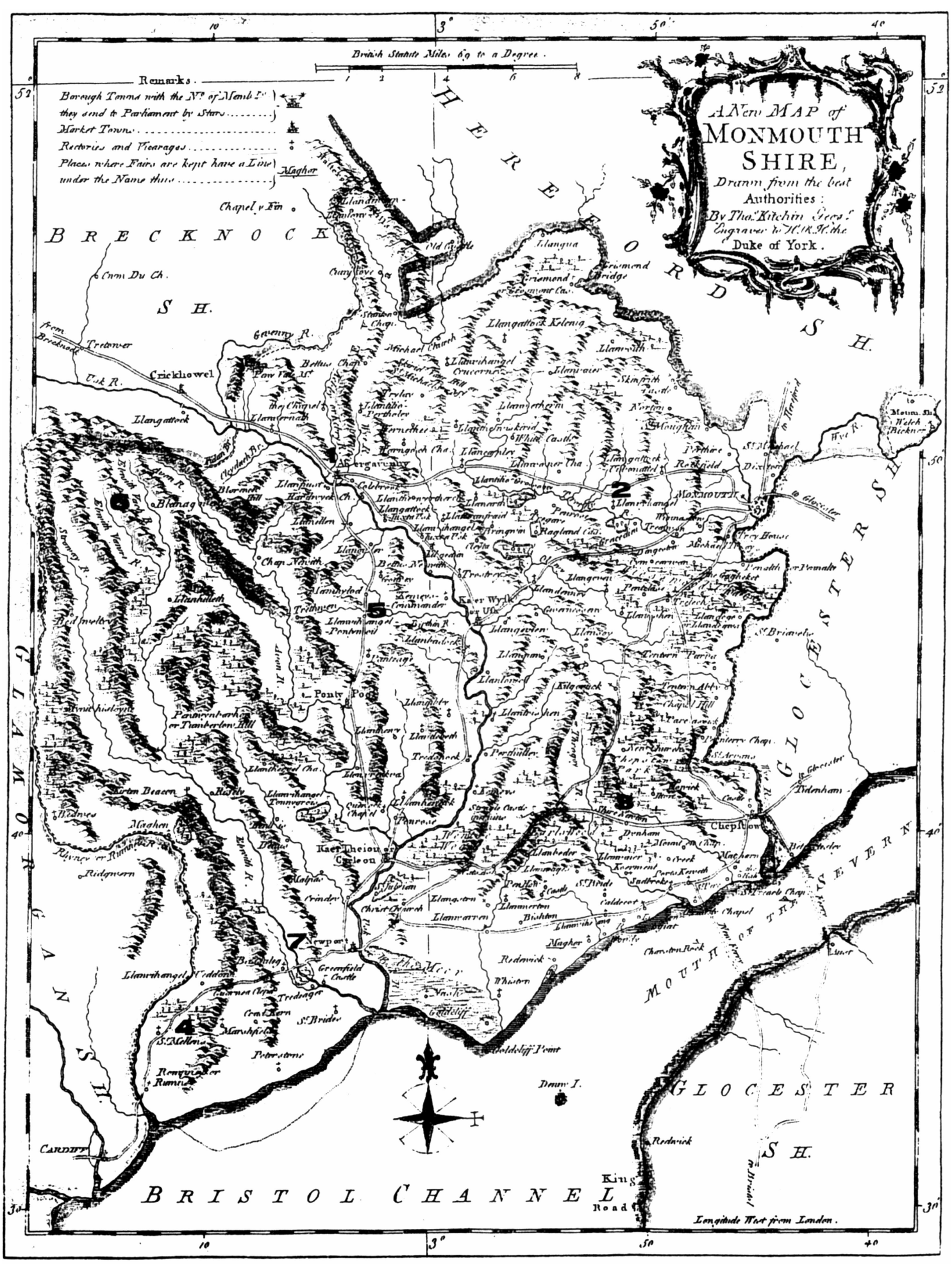
5 **Llanfihangel Pont-y-Moel:** A Meeting was established here in 1668 probably in the house of Richard Hanbury and later held in a meeting house in the parish.

Trosnant: This meeting was established in 1800 when Friends transferred from Pont-y-Moel. It was discontinued in 1835.

6 **Ebbw Vale Works:** This Meeting was established by the Harford family in 1818 and was later (c. 1836) transferred to the South Wales Monthly Meeting.

7 **Newport:** This Meeting was established in 1823 and in 1836 was transferred to the South Wales Monthly Meeting.

Map 1. The geographical location of the Quaker Meetings in Monmouthshire c.1654-1836.



Source: Gw.R.O., C. Misc Maps 67, *A New Map of Monmouth Shire* by Thomas Kitchin (1763).

Map 2. The geographical location of the Quaker Meetings in Monmouthshire c.1654-1836.

Source: N.L.W., PB1440. *A Map of ye County of Monmouth Shire with hundreds by Ric. Blome by His Majesty's Command.* From *Brittania: or a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1673).

IRISH FRIENDS AND 1798
Witness to non-violence in the 18th century

Quakerism came to Ireland in the 1650s with the first recorded meeting being settled in Lurgan, Co Armagh, by William Edmundson in 1654. It spread quite quickly amongst the English settlers, many of whom were ex-Cromwellian soldiers, and there was a membership of between 5,000 and 6,000 by the end of the 17th century. Province Meetings were held in Ulster, Leinster and Munster with representatives appointed to National Half-year's Mens Meetings in Dublin from 1669.

In 1798 Ulster Province had five Monthly Meetings with eighteen Particular Meetings, Leinster Province had seven Monthly Meetings with twenty eight Particular Meetings and Munster Province had five Monthly Meetings with seven Particular Meetings.[1]

From 1760 to 1800 the population of Ireland doubled to five million and the accompanying competition for land led to agrarian violence in many parts of the country. Secret societies, like the Whiteboys and Rightboys in Munster and the Steelboys and Oakboys in Ulster were formed to protest against tithes, land enclosure, low cattle and grain prices. In order to counteract increasing violence the Ascendancy landowners formed groups of Volunteers and had over thirty thousand men under arms by the 1780's. The American and French revolutions added to the turmoil. The United Irishmen, initially an idealistic debating society, became a revolutionary force from 1793 and the basic ingredients were in place for the rising of 1798. Thirty thousand people died in the rebellion and its aftermath and it has had repercussions on politics and social and economic life ever since.

The National Concern for Peace

At the end of the 18th century Dublin had a population of two hundred thousand and was the second city of the British Empire. The Liberties, an area which did not have fine squares and public buildings, was where many Friends lived next to their Meeting House in Meath Place. It was at this Meeting House that Friends from all over Ireland would gather twice a year for the National Half-year Men's Meeting. The growth of the Volunteer Movement in the 1770's was of concern of Friends and in the minutes of a Half Year Meeting

in 1779 we read:[2]

> We understand that in most quarters of the nation, many of the inhabitants are associating in armed companies as they allege for internal defence and that in some parts endeavours have been used to draw in Friends so far as to contribute to the expense of clothing them. This meeting is of the judgement that notwithstanding any plausible pretexts that may be made use of..... to contribute in any way to the fitting out of these companies is a manifest violation of our Christian testimony against war. ..... And as a frequent attending and amusing ourselves looking at these companies training and exercising in the use of arms may be construed as a tacit approbation, we judge it inexpedient and improper for Friends, as tending to weaken their hands and their testimony.

In 1793 the meeting addresses the conduct of Friends and finds:

> a spirit of libertinism rushing in, and laying waste the testimony, which we have been called to bear against the attendance at vain sports, places of diversion and gaming, as well as the unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public houses, and excess in drinking.-

The minutes then, not surprisingly considering that war has just been declared with France, turns to the peace testimony:

> As this is a time of outward commotion, perplexity and trouble; when many of the inhabitants of this nation are arming by order of government, we feel ourselves engaged to remind Friends of our testimony against bearing arms, which should lead us to have no dependence, nor confidence, in the arm of the flesh, for protection of persons, or property - and apprehending some in profession with us have defensive weapons in their houses and some others to be in the practice of paying or hiring those who may carry such weapons, we earnestly recommend to quarterly and monthly meetings to be very vigilant over their members, and to use their endeavours to preserve a strict uniformity of conduct, consistent with our Christian profession.

In 1795 the meeting advises Friends to guard against furnishing articles for the supply of war and entering contracts which might

weaken the Society's Christian testimony. One year later, in 1796, the Half-year's Men's Meeting homes in strongly on the subject of guns and minutes as follows:

> The subject of some in profession with us having guns in their houses, which might be made use of for the destruction of mankind, as well as other instruments of a like nature, having come weightily under the consideration of Friends in the three Provinces, this meeting, under a solid feeling, is of the judgement that all such should be destroyed, the more fully to support our peaceable and Christian testimony in these perilous times, and recommend to quarterly and monthly meetings to use further endeavours in labouring with any who may keep such arms in their houses and to deal, as in the meekness of wisdom they may be directed, with such as obstinately persist in refusing to comply with the advice of Friends, and return an account of their care to the next half year's meeting.

There is a further minute on the subject six months later in October and then in the aftermath of the failed French expedition to Bantry Bay in May 1797 the minute becomes much more forthright:

> It appears that although many have complied with the advice of Friends in destroying... (guns)... yet it is painfully observable that others have put away theirs in a collusive inconsistent manner, and that in divers parts Friends have not been executive enough in bringing on record the names of such of their members as continue to retain theirs without any pretext, and deal with them in meekness and wisdom.

The effect that these minutes had on the subsidiary Quarterly and Monthly Meetings will be examined later. At National level the Society had decided that it would only hold one National or Yearly Meeting each year and gave executive power to its Yearly Meeting's Committee which met for the first time in 1798.

Lord Cornwallis became the new Viceroy in May 1798 and Yearly Meeting's Committee decided to send him a lengthy address, dated 6th July 1798, from which the following has been extracted:

> [3]At this time when dislocation is spread over some parts of the land ..... we believe ourselves called out of all wars and

> fightings, to hold up the standard of that dispensation which was ushered in with the declaration of peace on earth and goodwill to men. So we believe ourselves called to live peaceably and quietly under the Government as faithful subjects ..... which we believe is the best return we can make for the many favours we have experienced since the present Royal family ascended the throne, for which and the continuation of our civil and religious liberties we desire respectfully to express our acknowledgements. Realising that the protection and support of kingdoms is not in the multitude of an host but in the Lord Almighty, may thy Council's seek his protection by that righteousness which exalts nations.

