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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

Friends Historical Society has lost two more of its Presidents during the past year. Sadly I never met William N. Oats who played a major role in the exploration of Australia's Quaker history. *A Question of Survival: Quakers in Australia in the Nineteenth Century* and *Backhouse and Walker* were two of his ground-breaking studies. His Presidential Address of 1986: 'The Campaign Against Conscription in Australia – 1911-1914' can be read in J.F.H.S., 55, No 7 (1989).

William R. Aitkin, at London Yearly Meeting at Aberdeen in 1989, posed the question 'Stands Scotland Where It did?' prompting 'Some Thoughts on Quakers in Scotland during the last Half Century'. Drawing on Scottish literature as well as personal memories, he gave an affectionate account of a small but dynamic community within the broader religious life of Scotland. See J.F.H.S., 56, No 1 (1990). The Society remembers both with gratitude.

This issue contains a rich and varied tapestry of Quaker history.

David M. Butler's Presidential Address is a fascinating exploration of a neglected yet highly significant aspect of early Quaker history. He has taken the subject further in his monumental two volume study *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, published earlier this year. Friends Historical Society co-hosted a celebration with the Chapels Society, held at Dr Williams's library on 7 September. A stimulating address was given by Peter Burman, Director, Centre for

Conservation in the Department of Archaeology at the University of York. A review article by Peter Burman will appear in next year's issue of J.F.H.S.

David Farr's closely argued exploration of an individual's career in the Civil War and the Commonwealth raises some important historical questions for the early years of Quakerism. It is hoped that David Farr will speak to the Society in a future programme.

Max L. Carter's fascinating exploration of Alchemy and early Friends' spiritual foundations yield some intriguing insights.

William Evans shows what can be developed from fragmentary primary sources when Quaker and other contemporary records and modern scholarship can be utilised to "flesh out the bones".

Geoffrey A. Storey presents a succinct account of a Quaker physician and his notable achievements in mid-Victorian medicine and his part, with other Quakers, in the foundation of the City of London Chest Hospital.

Barry Dackombe gives a vivid and detailed account of Quaker famine relief in Russia in the early 1890s, using Quaker records and other contemporary records with modern scholarly perspectives.

The Editor welcomes articles and short items for consideration for inclusion in the *Journal* but advises contributors to contact him first to confirm the presentation of references and footnotes. The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

Howard F. Gregg

UNTOLERATED MEETING HOUSES

Have you ever heard said 'Friends are such law-abiding people that they would never, for example, build meeting houses when it was forbidden by law'. I have seen this suggested in print several times; it is one of several fallacies which get trotted out. The fact is that during this period when religious groups dissenting from the established church were being persecuted, we know that Quakers acquired at least 220 meeting houses, which says a good deal about their attitude to the laws of the time. They demonstrated by the quality and quantity and situation of their meeting houses a certainty of the rightness and the future of the movement. These buildings are our subject today.

The printed words of a religious movement may set out its aims and purposes, but its bricks and mortar will help our understanding of its realisation. Buildings are necessarily modified in response to outside circumstances: neither the behaviour of early Friends nor what they wrote seem much influenced by the day-to-day realities around them. To look at the meeting houses which Friends built and acquired during their first few decades may help to illuminate their ideas and intentions in action, and to show how far they were realised.

The period of intoleration began for Quakerism with the establishment of the movement as a settled body, with regularly-held meetings and the earliest property acquired for their purposes, in 1652. Most English and Welsh dissenters were to some degree relieved by the withdrawal of some of these penalties, particularly those relating to the unhampered use of their meeting houses, through the Act of Toleration of 1689. This Act had been anticipated by several events including the Declaration of Indulgence the year before. The year 1687 is thus taken as the closing date. Thus our period covers the first 35 years of the Quaker movement.

In the mid-seventeenth century Quakers presented the government with real anxieties. The new movement held a wide correspondence throughout the kingdom and beyond, and its members had no respect for their betters, nor for magistrates who were charged with preserving the peace as they saw it. It became quite clear that Quakerism had to be stopped. Almost at once penalties were laid upon Friends, some in response to particular testimonies such as the

taking of oaths. The King's Council expressed the very real anxiety it felt, although its choice of words when ordering the demolition of a meeting house in 1670 does appear a little extravagant: 'That the persons who there assemble behave themselves in such a riotous and tumultuous manner, that if their meetings be any longer endured, his majesty's peace and quiet of government will thereby be manifestly endangered'.[1] As Craig Horle wrote in 1988 'By the end of their first decade of existence, the Quakers had developed a collective set of principles which threatened the foundations of the English legal system',[2] and with them a total disregard for the personal consequences of their actions. To take as typical of many, a report was made to Whitehall in 1676 of Friends in a remote country community in Westmorland: 'The Quakers of Windermere... are grown very peremptory, and presumptuously meet in great assemblies in opposition to the parson, before the church, and intend *nolens volens* to have another meeting on Sunday three weeks'.[3] Note where they met, not on one of their abundant remote and discreet fell-sides, but 'before the church', in the sight of the entire community.

Meeting houses were an obvious target in the process of suppression. The 1670 Conventicle Act laid a fine of £20 on any person who allowed 'his or her house, out-house, barn, yard or backside' to be used for holding 'any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England'.[4] This gave some anxiety to those not in membership from whom Friends rented their meeting place. Friends therefore took responsibility for any fine imposed upon their landlord, thus at Ashford in Kent in 1674 (just following a bad period for Kent Friends) when they were negotiating to rent a building, 'and if it should happen that the aforesaid meeting house be hurt or damnified upon the account of truth for Friend's sake then the said Friends to make it good again'.[5] At Hoddesdon (though rather later) where Friends met in a rented room, they allayed their landlord's anxiety by buying the premises from him. Thus an unforeseen consequence of this provision of the act was to encourage Friends to own more meeting houses, and to rent fewer.

In the same year 1670 King Charles II ordered his surveyor-general Christopher Wren to pull down the seats and pulpits of all dissenting meeting houses in the larger corporations.[6] Destruction was not sought at that time, only that the buildings should be made useless for its intended purpose. Shortly afterwards total demolition was

required, though it is doubtful whether this often went as far as the really hard work. Time and again the furniture, the doors, windows and roof were removed and sold for drink, or burnt on the village green, and nearly as often Friends repaired the damage. Meantime, they made their public statement by continuing to meet within the walls.

There was nothing secretive or private about these meeting houses, as a reading of contemporary documents makes clear.[7] The public nature of Quaker worship was taken very seriously. At one time it appeared sensible to Friends of Looe in Cornwall to meet 'on the rocks and sand, to avoid being fined for a house',[8] but Friends soon stopped as it looked too much like concealment.

The degree to which Quakers were tolerated by the authorities varied greatly from place to place, and this depended as much on local personalities as on the law of the land. Thus in Bristol in 1663 'John Knight entered upon his mayorality, who pursued the Quakers as earnestly as if the persecution of them had been the chief business of his office'.[9] Once he was out, Bristol Friends were left pretty much alone for the next twelve years.

Friends worked hard and to some effect to make the laws of property serve them. There is for example the well-known occasion in 1670 when Gilbert Latey put a tenant to live in Wheeler Street meeting house, of which he was the owner,[10] thus making it in the eye of the law a dwelling, and so effectively thwarted the Governor of the Tower of London whose duty it was to despoil it.[11] He paved the way for Friends all over the country to obtain the same relief. Meetings also sought the advice of Meeting for Sufferings, and its Book of Cases is a record of Friends' use of the law. Yearly Meeting too gave advice on particular problems, amplifying a similar situation in Warwickshire: 'The advice is, let the Friends with all speed put a tenant into the house and lay four acres of land to it to be in the occupation of the same tenant, and let them let it upon a valuable consideration and receive the rent fairly for it, before sufficient witnesses',[12] thus putting themselves firmly on the right side of common law. In 1683 the ownership of Henley meeting house was transferred to a London Friend, as local Friends could not undertake the hazard of owning it. These aspects of the subject have been invaluably covered by Craig Horle.[13]

The opening of a new meeting house was inevitably seen by the authorities as an occasion requiring a vigorous response, and many instances correspond with the opening of new premises. Official action was usually to lock or nail up the door, occasionally to brick it

up. In 1670 it was reported to Whitehall of Bristol Friends, who had just opened their great Friars meeting house, 'Yesterday the Quakers (who of late met in the street in silence near their meeting place) took the boldness four times to break open the door of their meeting house'.[14] Many similar accounts appear, no riot, no tumult, just plain civil disobedience.

This action against a new meeting house seldom lasted for long. The overall impression is that buildings were let off a good deal more lightly than were people. Bearing in mind however that the buildings stood visible to all year after year, and were known for what they were, they could have been much more harmed. There was of course an opposite view, as was reported of Edinburgh when in 1696 (the Act of Toleration did not apply in Scotland) Friends being locked out of their meeting house, 'The news being carried to the Provost of the City, he said "the Quakers would do more hurt out of doors, than within" and ordered them their key'.[15]

As a digression, it might be observed that documents appear scarcely to have been disturbed, though letters in the post were opened. The office which London Friends rented at Three Kings Court from c 1660, where they kept a great deal of potentially subversive correspondence from all over the country, as well as deeds and minutes of meetings, appears not to have been disturbed at all.

The quantity of private hospitality given to meetings was great, its value to the growing movement without price. Mungo Bewley of Cumberland was convinced in 1655, and opened his house to Friends 'and a meeting was settled and kept there by course unto this day... and the son of the said Mungo [still] entertains the meeting at the place aforesaid'.[16] Not until 1713 did his meeting have to find its own premises. Such hospitality was repeated many times over throughout the country and appreciably reduced the need for these meetings to provide their own building.

The quality of construction of these first meeting houses varied much. Well over 50 had to be replaced within 50 years of their erection, some because the meeting outgrew them, others were insubstantial because persecution had discouraged more substantial work. That at Wheeler Street was well known among London Friends as a very flimsy structure, and part blew down in a storm in 1703.[17] On the other hand there were Friends who were building, physically as well as spiritually, for all time. A case in point is at Brigflatts (Yorkshire West Riding) where, apart from the church and the manor house, the meeting house of 1675 was the only building in the area

with a better roof than thatch. The substantial stone-flagged roof had a far longer life, but required much stronger timbers to support it; it was in the forefront of local building technology, which may be difficult to believe as we stand in that ancient and picturesque building.

Another reason for the small number of surviving early examples is the national phenomenon known as the Great Rebuild.[18] At a period during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which varied in different parts of the country, not only were very many small properties rebuilt, but they were rebuilt more or less to the standard of Brigflatts. The construction techniques and materials employed changed from the impermanence of timber and mud walls and thatch to masonry and slate.

The majority of meeting houses were acquired during periods relatively free from persecution, but not all.[19] That at Colchester was acquired in response to persecution rather than otherwise, when in 1663: 'it came in Friends hearts, in the midst and greatest of their fury and abusing Friends (and when about sixty of the richest Friends had been cast into the town prison), to build a very large meeting house, which was an amazement both to the troopers and to the town in general'.[20] In the event they bought rather than built, but it was large and it stood beside the parish church. During the initial trial of strength with the authorities, the Mayor 'caused the meeting house to be twice planked and bricked up, which was twice broken up, but at last Friends were forced to meet in the street in the winter in rain and snow, though pretty free from disturbance'.[21]

Given the times and the known consequences of their actions, Friends appear very matter-of-fact in the way they took their decision to build. It was, though, just one of many indications that they were convinced of the rightness of their actions. One Sunday in 1675 at Longford just outside London, Friends agreed 'to stay together after the meeting for worship was ended, to consider by a mutual consent about building of a meeting place on part of the burial ground'.[22] It was opened the year after. At Norwich in 1677 'We finding it necessary to provide a house to meet in to accommodate our Friends and people in (that we have at present not being certain, nor the room wide enough), being clearly persuaded in our hearts and minds of the good service therein, we do freely agree to contribute towards the building of a house in the piece of ground our Friends have lately bought of Onias Phillipo'.[23] Friends near Warrington (Lancashire) were assisted by the travelling minister Benjamin Bangs in 1681: 'we... had a meeting at William Barn's in Sankey, on the First day;

whose house being too straight for the meeting, I persuaded Friends to get a meeting house built, which they readily fell in with, and the next day met, and made several handsome subscriptions in order thereto. And the building was soon after got up, which did better accommodate the Friends of the meeting'.[24] These travelling Friends were often the catalyst for action.

Generally a meeting would pay for its own meeting house, perhaps with the help of those nearby. At Monthly Meeting at Faringdon (Berkshire) in 1672 'It is also moved that Faringdon meeting house now a-building is like to be large and the charge lies pretty heavy upon Friends thereabouts; that there may be some thing allowed from the body of Friends (ie Quarterly Meeting) to assist them there in, they not being so well able to carry forward the work themselves'.[25] At Banbury 'about the year 1657, there was a meeting house built in the said James Wagstaff's back yard in Banbury, at the public charge of Friends, where meetings were constantly kept'.[26] These words 'at the public charge of Friends' often appear, emphasising the shared responsibility for the building.

In other circumstances an individual Friend would erect or buy the building and pass it over to the meeting, at a nominal charge. 'It is Thomas Hodson's desire (and that of this meeting also) that the meeting house at Bluntisham in Huntingdonshire should be wholly and fully settled upon Friends very shortly'.[27] At Nottingham in 1678 Friend John Reckless sold to Friends a new-built meeting house for a mere £10.[28] However, references to a gift have to be taken cautiously, as sometimes quite large sums change hands.

Where a meeting was not up to acquiring a building of its own, it could rent something more or less suitable. The words 'our hired house' appear often, and usually in relation to premises for early meetings, hired on the open market rather than from Friends. There were times however when the latter was convenient, for instance in 1675 at the home of a Berkshire Friend who had in the past been host to the meeting 'Richard Brooks and Oliver Sansom gave an account that they have hired Adam Lawrence's... house in Challow in Berkshire, to receive the meeting that now is at Childray on first days and at Challow 5th days, and Friends are to give twenty shillings a year as rent for it and to provide seats and things necessary for the meeting, and for what partitions are pulled down Friends are to make it as good again when they leave it as it was when they came to it'.[29] This they never had to do, as the meeting acquired the cottage, presumably on Adam's death, and later built a meeting house on the site.

Few of the cottages and barns which Friends bought or hired and fitted up lasted long, as most had been built on the wrong side of the Great Rebuild. A barn at Low Bentham (Yorkshire West Riding) bought in 1686 for £11[30] lasted for 35 years. Exceptionally, the cottage at Portishead (Somerset), given in 1669, remains a meeting house to this day.

In the mid-seventeenth century there were many dissenting groups, though few are still with us. Most must have had some permanent meeting-places of one sort or another, and it would be instructive to compare theirs' with ours', had sufficient material been available. A review of those few published[31] shows some quite Quaker-like. This is however a reflection of the lowest common denominator in design and construction, since most congregations were getting away from the formality of the established church, and could aspire to nothing more expensive than simple, straightforward accommodation, which is exactly what Friends were after.