Lord Cornwallis, replied somewhat coolly, but promised protection to peaceable inhabitants:

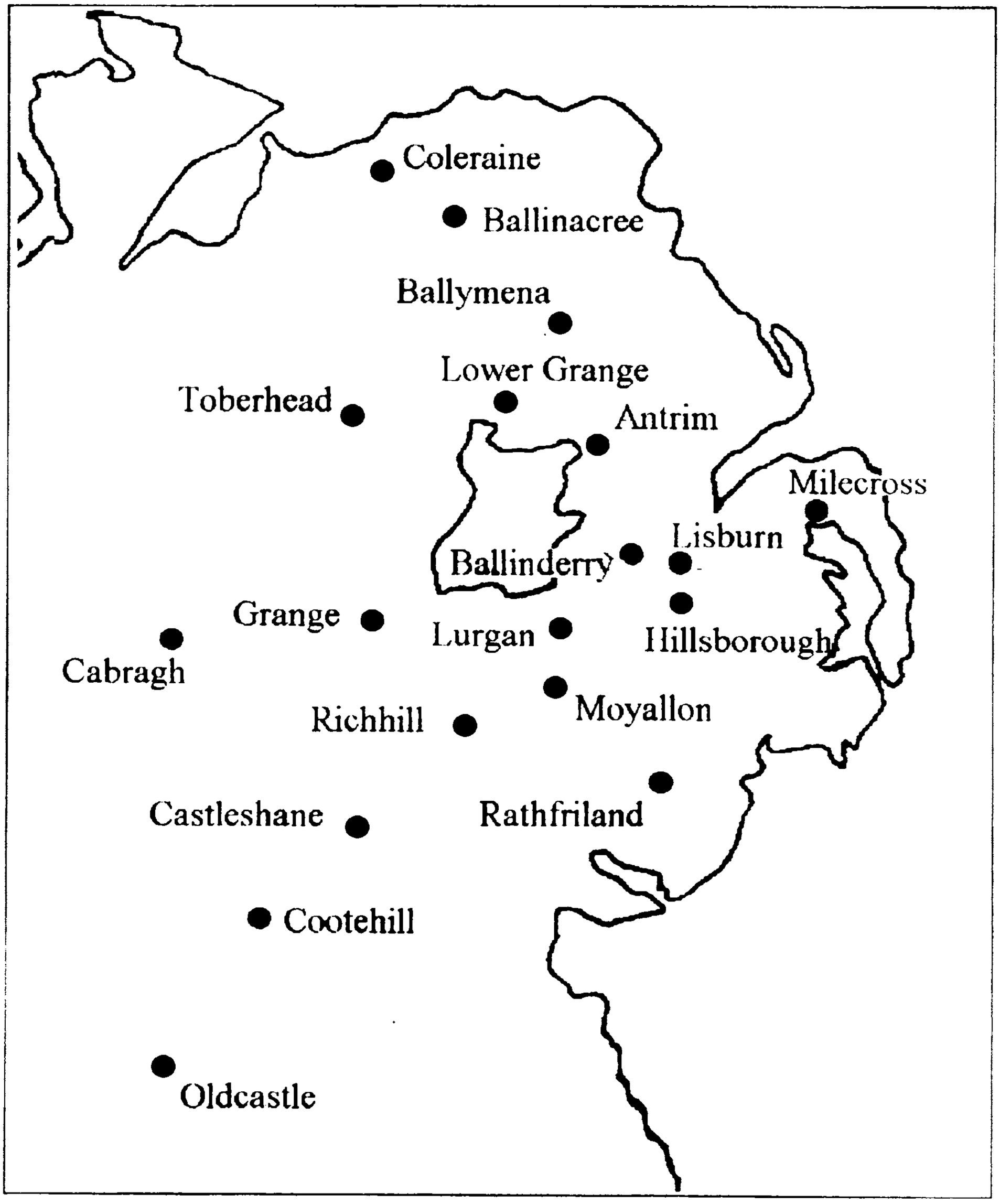
> They who in this season of unprovoked rebellion are restrained by a principle of conscience from serving their country by their arms, are so much the more bound to exert every influence of example and every effort of expostulation for the counteracting of treason and restoration of peace and good order. ..... That you will feel this your peculiar duty, I cannot entertain any doubt.

Province Meetings accept Responsibility

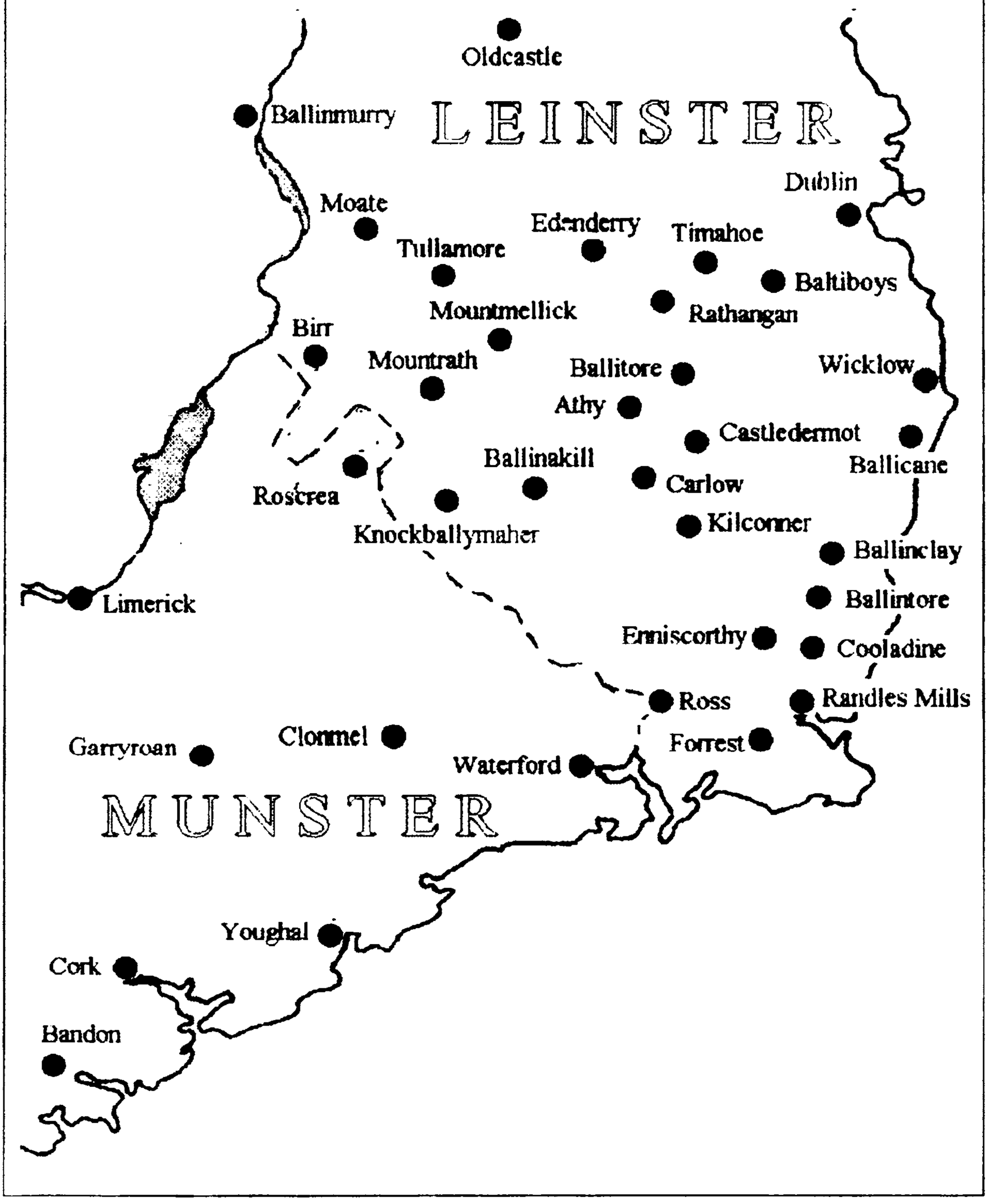
The minutes of the three Province or Quarterly Meetings repeat the National Half-year Meeting minutes and copy them to their Monthly Meetings. They then record the answers which were received at subsequent meetings.

Leinster Province Men's Meeting[4] is typical in that it has minutes on the subject at every meeting from 1796 to 1798.

> Mountmellick - Third-month 1796. On hearing answers to the eighth query,[5] this meeting, being impressed with the concern that some continue to keep arms in their houses which could be made use of for the destruction of mankind, contrary to our peaceable principle, is of the judgement that all ought to destroy such, and directs the different meetings of Friends to appoint committees to labour individually with their members.
> Carlow - Twelfth-month 1796. ... it appears that there are in all monthly meetings some who persist in keeping them which is a cause of grief to us. It is now weightily recommended to each



Friends Meetings in Ulster in 1794



Friends Meetings in Leinster and Munster in 1794

monthly meeting to continue their care herein, and to deal with such as are refractory in best wisdom as may appear necessary for supporting that testimony.
Mountmellick - Third-month 1797. Wicklow reports that all guns were destroyed or given away, the latter of which is not felt comfortable to this meeting.
Enniscorthy - Sixth-month 1797. ... any conduct short of destroying them is not fully supporting our peaceable and Christian testimony.
Moate - Ninth-month 1797. Account is returned from the different meetings ..... that some continue to retain them (their guns) who have been treated with and some disowned.
Mountmellick - Sixth-month 1798. All meetings save Mountmellick and Edenderry have dismissed from their proceedings the care before them respecting those who retained guns.

Munster Provincial Mens Meeting has many minutes on the subject of the destroying of arms. However, because there had been no outbreak of violence in the areas where Friends lived they were less diligent in their approach. Even in April of 1799 the meetings of Cork, Youghal and Co Tipperary are not able to give a clear account that all guns had been destroyed.

Monthly Meetings uphold the Concern

Monthly Meetings in Ulster Province appointed Friends in 1793 to look into the employing of armed watchmen and the keeping of firearms in Friends' houses. Overseers were warned to be vigilant concerning Friends joining and serving the Militia regiments being raised at the time. There were reports several months later that 'Friends are mostly clear of keeping arms in their houses'.

Things then remain relatively quiet until 1796 when the Half-year Meeting's minutes requires action and revitalises the Friends appointed to look into the matter throughout the Yearly Meeting. The response takes various forms in the minutes:

Destruction of arms

Almost all Friends comply with the instruction and minutes such as this one from Antrim Monthly Meeting[6] in Second-month 1797 are common:

'The service respecting firearms and such like weapons appears

> to be finished except one member in the bounds of Grange (Lower) Meeting.'

Joseph Haughton[7] of Ferns in Co Wexford records his appointment to visit Friends in Wexford Monthly Meeting asking them to destroy their guns:

> I saw the necessity of first cleansing my own hands. I took a fowling piece which I had in my own possession and broke it in the street opposite my own house, which was a matter of wonder amongst my neighbours. It was a time of serious thoughtfulness, and in many families this committee had little more to do than communicate their business, for the concern of the superior meetings had made its way into most of the families; and being convinced of its propriety, had previously destroyed all such instruments, and others gave expectation of it having been speedily done.

Refusal to comply with the instruction

Those who refuse to destroy their guns are visited repeatedly by the appointed Friends. Richard Erwin appears in the minutes of Antrim Monthly Meeting on ten occasions from February 1797 to August 1798 and then, two months after the battle of Antrim, he is finally disowned.

From Dublin Monthly Meeting Second-month 1797:

> Samuel Gamble keeps defensive weapons which he could not be prevailed upon to part with; also that there are six individuals who keep guns which they say are for domestic uses; and four others who being freemen, keep guns to comply with their affirmations which they took on obtaining the Freedom of the City: and another who has some arms which he declares are not for defence, but has not been prevailed upon to destroy them, they lying as he says in a sate unfit for use..... it is consistent with Truth for all of these things to be destroyed. As to the Freedom of the City the solid sense and judgement of this meeting is that it is inexpedient and inconsistent for any members ..... to be concerned therein at all ..... and also those who have heretofore taken out their Freedom deeply consider their situation, and when way opens, that they neglect not to get from under that yoke of bondage which they appear to be in.

From Wexford Monthly Meeting we read 'William Woodcock retains pistols, and as there can be no excuse made for keeping such but for offensive or defensive purposes, Friends can not have unity with him.'

Repent or be Disowned

When the efforts of a Monthly Meeting have failed to change the habits or way of life of a Friend a decision would be taken to disown. A Testimony of Disunity was drawn up and this one from Cork is a typical example:

> [8]Cork - 9th Day of 11th month 1798
> Whereas Joseph Church who had his education in profession with us, hath been so far regardless of the dictation of truth to his mind, and the frequent advices of Friends as to have kept a weapon of defence, conducted himself in dress and address inconsistently with a life of Christian plainness and self denial and for a considerable time past neglected the attendance of our religious meetings. We do deem it incumbent on us to testify our disunity with such conduct and to disown him to be a member of our religious society: yet our desires are that he may be favoured to see and submit to that principle of Light and Truth which would lead him into more circumspect walking in life and thereby be reinstated into fellowship with Friends.

Not all investigations ended in this way. The following letter of apology to Richhill Monthly Meeting in 1795 shows the effect on Friends of the visits by those appointed by the Monthly Meeting. This one resulted in the family of a well known Ulster Friend remaining with the Richhill Meeting to this day:

> [9]Dear Friends,
> Without considering the consequences of our running thro' surprise amidst the tumult and in a warlike manner bearing arms we have been sorry since for our doings. Being brought to a sense by Friends that visited us on that account and of the reproachfulness thereof, that any of our Society violate and act so inconsistent with the principles we profess which to our great loss we have been too ignorant of; but we hope for the future to be more careful not to give any occasion for such accusations.
> We remain your loving Friends,
> Abraham Pearson Isaac Pearson

Accounts of the Suffering of Friends

ANTRIM MONTHLY MEETING

Thomas Hancock

Nine pages of his book *'The Principles of Peace, etc'*[10] are devoted to what happened to the family of Gervase Johnson during the battle of Antrim in June 1798. Gervase was away travelling in the ministry in America leaving his son and daughters in his house in Antrim.

> On the day of the Battle, when it was announced that the rebels were approaching, few of the regular army being then in the place, expresses were sent off in different quarters for assistance. A regiment of cavalry arrived before the commencement of the engagement, but was not able to make any effectual stand against the force opposed to it. About one o'clock in the day, the Rebels marched into the town; and their appearance caused a general dismay, so that horror seemed to be pictured on every countenance.

The family intended to stay in their house until they saw that the insurgents' cannon had been set up in the street opposite their door. At this they attempted to take refuge in the fields, but there were so many rebels milling around the house that they were forced to turn back.

> The Rebels had gained possession of the town, having obliged the cavalry regiment to retreat, after a very deadly encounter, in which about one third of the regiment, in the short space of a few minutes, was either killed or wounded; but it was not long before a regiment of the Monaghan and Tipperary Militia entered the town; and, seeing the Rebels beginning to yield they acted with great cruelty, neither distinguishing friends nor enemies, but destroying everyone who appeared in coloured clothes. In a very short time they dispersed the Insurgents, and retook the town.

The soldiers killed many who had not been involved. They fired into houses and showed no mercy to those who had fled to the fields.

> When the firing had almost ceased, the family above noticed (the Johnsons), concluded it would be much safer for the Rebel who had taken shelter with them to try to make his escape: for

> the probability was, that if he should be found in the house, at such a time, he would not only suffer himself, but be the occasion of the family suffering also. He made his escape accordingly, and was saved.

Almost immediately the soldiers came roughly into the house to search it. Finding only the family their demeanour changed and they treated them remarkably kindly.

> The soldiers now brought into the house a poor wounded soldier, and gave him in to the care of the family. Part of his bowels had forced their way out through a wound made by a musket ball. Every possible attention was paid to him, and he was thankful for it, but died the next morning, after suffering great pain.
> The town presented an awful appearance after the battle: the bodies of men and horses were lying in the blood stained streets; and the people were to be seen here and there saluting each other - like those who had survived a pestilence or an earthquake - glad to see each other alive, after the recent calamity.

The inhabitants were kept in a state of alarm for many days, not knowing when another attack might be made on the town. Meanwhile the soldiers were 'racking'[11] many houses, and taking away the property.

> They carried off the shop goods of a Friend living in a 'suspected' quarter of the town, but did not hurt any of his family. The young man, who, with his sisters, was so critically circumstanced, as above related, interceded for his friend with the commanding officer; but the latter would not prevent the soldiers from plundering, saying, "he is a Quaker, and will not fight; therefore the men must be allowed to take his goods".

WEXFORD MONTHLY MEETING

Joseph Haughton

Not long after breaking his gun in the main street of Ferns he got into trouble with the military; by not giving up his store house as a guard house for the soldiers; by interceding with the Commanding Officer on behalf of the wife and children of a United Irishman whose house was about to be burned, and refusing to sell rope to the militia to

hang some suspected persons. Concerning this last item Joseph Haughton has this to say:

> I was at a loss to know what ought to be done. However when some of the military came to buy I refused to sell ropes and linen intended to torment and perplex my fellow creatures. They then took them away by force, offering payment which I refused to take. This was a day or two before the general rising of the United Irishmen in this county, and was, I believe, made instrumental through the direction of Divine Providence in the preservation of myself and my family.

Shortly afterwards the United Irishmen became active in the surrounding countryside. The scene around Ferns that day was awful, with houses and haggards of corn on fire, some set on fire by military and some by their enemies so that total devastation seemed to be at hand. The Protestant inhabitants were coming in to the town for safety and bringing news of those who had been wounded and slain. Being informed that some of the fugitives were much in need of something to eat, the Haughtons prepared food and sent out an invitation. But no one came, and in the evening they learnt that the military and those who had come in for safety had left for Enniscorthy.

> Thus we remained in doubtful suspense till next morning when the town of Ferns filled with an ungovernable and undisciplined crowd consisting of many thousands of the United Irishmen, following the footsteps of the military to Enniscorthy, and demolishing the houses of those called Loyalists, Orangemen, and the like for the inhabitants of them were fled. My house was soon filled, when to our astonishment and humble admiration, instead of the massacre which we dreaded, we were met by caresses and marks of friendship, declaring they intended us no injury, but would fight for us and protect us and put us in their bosoms, adding that they wanted nothing from us but provisions. They seemed to be in extreme want of something to eat, and the food prepared for those they called enemies was now ready for them, and having eaten it up they proceeded on their way to Enniscorthy. In a little time we could see the columns of smoke rising from the burning houses six miles distant, and in the evening some of them returned with tidings that Enniscorthy was in their hands, and their camp fixed on Vinegar hill overlooking the town.

During the uprising Friends continued to go to Meeting for Worship walking many miles each way because all horses had been commandeered. They were frequently stopped and questioned and threatened with what would happen to them if they came that way again.

> When the usual time of holding our Monthly Meeting at Enniscorthy came, I went in company of William and Martha Wright who were on horseback. We got on without much interruption until we reached about half way, when their horses were taken from them by some patrols from Vinegar Hill. We walked in to Enniscorthy, not knowing where to go except to the Meeting House. Thither we went, and there met several Friends belonging to Enniscorthy and Cooladine Particular Meetings. None came from Ross as that town was in a state of siege, and none from Forest Meeting which was near Scullabogue where so many people were burnt alive. We sat the Meeting for Worship, but were a good deal interrupted by persons walking and making a noise in a loft adjoining, who after a while went away. It appeared they came for an ill intent which they were not permitted to fulfil. I observed they had broken a large hole in the ceiling which we were afterwards told was for the purpose of more readily setting it on fire, but that others of the party stopped them.

Joseph Haughton records many incidents involving Friends and others during this time when the rule of law was suspended and each man acted according to his own will. Three Friends[12] were taken to the United Irishmen's camp on Vinegar Hill where they underwent a sort of trial, and nothing being alleged against them were set free.

> After the rebellion subsided the country was much infested with robbers, and where Friends lived in country places they were exceedingly teased with such. ..... In some places Friends were so incessantly assailed by night that they were wearied out and were obliged to leave their houses.

Joseph Haughton concludes his account with the following:

> Strangers passing the houses of Friends, and seeing them preserved, with ruins on either hand, would frequently,

without knowledge of the district, say they were Quakers' houses.

Dinah Wilson Goff

Dinah Wilson Goff[13] was 14½ years old at the time of the rebellion, the youngest of the 22 children of Jacob and Elizabeth Goff of Horetown House, Co. Wexford. Horetown House was midway between New Ross and Wexford and near to two rebel camps. Dinah recorded her recollections shortly before she died in 1857:

> A day or two after the commencement of the rebellion, two carts were brought to our door, and the cellars emptied of all the salt provisions, beer, cider, etc. which were taken off to the camp. Fourteen beautiful horses were turned out of my father's stable, and mounted in the yard by two or more of the rebels on each. Some which had not been trained, resisted by plunging; but their riders soon subdued them, running their pikes into them, and otherwise using great cruelty
>
> One day a rebel enquired of my mother, 'Madam, do you think we shall gain the day?' Feeling it to be a serious question, after a pause she replied 'The Almighty only knows.' He answered, 'You are right, madam; have a good heart, not a hair of your head shall be hurt; but when this business is over, the Quakers are all to be driven down into Connaught, where the land is worth twopence an acre, and you will have to till that, and live on it as you can.' My mother smiled and said - 'Give us a good portion, for we have a large family'.

Like Joseph Haughton, Dinah describes many horrendous incidents including the burning of the Protestant prisoners in the barn at Scullabogue about one and a half miles from Horetown. Numbers are uncertain but it is reckoned that between 180 and 250 persons lost their lives in the incident:

> On the morning of the battle of New Ross, sixty or more of the prisoners were brought out on the lawn, and offered, one by one, life and liberty if they would change their religious profession; but they all refused. Two of the prisoners, who had attended Forest Meeting,[14] were tortured by having their limbs broken one by one and were finally shot with the wife of one standing between supporting them. On the same day, - viz. the 4th of sixth month - the barn was set on fire and all the other

> prisoners consumed. I saw the smoke of the barn, and cannot now forget the dreadful effluvium which was wafted from it to our lawn.

Dinah describes the taking of Enniscorthy by the rebels just before the holding of Leinster Quarterly Meeting as follows:

> A severe conflict took place at Enniscorthy, the garrison being forced to surrender, and many hundreds, as we were told left dead in the streets. Two days after it, our Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province was, in usual course, held there; and was attended by David Sands from America, a valued minister of our Society, who was then travelling in Ireland, with Abraham Jackson as his companion. As they passed through Enniscorthy, the latter had to alight and assist in removing dead bodies, which still lay in the streets, from before the wheels of the carriage. The meeting, though small, was said to be remarkably solemn, as it well might be, and also much favoured; many other Friends with ourselves were deprived of the means of attending, by the want of horses which the rebels had taken.

Later English troops landed at Duncannon Fort and encamped near Horetown. The Goff family were sitting at dinner when they were informed that the rebel forces were coming from Wexford to surround the English encampment. General Moore had had warning of this and met them on the road near Horetown House where a three hour engagement took place leading to the rebels being routed:

> The rebellion was now at an end, but its consequences remained. Not only houses in ruins burnt and torn to pieces by both armies were to be seen everywhere, but many of the rebels who were outlaws took up their abode in caverns in the wood of Killoughran, and sallied forth by night to commit depredations on the inhabitants, some of whom had returned to their dilapidated dwellings. They visited us two nights when our sufferings were greater than any during the whole rebellion.

She goes on to tell how they were woken up one night by ruffians demanding money which her father gave them. They came again two weeks later at midnight and plundered the house taking all the clothing which did not betray the costume of Friends. They

threatened to take Jacob Goff's life and asked him if he had anything to say before they shot him. Not understanding his silence they hastened him to speak and he prayed that ....

> the Almighty might be merciful to him and forgive him his trespasses and sins and also forgive them (the rebels) as he did sincerely. They said that was a good wish and asked if he had anything more to say. He then desired that they would be tender to his wife and family, on which they said, 'Good night, Mr Goff, we only wanted to rattle the mocusses[15] out of you.'

Jacob Goff was much shaken by these events and his health deteriorated to such an extent that he died later that year aged 62.

CARLOW MONTHLY MEETING

Mary Leadbeater

Mary Leadbeater[16] was 40 years old in 1798. She kept a journal throughout her life in Ballitore and this was published as part of *The Leadbeater Papers* in the last century. The beautiful descriptions of life in her grandfather's school and in the tranquil village of Ballitore make a very sharp contrast to her record of the terrible events during the rebellion.

In Ballitore the saga starts with the billeting of troops as early as 1793, records their sudden departure with the sighting of the French fleet off Bantry in December 1796 and the friendly relaxed atmosphere which obtained until the detachment of King's County militia under the captaincy of an old Ballitore boy was withdrawn early in 1798. They were replaced by the Tyrone militia, mostly composed of 'professed orangemen, wearing the ribbon of their party' and later joined by a party of the Welsh fencibles. The torture and mistreatment of those villagers suspected of being 'United men' is dealt with in detail.