The buildings erected by Quakers for their own use varied much in size and in arrangement during these formative years, while they were seeking to know what best suited their needs. About 50 purpose-built meeting houses are still in existence or are known to us in some degree from records, sufficient to give an idea of how the process began. Usually they were simple, though not always structurally uncomplicated. Hertford is a case in point, where front and back elevations differ for no apparent reason, requiring an internal column where the two roof structures meet.

At Bristol, Friends made a bold statement when in 1670 they erected a large and substantial building, seating by today's standards some 800 people. It stood high, with a steep pitched roof surmounted by a great central turret and weather-vane. Their intention was clear, that it should be seen and known for what it was. Friends were stronger in Bristol than anywhere outside London, and lived at peace with the authorities for most of the time, though, as we have seen, with a few intense periods of persecution. Many other meeting houses, though smaller in scale, were able to declare their presence with style, whether in town or village. Adderbury in Oxfordshire, Earls Colne in Essex, and Hertford, for example.

The large London meeting houses could not match this presence, as they were built on deep and tight back-land sites with seldom an elevation to show. Further, they were generally on leasehold sites, and thus the building was subject to the approval of the landlord, often a city livery company.

Aside from the few large city meeting houses, a common feature of

this time is their small size. The general run of early meeting houses were cottage-sized, say 30′ by 20′ inside or thereabouts, and seating (nowadays) about 100 people at most. What surprises about this is the apparent acceptance that they sufficed at that time of enthusiastic growth. It seems to flow against contemporary Friends' expectation of universal appeal as expressed in some of their writings, and may thus show a more ready acceptance of physical limitations. There were times, particularly in the nineteenth century, when optimism in seating capacity ran far ahead of reality. Surely this if any was the moment when that should have happened.

Most of these buildings were inevitably without architectural pretensions: typically a door and two or three windows on the front wall under the eaves, the other walls blank. The precise furnishing is not now always apparent, but from the start most were provided with a small facing bench, and several were divided by a timber partition for the separate women's business meeting, though its universal acceptance came rather later. In this simple way Friends satisfied their need for a space within which to worship and to conduct their affairs. The stand, particularly, seldom survives in its original form, and about 1717 Hertford meeting house was seriously altered in order to put in larger facing benches. After Longacre (London, 1679) had been in use for fifteen years, a Friend was asked to make a stool for ministering Friends to stand on.

The ordinary seating is more often mentioned in connection with destruction than otherwise, and usually in a standard form of words, unreliably suggesting a well-furnished building. At Thaxted (Essex), where Colonel Turner 'locked and nailed up the meeting house door there, which next day they opened up again taking away the forms, benches and stand... and burnt them'.[32] Occasionally there are more positive references, as at Cobham (Surrey) where Friends were preparing temporary accommodation until their new meeting house was built in 1677: 'It was then ordered that James Becket according to his desire be allowed money from Kingston meeting to buy forms and benches to put in his house for the use of Friends for [Cobham] meeting that is to be at his house'.[33] Most meeting houses started out furnished with forms only, and later added arm-rests and backs to a few, thence referring to them as benches. The variety of ways in which local joiners tackled this job is a fascinating subject in its own right. Kingston (Surrey) meeting ordered two 'with backs to them' in 1688, which gave a good deal of (unspecified) unease among its members.[34] Similarly, chairs seldom found acceptance, and at Aberdeen they were removed in 1688, 'by reason of any contenting about them'.

Then as now, more went on in a meeting house than worship alone, and Friends were not so exclusive about how it was used, as they later became. The use of the place as a dwelling combined the two purposes of preserving the premises from the authorities, as we have seen, and of providing accommodation for those whom the meeting wished to help. The latter use started well before Gilbert Latey and continued long after toleration. When Gilbert Latey 'ordered a poor Friend to be put into Wheeler Street meeting house', that is exactly what happened: not into some other room under the same roof but into the meeting room itself. While this could be difficult for the tenant, it was not always easy for the meeting. So at Winchmore Hill (London) in 1692 'widow French is to be acquainted that Friends are troubled to see that she does not put things out of sight during the meeting time as her pots and things upon the shelves and cheeses on the beams which are for all to see'.[35] They went on to complain how the children ran up and down stairs during meeting, suggesting that she had the use of the attic. The meeting house at Kingston was perhaps rather better off as it had a cellar which which was partitioned a year after it was built,[36] when Sarah Lyne was to dwell there. Then soon after 'it was agreed by the meeting that Eleanor White with her child do inhabit in the meeting house in the lower rooms with Sarah Lyne as they two can best contrive'.[37] Not surprisingly there is mention two years later of the spot in the meeting room itself where 'Ellin White's bed did used to stand'. Friends continued to allow their needy brethren to live in their meeting houses for the service it offered. The Society had deliberately put itself outside any poor relief available to the rest of the population, and so in this as in other matters it had to be self-sufficient.

In this context mention might be made of meeting houses as almshouses, the distinction being between living in the meeting room, or beside it under the same roof, in fact very few mentions occur. The clearest is at Claverham (Somerset), where the deed of the first meeting house in 1673 states the intention 'that... may be built a house for the said people called Quakers to meet together... and for some of their poor Friends to inhabit therein'.[38] The form of its very stylish successor of 1729 clearly indicates the continuance of this combined use. When the first London Devonshire House meeting house was built in 1678 the contract plans show that the attics were to be fitted out for poor widows to live in.

Others too lived in the meeting house, who served as resident caretakers. Friends in Norwich had one at their first narrow premises

in St Lawrence parish, who in 1676 was 'allowed 4 pence per week for washing the courtyard belonging to the meeting house'. John Fieldman took on the job later that year 'upon the consideration that he is to keep the yard and rooms clean, and doing other service pertaining to Truth in the place, and pay the chimney-money, he is to pay no other rent, and to give, or take a quarter's warning'. He was the last to live there, and in 1677 a woman living nearby was employed at 10/- a quarter 'for making clean the meeting rooms & yards, & placing the forms on meeting days',[39] suggesting that the room was used for other things between meetings.

Education was then largely in the hands of the Church, so again Friends had to supply it themselves. The meeting house served well as a school, and Friends were content, although they were cautious about meeting-time. At Bristol they appointed a schoolmaster in 1663, and 'it is concluded that for the present he shall be allowed to teach in this room, provided that he be careful to have it made clean and ready for meetings every week'. When the meeting moved to Friars in 1670 the school was given the use of a separate room: 'It being proposed to this meeting, to spare the void room over the meeting house to Lawrence Steel, for a schoolroom, this meeting doth, with one accord, give consent that he shall have it'.[40] Countless small schools were set up very early throughout the country, a few developing into quite large affairs, like Stramongate School at Kendal.

We may never know just how many pre-toleration meeting houses there were, nor their distribution. Where careful local studies have been made the quantity known is generally far greater than elsewhere, so it is necessary to be cautious in drawing conclusions on geographical distribution. Throughout the country many meetings never achieved, or even aspired to, permanent premises, and a full tally of the meetings of this time is a quite separate study.

The main objective of the First Publishers of Truth was London rather than Westmorland or anywhere in between, thus almost at once they were in the capital, where they were soon using several large buildings. Growth was next to the west, to Bristol and Somerset via the Cotswolds; and towards Essex, encouraged by Friends on their way to Holland and the continent. Only after this was much progress made in the remainder of England, and indeed in some parts meeting houses did not develop appreciably until after toleration.

We can say something of the distribution of these buildings, of the way they were acquired, and of their location. During the first 17

years to 1669, acquisition averaged (disregarding the very earliest years) some three meeting houses per annum. The second period of ten years from 1670 contains the main growth at about twelve per annum, while during the last six years, a time of severe persecution, acquisitions dropped to half that.

There are sound indications of how most of the 220 pre-toleration meeting houses were acquired. Over the whole period more than three-quarters were owned, the rest were leased or rented; of those acquired during the more stable middle period almost all were owned. The next stage, how many were built as meeting houses, cannot be so well defined; however it appears that nearly half were purpose-built, though few in the earlier years. This conveys the intention of permanence which Friends worked for.

The location of two-thirds of these meeting houses is sufficiently known, for instance whether on major roads or back lanes, suggesting three observations. Firstly that there was a small but important group of meeting houses which were intended by Friends to make a strong public statement of their belief in their right to worship when and where they thought proper. Secondly, the figures indicate early strength in town centres, followed later by a corresponding increase in villages. Lastly they make clear, as indeed do the writings of early Friends, that there was never any wish for concealment. The emphasis was clearly in the opposite direction. Thus the location and acquisition of a meeting house was a reflection of the intentions and preferences of Friends, rather than a response to persecution or concealment from it. Their meeting house was a permanent structure sited, to the best of their ability, where they wanted it.

Later, well after persecution ceased, the limitations of available urban sites often led to the use of 'back land' reached through an alley off the main street, where Friends could be central yet 'retired', a deliberate and perhaps 'Quietist' choice. In farming country, places which may appear remote to us now were not always so, for the development of paved roads has led to the neglect of a far closer network of bridleways and lanes; and farming then supported a far larger population. A meeting house as remote to us as any is Thornyland in northern Cumberland, yet its site was chosen deliberately for its convenience: 'And the ground of Thomas Forster, of Hurst, and Anne his wife, called the Thornyland, being most suitable and near the middle of Friends, was requested, which they readily granted'.[41]

The attitude of early Friends towards their meeting houses seldom

took account of anything much beyond convenience and utility, and, as we saw at Norwich, the good service they offered. This phrase, 'the service of Truth' recurs often in this connection. The building was to be useful in relation to the spread of the message, and convenient for worship, without regard for the consequences.

This attitude led to permanence in respect of ownership and, where they could afford it, of quality, it led also perhaps to a cautious approach to size. It reflected, as time went on, Friends' strengthening testimony on material simplicity and showed then, as still, the local rather than national responsibility for premises. This in turn led to an absence of trend or pattern in their physical appearance. There were few family likenesses, which developed later, and began to show in the years immediately following the close of this period. Release from persecution in 1689 encouraged more meetings to build, although even then the rate of building scarcely exceeded the seventeen per year in 1676 to 1678, ten years before the Act of Toleration.

So during this period when Friends were meeting under such great difficulties they laid down the broad outline of their meeting houses for the next two centuries. The only significant change since this time has been the mid nineteenth century closing of women's business meetings; real new initiatives had to wait another half century, which is perhaps a reflection of how the Society had changed in the intervening years.

David M. Butler
Presidential Address given during Britain Yearly Meeting in London, 3 May 1999

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40 Tanner, p.123.
41 *First publishers*, p.67.

For details of the individual meeting houses mentioned, see David M. Butler *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, 1999.

JOHN HODGSON SOLDIER, SURGEON, AGITATOR AND QUAKER?

In 1954 Alan Cole presented "More Light on John Hodgson" in relation to the Peace Testimony of 1659 and two Quaker tracts of that year, "A Letter from a Member of the Army, to the Committee of Safety, and Councell of Officers of the Army" and "Love, Kindness, and due Respect".[1] Cole's piece was, in part, a response to an earlier consideration of the two tracts and their authorship.[2] Unlike the 1950 piece Cole convincingly argued that the John Hodgson who signed both tracts was the same man.

> "It would certainly be a rather striking coincidence if two writers of the same name had published tracts with such marked similarities of argument and style as we find in these two pamphlets...".[3]

The other key point in Cole's article was that John Hodgson the Quaker, the author of both tracts, was "a civilian in the summer of 1659 when he addressed his paper, 'Love, Kindness, and due Respect' to the restored Rump... and that he subsequently enlisted or re-enlisted in the Army".[4] Although Cole was unable to detail who Hodgson the Quaker might have been the 1950 piece very briefly dismissed a Captain John Hodgson as a possible author of the two tracts.[5] However a more detailed consideration of this Captain John Hodgson does suggest that he may be the author of these tracts. There are some interesting parallels between what is known of John Hodgson the Quaker author and this Captain John Hodgson, soldier.[6]

Captain John Hodgson entered a company of foot in Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment in his native Yorkshire in late 1642. Involved in the numerous skirmishes of the northern forces Hodgson also participated in the larger clashes at Leeds, Wakefield, Seacroft Moor and Atherton Moor. When the Marquis of Newcastle captured Bradford Hodgson was, for a short time, a prisoner. Upon release Hodgson mustered afresh at Thornton Hall, the home of Sir William Lister, father-in-law of John Lambert the future Major-General.[7] Hodgson participated in sieges of Pontefract in 1645 and 1648 before

taking part in the battle of Preston and the pursuit of the Scots. In 1650 he was under Lambert's command in the Scottish campaign. His autobiography is one of the main sources for the decisive battle of Dunbar. Hodgson relates how important Lambert was to that victory.

> about nine o'clock at night we had a council of war called; and, debating the case what to do, many of the colonels were for shipping the foot, and the horse to force their passage; but honest Lambert was against them in all that matter, he being active the day before in observing the disadvantage the Scots might meet with the posture they were drawn up in, and gave us reasons, and great encouragements to fight...These, with other reasons, altered the council; and one steps up, and desires that Colonel Lambert might have the conduct of the army that morning, which was granted by the General freely.[8]

Following Dunbar Hodgson was commissioned captain in Cromwell's foot regiment and fought in the Worcester campaign.

However, Hodgson's actions appear to have gone beyond military affairs.[9] When the army and parliament clashed in the summer of 1647 Hodgson was prominent in the Northern Army's alignment with the New Model. Poynts, the Presbyterian commander of the Northern Association, commented that

> I being informed that Major Lilburne with one or two more of such incendaries as hee is have had meetings within the West [riding] and with one Hodgson formerly a Mountebank's man and now a Chyrurgeon under the command of Collonel Copley, who observing these parts to continue still in their obedience to the Parliament endeavoured to putt this Army into confusion and distraction...[10]

With Major Henry Lilburne, Hodgson led troops through Leeds to a rendezvous on the moors. There some papers were read concerning the New Model's desire to co-operate with their northern comrades. At a wider meeting the next day they chose Agitators and demanded a general rendezvous. Poynts was arrested and escorted to Fairfax at Reading.[11] Hodgson appears as one of the two Agitators for Copley's regiment.[12] There is also a record of him having received payment for carrying the "Declaracon of the Northerne forces" to the south.[13]

Hodgson's actions at this time seem to have caused him some

discomfort later when he became worried about his place in the army because of his radicalism. Despite this his letters continue to frequently ask for news of John Lilburne in a sympathetic vein.[14] In September 1649 Hodgson outlined how it was "a Cashering mater to be knowne to be a levellr".[15] Other officers were clearly unsure of Hodgson and appear to have expected him to be cashiered. It appears to have been Lambert who resolved Hodgson's fears and stopped him being removed from the army.