On 24th May, without warning the troops were withdrawn from Ballitore and concentrated at Naas. Ballitore was occupied by the insurgents the same day and the loyalists in the village thought their day had come. In fact they were spared with the exception of one young yeoman who happened to be the son of a local squire.

> Everyone seemed to think that safety and security were to be found at my brother's[17] house. Thither the insurgents brought their prisoners, and thither, also their own wounded and suffering comrades. It was an awful sight to behold in that large parlour such

a mingled assembly of throbbing, anxious hearts - my brother's own family, silent tears rolling down their faces, the wives of the loyal officers, the wives of the soldiers, the wives and daughters of the insurgents, the numerous guests, the prisoners, the trembling women - all dreading to see the door open, lest some new distress, some fresh announcement of horrors should enter.

Two days later the tide was turning against the insurgents and John Bewley, along with Abraham Shackleton and another Friend attempted to treat with Colonel Campbell in Athy on their behalf. The negotiations were unsuccessful, Colonel Campbell's ultimatum expired and he decided to make an example of the town.

> I though the bitterness of death was passed, but the work was not yet begun. Colonel Campbell's men who had impatiently rested on their arms several hours, marched out of Athy. They took Narraghmore on their way.....entered Ballitore exhausted by range and fatigue; they brought cannon. Cannon in Ballitore! The horse and foot had now met. Colonel Campbell was here in person and many other officers. The insurgents had fled on the alarm - the peaceable inhabitants remained. The trumpet was sounded, and the peaceable inhabitants were delivered up for two hours to the unbridled license of a furious soldiery! How shall I continue the fearful narrative?

Mary Leadbetter continues for almost eight pages to outline the deaths of innocent neighbours and friends in a heartrending narrative. However, the withdrawal of the soldiers was not the end of the troubles in and around Ballitore. As in Wexford those of the insurgents who escaped capture were sheltering in the Wicklow mountains and

> 'made nightly excursions for food, money and clothes, levying their 'black mail' on the timid and peaceful, while the lengthening nights favoured their designs.'

A second attempt by the Friends to treat on behalf of the surrounding country was more successful and after the arms had been handed up by the inhabitants Abraham Shackleton gave an address to Colonel Campbell in which he pleaded for leniency in dealing with the rebels. Extracts from this address makes interesting reading:

> Abraham Shackleton believes that there does not exist that dark spirit of persecution among the people which is attributed to them. ....It is said, that they have formed a conspiracy for general massacre: no such disposition was apparent the two days, that we of this town were entirely in their power. Why did they not proceed then to a massacre? They spared to whip one man, who, they said, was an informer; - They forbore to whip the soldiers wives, when that cruel retaliation was suggested by the women of the town; - They offered no injuries to the officers' wives in my house, nor to the sick soldier and two officers servants with me. A.S. believes that no such conspiracy exists, and that it is conceived only in the minds of men of property, who are alarmed at the thought of losing it. He believes that by mild treatment the people may be made useful to us and happy in themselves. They have found the folly of resistance. .....If the money laid out on spacious buildings, cultivating fine gardens, and pleasure grounds, were some of it expended in cultivating the morals of the people, what a happy harvest of blessings would it not produce to the cultivators? If the rich did not insult the poor by their wanton extravagance and riot, the two orders of society would coalesce, and religious distinctions would not be so much thought of.

The Yearly Meeting makes its Record

Some twelve years after the rebellion Ireland Yearly Meeting decided that it ought to make some record of events and in 1810 it issued a lengthy report.

It commences by quoting many of the minutes set out herein in the National Concern for Peace. Yearly Meeting's Committee investigated the sufferings of Friends and in an interim report in 1799 the Committee said that it would be wrong for any Friend to receive compensation from the money raised by the Government for this purpose. They asked for a subscription from Monthly Meetings and £3,847-11s-9d was received. £2,852-15s-10d[18] was distributed against losses adjudged to be more than £7,500 and the balance returned to the Monthly Meetings.

The assistance offered by Yearly Meeting in London in 1799 was not taken up. After the American revolution Irish Friends had given money to Friends in Philadelphia, so that the reciprocal offer is recorded in some detail with lengthy quotations from the epistles of the two Yearly Meetings.

The report gives thanks for the preservation of the members of the

Society:

> It is worthy of commemoration, and cause of humble thankfulness to the Preserver of men, that amidst the carnage and destruction which frequently prevailed in some parts, and notwithstanding the jeopardy in which some Friends stood every hour, and that they had frequently to pass through violent and enraged men in going to, and returning from, our religious meetings - which, with a very few exceptions, were constantly kept up - the lives of the members of the Society were signally preserved.

Conclusion

Is there a message for us today in what the Friends of 1798 did to preserve their lives and their families?

The tremendous care which was taken all over the country with the Friends who were seen not to be walking in the truth is shown in meticulous minutes. Disownment was never undertaken lightly, and where the waverers showed any sign of repentance, they were welcomed back into the fold.

The fact that the 'peculiar people' were singled out by their way of life, strange forms of speech, simple dress and their known lack of arms, has to have played a major part in their preservation. Could any family today, Quaker or otherwise, manage to feed a company of soldiers for days on end like the Shackletons, Goffs or Haughtons were able to do?

Looking back, modern Friends would see in the records and accounts of the rebellion and its aftermath that rather too much emphasis was placed on 'Divine Intervention' in the preservation of the 'peculiar people'. The way that Abraham Shackleton, John Bewley, Joseph Haughton and others undertook mediation between the warring parties, often at great danger to themselves is something which Friends continue to do to this day and it is nice to think that Quaker House in Belfast has played some small part in today's peace process in Northern Ireland.

Irish Friends in the 18th century were relatively wealthy people. To have owned a gun at all would be a measure of this. To destroy it would be the equivalent of writing off your brand new motor car today before you have insured it! The £7,500 of goods and property reputedly lost by Friends during the rising has a modern equivalent of nearly IR£400,000 and the sum paid out to members would be IR£150,000.

In contrast to 1798 Friends in Northern Ireland have suffered

property damage in the turmoil of the past 20 years and they have had no difficulty in conscience in accepting compensation from the Government for broken windows and more serious damage to premises.

Glynn Douglas

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For more information on Irish Friends:
The Irish Quakers by Maurice J Wigham published by the Historical Comittee of IYM 1992.
Early Quakers in Ireland Presidential address in JFHS, Vol 48, No. 1 (1956) by John M Douglas (1889-1966).
Quakers in Ireland 1654-1860 by Isabel Grubb published by Swarthmore Press 1927.
There are many accounts of Irish history and of the rebellion in 1798, those familiar to the author include the following:
Modern Ireland 1600-1972 by Roy F Foster published by Allen Lane 1988.
The Year of Liberty by Thomas Pakenham published by Hodder and Stoughton 1969.

[1] In contrast in 1998 Ulster Quarterly Meeting has three Monthly Meetings and fourteen Preparative Meetings, Leinster Q M has two M Ms and nine PMs and Munster Q M has two M Ms and five P Ms.

[2] The manuscript minute books of the National Half-year Men's Meeting and the Yearly Meeting which succeeded it are in the Historical Library in Swanbrook House.

[3] The YMC letter and Lord Cornwallis' reply are quoted from notes made by John M Douglas in 6 Eustace Street early this century which are now in the author's possession.

[4] Leinster Province Men's Meeting manuscript minute books are in the Historical library in Swanbrook House.

[5] Monthly Meetings had to answer the queries to the Province Meeting in writing each year. The eighth query at that time read: *Are Friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, letters of marque, or armed vessels or dealing in prize goods.*

[6] Microfilm copies of the manuscript minutes of Ulster Quarterly Meeting and its constituent Monthly Meetings are kept by Ulster Quarterly Meeting in the strong room at Lisburn Meeting. The original manuscript minute books are in the Public Record office in Belfast.

[7] Joseph Haughton (1765-1845) was the son of Jonathan Haughton of Ballitore. His account of *God's Care of Friends during the Irish Rebellion* was written in 1811. In 1910 it was included in *Friends in Ireland* edited by Alice Mary Hodgkin and published by the Friends' Tract Association in London. A facsimile reproduction of *Friends in Ireland* has been published by Booktree Publications, Cookstown, BT80 8PR, NI.

[8] From notes in the author's possession which were made by John M Douglas.

[9] A copy of the original is in the hands of Allen Pearson of Richhill meeting.

[10] *The Principles of Peace, exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland during the Rebellion of the year 1798; with some preliminary and concluding*

observations by Thomas Hancock MD (1783-1849) first published in 1825 with a revised and enlarged second edition in 1826 and various reprints during the next 30 years. This is still the most comprehensive account of Friends and the rebellion.

11 'Racking' was the term given for destroying a house by levering off the door and window lintels so that the walls and roof above would collapse.

12 Samuel Woodcock, Jacob Martin and John Hancock of Ulster Province (being then in the neighbourhood).

13 Dinah Wilson Goff (1783-1858), wrote her account in Penzance in 1856 just over a year before she died. *Divine Protection through Extraordinary Dangers; Experienced by Jacob and Elizabeth Goff and their Family, during the Irish Rebellion in 1798* was published in Dublin by John Gough. For information about her family see the Goff letters in JFHS Vol 15 Nos 2 and 3.

14 Brothers John and Samuel Jones.

15 Guineas.

16 Mary Leadbeater (1758-1826) Poet and author. Some of her poetry was published in Dublin 1808. Richard D Webb published two volumes of *The Leadbeater Papers* in London in 1862 which included her best known work *The Annals of Ballitore.*

17 Abraham Shackleton (II) (1752-1818) grandson of the founder of Ballitore School and its headmaster in 1798.

18 Each Monthly Meeting set up its own small committee to process the claims of its members. Most of the letters relaing to these claims were collected by Yearly Meeting's Committee and have been preserved in Swanbrook House. Joseph Haughton received £400 against losses of £564, Dinah Goff's family made no claim and William Leadbeater, Mary's husband, received £100.

EDITOR: The maps included in the article have been prepared by Glynn Douglas who is to publish a book on the same topic later this year.

Howard F Gregg

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

William Dewsbury – c.1621–1688. Facsimile of the main text of the 1836 book by Edward Smith with a new Foreward by Winifred White. William Sessions Ltd. York 1997. Pp. xii + 323. £9.00.

It is seldom easy to grasp the breadth and depth of life in a century earlier than our own. Either we may be tempted to view it with too great reverence because of its fundamental importance as precursor, or with scant appreciation as modern changes have altered our perspective. But neither an indulgent smile nor uncritical admiration is appropriate in an attempt to learn how the 'children of Truth' emerged from the religious turmoil of the seventeenth century. By making available Edward Smith's account of William Dewsbury's life, with its new foreward by Winifred White, the Sessions Book Trust has reminded us of one vital actor in that story. Some of the phraseology may indeed be of the nineteenth century but the substance is purely of the seventeenth.

Born in 1621 in the East Riding of Yorkshire William Dewsbury's childhood from the age of 8 was overshadowed by his father's death; he spent the next five years keeping sheep; then he was apprenticed to a cloth-weaver amongst Puritans. It is hardly surprising that as a young adult he enthusiastically joined the Parliamentary Army; but disappointed by religious guidance, he reacted against too formal teaching in the army and in his time in Edinburgh.It was through his own study of the scriptures that he came to understand that "the kingdom of Christ is within", that "the weapons of the Kingdom are spiritual" and that he must wait for the time when he would be called to service.

Meanwhile through the years of marriage, occupation as weaver and continuing association with his friends in Cromwell's army he grew into the character whom W.C. Braithwaite describes as 'the sweetest and wisest of early Friends' – not so sweet that he was not capable of rebuke by word or glance, but wise certainly; it was, after all, he who later reconciled George Fox and James Nayler.

When in 1651 William and Ann Dewsbury talked with George Fox at Lieutenant Roper's home in Balby. William's service to Friends began, first as a continuation of Friends' testimony against "a hireling ministry" but later – such was the spirit of the times and the quality of the man – as testimony against injustice in the courts of law and against malice and brutality in the prisons. In that service he spent nineteen years in jails, living under appalling prison conditions in the most forgiving spirit. The poignant story of his granddaughter's death from jail-fever illustrates the attitude in which he and his family faced the sufferings to which Friends could be condemned under Commonwealth and Stuart regimes, and a state of affairs which only ended with the passing of William III's Act of Toleration and Declaration of Rights in 1689, a year after Dewsbury's death.

As for how he endured the many years of imprisonments, his epistles to Friends give a wonderful guide. He lived in complete confidence that being engaged upon the Lord's service, he was (and every step was) in the Lord's hand, whatever happened. So he "joyfully entered prisons as palaces". In a letter to Margaret Fell

about his family, he wrote "In the life of my God I have given them up, with my own life when he will call for it, a free sacrifice: in his will it is offered up, for him to do what is good in his eyes."

Kathleen L. Cottrell

The Enigma of John Bingley's Poem "The Fair Quakers" (1713) and a Challenge to Quaker Historians. By Derek Forbes with a foreward by Lorna Paulin. Pulborough, Blot Publishing, 1996. £4,85 + 65p. p&p.

Derek Forbes has rescued from obscurity a charming 18th century poem which describes nineteen young Quaker women in lyric terms while disguising their identities. He also reprints an official Quaker attack on the poem by Josiah Martin and another verse, published with the second edition of *The Fair Quakers* in 1715, which purports to be a funeral elegy for John Bingley who has died meanwhile of a broken heart. All this related material, together with the author's meticulous background research on the eighteenth century, Quakers and publishing practice, makes this a fascinating book for historian and general reader alike.

There is great uncertainty not only about the identity of the subjects of the poem but also about the author. Derek Forbes puts forward several possibilities and proposes a competition for which Hertford PM have provided a book token prize. This is tempting but at this distance from events and evidence any prize must be awarded more for plausibility than for accuracy.

Although the official censors of the Second-day's Morning Meeting called the poem licentious when they approved Joseph Martin's riposte, in contemporary terms it is very far from that. There is nothing here of the popular assumption that Quaker modesty was always a cover for libidinousness. John Bingley's compliments, although indeed concerned mainly with outward beauty, are very mild and indeed maddeningly impersonal. References to the beauties' individualities are few and far between. What clues there are the editor ably underlines but in the end most of what we have to go on lies in the cryptic names.

At this time it was not unknown for Quakers to write poetry but it was usually for private circulation only, as was the original stated intention here. Derek Forbes does not go into detail about other Quaker poets, but it may be worth comparing John Bingley with someone who was both a Quaker and a very popular poet, Mary Southworth Mollineux. She was writing at the end of the 17th century on moral and improving subjects for her friends and relations. She refused to publish any of her poems during her lifetime, but when she died in 1696 at the age of forty four her grieving husband published her work as a tribute to her. The volume proved extremely popular and *Fruits of Retirement, or Miscellaneous Poems moral and divine* went into six editions in the course of the 18th century.

Even with such a different approach from John Bingley's, her relations felt that some justification was necessary for publication. Her cousin, Frances Owen, wrote – ... though verse is not so commonly used in divine subjects as prose, but too much abused by the extravagant wits of the age, yet she, like a skilful chymist, had learned to separate the purer spirits, and more useful parts of poetry from the earthly worthless dross and made use of her gift, rather to convince and prevail upon the mind to affect and raise the soul upon wings of divine contemplation

than to please the airy fancy with strains of wit and unprofitable invention; which she was ever careful to avoid. – No doubt Josiah Martin and the Quaker establishment approved.

Bingley and Mollineux were poles apart in their intention, but they used the same form and came from the same religious background – another enigma to add to the many set before us in this admirable and intriguing book.

Gil Skidmore

Separation from the World for American Peace Churches: Asset or Handicap? Edited by Jeanne Henriette Louis. William Sessions Ltd., York 1997. Pp. 76. £6.00.

This interesting little book consists of four papers presented at a workshop of the European Association for American Studies in 1994 at Luxembourg. The theme of the conference was 'The Insular Dream: Obsession and Resistance' and Professor Louis states in the preface that she was 'struck by the fact that the insular dream is also a religious theme.' And that dream was certainly present among the groups discussed in these essays: the Mennonites, Quakers and Moravians.

In the context of the given theme, Frédéric Limare's essay is the weakest of the four in that it discusses the relationship of early Quakers in Puritan New England. Though the sad tale of Mary Dyer is interesting it is difficult at times to grasp just what central point Limare hopes to make.

Professor Louis is more successful with her discussion of Nantucket Quakers in the 18th and 19th centuries; it is a far fresher and more unified essay. Those who have only known of Nantucket Quakers from Melville's *Moby Dick* or from Robert Lowell soon realize that they have come late into the story. At its outset men like John Woolman who visited the island in 1760 were impressed with the simplicity of life: particularly in relationship to affluent Philadelphia.

Quakers started coming to Nantucket in 1708 to escape persecution from Puritan Massachusetts. The community grew large and had admirably good relations with the Native Americans, the Algonquins. Early on they took a stand against the slave trade, but in the success of the whaling industry (as Woolman would have well understood) the seed was one for decay. As Louis puts it: 'Maybe making money out of the killing of whales had killed the spirit of Quakerism in the long run. Quaker creativity had grown together with whaling creativity, but both collapsed together.'

Dr. Fransen's contribution to the 'Difficulties of Creating a Mennonite Politics' is unnecessarily repetitive but engrossing none the same. The central point is that the abolition of the draft and the movement to cities has brought great changes to the 'exceptionalism' of the Mennonite Church.

In many respects what has happened to the Mennonites is similar to other 'exclusivist' sects in America. Like others the Mennonites immigrated to avoid interaction with European governments, and up until the First World War the Mennonites were able to remain apolitical in pleasant agricultural communities. But as German-speaking pacifists who also refused to buy war bonds they encountered considerable abuse from their neighbours.

Along with the Brethren and Quakers, Mennonites successfully lobbied Congress to be recognized as conscientious objectors, but with the Vietnam War young Mennonites began to join forces with other protestors of that war and this marked an end to previous isolation. It also opened them up to criticism that they could not have it both ways. Prof. Fransen gives a fascinating account of the Mennonite Bethel College and how students there continued to express themselves in the more recent Gulf War. I only wish that somewhere along the line he had clarified the position of the Mennonites' kin, the Amish, who remain even more separated from the world and less willing to change.

The last essay is quite different and deals basically with the cultural legacy of the Moravian Church. Early Quakers in Pennsylvania lived side by side with the Moravians and in his *Journal* John Woolman speaks several times about the group; especially regarding its good relations with Native Americans.

The survivors of the 15th-century Hussite reform came under the care and reformation of the Piestistic Lutheran Count Nicholas von Zizendorf (1700–1759). Like other pacifist sects they were drawn to Penn's Holy Experiment and created Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. Sooner, however, than other German-speaking groups the Moravians were a part of mainstream American Protestantism. Bethlehem became a great steel-producing centre, and Salem, the companion Moravian community in North Carolina was next to Winston, which became a large cigarette-producing centre.

Paradoxically in their early years the Moravians were among the most vigorous of missionary/evangelistic denominations. But there was always the desire to retain special characteristics, and the Moravians remain to this day a small group: only 60,000 in North America. I grew up near Salem and it is a good example of formerly separalist ideals being eroded in time. Old Salem remains pretty much like Williamsburg as a tourist centre; the communal life of the Moravians disappeared with the inevitable merger of Winston and Salem into Winston-Salem; brand names still known in the tobacco market.

Dr. Marras's essay is comprehensive; my only complaint is that she has not taken into account an influence which has affected all small Protestant groups in America: the influence of the Methodists and Baptists, and others. Quakers will know of the pressure through the development of programmed, pastoral systems. Religious peculiarity is a rare commodity in America; far too easily altered in the larger arena of American Protestantism.

Friends, perhaps in relation to others, have been fortunate in some respects. As Prof. Louis says: 'A sensible attitude, maybe, is that of Friends who try to strike a delicate balance between faith and practice and try to live in the dialectics of separation from/reconciliation with/the world... other peace groups also practice their dialectic to some extent, although they have not expressed its principle as clearly as Friends.'

David Sox

Hannah: The Story of Hannah Ingledew Janney, 1725 – 1818. By Polly Grose, William Sessions Ltd., York, 1997. Pp. 128. £7.50.

Polly Grose is an American who, since her marriage in 1984, lives in London. Her ancestors emigrated in the mid-seventeenth century from England to

Pennsylvania and *Hannah* is her second book about them. Of the reasons for exploring the family roots she says:

> I have... written to bring substance and colour to factual accounts, occasionally employing a bit of imagination to give a fresh look to historical data. It is important to me to recreate for my grandchildren the life and times of their English ancestors and link them to their heritage from their homes along the West coast of the United States.

Thomas Janney, 1633– 1697 is the title and the subject of the first book. He was a Cheshire yeoman farmer who, at William Penn's invitation, emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania in 1683. He was an ardent "Publisher of Truth", travelled unceasingly and even returned for a visit to Cheshire where he became ill and died. Quakerism remained a dominant force in his sons' lives as well, but they let down roots and their work and faith centred on their family and their Quaker community.

One of the sons, Jacob, married Hannah Ingledew, the subject of the second saga. Hannah's parents emigrated from Scarborough and a couple of days after their arrival in Philadelphia Hannah was born. In the years 1700–1776 there was no universal education policy in Pennsylvania. Quakers opened their charity school in 1741 ... 'admitting Negroes and the Delaware Indians were also invited to attend'. Hannah learnt reading and writing at home, was helping from early childhood to bring up the younger ones, and from the age of 14 was earning money by serving in a coffee house and by selling in the markets. Life was hard and the massive influx of immigrants from mid-Europe augumented the difficulties. These immigrants reshaped the society and brought increasing competition for land and jobs.

However for Friends the greatest challenges came with the Kings' Wars and the War of American Independence, both demanding money and even participation. Some Quakers stood firm: 'our shillings and pence are not for gunpowder'. Others were swayed by loyalty to the Old Country. To escape the pain and worry of seeing that Friends were 'out of unity', Jacob, Hannah and their numerous children joined Amos Janney's community in Virginia, 'where the travails of politics are not daily matters'. They settled in Goose Creek (now Lincoln) where, in spite of her twelve children, Hannah's ministry developed and made a lasting effect. She was intelligent, practical, compassionate with a strong faith and a tiny but equally strong body. For over fifty years she saw to it, gently but firmly, that Friends in Goose Creek 'walked in the Light'; any Friend trading in alcohol or slaves would soon have her visit with the opening:

> 'In God's trust I come to thee,
> God's grace I bring thee.'

Hannah died at the age of 93 and left a thriving Quaker community behind her.

At the end of her book Polly Grose includes 'A Testimony from Goose Creek Monthly Meeting, concerning Hannah Janney'. Written in 1818, it is a dignified tribute to her 'meek and quiet spirit' and to her earnest concern to watch over the flock and family, for good'.

Hannah is well researched, its facts supported with minutes and letters from Yearly Meetings, Meetings for Sufferings and local Meeting records. It is a good read and sheds extra light on the lives of Quaker settlers in the eighteenth century.

Maria Andreanszky

A Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers. By Richard S. Harrison. Four Courts Press, Dublin 1997. Pp. 123. £19.95.

Looking at Richard S. Harrison's *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Quakers* one is soon aware of how fascinating and useful such a publication can be. It is a brave author who takes on this kind of project single-handed even for a relatively small group of names. The work certainly highlights the desirability of an equivalent for England though that could only result from a multi-authored collaboration. Many owners will be annotating their copies of Harrison with supplementary information, new brief entries and inevitably, for this first edition at least, corrections. Richard Harrison has accepted that the best is the enemy of the good and has not attempted to pursue any 'abstract notion of completeness or perfection'. He realises that such an approach would have prevented publication of his work. In a very personal compilation he has not been inhibited from including human detail which might be thought 'possibly insignificant and ephemeral'. He has also attempted to achieve a geographical spread. His range is not confined to those strictly Irish but includes some Friends who 'lived in, worked in, or passed through Ireland'. The introduction sets the background with a concise overview of Irish Quaker history, telling us that there were between 5,000 and 9,000 Friends in Ireland around 1720 and about 4,500 around 1818. Of 33 Irish Friends mentioned in two recent articles in this *Journal* nineteen figures in the Dictionary.