> nay ye Genrall himselfe att ye same tyme & (Councell) being some so Inpudent as to play upon me & knowing ansr: againe if I subscribe not if it where ye Genrall pleasure to lay-aside I should be willing rather than offend my Conscience in that kind he asked me if I could figure it, very princybly drawing me aside whereunto I gave him this Answ: I could not, nor did not: he tould me againe if I could not it would hindr yt good he Intended towards me (meaning prferment) I tould him for yt I cared not, for if his honr thought fit to lay me aside in my Imployment to him already I should submit, our discourse was such att that tyme & in so familiar a manor yt indeed all ye rest of his Creature Officers Concluded if he & I was very great one with ye other & so... after I had a very quiet life & it was nver men-d to me againe by any...[16]

At the end of July Lambert's relationship with the "agitators" in the northern forces was commented on.

> ... the present afairs in these parts in reference to the agitators proceedings in the last day of Rendezvous: the work of wch day was, to cri up Colo: Lambertt as comander in cheef of the northerne forces, a man I hope very fittly desinged to that comand, yet not so unaminously voated for, by the solgery, as som others might have bin, if they could have had a free election, but for the present fraternity of agitators carie itt, & may they long so doe,...[17]

Hodgson clearly recognised his dependence on Lambert's goodwill.

> I was so Active yt indeed every one yt knew my Actin doth strang yt I contniue in ye Army still (I speake to a freind I pray be silent & Indeed thine was so much informed against me yt if I had not been much in ye Mayor Genrall booke I had beene layd aside...[18]

It was this realisation, and his former actions, that convinced Hodgson that he should go to Ireland with Lambert when the Major-General was appointed Lord Deputy. Hodgson asked his father to

> let me know the Major Genrall freedome for if it be the will of god I had rather be with him tho in Irland, then stay in England with my man I yet know, my Affections is tyed too him yw know, & this I am sure if I stay heare & he goe, I shall know more enimmies than ffreinds in England, tho: I have Caried as discretly as I could towards all men, yet my former actions will not be forgot...[19]

After Lambert's establishment of the Protectorate Hodgson sought to retire.

> And these things being over, and the Protector being settled in the government he had taken upon him, I grew weary of my employment, having a desire to leave the army, and to sit down with my dear wife and children.[20]

Hodgson wrote to his friend Captain Adam Baynes

> I desire I might have that advantage by my 11 year service, as to live quietly in the practice of my calling, without being disturbed or indicted at sessions for following that I have always been brought up with. If I cannot, I may say, my time have been ill spent and serve...[21]

The calling Hodgson referred to in his letter was that of surgeon. Indeed he was appointed as the surgeon to the Commissioners for Scotland, the leading one being Lambert.[22] In July 1647 when he brought the Declaration of the Northern Forces south he was referred to as a surgeon.[23] In many letters he is referred to as "Doctor Hodgson" and he writes of practical problems in fulfilling his medical role.[24] Hodgson was acting as an army surgeon despite his lack of official medical qualification. Indeed this led to him being indicted for practising medicine without a medical degree despite his eleven years as an army doctor.[25]

Hodgson did stay in the army. Lambert secured for him, and the Quaker Captain John Leavens, passage to England before their regiment was officially returned to be quartered in his native Yorkshire.[26] Here, on 11 April 1657, Hodgson obtained a fifteen year

lease of Coley Hall, near Halifax.[27] This purchase was the culmination of a long effort by Hodgson to establish a home for himself and his family. Following the Second Civil War he had tried to secure the Keeper's Lodge at Pontefract Park from Lambert.[28] In the early 1650s he appears to have sold his farm to a close friend and fellow soldier Captain John Leavens.[29]

On Saturday 28 May 1659 when the list of Lambert's regiment of Horse was agreed in the Commons John Hodgson "surgeon" was "excepted" to and appears to have lost his place for there is no mention of him being readmitted when Captain John Hatfield, the other officer "excepted" to, was given his commission later on Saturday 11 June 1659.[30] It would appear that this Hodgson was a civilian when 'Love, Kindness, and due Respect' appeared on 23 June 1659. From this it is also very likely that this Hodgson was in London to be ready to receive his commission in late May/early June when, as Cole states with regard to the Quaker author.

> "Hodgson was in London again in June, 1659, since he was mentioned by Alexander Parker as one of a number of Friends 'out of the Countries' who were there to present the petition against tithes".[31]

Hodgson, the soldier, was in London in August. In his memoirs he stated that he received his commission from the Speaker on 3 August 1659, perhaps in response to the threat of Booth's Rising that Lambert was in the process of crushing.[32] At Lambert's coup in October 1659 Hodgson was assigned to Col. Saunders' regiment in Scotland but he refused to repudiate the Major-General and thus lost his place after Lambert's defeat.[33] Thus Hodgson was in the army when 'A Letter from a Member of the Army' appeared on 8 November 1659.

Apart from the correlation of dates, in terms of membership of the army and the tracts, other evidence hints that Captain John Hodgson was probably a Quaker. This would obviously make it more likely that he was the author of the pamphlets. His radical religious views, alongside his radical politics, might also account for, in part, why he was refused his commission by the Parliament of 1659. Following the Restoration a close friend of Captain Hodgson's noted that his family were "persons of another strain".[34] The Restoration authorities regarded Hodgson as a "great Phanatique" and he was arrested many times.[35] But, was Captain John Hodgson a Quaker?[36]

We owe to Alan Cole and Barry Reay the clearer picture of the role Quakers played in the army and state. There should be now no surprise that a Quaker should be within the army and support its

cause. Indeed one of the leading Quakers of the 1650s, if not the leading Quaker, James Nayler, was quarter-master to Lambert and fought alongside Hodgson. When he came to be persecuted by the Parliament it was Lambert who defended his Quaker officer.

> It is a matter of sadness to many men's hearts, and sadness also to mine, especially in regard to his relation sometime to me. He was two years my quarter-master, and a very useful person. We parted with him with great regret. He was a man of a very unblameable life and conversation, a member of a very sweet society of an independent church.[37]

Lambert's aid to Nayler also involved speaking with petitioners in his favour and proposing that the second half of Nayler's punishment should be postponed so that he could be treated by physicians. It is also possible that he had tried to see Nayler in prison.[38] Clearly Lambert was not an officer who would have refused to have Hodgson as one of his captains, or surgeon, just because of his radical religious views. Indeed he positively protected Hodgson. The Quaker Thomas Aldham wrote to Lambert stating that "I am moved to write unto thee haveinge heard much of thee to bee one which doth owne the truthe as it is in Christ Jesus".[39] Given Hodgson's and Nayler's roles in the army they were probably aware of each other. Nayler's northern roots and the impact of Quakerism in that area and in the army generally could also be seen as another factor in suggesting that Hodgson came closely into contact with such ideas. His friendship with numerous Quaker officers in Lambert's service and his own words make it clear that Hodgson was well aware of Quakerism.[40]

Hodgson was closely linked with others in Lambert's forces who were seen as Quakers and although by itself this does not mean he shared their beliefs it does show he had sympathy for them. A close associate and correspondent was Captain Adam Baynes who was noted as friendly to Quakers and was regarded himself as a religious radical.[41] Hodgson was on close terms with the Quaker Captain John Leavens who was Baynes' cousin and tenant on his Northamptonshire estate of Knowstrop, as well as being one of his political agents.[42] Hodgson was also in contact with the Quaker Captain Amor Stoddard who also served in Lambert's forces.[43] Cole stated with regard to John Hodgson the Quaker author that a

> "Thomas Aldham sent his greetings to a John Hodgeson in a

> letter written from York Castle to Captain Amor Stoddart in London as far back as June 21, 1653."[44]

In 1654 Captain John Hodgson reminded Baynes to pass on his service to Captain Amor Stoddard.[45] It is thus very likely that Captain John Hodgson was the same John Hodgson the Yorkshire Quaker Aldham sent his greetings to through Captain Amor Stoddard. This link is reinforced by the fact that Stoddard served alongside Hodgson in Lambert's forces and that in the same letter Aldham relates to Stoddard how one Captain Siddall had his horse stricken from underneath him when going to attend a Quaker meeting.[46]

Hodgson had a close relationship with the Quaker Captain William Siddall, who also served in Lambert's forces.[47] Their letters make clear the bond between them and their families.[48] In 1654 Siddall was informed against as a Quaker and was in danger of being thrown out of the army. Hodgson wrote to Adam Baynes, who was on the Committee of the Army in London, hoping that he would help their mutual friend. Hodgson resolutely defended Siddall and his words suggest, at the very least, an acceptance of Siddall's Quakerism.

> ... we all know my bror was an honest man when some of them was Comissr of Aray for ye king against us & I hope ye will be so worthy as to examine whether they have anything of fact, or yt it is because he is only a Quaker & if he be dismised for his honesty & faithfullnese noe mattr more will follow... surely ye will not begin to dismisse men without tryall & only for honesty in Religion then were it bettr will some say to be a knave than an honest man, but I would hope better things of ye...[49]

Hodgson was also prepared to appeal to Lambert on behalf of Siddall, clearly believing that the Major-General would support the Quaker captain.

> ... I have inclosed a lettr for ye MGenrall I desire it may be delivered with care, its concerning Capt Siddall I doe believe he has lost by our party... now to be maide a sufering & a reproach to his enimies for his good service & faithfulnesse is hard measure. rememeber me to thy dear wife & all freinds ye need not be ashamed to stand up for an honest man for theres Credit in it, but for a knave theres none...[50]

Siddall kept his place.[51] At the same time, however, Siddall's wife was suffering because of her own radical religious views. It appears that she had been "wrought on" in 1652 and clearly was committed in her beliefs to the extent of suffering imprisionment.[52] Siddall commented that

> what libertye is if wee have fought and contested soe longe for, when Murthers and theifes shall be tried shortely And the Innocent and harmlesse shall lye in prison halfe a yeere or 3 Quarters ffor declaringe against sinne & wickednesse And herein ffreinds I have dealt faithfully with you what pceedings have beene concerneing my poore wife...[53]

Siddall's wife was eventually released.

> for my wife they have sent me her home, for they were ashamed to try her, the lord off Hosts be in your Counsells and let you see what is ye best to be done that the people of god my be incouraged And wickednesse & all sinne vannished that righeousnesse may rain down Englande streets & Justice and true judgement executed...[54]

However she was again in prison in June 1655.[55] It is probable that this was the same Barbara Siddall who disturbed the preacher at Tadcaster during his sermon stating that the Bible was "not the word of God but onely a dead letter".[56] William Siddall was also to suffer imprisonment for his beliefs. In the list of those imprisoned in 1660 from the West Riding of Yorkshire for not taking the oath is a William Siddall. Also on this list were a John Hodgson and a John Leavens.[57] It is probable that these were the two army captains. Hodgson and Leavens were also subject to further persecution and imprisonment on both religious and civil grounds.[58] Much of what appears in William Siddall's letters hint at his radical religious views.[59]

Hodgson was clearly comfortable with the Quaker Siddall. Hodgson's letters, like Siddall's, express some of his religious and political views. He counselled his friend Baynes.

> learne from ye frutes wt have followed, this many yeares as long as mens harts are in ye Earth & diggs deep to hid there Councell from ye lord, they shall not psper ye lord will overturne overturne till ye appoynted tyme for wch I waite, the god of peace direct yw & cause yw to looke in & trie ye selfe where ye hart is...[60]

Hodgson was worried about Baynes' financial and political activities leading him astray.

> beware my friend let not honr nor riches nor selfe ends hindr but harken to ye light in thy bosom, & to be guided by it yt the might come to lay downe all Crownes at ye feet of ye lambe who is worthy & this is moved in love to thy soule...[61]

It is also clear that, like Siddall, Hodgson suffered persecution because of his views. Writing in October 1653 he acquainted Baynes of his suffering at the hands of one of the Justices of Leeds, John Clayton. While he was demanding ten pounds he was owed by a Justice Ward the other justices came out of their session and Hodgson was spotted by Clayton who claimed he had a warrant for his arrest. When Clayton ordered the bailiffs to perform the arrest Hodgson resisted, fighting them off with his sword. In the process of the struggle Hodgson's "man" was beaten to the ground and seriously hurt.[62] Hodgson's pregnant wife who was with him became very agitated. Eventually however Hodgson got to his home. His wife went to Clayton and demanded what reason he had to try to murder her husband. Hodgson claimed that in response Clayton ordered for her to be thrown "out of dores" and told her that she deserved "to be clapt by ye heales". Clayton then ordered the undersheriff to take men to Hodgson's house to arrest him. Hodgson continued to resist and in his letter wanted Baynes to get Lambert to defend him because Clayton was trying to prosecute him and have Cromwell persuaded to cashier him. A key issue for Hodgson was that as a member of the army he believed that he could refuse to answer at Common Law and was subject only to the army courts. In relation to this legal query Hodgson consulted with the radical Thomas Margetts.[63] Hodgson was so resistant because he had suffered before.

> I should not have kept my body out of there hands but yt I sufferd by it last tyme deeply, & being free from arests I thought I might defend my pson hurting none, having nothing but malice against me yt it may be tried by impartiall men...[64]

Apart from his letters there is also another hint of Captain Hodgson's Quaker leanings. On 12 February 1654 Colonel Francis Hacker informed Cromwell that

> there is a chirurgeon in my lord Lambert's regiment, who writ to

one Smith, who lives in Newarke, who had beene his mate, that the under officers of the army had a designe in hand; and if it took place, wee should see glorious tymes. And this man is a great favourer of the quakers, if not one. The truth of this will bee testified by honest men, who have seene this letter...[65]

Is then the Captain John Hodgson who acted as a surgeon the Doctor Hodgson who in 1652 Farnsworth reported in familiar terms to Fox and Nayler as having been "shaken a little" at Wakefield? During the same meeting Captain Siddall's wife had "cried out this is the power of the lord". Farnsworth informed Fox and Nayler that Hodgson was "very loveing to us" and that he addressed a crowd in his house.[66] Is it the Yorkshire Doctor Hodgson referred to in 1663 by Fox himself?[67]

There is, however, another letter in the British Library which, although it has been missed by the cataloguers, can easily be ascribed to Hodgson. It is in the same hand as the other letters, it has the same seal as the other letters and, if examined closely, has his name attached. In this letter Hodgson's political and religious concerns are prominent.

> I pceve yw are resoned to stopp ye mourths of ye saints of ye most highe god, for preaching or printing any thing yt contrary to ye publique Religion held forth & by so doeing will strengthen ye hands of evile doers & open ye mouths of ye wicked against them yt ffeare ye Ld... ye lord is risen to Confound all his enimies, not to set them up but to pull them downe yt he alone may raigne prince of peace....[68]

In many ways the warnings Hodgson gave Baynes mirror the wider warnings by Hodgson the Quaker in his pamphlets of 1659. In *Love, Kindness and due Respect* Hodgson wrote of men departing from the Lord and losing their way and as a result God would be "overturning, overturning the Powers of Darkness, that Truth and Righteousness in the Earth might be established...".[69] In *A Letter From A Member of the Army* Hodgson warns them to "examine their hearts" and that they would be "overturned" for serving themselves rather than the Lord.[70] A John Hodgson, along with Amor Stoddard and George Watkinson, also signed *A Declaration of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, to all magistrates and People* in 1659 protesting against the expulsion of Friends from civil and military positions.[71]

Is it probable then that the Captain John Hodgson who was linked

with Quaker soldiers such as Amor Stoddard, William Siddall and John Leavens was John Hodgson the Quaker author? If this is the case then it is of wider interest with regard to how Quakers believed the regime was moving away from what they fought for; their position within the army and how Quakers were judged by other members of the army and civilians; the impact of Quakerism on the army; and the position of one of the leading figures of this period. Major-General John Lambert, politically and religiously.[72] If nothing else there are now hopefully more possible leads to get further, in Cole's words, towards clearing up "the case of John Hodgson".