There are about 300 entries altogether. Some include references to other members of the family not appearing separately and there are some entries covering whole families in brief. A number of names are mentioned in entries, but it is often not possible to access these references from the index. More information in the index about occupations would have been useful. Some 70 of the entries in the main text concern Friends who could be described as eighteenth century. If this seems a meagre sample compared with the figures given above it is salutary to look at *The Dictionary of National Biography*. The present DNB includes Ireland and North America before the War of Independence. There seem to be 84 eighteenth century Friends (Friends House Library has a typescript index). Seven of those are in Richard Harrison's *Dictionary*.

The biographical articles vary much in length from a few lines to almost three columns (William Martin) though long entries are the exception, the next longest being Samuel Neale's and Jacob Goff's at almost two columns each. Some families are well represented by separate entries; there are eight Beales and eleven Pims. The author's personal touch is clear in some entries, Sarah Greer (1806–1891) 'would probably be horrified to be included here'. Jonathan Richardson (1804–1894) though an MP has his entry devoted almost entirely to a humorous letter about a faulty watch. The entry for Archibald and Isaac Woods begins 'Signally inept bank-robbers, reputedly Quakers'.

There is a valuable list of sources including much manuscript material in the Dublin Friends Historical Library. More could usefully have been said about Samuel Fuller as author and printer or the North American aspects of Isaac Jackson's book business by consulting M. Pollard's *Dublin's Trade in Books* (Oxford, 1989). Naturally, the work draws on earlier publications, inevitably *The Annual Monitor* and *Piety Promoted* but also a forerunner, Mary Leadbeater's *Biographical*

Notices of Members of the Society of Friends who were resident in Ireland, 1823. That is more along the lines of *Piety Promoted*. There are only 85 entries, ranging from a few lines to 50 pages for William Edmundson (just over a column in Harrison) or 27 for Anne Wright, not included by Richard Harrison. Less than half of those Friends appear in the *Biographical Dictionary* but perhaps about ten of the others deserve inclusion in its next edition.

David J. Hall

The Quakers: Money and Morals. By James Walvin. John Murray, London, 1997. Pp. ix & 243. Paperback £14.95.

The author is Professor of History in the University of York. Having lived in the city for thirty years he has found it hard, he writes, not to be aware of the achievements of a local Quaker family, the Rowntrees and, with the wind in the right direction, of the 'unmistakeably sweet scent of chocolate wafting across York'. Quakers were also to the forefront when he was writing his recent well-reviewed *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery*, but he explains that this current work 'is not an attempt to argue the thesis, *pro* or *con*, about religion and the rise of capitalism nor to tell the history of Quakers in England. Instead it looks at the distinctive role and influence that groups of Quakers came to exercise in particular areas of economic and cultural life in England' in the period from the 1650s to 1914.

It is not always easy for a non-Quaker academic, however distinguished, to get straight into the grammar of Quakerspeak: we find, for instance, Elfri*ck* Vipont; John Ni*k*alls; Swarth*more* Hall; Library of the Friends *Meeting* House, Euston Road... And well-wishers of the Friends' School, Saffron Walden, now coming up to its tercentenary in 2002 as the 'oldest continously surviving community in the British Isles providing a Quaker education', as the Appeals reads, may be shaken to see its third site referred to as a late-18th-century 'new establishment'.

These are however mere pinpricks and I have put them here to get them out of the way, rather than waiting to the end, as so often happens, where they can leave the odd taste in the mouth which is all the superficial reader will remember.

For this work is an undoubted achievement, it reads well, each chapter ending with a conclusion and a lead-in to the burden of the next. The Notes, not only betoken the extensive range of the author's research but are synthesized into a most valuable Bibliography section covering Quaker and non-Quaker writing from Fox and Penn through William C. Braithwaite right up to Isichei, Ingle and '*Quaker Faith and Practice.*

And fortune indeed smiled on him by dumping pre-digested but not always readily-available material right into his lap. The J.B. Morrell Library of the University of York holds a collection of books inherited from defunct meeting houses all over the North of England, and with the take-over of Rowntrees by Nestlé the Borthwick Institute granted free access to its Rowntree papers in the course of its reorganization. It was this rude commercial fact of life which prompted the author to write when he did.

He opens with a re-statement of early Quakerism up to the end of the 17th century which paints the picture sympathetically on the firm framework of Fox's

Journal as amplified by Braithwaite's *The Second Period of Quakerism.*

The Quaker ethical code is traced straight back to Fox's early appearance in 1653 when he 'stood a-top of the cross' in the middle of Carlisle market and declared to the traders that 'the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings and deceitful merchandise, and that they were to lay away all cozening and cheating and keep to "yea" and "nay" and speak the truth one to another'. It was, Walvin concludes, 'the tactics, organisation and ideology which had been fashioned to stave off hostility' in the Fox days 'which provided the very basis for a great deal of success to come in a more benign religious and political world'. 'The essence of Quaker culture was ideally suited to the rigours of commerce', even though the contrast between material wealth and plainness and other-worldliness was a constant source of tension. There was also some initial inconsistency in attitudes to participation in the slave trade until Quakers were the first to petition Parliament against it in 1787.

The rise in prosperity in the early part of the 18th century, which was consolidated even further in the 19th, is then analysed in some depth. Walvin finds one derivation in the Quaker penchant for record-keeping, forced on them by their opting out of other formal institutions. It went hand in hand with their attention to the culture of literacy and the stress laid on education. Another key factor was the development of networks, either family or trading (as with America) and the West Indies), all based on self-reliance and trust.

Foxite probity and plain dealing manifested themselves in a remarkable variety of fields: banking, biscuits, botany, brewing, chemicals, cocoa, iron (and steel!), shoe-manufacturing, watchmaking – and later railways. Walvin comments that all these pioneers 'traced their success to Quaker origins as much as to the spark of industrial genius or enterprise'.

By the early 19th century the emphasis was on humanitarianism, seeking to promote social reform through philanthropy. Hence both political involvement, for example in anti-slavery, through new channels, local or actually in Parliament, opened up by the Nonconformist emancipation of 1828, and industrial success as employers. The keynote here was a strict paternalism, exemplified by Joseph Rowntree's refusal to employ single parents, but trade unionism penetrated in the end despite Rowntree's mistrust of it as unnecessary. The immense wealth created was used 'to pursue the decency which lay at the heart of Quaker social thought' but Walvin allows himself, almost mischievously, to reveal an episode so far, he says, 'simply overlooked' by all commentators: Joseph Rowntree at one stage went off flagrantly poaching for staff and secrets from rival businesses.

It is all the more comforting therefore to read that his son Seebohm's 1901 *Poverty: a Study of Town Life*, that remarkable offshott of Quaker chocolate success, and the best possible advertisement for their principles and practice, should have made Winston Churchill's 'hair stand on end' when he was a young Conservative MP, inspired him as a Liberal to work with Lloyd George to create the 1911 National Insurance Act – and thus the Welfare State – and now be enjoying a renaissance of public acclaim in current debate.

The illustrations do full justice to the theme: that 1910 shot, in particular, of the Girl's Dining Room at Bourneville, with those white overalls stretching out apparently into infinity, says it all.

Farrand Radley

An Indian Tapestry: Quaker Threads in the History of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. By Marjorie Sykes. Edited and completed by Geoffrey Carnell. William Sessions Ltd., York, 1997. Pp. 344. £10.00

When it came to writing something that gripped her Marjorie Sykes was truly a sleuth. She was also scrupulous in her care for accuracy in so far as she could obtain it. Her last book *An Indian Tapestry...* is a completely new work. It is in no way an expanded documentation of her previous work, *Quakers in India,* published in 1980.

Many is the time I have seen Marjorie, en passant, while she was working on this new book, when she has held me spell-bound with a tale of how she had just tracked down information that knit together some disparate facts, making new sense for what she was writing.

I think she enjoyed preparing *An Indian Tapestry* as much or more than anything else she had written. It allowed her to seek and find bits of new material within an area she knew well. Links, that with right use, pushed 'the story' forward. The result is monumental. She was truly set on bringing fully to life a piece of Quaker history that had not, up to then, been documented as a totality, viewed from a Quaker perspective. As well as describing the many occasions when Friends are seen to have been involved in Indian history, she manages to make clear Quaker links with situations and attitudes which may not always have been fully appreciated before. This was a subject very near to her heart. Martha Dart in her Foreward to this book makes the same point. The last years of Marjorie's life were caught up in the excitement of her detective work as she pursued her clues.

This book should have a special interest for British Friends with a knowledge of India and the consequent feeling of a responsibility for India's well-being. It is to be savoured and enjoyed. Background knowledge however is not necessary to find the book a 'good read' – for many, an enthralling one. For some it will also probably be an eye-opener as to the close relationship between Friends and many aspects of Indian history, back to the seventeenth century.

It was fascinating to be with Marjorie on and off when she was planning and writing this book – a labour of love which she greatly enjoyed. The Notes that follow each chapter reveal the width of investigation that underpinned her preparation.

The text was still not quite finished when Marjorie died. Due however to Geoffrey Carnall's careful editing, mainly of the Chapter Notes, plus the provision of the final chapter , the book certainly provides an 'Indian Tapestry of Quaker Threads... from the 17th. Century to Independence'.

Friends of some years standing will find many memories renewed. Others will have an important piece of Quaker history opened to them.

Ilfra M. Lovedee

Quakers and the Nazis: Inner Light and Outer Darkness. By Hans A. Schmitt. University of Missouri Press, 1997. Pp. 296. £24.00.

Hans Schmitt, has written a fascinating critical assessment of Quaker concern

and at work in Germany during the Nazi period, in a very readable but academic style. No other writer in English or German has attempted to tell this story.

Schmitt's interest in writing the story arose from his own life experience when he had been helped by the Quakers during the Nazi period. In 1934 as a child of a German Jewish family he was sent out of Germany to the Dutch Quaker school of Ommen. When the German invasion of the Netherlands occurred, he was helped to escape to England. There, as a sixteen year old on his own, he enjoyed the personal advice and friendship of Bertha Bracey, who headed the Quaker work for Jewish refugees in Britain. After the war and getting a degree from L.S.E. he eventually emigrated to the United States and became Professor of History at the University of Virginia.

Schmitt's book goes beyond the story of the Ommen Quaker school to the beliefs and actions of Quakers in Nazi Germany. This included details about the American and British Friends who had worked there since the First World War. Also about the foundation of the German Society of Friends in 1925 and their experiences through the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship.

The book is excellently researched, using source material from Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands and much from archives in the United States. I was very interested in the wide range of people and incidents described, particularly where I knew those involved.

This is the most valuable and comprehensive account of a period when no-one dared to keep any kind of notes. We have to rely on the memory of ever fewer survivors, and of the reports written by foreign Friends. Some of us still hope that one day the Quaker story will be written up by a German Quaker.

Schmitt expresses deep appreciation of the courageous Quaker work during the Nazi period, though he says he does not share our Quaker or pacifist beliefs. He rightly said Quakers did not succeed in stemming the flow of Nazi atrocities. As he says,it was not the pacifists but the combined military forces who annihilated Hitler.

I was shocked by the force of the word 'appeasement' used as a chapter heading in 'British Friends and the Appeasement of Nazi Germany'. For me to be called an appeaser, is as offensive as being named a quisling. But, when I had cooled down and thought more about Schmitt's argument, I could see the validity of his point, without feeling I agreed with him.