Regarded as a "great Phanatique" by the Restoration authorities Hodgson was subjected to persistent harassment and arrested many times. Having left Coley Hall for Cromwell Bottom Hodgson finally settled in Ripon where, in January 1684, he died impoverished.

David Farr

NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful to Professors John Morrill and Ian Gentles for reading and comenting upon an earlier draft of this article.

1 A. Cole, 'The Peace Testimony in 1659. More Light on John Hodgson', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, (Hereafter *JFHS*), 46, no.2, (Autumn 1954), pp.48-52; British Library (hereafter B.L.), E988(12) *Love, Kindness and due Respect, By way of Warning to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*, (London, 1659); Wing H2335A *A Letter From A Member of the Army to the Committee of Safety and Councell of the Officers of the Army*, (London, 1659).

2 *JFHS*, 42, (1950), pp.80-82.

3 Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.49.

4 Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.48.

5 *JFHS*, 42, (1950), p.82.

6 J. Horsfall Turner (ed.), Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson of Coalley-Hall, near Halifax; Touching his conduct in the Civil Wars, and his troubles after the Restoration, (Brighouse, 1882).

7 D. Farr, 'The Military and Political Career of John Lambert, 1619-57, Cambridge PhD, 1996. For the most recent and detailed account of the civil war and the parliamentarian forces in the north see, J. Jones, 'The War in the North: The Northern Parliamentary Army in the English Civil-War, 1642-1645', PhD thesis, York University, Toronto PhD, 1991.

8 Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.44.

9 Hodgson's *Memoirs* are limited, as he himself states, to military affairs and his troubles after the Restoration. Other sources are available for his career however. In particular a series of letters in the British Library suggests at much of what Hodgson had undergone and who his associates were.

10 C.H. Firth (ed.), *Clarke Papers*, 2 vols. (London, 1992), I, pp.142-3; B.L., Add Mss 31116f.314. One definition of "Mountebank" is an itinerant quack appealing to an audience from a platform.

[11] B.L. E399(4), *A Continuation of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages*, (July, 1647), no pagination: B.L., E399(12), *The Perfect Weekly Account*, no.25, (14-21 July 1647), no pagination; B.L., E399(13), *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, no.218, (13-20 July 1647), p.600: B.L., E404(28), *The Moderate Intelligencer*, no.2, (19-26 August 1647), p.16; Bodleian Library, Tanner Mss 58 fols. 188, 267, 275, 277, 278, 363; Worcester College, Clarke Mss 41 fols. 72v, 169, 180-2; H. Cary, (ed.), *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England From 1646 to 1652* (London, 1842), I, pp.233-5, 264, 282-4, 293; R. Bell, (ed.), *Memorials of the Civil War: Comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family*, 2 vols., (London, 1849), I, pp.360-1, 363-4; P. Gregg, *Freeborn John. A Biography of John Lilburne*, (London, 1961), p.175; J. Morrill, Mutiny and Discontent in English Provincial Armies 1645-1647, *Past and Present*, no. 56, pp.49-74, (1972), p.70.

[12] *Clark Papers* I, p.169; B.L. E399(32), *A Further Proposal from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax*, (24 July 1647). This lists 14 agitators for seven of the northern regiments. There is an earlier list of agitators for the Northern Association in B.L. E398(5), *A Declaration and Representation from the forces of the Northern Association to Fairfax*, (13 July 1647), which lists 16 agitators for 8 regiments, Five ag itators from the first list can definitely be identified on the second with two two others probably being the same men as appear on the first list of agitators. For the problems in identifying agitators see A. Woolrych, *Soldiers and Statesmen*, (Oxford, 1987), p.58n8.

[13] E. Kitson and E. Kitson Clark, (ed.), 'Some Civil War Accounts 1647-50', Thoresby Society, XI, (1902), p.157.

[14] B.L., Add Mss 21418f.112; 21426f.153.

[15] B.L., Add Mss 21418f.8.

[16] B.L., Add Mss 21418f.8.

[17] B.L. Add Mss 18979f.252.

[18] B.L., Add Mss 21418f.8. This does not, however, mean that Hodgson was, in the strictest sense of the term, a Leveller himself. The initial agitators were quite distinct from Leveller organisation and although Hodgson felt sympathy with many of the ideas the Levellers expressed his concerns over his position more probably reflected his role as an agitator in 1647 at a time when the army in 1649 had destroyed the Leveller threat and was reasserting control over the rank and file. Given Hodgson's relationship with Lambert, Lambert's take over of the northern forces and his subsequent protection of Hodgson the case of Hodgson does also raise the complex question of the exact relationship between various agitators at different times with their superior officers. In some senses "agitator" was more similar to the meaning of "adjutant", someone who would be working with an officer. For an examination of the agitators see, A. Woolrych, *Soldiers and Statesmen*, (Oxford, 1987); I. Gentles, *The New Model Army*, (Oxford, 1992), pp.159-163.

[19] B.L., Add Mss 21421f.92.

[20] Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.48.

[21] B.L., Add Mss 21422f.374.

[22] B.L., Add Mss 21420 f.283 November 1651.

[23] E. Kitson and E. Kitson Clark, (ed.), 'Some Civil War Accounts 1647-50', Thoresby Society, XI, (1902), p.157.

[24] Y.K. Akerman, (ed.) *Letters from Roundhead Officers, Written from Scotland and Chiefly Addressed to Captain Adam Baynes July MDCI-June MDCLX*, (Bannatyne

Club 108, 1823), letters 85, 143, 199, pp.47, 78, 108; B.L., Add Mss 21418f.376; B.L., Add Mss 21419 fols. 19, 42, 81, 120, 129, 21421 f. 176; 21422f.374; 21423f.58; 21426f.150, 151; *Cal. S. P. Domestic*, 1656, p.122.

25 C.H. Firth, *A Regimental History*, I, p.257. Lambert did try to help Hodgson with his practical difficulties, see B.L., Add Mss 21426f.187. At the time, however, outside London it has been estimated that only a small minority of practitioners would have possessed medical qualifications. Even Dr. William How, author of *Phytologia Britannica* (1650), who was in contact with Lambert concerning Botany, had practised medicine in London without academic medical qualification. See, C. Webster, *The Great Instauration. Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-60*, (London, 1975), p.250; B.L., Add Mss 29569f.212.

26 Akerman, *Letters*, pp.95, 100, 107-8.

27 Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.8.

28 B.L., Add Mss 21418fols.112, 130.

29 B.L., Add Mss 21421 fols. 1, 16.

30 *Commons Journal*, VII, pp.668, 680. For Hatfield's connection to Lambert see, D. Farr, The Military and Political Career of John Lambert 1619-57', Cambridge PhD, 1996; P.R.O., C5/610/263.

31 Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.49. See F.H.L., Swarthmore Mss I f.84.

32 Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.50.

33 Hodgson, *Memoirs*, p.49. Hodgson went with Captain Roger Coates to raise money for Lambert. For Coates' close ties to Lambert see, P.R.O., C10/41/61.

34 J. Horsfall Turner, (ed.), *The Rev. Oliver Heywood 1630-1702; His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books*, 4 vols., (Bingley, 1885), III, p.104-5.

35 Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), S.P. 29/8/180; Assi. 45 6/1 no. 75; R.L. Greaves, *Deliver Us From Evil, The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663*, (Oxford, 1986).

36 Professor Hirst was in no doubt that Hodgson was a Quaker. D. Hirst, 'The Fracturing of the Cromwellian Alliance: Leeds and Adam Baynes', *English Historical Review*, CVIII, October, 1993, p.877.

37 J.T. Rutt, (ed.), *Thomas Burton's Diary*, 4 vols., (London, 1828), I, p.33.

38 *Burton's Diary*, I, pp.281-2.

39 Friends House Library, London, (hereafter F.H.L.), A.R. Barclay Mss 125. Printed in *JFHS*, 48, (1956-8), p.135-6.

40 Quaker officers who were in Lambert's forces included Amor Stoddard, William Siddall, John Leavens, George Watkinson, William Bradford and Mark Grime. Some of these served in the regiment of Robert Lilburne which was believed to be rife with Quakerism as well as being one of the most radical in the New Model. Lilburne was closely aligned politically with Lambert. It has been suggested that Lilburne, like his brother the Leveller John Lilburne, died a Quaker in prison on St Nicholas Island in 1665. See A.D. Selleck, 'Plymouth Friends. A Quaker History', *Devonshire Association*, 98, (1966), p.298. This was the same prison where Lambert himself died in 1684, see, D. Farr, "New Information with Regard to the Imprisonment of Major General John Lambert, 1662-1684", *Cromwelliana*, (1998), pp.44-57. During his imprisonment on St Nicholas Island the Quaker Miles Halhead visited Lambert and recorded their conversation, see, Myles Halhead, *A Book of Some of the Sufferings*, (London, 1690).

41 N. Penney, (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, (London, 1915), p.7; Hirst, 'Adam Baynes'; G.E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic 1649-1660*, (London, 1973), pp.233-4.

[42] Hirst, "Adam Baynes", p.877; B.L., Add Mss 21417 fols. 34, 135, 234, 263, 295, 336, 21418 fols. 12, 159, 179, 245, 363, 376, 21419 fols. 61, 164, 253, 21420 fols. 19, 75, 236, 297, 21421 fols. 1, 16, 59, 173, 202, 21422 fols. 162, 191, 193, 204, 262, 267, 337, 399, 21423 fols. 25, 134, 21424 fols. 61, 240, 252, 285, 293, 296, 300, 21425f.2, 21426 fols. 198-204.

[43] B.L., Add Mss 21422f.374; P.R.O., E121/4/1 no. 30; B.L., E522(10), *Perfect Occurences*, (24-31 March 1648).

[44] Cole, 'John Hodgson', p.48-9; 'Extracts from the A.R. Barclay Mss', *JFHS*, 28, (1931), p.53; E and T.J. Backhouse and T. Mounsey, (eds.), *Biographical Memoirs: Being A Record of the Christian Lives, Experiences, and Deaths, of Members of the Religious Society of Friends, From its Rise, to 1653*, (London, 1854), pp.46-9.

[45] B.L., Add Mss, 21422 f.374; Ackerman, *Letters*, p.88-9, letter no.160.

[46] 'Extracts from the A.R. Barclay Mss', *JFHS*, 28, (1931), p.53.

[47] P.R.O., E121/4/1 no. 30; B.L., E258(34), *Perfect Passages*, 5-11 March, 1645, p.158.

[48] B.L., Add Mss 21418 fols. 80, 101, 111, 209, 247, 309, 330, 390; 21419f.17, 137, 322; 21420f.80; 21421f.40, 52, 69, 93.

[49] B.L. Add Mss 21423f.58.

[50] B.L. Add Mss 21423f.58. For a more developed example of soldiers of the shared religious views supporting each other see the cooperation between Baptist officers at Theobalds Park, 'Theobalds and Colonel Packer', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 4, (1914-5), pp.58-63; I, Gentles, 'The Management of the Crown Lands, 1649-60', *The Agricultural History Review*, 19, 1971, pp.25-41. This experiment appears however to have eventually led to some division amongst the Baptist officers, see, P.R.O., C5/27/33; C5/30/31; C5/30/34.

[51] Siddall supported his fellow Quaker captain Leavens over trouble concerning the nature of his second marriage. Siddall wrote to the Particular Baptist Major William Packer, one of those on Hale's Law Commission to push for legal changes with regard to acceptance of various marriage ceremonies. B.L., Add. Mss 21421 fols. 52, 69. Siddall commented that Leavens was "hindered from his right by his first wife because he was married in the Churche And not by a preist off England... diverse honest people ye have beene married in a churche waye, are deprived of their rights by a sort off Cheatinge knaves: for wante off the law Confirminge those marriages to be off as good law & fforme as others..."

[52] F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms IV f.229. It is apparent that numerous wives of soldiers became convinced Quakers, sometimes before their husbands did. See F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms III f.140.

[53] B.L., Add Mss 21423f.4.

[54] B.L., Add Mss 21423f.11.

[55] F.H.L., Swarthmore Ms IV f.88.

[56] P.R.O., Assi 44/6; Reay, *Radical Religion*, p.146. Captain William Siddall was of Tadcaster and his wife was called Barbara but it is not completely clear whether the Barbara Siddall referred to in this case is William Siddall's wife of the same name. See P.R.O., RG6/1301; F.H.L., Temp Ms 98/1 f.17. It is however clear that the Siddall mentioned as a Quaker in Swarthmore Ms IV f.229 and seen by Nuttall as Captain Thomas Siddall is Captain William Siddall. Captain Thomas Siddall was William's brother but there is no hint that he was a Quaker

in comparison to the clear references of William's beliefs. G.F. Nuttall, *Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore Mss to 1660.* (Friends House, London, 1952). It is possible that Captain George Watkinson also spoke against the preacher in the Steeple-house in Leeds in 1658. See, J.E. Mortimer, 'Thoresby's "poor deluded Quakers": The Sufferings of Leeds Friends in the Seventeenth Century', *Thoresby Society*, 2nd Series, I, (1990), pp.35-57, p.39.

57 J. Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, 2 vols., (London, 1753), II, pp.101-2. See also pp.98, 106, 109-10.

58 F.H.L. Swarthmore Ms IV f.153, 233; P.R.O., Assi 45/6/1 no. 75; C5/500/47; Cal. S.P. 1658-9, pp.149, 168; Penney, (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, pp. 232-3; 'Depositions from the Castle of York relating to offences committed in the northern counties in the seventeenth century', *Surtees Society*, 40, 1861, p.86-7.

59 B.L., Add Mss 21421 fols. 40, 52, 69, 93; 21422f.531; 21423 fols. 4, 11, 20, 55, 66, 104, 119.

60 B.L., Add Mss 21422f.165.

61 B.L., Add Mss 21422f.517.

62 It is probable that Hodgson's man was one Taylor. See, Turner, (ed.), *Heywood*, I, p.356; G.D. Lumb, 'Justice's Note-book of Captain John Pickering, 1656-60', *Thoresby Society*, XI, (1904), pp.69-100, p.95.

63 From c.1638 to 1645 Margetts was clerk to the Irish Committee in London. In 1647 Thomas Margetts was a clerk of the Judge-Advocate of the New Model Army, Dr. John Mills. He became Advocate to the North and soon after Deputy-Advocate to the Army in England. Later he was Judge-Advocate for Scotland. It is possible he was the Thomas Margetts MP for Bedford in 1656 and 1659. Margetts, like Hodgson, had a high opinion of Lambert, see *H.M.C. Tenth Report, Appendix Part VI, Lord Braye's Mss*, (London, 1885), p.170. Margetts also hints at Lambert's links with the agitators, see, B.L., Add Mss 21418f.390.

64 B.L., Add Mss 21422f.190.

65 T. Birch, (ed.), *Thurloe State Papers*, 7 vols., (London, 1742), III, p.148.

66 F.H.L., Swarthmore Ms IV f.229.

67 N. Penney, (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox*, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1911), II, p.40.

68 B.L., Add Mss 21427f.315.

69 John Hodgson, *Love, Kindness, and due Respect*, (London, 1659).

70 John Hodgson, *A Letter From A Member of the Army*, (London, 1659).

71 *A Declaration of the People of God In Scorn Called Quakers, to all magistrates and People*, (1659), Wing C7201. Another signatory to this was Anthony Pearson who had served in the Parliamentary army. A John Hodgson had also signed a declaration of the northern Quakers in 1658, see, F.H.L., Ms Portfolio 16.1.

72 For disillusion with Lambert and his party in the army see F.H.L., Ms Portfolio 1.54.

EARLY FRIENDS AND THE ALCHEMY OF PERFECTION

It is given in current Quaker scholarship that the early Friends were not a "creatio ex nihilo", but rather a product of various religious, economic, and social forces, winnowed and sifted on the threshing floor of their own experience. Some Quaker "distinctives" can easily be traced to progenitors, while others cannot. One that is somewhat baffling, given the preponderance of then current emphases on human sin and depravity, is the Quaker conviction of human perfectibility. Might there have been thinking and writing that influenced this Quaker distinctive?

In 1660, George Fox records in the *Journal* an occasion of meeting a German in London. Based on the scant information about him that Fox shares, the individual may have been Franz Merkurius van Helmont.[1] Certainly in the 1670s van Helmont had settled in England as personal physician to the Quaker associate Lady Anne Conway. From 1677, van Helmont himself affiliated with Friends, finally breaking with them in the 1690s after he published a tract outlining his belief in the transmigration of souls.[2]

Apart from his rather unorthodox belief in reincarnation and his relationship with Anne Conway, herself a confidante of Henry More and admired by Leibnitz, this might not appear all that remarkable, and less relevant to the question raised in the opening paragraph! But van Helmont is a rather distinctive sort to have become a Friend: he was the son of the leading continental exponent of the Paracelsian-alchemical tradition, Johan Baptiste van Helmont. Only twelve years before his purported meeting with Fox in London, the younger van Helmont had published his father's writings on medicine and Paracelsian philosophy, *Ortus Medicae*, a book that was influential in the attempted reforms in medical education in England during the 1650s.

J.B. van Helmont and his "Helmontian" followers emphasised direct, personal observation and experiment, and led an attack on the authority of the ancients, such as the Galenic medical canon.[3] F.M. van Helmont carried on the Paracelsian philosophy of medicine, displayed an interest in the esoteric Jewish writings in the *Kabbalah*, and expressed admiration for Friends' "experiences of all mystical writers verified in themselves though they be such as can neither read nor write".[4]

Of course, there have been many "unique" and "eccentric" people who have joined Friends, and not only in the early years! The association of a noted Paracelsian, however, raises the question of whether there might have been something in the early Quaker message that appealed to alchemists – and more importantly, whether Friends themselves may have been the beneficiaries of alchemical insights. Was Paracelsian philosophy (to be outlined later in this essay) part of the ground out of which Quakerism emerged? Could the Paracelsians have influenced the Quaker understanding of the possibility of perfection, the power of the Light, the "work" of separating the pure from the base, dependence on direct experience, and the suspicion of "ancient authorities"?

These queries make no sense, however, apart from an understanding of what Paracelsian philosophy and alchemy meant in seventeenth century England. It is to that task that we now turn.

Alchemy and the Hermetic Tradition

One of the major influences in the Renaissance, and thus on the intellectual and spiritual landscape of seventeenth centruy England, was a restorationist impulse, a desire to rediscover the truths of an ancient golden age. Progress was seen as a return. According to Frances Yates, some of the roots of this inclination are to be found in the Hermetic tradition, which resurfaced around 1460 C.E. and grew in importance in the 1500s and 1600s.[5]

This tradition of gnosticism, magic and mysticism derived its name from the mythical Hermes Trismegistus ("Thrice Great Hermes"), supposedly an Egyptian Magus who lived before Moses and was associated with the Egyptian god Thoth. At a time when Greek philosophy was suffering from decay, what has become known as the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of treatises attributed to the Egyptian (but also associated with the Greek god Hermes), began circulating in the early centuries of the Common Era. Probably written by Greeks at the time the writings began to circulate, they claimed to offer insight into the Egyptian mysteries and a religious philosophy more profound than the Greek culture's own traditions. Yates see influences of Platonic thought, Jewish Kabbalism, and perhaps Zoroastrianism in them.[6]

Offering an occult understanding of the universe and the insight and illumination of Egyptian knowledge, Hermetism was closely allied with the science of alchemy, which had a life of its own but

flourished during the Hermetic revival in the Renaissance. Alchemy has only recently, however, begun to receive attention as a Hermetic science whose profoundest goal was spiritual and moral transformation rather than the pecuniary interest of changing base metal into gold. The latter emphasis resulted from the decline of alchemy when its secrets and initiation rites were lost and the technical procedure became detached from its esoteric frame of reference.[7]

Citing Sherwood Taylor, Mircea Eliade states that the ancient alchemists "were not really interested in making gold and were not in fact talking about real gold at all."[8] What they sought, rather, was an inward gold, a transformation of base human nature into perfection. The "True" alchemical work, tools, and knowledge were within, the external chemical procedures serving as outward supports or symbols.

Eliade explains that alchemy originally was an experimental discovery of the living Substance in the life of the alchemist. It was a discovery in the contents of ones own soul.[9] Alchemy maintained that there is a Universal Intellect wholly present in each creature and in all of creation; the end of alchemy was to know this and understand that the soul has a divine Centre, and to create life's circumference around it.[10] Operating from the belief that "as it is above, so it is below", the alchemist applied what was learned by experiment in the objective world to the inward life of the soul. The alchemist's "chemical dream" was to regain the original nobility of human nature, to transform inward nature into the "Adamic" state in which "everything in him is 'original', in the sense that his being fully awakened and united with its origin".[11]

It was the alchemist's conviction that all of nature was, in fact, developing toward the restoration of its original purity. Metals, for example, were believed to gestate in the earth's womb and, in time, be transmuted into perfect gold. By discovering the secrets of nature's hierophony and translating them into the Philosopher's Stone – the agent of cosmic change – the alchemical adept could help nature develop toward perfection more rapidly. Alchemists expected a radical and general reform of all religious, social, and cultural institutions. In the predominantly Christian framework of European alchemy in the Renaissance, Christ was seen as the Philosopher's Stone who had redeemed humans through his death and resurrection, even as the alchemical process would redeem nature.

Paracelsus and the Revival of Alchemy

The man who served as "high priest" to all those during the Renaissance who viewed the cosmos chemically was a Swiss-German doctor and scholar, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, a.k.a. "Paracelsus" (1493–1541). Headstrong and "bombastic", Paracelsus alienated most of his fellow scholars by his claim to a higher knowledge through Hermetism. For most of his life he was an inveterate wanderer and iconoclast, but he published profusely on topics ranging from syphilis to alchemy.

Paracelsus' works on alchemy came to exert a great influence on those who were searching for alternatives to what they perceived as the age's dead scholasticism. Rufus Jones gave Paracelsus brief mention as one of the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth century and points out his contribution to re-establishing the teaching of a harmony between the outer and inner worlds; Jones also mentions his emphasis on restoring the "paradisiacal man" and his belief in an inward light that "surprises" nature's secrets.[12]

Paracelsus' thought included a severe rejection of many of the standard authorities in favour of the Bible, the Hermetic corpus, the writings of dedicated alchemists, and especially personal observation and experience. Not unlike other reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Paracelsians sought to restore the true knowledge of an earlier age. They were primitivists calling for individual exegesis of scripture and reliance on direct and immediate experience of truth.

Paracelsian Influence in England

There was little Paracelsian influence in England until the late 1500s, and even then it was the minimal use of some of Paracelsus' medical cures by physicians who, otherwise, showed no interest in the more esoteric aspects of his thought. A few English Paracelsians such as Thomas Tymme and John Dee were encouraging physicians to pursue direct chemical experimentation, and the Italian scholar Giordano Bruno visited England and published there in 1584 his *Spaccio della bestia trionfante*, in which he wrote, "one simple divinity which is in all things, one fecund nature, mother and preserver of the universe, shines forth in diverse subjects, and takes diverse names, according as it communicates itself diversely".[13] A Copernican, Bruno saw the new cosmology as heralding a new age, a time when

the darkness of Christian apostasy would be dispelled by the return of the light of true philosophy, which he identified with the Hermetic tradition.

The most noted English Paracelsian of this time was Robert Flud(d) (1574-1673). An Oxford-educated Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Fludd imbibed alchemical philosophy while spending six years on the continent before completing his Oxford medical studies. A devout Christian, Fludd's alchemical understanding was grounded in his belief that all things originated in the chemical separation of the primal chaos as divine light acted on it. The secret to knowledge for Fludd was the alchemical process of discovering the true Philosopher's Stone, which for him was none other than the power of God present in the act of Creation and still present as a light in all things, particularly as Jesus Christ.[14] He attacked blind acceptance of the authority of the ancients, emphasising rather this divine light and experiential wisdom, maintaining that the true alchemist is interested in transformation in the human soul.

Although Fludd admitted to only one limited alchemical experiment, he nonetheless opposed the attack of Patrick Scot in 1623 on alchemy as mere allegory. Scot, a follower of James I, published *Tillage of Light* in that year, to which Fludd responded with *Truth's Golden Harrow*. For Scot, there is, indeed, a divine light "...incorporate in the Sunne, whose vertue and essence cherisheth the essence of every creature: but the full knowledge of the tillage of light, ariseth from the true notice of the first and last end of things... to shine as the Sunne".[15] But this light, Scot insists, is not to be confused with the light of nature. Nor is the true aim of the alchemical philosophy to try to turn metal into gold but rather to "extract light or a true summum bonum".[16]

In his response to Scot, defending alchemy against the charge that it is mere allegory, Fludd gives an articulation of the Paracelsian philosophy: the essence of God fills the heavens and earth; we are the temple of the Holy Ghost, and the "main aim of every creature is the perfection of that beginning from which it first did spring."[17]

The "art" of the alchemist is required to help nature in her fervent endeavours toward perfection and overcoming the darkness into which our pure, spiritual light has become mingled. As Jesus used a manual operation to make the blind see, the alchemist uses his/her "art" to separate the pure from the impure. As nature and the "artist" cooperate, and the Eternal Elixir, the Light, the Philosopher's Stone, the Christ is applied, the person may come to conform to "the true pattern of the perfect and spiritualised body of Adam in his innocency".[18]

Gold is not the chief aim of the "wise man", Fludd admits – although he maintains that it is in his/her power to attain. To interpret alchemy, however, as merely a "type" is to deny the reality of transformation. Citing the gospel stories, he notes Jesus' accomplishments of real, physical transformation of sickness into health, impurity into purity, of overcoming the power of darkness, death and evil.

Fludd was also an important figure in the introduction of the neo-Paracelsian Rosicrucian philosophy to England. In 1617, he wrote a book which served as a Rosicrucian apology. In it he stressed that the "Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross" 1) promoted educational reform so the divine light of Christian teachings could flourish; 2) trained in the "occult sciences" to attain knowledge of natural philosophy; 3) recognised that knowledge of inward nature leads to knowledge of outward nature; and 4) accepted the truth that true alchemy is not miracles but the work of nature.[19]

The mysterious and secretive Rosicrucian Brotherhood began on the continent with the publication of the *Fama et Confessio Fraternitatis* in 1614 and soon gave rise to the powerful freemasonry movement that took such deep root in Scotland (Quaker discipline, incidentally, discourages membership in such "secret" societies as freemasonry).

Fludd eventually indicated significant variance with Rosicrucian philosophy, but others in England embraced its proclamation of a new age of enlightenment soon to come, an enlightenment that would come,

> in the form of...a world in which enlightened beings...go about doing good, shedding healing influences, disseminating knowledge in the natural sciences and the arts, and bringing mankind to its Paradisal state before the Fall.[20]

After a time of eclipse in England, Rosicrucianism surfaced again amid considerable interest in 1652 with Elias Ashmole's *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum* and an English translation of the *Fama*. In an introduction to the English language edition, Thomas Vaughan explains Rosicrucian belief: 1) They see Truth as the highest excellence; 2) The "Great Work" of alchemy is the transmutation of "dead stones" into "Living Stones"; 3) The Philosopher's Stone, Christ, is knocking at our consciences; 4) The Stone is a light in all persons; 5) What we seek is within us; 6) The Philosopher's "gold" is the transformation of inward nature; and 7) There is an impregnable tower we can attain where the "sun" of righteousness shine.[21]

Allen Debus, Charles Webster and P.M. Rattansi have argued that Paracelsian thought enjoyed a significant revival during the English Civil War and the Interregnum. It was at the heart of theological debate in the 1650s and informed the agitation for educational and medical reform, with Robert Fludd's, Jakob Boehme's and J.B. van Helmont's ideas especially influential.[22]

Rattansi demonstrates that many of Paracelsus' works were translated into English for the first time during the Puritan Revolution, with interest in his writings not limited only to medical theories, but focused also on his ideas of humanity, nature and God. The features of his thought that evoked the most interest seemed to be the emphasis on supernatural illumination and his call for a thorough reform of education in favour of experimental learning.[23]

At the height of the reform sentiment in 1653, dissatisfaction in England with the existing social and religious order was expressed in vigorous parliamentary debate. Terms of the reform included a call for testing all theories by diligent observation, synthesising rational and scriptural knowledge, learning from "chemistry's" example by turning from dispute to experience, and replacing the Galenic system of medicine with insights from J.B.van Helmont and Paracelsus.[24]

Not only in Parliament but also in the parliamentary forces of the 1640s and 50s, such ideas were readily accessible. In her research into the faith of the first Friends, Rosemary Moore has found that materials such as Boehme, Sebastian Franck, and the *Theologica Germanica* were disseminated and discussed in the armies of the 1640s, out of which many later Quaker converts came.[25]

Language and Sensitivity among Early Friends

Few materials survive from the first stirrings of the Quaker movement in the English Midlands during the mid 1640s. Later reflections by George Fox in his *Journal* bear the mark of mature reflection, interpretation, and heavy editorial revision. It is known that much of the earlier "enthusiastic" assertions and activities of Friends was suppressed by later Friends as the movement came to enjoy a measure of toleration and respectability.