In my experience of Quaker mediation work, we try to talk with the leadership of both sides to establish some kind of dialogue with the aggressor as well as the victim. The oppressed group often feel that if we are willing to talk to the dominant group, or the terrorists, we must be on their side against the victims. Looking back at this period of German history, I find it difficult to distinguish between three broad types of concerned people, who were in various degrees appeasers. Namely the right and left wing political groups and the church and pacifist groups, among them also a number of Quakers. The immediate pre-war situation undoubtedly created dilemmas for Corder Catchpool and British Friends, who were determined to continue their humanitarian efforts to rescue individual Jews and political opponents of Nazism. The German Friends and most of the British relief workers were of a generation who had experienced the horrors of the 1914-18 war, and were determined to pursue dialogue, in the hope of preventing another such war.

The American Friends Service Committee must have faced the same dilemmas

between peace and justice, while their Berlin representative, Albert Martin, left his job as AFSC Berlin Representative, because he did not feel in unity with the Quaker current view of dialogue and persuasion. Clarence Pickett's attempt to have an interview with Hitler in October 1938, did not succeed either.

Foreign Quaker help to individuals in Germany continued as long as possible, with the aquiescent consent of the Nazi regime, which until 1941 encouraged Jewish emigration so long as Jewish money remained in Germany. Before America declared war, it had been possible for the Jewish community abroad to buy the freedom of some Jews in Belsen for American dollars.

Schmitt's thesis represents a challenge to the present generation of Friends working as mediators, or giving relief in crisis areas. The lesson is, to be more wary that our religious and peace concerns, do not lead us either into the trap of appeasement, or just doing nothing. We must also realise that our good intentions may lead us into doing actual harm. Schmitt's reference to appeasement causes me unease, because it has some validity, but I am comforted by his conclusion that 'The peacemakers failed, but they did what they should have done'.

Brenda Bailey

A Pilgrimage of Grace. The Diaries of Ruth Dodds (1905–1974). Edited by Maureen Callcott. Bewick Press, Tyne and Wear, 1995. Pp. 208. Illustrated. £9.95.

In 1966 Ruth Dodds was the first woman to be made a Freeman of her "dear, dirty Gateshead". She kept her diary for almost seven decades, believing that "No-one, certainly, will read it but myself". It brings open-ness and spontaneity to her experience of stirring times. Dr. Maureen Callcott has shown skill and sensitivity in her editing. Her introduction outlines the family background and the history of the period, and footnotes are consigned to the end of the volume. Home life, holidays and hobbies balance the demands of public duty and the tide of national events. There is feeling for the diarist's warm and endearing personality.

Ruth Dodds was born in Gateshead in 1890. There was no need to earn her living. Until the Great War she knew carefree enjoyment of varied outdoor pursuits, as well as reading, the theatre and her writing. Creating plays – thirty-five in thirty-eight years – some staged for local consumption, was a lasting pleasure. For holidays she sought the Lakes. "Ecstasy is among the hills", she wrote, and tramped for miles among them in her "breeks".

Then came the First World War, conscription – "so wrong and wicked" – and "so many lives lost; so many hearts broken". A new awareness of local hardship and poverty took hold. She joined the I.L.P. and canvassed in places that were "a sin against the skies, a denial of God". Her plays were now produced for the I.L.P. Dramatic Club to enliven drab lives of "monstrous work". All thought of literary fame receded. She became a member of the Religious Society of Friends, spoke on peace and silent worship, served long on their Industrial and Social Order Council and Meeting for Sufferings, and sometimes felt "very near the presence of God".

In 1929 Ruth Dodds was a Labour councillor, making her voice heard among the men, working tirelessly against social deprivation and editing the Labour "Gateshead Herald". In 1931 she supported Earnest Bevin's adoption as a Labour

candidate, but Labour lost the election "so solidly had the... non-thinking part of the population turned out to support their savings and the national non-policy". She resigned from Labour in 1939 as it supported hostilities. For her all war was "contrary to the will of God". She gave up her seat on Gateshead Council, grieved to have deserted her "ragged regiment", yet free to work for refugees. After the War she re-joined Labour, but her social concern was now channelled through the Society of Friends.

Ruth Dodd's diary continues to 1974, two years before her death, but only seven sides of extracts speak for this period. She remained unmarried by choice, living with two spinster sisters and sharing care for their "dearest of all fathers". She loved them well though prayed, "Help me not to be so cross about trifles". Outliving them, she spent her last four years alone and confided to her diary, "I am going downhill fairly fast". Diabetes and arthritis brought this valiant lady to her rest. Her legacy remains, a document of verve and vision and broad historical value – "A Pilgrimage of Grace".

Stella Luce

NOTES AND QUERIES

The following articles have been received from Stefano Villani and placed in the Library at Friends House, London. The texts of the articles are in Italian whilst extracts or transcripts of the pamphlets are mainly in English.

1) 'I Primi Quaccheri E Gli Ebrei', *Archivio Italiano Per La Storia Della Pieta*, 10 (1997), pp. 43-113. (Roma, Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura).

The article examines 'the attitude of the early Quakers towards Jews'. In an appendix Stefano Villani publishes transcripts of three pamphlets:

1) *Immanuel The Salvation of Israel* by John Perrot.
2) *Certe Considerationi proposte agli hebrei* – an Italian translation of a pamphlet written by Issac Penington.
3) *A Bosome opened to the Jews* by William Tomlinson.

2) 'I Quaccheri contro Il Papa: Alcuni Pamphlet Inglesi Del '600 Tra Menzogne E Verita', *Studi Secenteschi*, Rivista Annuale, 39, Firenze, (1998), pp. 165–202.
The article 'is based on incredible true stories and on credible false stories regarding the Quaker missions to Italy'. In an appendix Stefano Villani publishes transcripts of four pamphlets:

1) *The Tryal of John Love* (WING T2193A). When preparing his book *Tremolanti e Papisti* for publication (1996) Stefano Villani used a manuscript copy of this pamphlet. No printed copy had been found. (See Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'Quakers and the Inquisition', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 58, No. 1 (1997), page 18). However since publication of the book Stefano Villani has found three printed copies of this pamphlet. The text of the printed copy of this pamphlet used in this article is included in the second edition of WING (T2193A).
2) *Perrot against the Pope* (WING 1648);
3) *John Perrot's Answer to the Pope's Feigned Nameless Helper* (WING 1610, broadside);
4) *Strange and Wonderful News from Italy* (WING W2891A).

Dr. Stefano Villani of the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa is a member of the Friends Historical Society.

Howard F. Gregg

The following Notes and Queries have been received from Russell S. Mortimer.

The Affirmation of 1696 continued in 1702

The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Richard Cocks 1698–1702. Edited by D.W. Hayton (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1996).

This Diary contains several mentions of Friends, particularly with regard to the

progress through its stages of the Bill to continue the 1696 Affirmation.The editor notes that Sir Richard "took a special interest in proposals for the relief of Quakers, acting for a time as their parliamentary agent, though in a characteristically ham-handed manner" (p. lii).

Bedfordshire chapels and meeting houses: official registration 1672–1901. Edited by Edwin Welch. (Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, volume 75, 1996).

This volume has notes on the following Friends' meeting houses:

Appendix 3: Dissenting chapels in 1842. This list records the Society of Friends at Amphill, Leighton Buzzard and Luton. (pages 193-4).

Appendix 4: Bedfordshire places of religious worship in 1908. This list records Friends' meeting houses at the same three places. (pages 195, 202, 203).

Appendix 5: Nonconformist trust deeds, 1736–1865. This list of deeds enrolled in Chancery includes Leighton Buzzard and Luton (p. 215).

Congregational Communion – clerical friendships in the Anglo-American Puritan community, 1610–1692, by Francis J. Bremer (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1994) includes remarks on the opposition by Congregationalists to what they saw as the threat of the early Quaker movement in the 1650s (p. 186), and the efforts to limit Quaker influence made by the Second Protectorate Parliament later in the decade (p. 199).

After the Restoration, Congregationalists in New England reacted to the spread of Quakerism, and their concerns are illustrated from the correspondence with dissenting divines in Old England (pp. 230-235).

JOHN DALTON

A.L. Smyth: *John Dalton 1766–1844. A Bibliography of works by and about him, with an annotated list of his surviving apparatus and personal effects.* [Revised and expanded edition]. xxii, 167 pages.

Manchester Literary and Philosophical Publications Ltd. in association with Ashgate, Aldershot... 1997.

The author is Curator, Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

17TH-CENTURY EQUALITY

Professor Bernard Capp (University of Warwick) in a paper entitled 'Separate domains? Women and authority in early modern England', in the book *The experience of authority in early modern England.* Edited by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996), remarks that Margaret Fell

> "demanded only spiritual freedom for women though she observed tartly that 'God hath put no such difference between the male and female as men would make'."

Professor Cap goes on to opine that "female militants, especially Quaker, provoked a backlash that may well have hardened male attitudes in the nation at large". (p. 123).

This last remark is echoed in a book on *Towns in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Macmillan, 1996), in which Sybil M. Jack, writing of the period after the Civil War, states:

> "There were soon also Quakers whose preaching and debating caused riots, particularly as they allowed women to preach." (p. 43).

WOMEN IN ENGLISH SOCIETY, 1650–1850

Robert Brink Shoemaker's *Gender in English Society,* 1650–1850 (Themes in British social history. Longman, 1998) is a wide-ranging study and it touches on various aspects of Quaker history.

The author says that "English feminism first appears in print from about 1650", and goes on in the same paragraph to cite Margaret Fell's *Women's speaking justified* (1667). Further into the book, dealing with Religion and Politics, the author says that "some Quaker women were [willing] to challenge traditional gender roles." (p. 214). He sees that the separate women's meetings "were clearly subordinate to the men's" (p. 215), but he appreciates that the experience which women gained in poor relief and social work made them more able to take on leading roles in political campaigns like the anti-slavery movement (from 1783) and the Anti-Corn Law League

RICHARD FARNWORTH AND WITCH-CLEANSING

Stuart Clark's *Thinking with demons – the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977) quotes (p. 384) from Richard Farnworth's *Witchcraft cast out* (1655).

> Howl all Witches, the fire and the lake is prepared for you...

The quotation lacks the citations from Revelation and from the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians which Farnworth gives, but the author cites Farnworth's language as 'that of classic witch-cleansing'.

BRISTOL FRIENDS AT HOME

Roger H. Leech's *The topography of medieval and early modern Bristol. Part I* (Bristol Record Society, vol. 48, 1997) enables the public for the first time to identify from surviving deed and enrolment evidence the properties in Bristol which over forty Friend families of the 17th and 18th centuries owned or occupied. The introduction to the volume is a valuable survey of the sources, leading up to, and on from the Sketchley directory of 1775, which first introduced street numbers. There are sketch maps showing locations of identified tenements, and four plates representing site plans dating between 1649 and c.1770. This is not yet a full street directory, but it points the way forward in studying the changing face of the centre of Bristol. We look forward to the parts covering south of the Avon and the out parishes beyond the city walls.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FRIENDS IN 1669

"The Bishop of Gloucester's Letter about Nonconformist Conventicles, August 1669" by David L. Wykes (*Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archeaological Society* 114 (1996), 97-104) touches briefly on Quaker meetings in two southern deaneries in Gloucestershire, Dursley and Hawkesbury. 53 persons were reported as attending meetings in Pucklechurch, "served by two Friends from Bristol, John Story, presumably the Quaker leader, and 'one Moore', who was perhaps Joseph Moore 'an Antient Friend'..." "Those attending Quaker conventicles were mainly craftsmen and husbandmen, with a few yeomen".

FRIENDS IN NORFOLK, 1851.

Readers may recall a review by David M. Butler in this *Journal* (1990, vol. 56, p. 49) of *The Religious Census of Sussex 1851*. Reference should be made to his comments on that county volume in studying the new Norfolk Record Society volume *Religious Worship in Norfolk: the 1851 Census of Accommodation and Attendance in Worship*, edited by Janet Ede and Norma Virgoe (Norfolk Record Society, vol. 62, 1998).