What was the understanding of the first Quakers when they asserted that "the power of the Lord" was coming over the people, that sin was being overcome, and fallen character was being perfected, that "miracles" were attempted and sometimes accomplished? The claim of the sufficiency of personal experience and the hesitancy with which Fox and others spoke of spiritual

antecedents limit our knowledge of possible influences. Similarity of language and attitude, however, may indicate some of the influences that "came over" into Quaker lives from the broad spiritual and intellectual environment of the time.

Rosemary Moore, analysing some 700 Quaker publications from the early 1650s, finds evidence of a number who had virtually arrived at a Quaker position before meeting Fox - some, like William Dewsbury, by way of openings while in the army. Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler (another army veteran), Margaret Fell, Elizabeth Hooten, Sarah Jones - many from the Midlands (where the Paracelsians would be at their most influential) - give witness to similar "sifting and winnowing" before their eventual convincement to the Quaker cause.[26] A sampling of some of these early Quakers' writings will be compared with sentiments in the Paracelsian philosophy, but first, it would be helpful to review George Fox's own spiritual journey.

As a boy, George Fox (1624-1691) experienced a yearning for a deeper spiritual life and was given to fasting, spending time walking alone, reading the Bible, and travelling widely - inquiring after religious "professors" for an answer that might speak to his spiritual condition. By his late teens, he began to have a number of "openings", revelations that addressed his strong desire for a saving knowledge.

The general thrust of these openings was that the knowledge he sought was not to be found outside himself in other people, places or things. It opened to him, for example, that "to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ", and on another occasion that "there was an anointing within man to teach him, and the Lord would teach His people Himself".[27]

Finally, in the mid-1640s Fox received his pivotal opening. He heard a voice inwardly say to him, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition".[28] This, Fox claimed, he knew "experimentally", the intimate knowledge of God and Christ coming, not through the help of any person or book, but through direct revelation, a revelation available to all, regardless of race or creed. As Fox shared his experience in the Midlands and eventually in the fertile spiritual region of the Northwest of England, thousands eventually joined the Quaker movement from among "left-wing" Puritans, Separatists, and Seekers.

The language of many of these early Friends is reminiscent of some of the themes explored earlier in the alchemical philosophy. Closer examination of some of those themes follows:

Restoration and Returning to Eden

A conviction of the Paracelsian philosophers was that the mysteries of nature's processes could be discovered and the adept could learn to be an agent in the renewal of nature, part of which work would be the return to an "Adamic state". This confidence is echoed in the Quaker literature, as well. In his *The Discovery of the Great Enmity of the Serpent against the Seed of the Woman* (1655), William Dewsbury writes, "Jesus Christ purged away the filthy nature...so...I was made free from the body of sin and death...I witness I am regenerate and born again of the immortal seed.[29]

The most vivid expression of such a transformation occurs in Fox's own writing. He records a mystical experience in 1648 when,

> I was come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were newe, and all the creation gave unto me another smell than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness; being renewed into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue.[30]

Fox goes on to describe how this vision led him initially to consider practising "physic" (medicine) and describes an experience of power that opened up to him the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

Rufus Jones has noted that Fox's account is nearly identical to a vision in 1600 of Jakob Boehme, the German Christian mystic and alchemist. Indeed, several elements of this vision parallel alchemical imagery. The "flaming sword", while clearly a direct biblical allusion, is also a representative of the "Hermetically sealed" secrets of the cosmos. Through direct experience, the adept is able to "open the seals", even as Fox, following years of spiritual searching was brought through the sword guarding paradise.[31]

Fox's experience of a transformed, perfected world, the unity of all things, a personal transmutation, and a knowledge of the nature and virtue of all things also echo themes in the alchemical literature, Even Fox's comment about an initial inclination to practice medicine relates to the Paracelsian interest in a reformed medical practice. In his own words, Fox claims that,

> physicians might be reformed and brought into the wisdom of God, by which all things were made and created; that they might

receive a right knowledge of the creatures, and understand their virtues ... All things, visible and invisible, are seen, by the Light of Christ... by whom all things were created.[32]

Perfection

Closely connected with the experience of returning to "the state in which Adam was before the Fall" is a confidence in the possibility of perfecting nature and human character. Fox and other early Quakers were convinced that they possessed the power to overcome sin and darkness; this lay behind their commitment to the "Lamb's War", a spiritual battle agains sin and evil, within and without, commitment to the "Lamb's War", a spiritual battle against sin and evil, within and without.

Margaret Fell wrote in 1653 to a member of Parliament, Colonel West, "Let your high Formalists and great Professors consider now, who is persecuted for the Truth, and who it is that persecutes them. They have long stood in their Forms; but never was there any Perfection till now, that the Power of Truth is made manifest..."[33]

In 1650, Sarah Jones described her own experience: "Except the Creature sink down into that manifest and revealed, and so be wrought into its natures, and so all things of God's power and authority, ye also shall fall short...not as though I myself have altogether attained to that degree of perfection; but... I am one that presseth hard after it..."[34]

George Fox was convinced that one could become perfect in this life; he took seriously Jesus' admonition, recorded in Matthew 5:48, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect". He constantly disputed with those who, as he put it, "pleaded for sin" and claimed that a person cannot achieve perfection on this side of death.

Without knowing Greek, Fox displayed an intuitive understanding of the word "teleios" - ultimate design and purpose - which stands behind the Matthean sense of perfection. For Fox, perfection meant submitting fully to God's original design for creation, a creation made perfect but corrupted by the Fall. When one is renewed into God's original image by Christ, one is perfect again.[35] Hugh Barbour points out that perfection for Fox and the early Quakers was not a matter of individual infallibility, but of a transformation through personal experience into perfect conformity to God's purposes, a transformation of ones inner nature as well as of the physical world through obedience to the Light.[36]

"Oh, wait all in that which is pure", Fox wrote, "to be fed alone of God with the eternal living food...And be famous in his Light, and hold in his Strength...as you dwell in that which is of God, it guides you up out of the elementary life, out of the mortal into the immortal..."[37] elsewhere, he writes, "There is your Teacher, the Light, obey it. There is your condemnation, disobeying it. If you hearken to the Light in you, it will not suffer you to conform to the evil ways... of the world [but] lead you to purity, to holiness, to uprightness, even up to the Lord".[38]

The belief of the seventeenth century alchemist, too, Eliade writes, was that "If there were no exterior obstacles to the execution of her designs, Nature would always complete what she wishes to produce...God and only gold is the child of her desires..."[38] The alchemical dream was a vision of restoring the inner soul and the outer world to their intended form, to re-establish the teleological design for all forms. But to restore that primordial state, the soul must be dissolved by the Spirit, even as the "artist" in the laboratory dissolved substances with mercury to reform them.

An inward experience of reducing the "metal" of the soul to its primary substance results from separation from base material through combat with the conflicting tendencies of the soul. Similar to the apocalyptic hope of Friends who, having experienced the transforming Light within themselves, expected the transformation of the world, the Paracelsians also expected a "solve et coagula" (dissolution and reformation) of the world. Writing in a book published in 1591 in England, Bruno says,

> ... the dawn of a new day invites us. And let us place ourselves in such a manner that the rising sun does not disclose our uncleanness... If we thus purge our habitations, O ye gods, if we thus renew our heaven, the constellations and influences shall be new, the impressions and fortunes shall be new, for all things depend on this upper world...[40]

Direct and Immediate Experience of the Light and Power

For the Paracelsians, the Copernican sun was a powerful symbol, and the golden sun, light, and darkness were important terms. The imagery of light, darkness, and illumination was central to Friends, as well. Richard Farnsworth, writing in 1654 in *The Heart Opened by Christ*, states, "Mind the Light of God in you, that shows you sin and

evil... and so lead you into the pure wisdome...and Righteousness and Purity shine forth in you...; Thy Light within, obey it, is your teacher, and will show you the way that leads to Salvation..."[40] James Nayler, in his *Lamentation over the Ruins of this Oppessed Nation* (1653), writes, "The Kingdom of God is within you...the way to the Kingdom is within you, and the Light that guides unto the way... is within".[42]

By "waiting and meeting" in this Light, Friends experienced a joining together with each other and with Christ. By experiencing this Light, Friends came into the covenant with God, into true knowledge, and were separated from the vain world.[43]

The Light was associated with God's power to unify, bring illumination and wisdom, make humble and judge, effect perfection, and give dominion over all things. In the following epistle, Fox gives expression to the close relationship of Light and the power of God, evincing, too, the familiar alchemical theme of "separation" and the mechanical "working" of base material to purify it:

> Friends,
>
> In the power of the Lord God dwell and live, that over all the world ye may stand, that ye may handle the word of God aright, which is as a hammer, and as a sword to divide the precious from the vile, and as a fire to burn up that which is hammered down, and divided from the precious. And in the wisdom of God wait, that ye may answer that of God in everyone; which Light will bring them off those things which they have set up in that nature which is gone from the Light...for such as are come to the Light feel Christ and his Cross, which is the power of God.[44]

Fox testified that this Light and power had led him to overcome the "ocean of darkness and death" and that it had sometimes worked miracles through him. In 1648 he wrote that "many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare His omnipotent arm, and manifested His power...whereby many have been delivered from great infirmities".[45]

Light and power receive similar treatment in alchemical texts. Elémire Zolla writes that alchemists identified divine energy with the essence of light and attempted to release the life-enhancing soul of light from all substances, to extract the particle of light that works each body into its pure form.[46] The alchemical literature mentions the "Inner Light" as the "invisible supreme Alchemist",[47] which effects the dissolution of the base, inward metal in preparation for transformation into a purer metal.

True wisdom, the alchemists believed, brought with it a power to make the adept a handmaid of the natural processes of creation and the Creator. Until the Hermetic philosophy degenerated into magic with the advent of a scientific, mechanistic world-view, the power of transformation the alchemist sought was the power to perfect the soul and the cosmos.

Quakers Alchemists?

In spite of the seemingly similar vocabularly and purpose, there is virtually no evidence of an organic connection between early Friends and the Paracelsians who peopled the same Midlands landscape of Cromwellian England. The only mention of alchemy given by Fox himself is in his response once to a priest who maintained that Fox wore silver buttons. "They were but alchemy", he replied.[48] Fox did not use any of the tell-tale symbolism of alchemy and astrology used by Paracelsian contemporaries such as Elias Ashmole. Neither he nor other Quakers mentions meeting alchemists or reading the English Paracelsians. In his own writings, Ashmole makes no mention of Fox or the Quakers. John Heydon, a seventeenth century astrologer and writer on the Rosicrucian mysteries, states in a letter from 1666 that there was no association between the Rosicrucians and Quakers.[49]

Most of the first Friends were not the sort who would have been reading Paracelsian medical texts or joining in debates at Oxford over the Galenic canon and educational reform. Many could not read at all! They resented their opponents' connecting them with "the occult sciences", and in general claimed their insights came directly as revelation from God.

Some opponents of the Quakers, however, made claims about their relation to the German Paracelsian Jakob Boehme. As has been mentioned earlier, Boehme's own "flaming sword" vision predated Fox's; he described the presence of a "hidden" inner light in all persons and even cited the "vanity" of the outward sacraments when salvation comes from the indwelling presence of Christ alone. A book by Boehme was listed among Fox's holdings upon his death, but that is no proof he had read it!

In a letter in 1655 to an Anabaptist, trying to dissuade him from joining the despised sect of Quakers, Richard Baxter associates Friends with "Behmenists" (followers of Boehme), especially in their attack on externalism and their "crying up" the light within, revelation, and perfection in this life.[50] This may be as close as one

may come to an "organic link" between the Paracelsians and early Quakers.

Still, F.M. van Helmont's Quaker convincement without, evidently, giving up his Paracelsian leanings, the numbers of early Quaker converts who came out of parliamentary forces where Paracelsian writings were widely discussed; and the clear parallels between emphases within the Quaker movement and in the Paracelsian revival beg for further study to find more definite links.

Current research by Douglas Gwyn into the apocalyptic nature of early Quakers and Rex Ambler's "discovery" of the process by which the first Friends centred down into the Light and allowed it to transform their lives offer intriguing possibilities for seeing further connections between the world renewing optimism and transformational "alchemy" of the Paracelsians and the initial generation of Quakers.

Conclusion

Does it make a difference? Wouldn't it even harm the cause of Quakerism to associate it with the misunderstood and highly caricatured "pseudo-science" of alchemy? One response is simply that it is a valid field of enquiry, to seek for Quakerism's progenitors, no matter where the search might take us.

Deeper, however, is the potential for a rediscovery of the real power that early Friends believed (and experienced!) as being available to us for transformation of ourselves and the world. To associate that power and Light with the primordial power of Creation might embolden present day Friends to be more courageous in attempting personal and corporate renewal.

And if it does nothing else, perhaps this flawed essay will encourage a future Ph.D. candidate to pursue the research necessary to examine this question more fully.

If that should be the case, may they "come through the flaming sword" into a state of research perfection!

Max L. Carter

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JOHN NAISH AND HIS SCHOOL IN BATH

The Ledger

Bristol College was a school which opened in 1831. One of its pupils was Walter Bagehot, financial journalist of *The Economist* and commentator on matters fiscal, political and constitutional. Bristol College's archive is in Bristol Central Reference Library.[1] Most of the pieces are large and bound in full or half leather, with red leather labels stamped in gold lettering. One piece[2] is a thick, narrow, stumpy ledger, bound in white vellum, simple, unadorned, unlabelled, untitled. It is catalogued as the Ledger of Bristol College, but its entries are dated 1809-1813, some twenty years before Bristol College was even founded, let alone opened.

Nor is the Ledger wholly that of a school: it contains the accounts of a proprietor whose main business was a school, nut who also had interests in at least one other business.

Whose School?

Who was the proprietor? The Ledger offers clues: (1) Entries for payments to a Lancasterian school: so the properietor was not an anglican or roman catholic, but probably a nonconformist. (2) All dates in the format 1 Mo 1, so the proprietor was almost certainly a Quaker. Consistent with that is an account headed "Tithes", but completely blank. (3) Entries for payments to "Bath monthly meeting" and "Quarterly meeting", so the proprietor was a member of the Society of Friends in or near Bath. (4) An entry for a payment to Sidcot School (opened 1.ix.1808): so the school to which to Ledger relates was not Sidcot. (5) An entry for rent for 1 Hatfield Place in 1813.

There is a Hatfield Place in Bath: it is a house in Hatfield Road, which runs from Wellsway to Bloomfield Road at its junction with Englishcombe Lane, high up and at that time out of town: the temptations of the sulphurous pit would have been at some distance, albeit downhill all the way. Browne's *New Bath Directory* for 1809 lists Mr John Naish at Hatfield Place, without attributing any occupation. But the *New Bath Directory* (1812) has an entry for "Naish J, academy for young gentlemen, 1 Hatfield Place, Wells-road".

So the Ledger is that of John Naish of Bath, Friend, proprietor of a school for boys at 1 Hatfield Place, Bath.

Who was John Naish?