In considering the balance of the established church and the dissenting congregations, it is clear that the 'Old Dissent' (and notably the Society of Friends) had been pushed well into the background by the Methodist churches 'New Dissent'. There were fewer than a score of Friends' meetings, distributed thinly between Lynn, Norwich and Tivetshall monthly meetings. All except Harling and Tivetshall were meeting in buildings built before 1800. All had ample accommodation for the Friends who met for worship on the morning of 30 March 1851. Lynn, Norwich and Yarmouth were the meetings reporting on afternoon meetings.

In alphabetical order, the meetings are named, given the report number of the printed volume; and given the seating capacity of the building (1); the attendance at meeting record (2); and the name(s) of the witnesses reporting on the meeting (3):

FRIENDS IN NORFOLK, 1851

MEETING/ REPORT NO.	SEATING CAPACITY	ATTENDANCE	WITNESSES
Attleborough 793.	50	3	James Muskett (Attlebury Norfolk) d.1875, 81 yrs.
Diss 675, 676.	260 (incl. gallery)	10	James Dix, d. 1869, 70 yrs.
(The building was used by Friends in the morning: in the afternoon and evening used by Weslyan Reformers)			
Downham 1270. (Bridger Downham)	110	3	James Doyle, d. 1865, 77 yrs.
Harling 778, 779. (East Harling)	84–100	10 (usual number 14)	Richard Bowles Atmore (East Harling) d.1874, 81 yrs.
Holt 196.	about 100	'occasional service only'	Joseph Muskett
Lammas 290, 292	180	4	Ransome Bransby (Lammas) d. 1881, 89 yrs. John Wright (Buxton, Norf.), d. 1852, 82 yrs.
Lynn (King's Lynn, 1218, New Conduit Street)	120	7 (morning) 1 (afternoon)	Danl. C. Burlingham
North Walsham 125.	198 (incl. galleries)	6	John Jackson, d. 1858, 38 yrs.
Norwich 428. (Upper Goat Lane)	408 (incl. galleries)	93 (morning 41 (afternoon)	Henry Bidwell (Norwich) d.1865, 80 yrs
Tasburgh 698, 708.	300 (incl. galleries)	9	Lawrence Candler
Tivetshall 690, 691.	140 *or* 300	9	W.J. Ni...kett Lucy Harrason (her mark)
Wells 1070.	160 'no meeting: under repair'	average 12	Joshua Gales (Wells, Norfolk), d. 1886, 83 yrs
Wymondham 491, 496.	200 (incl. galleries)	10	Edward Candler (Bawburgh nr. Norwich) d. 1861, 78 yrs.
Yarmouth 16. (Great Yarmouth, Danes Ostend Row)	255 (incl. galleries)	17 (morning) 10 (afternoon)	Edward Sewell

STAFFORDSHIRE FRIENDS IN LEEK AND THE MOORLANDS

A history of the County of Stafford. Edited by M.W. Greenslade. vol. 7. (Victoria History. Oxford University Press, 1996).

This volume covers Leek and the Moorlands, and is well equipped with references to original sources. Leek meeting is well covered (pp. 143–4); there are frequent mention of individual Friends, and also notices of meetings registered in the 18th century at Longnor and Longsdon, and activity at Alstonefield, Bradnup, Endon, Horton, and elsewhere.

FRIENDS' WORKHOUSES

Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past. Edited by Martin Daunton. (Neale colloquium in British history). London, UCL Press, 1996.

This volume includes an essay by Joanna Innes (Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford) entitled "The mixed economy of welfare in early modern England: assessments of the options from Hale to Malthus (c.1683–1803)", which mentions the workhouses established in the early 18th century by Friends at London and at Bristol, and the Bristol Corporation of the Poor in which Robert Bound, Thomas Callowhill and other Friends were actively engaged. The author cites Arnold Lloyd's *Quaker social history*, and *Richard Hutton's complaint book... Clerkenhall* edited by T. Hitchcock (1987).

"Irish Quaker records" by Richard S. Harrison, is a 25-page section in a composite volume on *Irish church records: their history, availability and use in family and local history research* (Flyleaf Press, Glenageary Co. Dublin, 1992) edited by James G. Ryan. Richard Harrison's account falls into three parts: a brief outline of Quaker history: an outline of administrative arrangements in the Society and of the documents; and a survey of the records and how they may be useful in genealogical searches.

Two pages of bibliographical references round off the section, which is a welcome updated and focused introduction to the material covered in the Irish Manuscript Commission volume of thirty years ago (*Guide to Irish Quaker records*, by Olive C. Goodbody), 1967). Welcome, likewise, would come for more information on the Quaker schools. The *Leadbeater Papers* (1862), is mentioned, but not *An Irish genealogical source – the Roll of the Quaker School at Ballitore*, by E.J. McAuliffe (Irish Academic Press, 1984).

TOLERATION IN 18TH CENTURY IRELAND

Lords of the Ascendancy: the Irish House of Lords and its members 1600–1800, by Francis G. James (Irish Academic Press, 1995). In this book the author notes that religious nonconformists by the opening of the 18th century could not normally expect full rights and privileges accorded to adherents of the established church. In the Irish Parliament, there was continued opposition to repeal of the Test Act. "The bishops did not oppose all concessions to Protestant nonconformists. When, in 1724, the Irish Lords passed a bill permitting Quakers to make an affirmation in lieu of formal oath, twelve of the sixteen bishops present supported the measure." (p. 134).

The House of Lords in the reign of Charles II, by Andrew Swatland (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Few lords contemplated toleration for dissenters, and in this the attitude of the upper house mirrored that of the political establishment. The book deals with the progress of the bill against Conventicles in 1664. The House of Lords was seen as willing to tolerate peaceable nonconformists, perhaps influenced by the king's wish for moderation in dealing with them, and not having to face pressure from electors. The author mentions the part played by the 5th earl of Pembroke (Philip Herbert, 1621–69) in presenting the Quaker petition to the Lords in May 1661 (p. 151).

Steven C.A. Pincus: *Protestantism and patriotism; ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) has various references to Quakers,mainly from newsletters which he uses exclusively and to good effect. The author notes the repression resulting from the Restoration government's distrust of Dissent in the religious sphere, and of Dissenters as possible allies of the Dutch in the war with Holland. Loyalty of the Dissenters to the English authorities is emphasised. When the Dutch fleet was in the Medway in 1667, Quakers were reported, in a newsletter of 18 June 1667, to have offered to raise 6,000 men for the defence of the realm (page 416). In the following month a Quaker went naked through Westminster Hall in protest against the immorality reported about Court circles (page 418).

From the Popish Plot period comes a quotation from Penn's "One project for the good of England" (London 1679), p. 7. The quotation has an application in many times:

> Though differences between Protestants and papists "be mostly managed on the side of religion", William Penn noted, "the great point is merely civil and should never be otherwise admitted or understood".

QUAKERS AMONG THE OTHER CHURCHES

Kenneth Hylson-Smith's first volume *The churches in England from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II* (SCM Press Ltd.) covers the years 1558 to 1688. For Quakerism the author has relied on William Charles Braithwaite, George Fox's *Journal,* and standard works to produce a readable account for the Commonwealth and Restoration periods.

QUAKERS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

In a chapter on 'Evangelicals and sex', Michael Mason, in his *The making of Victorian sexual attitudes* (Oxford University Press, 1994), has this to say:

> "There is evidence that Quakerism... was an important trigger for the more active phase of missionary work with prostitutes, both practically and through the model of Elizabeth Fry's efforts for female prisoners. The Quaker Jonathan

Dymond argued that prostitution would be much reduced if a respectable woman's fall was treated as 'venial'. At the York Refuge in the latter part of the century Quakers appear to have been squeezed out of the administration of the home".

RAWDON FRIENDS' BURIAL GROUND

At the time of the Rawdon Meeting House tercentary the Wharfedale Family History Group produced a detailed list and outline plans for the interments at the Friends' burial ground from the 17th century up to recent times. (*Rawdon Friends' Burial Ground*, by Les Wolstenholme & Brian Clayton, 1997. Les Wolstenholme, 156 New Road Side, Horsforth, Leeds, LS18 4DP).

Russell S. Mortimer

The following item comes from *The Friend*, 'Notes and Queries', Third Series, Volume Nine, 24th February, 1866, page 153.

THE GREAT BRIGHT AND BREECHES QUESTION

The paradise of Quakers in the North of England is the town of Darlington, called by Friends "*Daw*lington", in the county of Durham; Mr. Joseph Pease (the first Quaker that ever sat in Parliament), being returned with Mr. John Bowes for South Durham, in the election that followed the passing of the great Reform Bill. I saw both those gentlemen appear on the hustings in Darlington market-place when the official declaration of the poll was made. Mr. Pease was arrayed in a dark handsome dress – cutaway collarless coat, waistcoat, and buckled knee-breeches; silk stockings, and low buckled shoes. He was furthermore, as a knight of the shire, girt with a dress-sword in a superb cut steel scabbard; and, even then, he seemed much less tighty than I have seen the pugnacious tribune from Birmingham look. I recollect also that when Mr. Pease sat in a crowded House, a friend of mine who was present told me that the Hon. Quaker, in his deep clarety or mulberry suit was admitted to be the best dressed man in St. Stephen's, looking for all the world as if he had just come away from a court levee. I may add that if Friend Bright continues to boggle at breeches, his spirit will be much moved to wrath if he go to "Meeting" in any of our retired northern dales where Quakers congregate: for there he will find that the patriarchal Friends tenaciously hold by their breeches, as a testimony against the modern vanity of trowsers. I often heard my father – who could not endure the idea of "trowsers sluttering about his legs" – say that, when he was a boy, all the male population from three years old and upwards, except sailors, wore cocked hats and knee-breeches; and that, if a man was seen in trowsers, he was at once set down as a mariner. *Apropos* of hats: my father used to say, that *round* hats were imported from France by the "Bucks" about 1780; and that when the innovation began to spread among all classes, John Wesley, who wore wig and cocked hat to the last, said, in one of his "Conferences," "I don't like my preachers to wear *round* hats; they look too buckish." But to return to the breeches: a venerable Quaker, who died in this town a few years ago, always indued his nether man in shorts: and not long since, a resident younger member of the Society appeared

in knee-breeches and lace-up ankle-boots; and very well all the women said he looked – his leg being shapely, and the cut of his clothes irreproachable.

G.H. of S.

Norman Leveritt

ANNOUNCEMENT

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The Quaker Collection of Haverford College announces the availability of three $1500 Gest Fellowships for one month of research using Quaker Collection materials to study a topic that explores the connections and relationships between various ways of expressing religious beliefs in the world.The fellowships, which are available for pre- or post-graduate study, may be used for any one month period between July 1, 1999 and January 31, 2000. Application deadline February 1, 1999. Contact: Ann W. Upton, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, PA 19041. 610/896-1161, fax: 610/896-1102, aupton@haverford.edu.

ERRATA

VOL 58 NUMBER 1

James Nicholson Richardson, 1846-1921
W. Ross Chapman

Page 61 line 1 – 'factor' should read 'factory'.

Page 64 line 14 – 'Catholic's' should read 'Catholics'.

Page 65 line 18 – 'Court' should read 'Count'.

Page 70 line 1 – 'non de plumes' should read 'nom de plumes'.

Page 75 line 8 – 'shrews' should read 'shrewd'.

Review: Religious Dissent in East Anglia III.
David J. Hall

Page 81 line 16 – 'Tolerance' should read 'Toleration'.

Review: Pilgrims in Hindu Holy Land
Ben Barman

Page 81 line 24 – 'Hindi' should read 'Hindu'.
line 25 – Margaret' should read 'Marjorie'.
line 28 – 'May' should read 'Maw'.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

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

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. £1.00

32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00

33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00

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

FHS, Occasional Series No. 1 MANCHESTER, MANCHESTER and MANCHESTER AGAIN: from 'SOUND DOCTRINE' to 'A FREE MINISTRY'. By Roger C. Wilson. 1990. Members £2, Non-Members £3.

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