John Naish the schoolmaster was the son of Francis, a silversmith (1752-1785), and Susannah Naish (1756-1822) of Bath. Susannah Naish, daughter of William and Susannah Evill, was brought up a baptist, married Francis Naish in 1778, but was left a widow in 1785 with four young children. She joined the Friends and wielded much influence.[3] Her circumstances enabled her to arrange for her sons John and William Naish to attend Ackworth, the Friends' school in Yorkshire, from 1793 to 1796; William is recorded as having come from [Flax] Bourton in Somerset and stayed at Ackworth until 1799.[4] From 1796 to 1803 John Naish was an apprentice schoolmaster at Ackworth.[5] John Naish then went to Sheffield and there taught as a schoolmaster: he is so described when on 16.i.1806 he married Catharine Trickett at Sheffield Friends' meeting. Catharine was the daughter of Robert, a cutler, and Catherine Trickett of Hill-foot in Yorkshire.[6]

The North Somerset Monthly Meeting on 28.iv.1806 received a certificate of removal for John and Catharine Naish from Balby Meeting, Yorkshire. Young Sturge the land surveyor was detailed to get the measure of them, with friends approved by the women's meeting.[7]

John and Catharine Naish had four children while they were at Hatfield Place: Francis (31.iii.1808); Robert (11.iv.1809); Phebe (18.viii.1811); and Thomas (14.v.1813).[8]

That John Naish was made of stern stuff is suggested by his own report about sufferings to the North Somerset Monthly Meeting at Sidcot on 30.x.1809. He had been fined £20 by Bath magistrates for refusing to do militia duty. He had not paid the fine, but distress had not been levied.[9] The same meeting investigated with disapproval the conduct of Joseph Sewell, who had been fined £10, but had acquiesced in his employer paying the fine for him.[10]

John Naish the schoolmaster is often referred to in Monthly and Quarterly Meeting minutes as John Naish of Bath, to distinguish him from two others of that name.

(1) John Naish of Congresbury. He is mentioned in North Somerset Quarterly Meeting minutes, but does not feature in this

story. Son of Joseph and Betty Naish (nee Willmott) of Flax Bourton, born 1786, he married Lydia Eddington 1810, and became a shopkeeper at Congresbury; he died in 1875, aged 88.[11]

(2) John Naish of Bathwick. Bath directories list a John Naish who was a horsedealer at 19 Bathwick Street, though by 1812 he had moved to 35 Bathwick Street (or Bathwick Street had been renumbered). He is not John Naish the school proprietor, but the Ledger does refer to him: towards the end of the Ledger is an account headed "1813 Estate of John Naish", to which another hand has added "Bathwick". The account opens with an entry dated 26.iv.1813 for £24 cash found in the deceased's pocket (had he just sold a horse or did death beat him by a short head to buying one?); there are items for horses, the cost of the funeral, and payments "to Sarah" (daughter or widow?), The burial was at Flax Bourton on 27.iv.1813.[12] The register records that he was a horse dealer from Bath, but "not a member of our Society", which is consistent with an entry in the estate account in the Ledger for the payment of tithes. The Bath *Chronicle* 29.iv.1813 and the Bath and Cheltenham *Gazette* of the previous day report the death on 23.iv.1813 of John Naish, "formerly an eminent tanner in Lambridge (a little to the north-east of Bathwick), a man much respected by an extensive circle of friends." The corresponding entry in the Bath *Journal*[13] calls him John Nash, gives his address as Sydney Place, and describes him as formerly proprietor of the tan-yard at Lambridge.

Why should this estate account have been written in the Ledger? The accounts in the Ledger are not confined to the school: some deal with other traders, eg the sale of porter, and some deal with Meeting expenses. One possibility is that John Naish the schoolmaster wound up the estate of John Naish, tanner and horsedealer; perhaps they were relatives.

What sort of school?

At this period children from poor families might have received elementary education, if at all, at one of the early monitorial schools following the methods of Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster; some might have attended charity or dame schools; children from affluent families were most likely to be educated at home by a relative, tutor

or governess. There were grammar schools, but not all were efficient: Bristol Grammar School, for example, was then scandalously and spectacularly defunct. Few could afford, nor might wish, to send their children to one of the few major public schools like Eton or Winchester. Schools stamped with Dr Arnold's brand were yet to come. The gap in the market was filled by small private academies teaching children from families who paid fees. Bath in 1805 had at least twenty-four boarding schools, of which eleven were for boys; of those, one was preparatory only, one was a grammar school in the strict sense, and two were run by clergymen.[14] Some advertised in the *Chronicle* and the *Journal*. Several such schools were run by Friends as individuals by way of business; many will not have wished their children to attend Church of England schools, especially ones where the catechism was taught; and from many anglican schools they would have been barred in any event.

A Lancasterian school was begun in Bath in 1810: John Naish paid a subscription in support of it. Apart from any sense of obligation, he would not have seen a Lancasterian school teaching elementary education to children from poor families as a threat to his own academy. John Naish does not appear to have advertised his school in the Bath newspapers: that suggests that his was intended as a school for children from a wider area; but he does not appear to have advertised in other regional papers eg the *Exeter Flying Post*, which suggests his school may have been intended for Quaker families only. Before moving back to Bath from Yorkshire, he issued a prospectus:[15]

> John Naish respectfully informs his Friends, that he intends to open a Boarding school at No 1 Hatfield Place, three quarters of a mile from Bath.
>
> *For Thirty Boys at 35 guineas per annum*
>
> The situation is pleasant and healthy, and the premises are large and commodious.
>
> The school is intended to be opened the 1st of the 2nd Month, 1806.
>
> Applications are requested to be made either to SUSANNAH NAISH, Kingsmead Terrace, Bath; or to JOHN NAISH, No 17 Allen-Street, Sheffield.
>
> *This number will not be exceeded - The Languages and Drawing to be paid for extra, each 3 guineas per annum - Entrance money 2 guineas.

The minutes of the North Somerset Monthly Meeting do not contain any resolution authorising John Naish to set up the school: contrast the control over the establishment of new businesses exercised by the Leeds Meeting.[16] That may reflect different practice; or Susannah Naish senior's clout.

Curriculum and staff

John Naish's propsectus set out both his proposed curriculum and his principles of education, with much that modern educators would applaud:

> The children will be instructed in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetick, Book-Keeping, the Mathematicks, Geography, History and such of the Languages as their parents may desire, in Drawing, if required, and in some other branches of Learning.
> For the effectual accomplishment of the important designs of Education, it seems necessary that the teacher be well acquainted with the minds of his pupils; JN will therefore endeavour to establish a free and familiar intercourse between him and his scholars. When by this means he has obtained an easy access to their minds, and acquired over them that influence which he trusts will result from their confidence in his endeavours to promote their welfare, he hopes it will be easy to direct and guide their exertions, and to establish such principles and habits in their minds as will qualify them for useful and honourable stations in future life.
> With respect to his mode of teaching, it may be proper to observe, that he will always endeavour to make his pupils acquainted with the elementary principles of those Sciences which they profess to study, and to adapt his instruction to their peculiar habits of thinking.
> Spelling and Reading claim great attention; they will in some measure be considered as the groundwork of Literary Education. Writing will be taught in its various branches, and regard had both to elegance and usefulness.
> In the study of Grammar, their attention will first be directed to the radical principles of language, the teacher having invariably found a familiar explanation of these the best introduction to a well-grounded knowledge of the particular rules. They will

frequently be exercised in Composition on easy and familiar subjects; and attention will be paid to their style of conversation. In Arithmetick, besides the proper management of figures, they will be instructed in the general properties of numbers, and will mostly be exercised with such questions as are the likeliest to occur in real business, and it will be deemed highly useful to make them conversant with the most approved methods of Book-keeping.

The Mathematicks it is hoped may be made to expand and strengthen the intellectual powers.

The study of Geography will be preceded by that of the simple parts of Astronomy, because the children must be acquainted with the nature of latitude, longitude, the meridians, equator, &c, before they can make a right use of maps and globes.

Their Historical and Biographical Reading, the teacher hopes, will furnish him with opportunities of instilling just and generous sentiments into their minds.

The Languages will be taught by approved masters.

Such parts of Natural Philosophy as are adapted to their capacities will be explained to them in familiar lectures, illustrated by a suitable philosophical apparatus.

For their further Improvement, a proper assortment of books will be provided, to the reading of which they will be encouraged to allot a part of their leisure time.

J NAISH is aware that the most punctual performance of what he has now mentioned does not comprise the whole of his business. His oversight of the children will not cease with their regular hours of study, because he well knows that at other times there will be frequent opportunities of giving them general and miscellaneous information, of teaching them to act well, and think correctly. It will be his duty to attend to every circumstance that is likely to affect the forming of their minds, and to encourage their applications for advice and information.

Though the children will be taught to consider a strict attention to their studies as a serious and indispensable duty, yet the teacher hopes he shall be able to render the performance of it pleasing, and to impress them with a just sense of the usefulness of learning.

It will be regarded as an object of considerable importance to make suitable provision for their amusement, and in all other respects to study their comfort and accommodation. This it is considered will tend to produce in them a disposition favourable to the purpose of education.

It is not stated what the "suitable provision for their amusement" was; it is not clear whether games were played, but in the Ledger Richard Davis' account is debited with a sum for "2 skins for covering balls". What that resulted in is suggested by several entries for "cash, boys, for damage"; an account headed "Glazier" might explain of what sort.

How John Naish delivered his curriculum can be gleaned from the Ledger entries.

He employed as schoolmaster Richard Davis. Although the Ledger begins at the start of 1809, it includes an account for Davis, copied from a loose paper account tucked into the Ledger, which acknowledges that Davis was employed from 5.iv.1806, some seven months after the opening date given in John Naish's prospectus. Davis' salary was £63 a year, and from the books credited to him he seems to have taught French as well as English. Davis was absent ill from xii.1808 to iii.1809, and got no pay.

In the accounts for 1811 Daniel Deboudry is employed as teacher at £63 a year. As he is credited with a copy of Weekes' *Rhetorical Grammar* and Cicero's *Orations*, perhaps he taught Latin. In 1812 there appear to be other teachers, John Rae, and R Wallis, the latter being paid for "for 3 boys extra", so presumably he taught an option subject such as French or Latin. In 1813 there is a teacher called Thomas Jones.

Of particular note (because it may explain what happened to the Ledger) is the account of John Sanders. His 1810 account includes £17 2s 6d for his bill for drawing, which implies that he was not at that time John Naish's employee. His account also includes £10 for a telescope and £3 13s 6d for a microscope: obtained, perhaps, from Darton & Co, whose account includes an item for newspapers as well as instruments and unspecified goods, which may have included some of the philosophical apparatus referred to in the prospectus. In 1811 John Sanders is employed as drawing master, on a salary of £40 15s. It is tempting to speculate whether John Sanders might be.

(1) John Sanders or Saunders (1750-1825), who studied and exhibited at the Royal Academy 1769-1773;[17] was living in Bath in 1792; taught painting and drawing at 9 Lansdown Place in 1793,[18] where he was a tenant of the Sharples and did damage nailing pictures to the stucco walls;[19] moved to Beach's studio at 2 Westgate Buildings in 1799; and enjoyed some success there as a portrait painter. He painted Judith, Countess of Radnor in 1821 and Fanny D'Arblay mentions him as having painted Princess

Charlotte.[20] He appears to have moved in 1802 into his son's premises at 4 Green Park and then 3 Westgate Buildings. Late in 1824 he moved to Clifton, Bristol, to a relative's house at 1a Clifton Place, and died there early in 1825.[21] Or,

(2) His Son John Arnold Sanders, born probably before 1789[22] in London, who had a drawing academy at 4 Green Park, Bath in 1802;[23] offered landscape and perspective at 19 Kingsmead Street in Bath and 1 Clifton Place, Bristol in 1815;[24] married Fanny Hippisley at Shepton Mallet on 21.x.1815;[25] taught drawing at the Bristol Hotwell in 1816 and possibly later;[26] but is said to have got involved with a pupil and emigrated to Canada in 1832-33.[27]

John Naish had other employees. In 1809 he employed three female servants (explained in the 1810 summary account as a cook, housemaid and nursemaid), two at nine guineas and one at six guineas a year; a man (Moses?) employed for forty weeks (term time only?), at 8s a week "allowing 20% as given him". There was also a Charlotte Hart employed at eighteen guineas a year (governess/ matron?), who also got one and three quarter yards of lassiemere[28] at 10s.

Lowest paid of all was George Robinson, credited 5s a quarter, later increased to 6s, but to whom £8 was debited for clothing. He was John Naish's apprentice, presumably an apprentice schoolmaster. His account includes a debit for "a horse cloth lost, 4s 6d". Whether that was the occasion of a quarrel between them the accounts do not say, but there was a serious rift: John Naish reported to the North Somerset Monthly Meeting on 28.i.1811 that there was a dispute: it ended on 26.viii.1811 with the issue of a clear certificate of removal for George Robinson to Rochester.

In 1809 John Naish billed fees for just over thirty pupils at £36 15s each per year,. That implies that the school had claims to quality, and was somewhat up-market. Some paid extra for Latin and French. Robert Fox's outstanding debt from 1808 implies that young Joshua was taught Spanish, but that appears to have been a one-off: the prospectus said languages would be taught as a parent might require. There are items for English readers, an English dictionary, "48 copies of exercises on histories of England", 6 Payne's Geographies, and a year's subscription to Upham's library (John Upham was bookseller in Lower Walks, Bath).[29] In 1810 some books appear to have been sold to Sidcot School. There is also a payment of 11s to R Smith of Ackworth, which might be another school-

connected payment. French required the purchase of *Gil Blas* and *Les Jardins*. Other works purchased included Douces's *Illustrations* and Malcolm's *Anecdotes*. The accounts include items for quills, drawing paper, and a sheet of parchment (6s 6d: for a legal agreement? for binding the Ledger itself?)

Pupils

Not all pupils were local: the Ledger confirms the prospectus's description of the venture as a boarding school. With the help of the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography in Friends House Library* it is possible to identify some of the 37 fee-payers and hence some of the pupils, but only tentatively, because (1) few addresses are given; and (2) the practice of set-off of one debt against another, mutual aid and charity mean that the person billed was not necessarily the parent of the pupil. The names listed in the fees account are of parents or other persons responsible for fees, not the names of the pupils, because : (1) some of those named, if correctly identified, were not married, let alone parents; (2) some items are so large as to imply more than one pupil; (3) Robert Fox's account includes an item for a book "for Joshua", and Wm Boultbee's account includes an item "for Alfred"; and (4) two of the names in the school fees account are Rachel Fry and Dor[othy] Fox, whereas the school was for boys.

George Eaton was probably the ironmonger in Bristol whose son Joseph (1792-1858) later established the *Bristol Temperance Herald*;

Luke Evill is almost certainly John Naish's cousin, an attorney who practised at Green Street in Bath;[30]

Edward Fox was probably the merchant of Wadebridge (1749-1817), whose son Francis was born in 1797; the family were related to the Weres of Wellington in Somerset;

a Dor[othy] Fox (1766-1842) nee Hingston, was the widow of Robert Were Fox, merchant of Wadebridge; two Dorothy Foxes are in the 1809 list of Friends ordered to be drawn up by the West Devon Monthly Meeting;[31]

a John Grace (1771-1851), merchant of Gloucester, Lodway (near Pill in North Somerset) and Bristol, had four children including James (born 1797) and Josiah (1799);

Walter Prideaux (1779-1832), the banker from Plymouth, who appears in the 1809 West Devon list under Kinsbridge/Modbury, had a son Charles (1809-1893) who rose from apprentice to inspector to general manager to chairman in the family firm;

William Shorthouse (1768-1838), a Birmingham chemist, had a son Joseph, born 1797;

John Southall (1763-1828), a Leominster mercer, had sons Samuel (1793), Thomas (1794) and William (1797);

John Thomas is likely to have been the grocer at Bristol Bridge (1752-1827), who later interested himself in the Somerset Coal Canal and the Kennet and Avon Canal; in 1812 he retired to Prior Park, so was a comparatively near neighbour of John Naish; his sons included Edward (1794) and Joseph (1797);

John Tuckett may have been the merchant from Bristol (1758-1845) who moved to Plymouth and had children including Edward (1798);

Thomas Were, a Bristol merchant (1771-1833) had a son Thomas (1800).

Dev[ereux] Bowly was a banker from Cirencester.[32]

Others are not so easily identifiable. Was Edmund Barritt from Purleigh in Essex? Who was Frank Cockworthy? Rachel Fox? Was David Cox of Essex or Gloucester? Was Geo Fisher the one from Lancaster? Was Stephen George from Rochester, or the Bristol sugar trader of that name? Was David Coe the father of Joseph Coe the Bath haberdasher? Was Josh Gibbins from Aston near Birmingham or Stourbridge? Was John Hinton the grocer from Plymouth Dock (Devonport) who married at a Friends' meeting in 1784?[33] Was James Leman the Bristol attorney of that name? And who were William Boultbee, George Arthur, B Chorley, William Tay, Josh Young?

As might be expected from the location of the school, the list has a strong west country flavour, but the prominence of Cornwall and Plymouth names suggests there may have been no comparable school at that time for the sons of affluent Friends in the far south west.

One pupil had a separate account of his own. In just five lines of

accountancy Wm Boultbee was charged for Alfred Boultbee's tuition to Christmas 1808; then for board only; 2 guineas for a physician; £3 9s for an apothecary (William White); and £16 6s for the undertaker's bill.

John Naish and Sidcot

One local event which must have had an impact on John Naish's school was the opening of Sidcot, about twenty four miles from Hatfield Place. F.A. Knight has told[34] how Sidcot came to be founded.

In 1779 the Friends' Yearly Meeting purchased the premises of the former foundling hospital at Ackworth in Yorkshire, and opened a boarding school there.

In 1784 John Benwell, who had a school at Yatton, and whose brother Joseph Benwell had a school at Longfield, moved to Sidcot and opened a school there for forty five boys.

At the Yearly Meeting in 1807 unnamed Friends from the West of England discussed opening an Ackworth-type school near Bristol, agreed on the need, and decided to raise it at the (Bristol and Somerset) Quarterly Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting at Glastonbury in vi[35] 1807 approved of founding in one of the western counties "an Institution somewhat similar to that at Ackworth, for the education of a smaller number of the children of Friends in low circumstances". The Quarterly meeting appointed a committee to move the matter forward; that committee included John Benwell, Joseph Naish and "John Naish (of Bath)". The three men appointed superintendents of the school included John Benwell and Joseph (but not John) Naish. Joseph Naish (1750-1822) was the son of John and Elizabeth Naish of Flax Bourton. He was placed with a Bath tradesman, returned to Flax Bourton as a tanner, married Betty Willmott of Claverham in 1771, and moved in 1789 to Congresbury, where he met John Benwell.[36]

The provisional or general committee, appointed by the Quarterly Meeting, met at Bridgwater on 15.ix.1807 and decided to raise £7000 to establish a school within reach of Bristol. When the committee met in Bristol on 15.xii.1807, with £4000 subscribed, it agreed to buy John Benwell's house and fourteen acres at Sidcot, Benwell and his wife Martha to act as unpaid superintendents but with free board and lodging until permanent staff were recruited. This was agreed by the Yearly Meeting in 1808.

The possibility of competition with others schools, including private schools owned or run by Friends as individuals as distinct from Friends' meetings, was noted: Sidcot was intended for

> "the offspring of poor Friends, or of those who cannot well afford to send them to other boarding schools. They are not to encourage the sending of those whose parents or guardians can conveniently send them to other boarding schools".

That stipulation may have been made to protect the interests of proprietors like John Naish, and might even have been made at his instigation: his school at Hatfield Place was already up and running. When Ackworth had opened it had caused the closure of several schools that had been established by Meetings.[37]

At the first meeting of the General Committee of Sidcot school on 15.vii.1808, the fees were fixed at £14 a year plus 4s 4d pocket money. John Naish was charging two and a half times that. The curriculum was to be Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. The girls were to learn sewing and knitting as well. All were to undertake domestic work; the girls were to mend the boys' linen, and the senior boys were to work on the land and in the gardens.

In 1808 the Committee included Joseph Naish, but neither John Naish nor John Benwell. However, in 1811, the North Somerset Monthly Meeting gave John Naish permission to attend the Sidcot School Committee (28.i.1811); he had attended the Ackworth general meeting on 29.vii.1807.[38]

Sidcot opened on 1.ix.1808 with six boys and three girls. Numbers rose to 32 in 1809, 67 in 1812, 75 in 1815, and 85 in 1820.

During its early years Sidcot had staffing difficulties. The first schoolmaster, on £40 a year, left after two months. A husband and wife team appointed in 1810 on £120 a year left after eighteen months. Joseph Naish, filling in as unpaid superintendent in 1817, gave notice of his intention to resign within a year becaue of friction between his predecessor's widow and another woman member of staff who left in 1818; Joseph himself resigned in 1820, by which date John Naish's school had ceased at Hafield Place, and the Ledger entries had ceased.

What other business connections did John Naish have?

There was an S Naish at 7 Kingsmead Terrace in 1809: she must be the Susannah Naish who is named in John Naish's school's prospectus as one to whom applications might be made.

The Ledger mentions two Susannah Naishes, senior (John Naish's

mother) and junior (sister-in-law?). Susannah Naish senior is recorded as having lent some £75 for three years at 5%, the rate of interest on all borrowings in the Ledger but one. Susannah Naish junior's account has several entries, including meat, cash advanced to C Naish (John Naish's wife?), "pictures of orchard", a bed, a lye but[t], a swing and six sheets of drawing paper.

William and Susannah Naish were advertising themselves as selling general groceries, teas and British wines at 21 New Bond Street in 1809,[39] and they were still there in 1812.[40] It is clear from the Ledger that John Naish traded with them: they supplied meat and groceries. William Naish features prominently in the accounts, on occasion as apparent funder of Meeting expenses, as debtor and creditor, and as one who paid some of the pupils' fees. Perhaps not too much should be made of that, as one of the striking features of the Ledger is the way in which balances were struck after setting debts off against each other, often with many parties involved. Not all cases were as simple as that of Robert Fox of Falmouth, whose 9s. debt for a Spanish grammar for Joshua and 30 yards of cord was "discharged by gift of a hat to Francis."

The Bath *Journal* for 3.ii.1812 carried an announcement that Swetman & Co's Brown Stout Porter business would be removing from Broad Street to 21 New Bond Street (William and Susannah Naish's shop) where it would be carried on under the name of Naish & Co. The Ledger shows that some time before 1812 Josiah Swetman helped not William but John Naish to open a trade in London porter in Bath. There are entries for carriage of samples to Bristol and Sheffield, which implies that the business was making use of the family's local connections there. Amidst entries for bottles and corks is one for a payment of £10 to Josiah Swetman "for his services before the opening of the trade". Josiah Swetman then gets a salary of £60. After just over £40 worth has been sold, the stock appears to have been sold to Wm and Susannah Naish, for a price left with them, but on which they would pay interest. On 24.ii.1812 the Bath and North Somerset Monthly Meeting authorised Josiah Swetman's removal to Bristol.[41] Commencing September 1812, the Ledger records, William and Susannah agreed to allow John Naish 3% "on all the London porter sold in Bath".

There is also an account with James White, under which John Naish paid a cash dividend of 6% on a sum of about £100, plus some £14 "profit and loss", possibly as part of the terms of a business loan.

John Naish borrowed other money at simple interest: all at 5%. The lenders were: Susannah Naish senior: £74 15s 6d; Thomas Sanders:

£300; Samuel Smith: £100, increased in 1812 to £400; Robert Trickett (Catharine's father, presumably): £200. These evidently were the providers of working capital for John Naish's school. At least two, possibly three, were relatives of John Naish.

Some accounting aspects of The Ledger

Five pages of the Ledger have been cut out. The index implies the missing accounts were for R Wallis (one of the schoolmasters), A Pye, T Witton, John Thomas (who had a school fees account), Meeting, Glazier, Butcher and the debit side of the Bank account.

The Ledger contains both business and household items. Meetings expenses are included, so although they appear in various individuals' accounts, they were separately accounted for. It is not possible to reconcile these with the accounts of the Meetings, which have suffered fire damage and are largely illegible.[42]

The Ledger is kept in conventional double entry. As some of the items are difficult to reconcile with the annual summary accounts, and some of the contra items are not in the accounts where you might expect them to be, it is possible that John Naish may not have grasped the principles fully, or accounting conventions may have changed.

Set-off is frequent, as is satisfaction in kind.

Many accounts are paid by bill of exchange. There are transactions with a bank, not named. Prescott's is mentioned in a note to one of the estate accounts, but that may be because John Naish the horsedealer banked with them.

The 1809 figures include an account headed "Taxes". This includes not only the expected items for window tax, poor rate, highway rate and property tax (including property tax on interest loan), but also items for house, servant, carriage, horse and dog, the last 3s 6d. This might suggest that John Naish treated as a tax all outgoings, whether or not they were strictly taxes: thus the 1811 summary account includes under the heading Taxes his subscriptions to Sidcot school and a Lancasterian school (one began in Bath in 1810, converted in 1813 to a National school, and lasted for many years under the name of Bathforum Free School), and two subscriptions to the Bath Meeting. But he has a separate account for house contents insurance (£800 in 1809, reduced to £500 later), the debit entry being to cash, not taxes.

One outgoing which had a separate account was John Naish's

horse. Again, a mini-saga in a few lines. It cost him £37 16s; there were bills for hay, corn, the saddler, medicine, shoeing and the blacksmith. Running costs were £16 15s. 5½d. Twice John Baker was paid 1s 6d for mending a whip (though this is not in the Horse account). The horse was sold for £20. Mileage is not recorded.

John Naish rented 1 Hatfield Place. The rent was £67 a year in 1809 and 1810, paid to John Hensley, possibly of Bathwick Street;[43] but £100 in the year of his death, paid to Richard Bailey or Bayly (who is not named in Bath directories). John Naish rented a field to Thomas Wright, later to Captain Thornhill,[44] and a cellar to Hester Bishop, who in 1805 and 1812 had an ironmongery and brazier's business at 25 Broad Street.[45]

The school was profitable. In 1809, on a turnover of £1213, John Naish made £251, a profit of 20% on turnover and 25% on outlay. The summary figures for 1810 are not totalled, which suggests he had not put all the expenses in, but on the figures listed he made £547 net on a turnover of £1250, a profit of 43% on turnover and 77% on outlay.

Unlike a modern educational establishment, the business was not, in money terms, labour-intensive: of the expenditure for 1809, 65% went on food (of which more than half went on meat and bread) and drink; 18% on domestic expenses (which included several items of food as well as soap, candles, brushes and starch); 7% on rent; and 10% on staffing costs (it would have gone up to only 11% if Richard Davis had been paid for the whole year when he was off sick).

Some of the accounts do not tally. In particular, the totals of the individual accounts for beer and wine are lower than the amounts for those items stated in the annual summaries.

Some of the entries are puzzling, eg in 1813, "sub for Land St [a Meeting?] £10", in the account of Susannah Naish junior; and "3 shares of engraving J T Adams's profile". John Till Adams had an account for books, so could have been a bookseller or publisher, but the subject was perhaps John Till Adams (1748-1786) a doctor in Bristol who married Ann Fry in 1777 and had "a large connection among the Quakers of Bristol":[46] "a talented man whose early death was greatly lamented".[47] John Sturton the mason got paid £9 11s 6d "for putting up the steamer": some sort of boiler?

The annual summary for 1810 is incomplete. There are no annual summaries for later years, though there are entries in individual accounts. Perhaps John Naish got fed up with accounting. Perhaps the school folded. It looks very much as if John Naish the schoolmaster

took his leave at the same time as John Naish the horse dealing tanner. The Bath *Chronicle* for 6.v.1813 carried an advertisement:

> TO SCHOOLMASTERS
>
> To be let, very pleasantly situated within a mile of Bath, a HOUSE, and extensive Premises, conveniently fitted up for a genteel establishment, and the School Business, which business has been carried on there for several years. The School Furniture, in good condition, to be sold - applications (post paid) to be made to WN, 21 New Bond Street, Bath.

Evidently William Naish was selling his brother's former premises and business stock; the school was being sold as a going concern. Perhaps John Naish had died. There was no report or notice in local newspapers, and no mention in the relevant quarterly or monthly meeting minutes. There is no entry for any Naish in Gye's *Bath Directory* of January 1819.

John Naish after the Ledger

After John Naish died, Catharine Naish appears to have returned to Sheffield. The youngest of three of their four children were pupils at Ackworth School between 1819 and 1827, and are all described as of Sheffield: Robert from 1819 to 1823; Phebe from 1823 to 1825; and Thomas from 1824 to 1827.[48] Their mother Catharine was principal mistress (that is, governess) at Ackworth from 1827 to 1830.[49] Thomas, like his father, stayed on at Ackworth as an apprentice schoolmaster from 1827 to 1832, in which year he died at the school.[50] The others died in the 1830s and 1840s, two of them at Sheffield: the *Annual Monitor* also records the death of a Catharine Naish at Sheffield in 1840, describing her as the widow of John Naish of Bath.

And the Ledger after John Naish?

How could John Naish's Ledger have become included in the muniments of Bristol College?

Bristol College was founded by a voluntary association formed at a meeting held at the Bristol Philosophical and Literary Institution in xi 1829. One of the resolutions passed at that meeting was:

> 7. That the Institution shall be open to Students of all religious

> denominations, without preference or distinction; but that it shall be competent to a committee, consisting of those members of the Council who are also members of the Church of England, to institute Lectures, and provide instruction in Theology, within the walls of the College.

That Friends made their presence felt is shown by a letter[51] the Clerk to the Council wrote on 19.v.1830 to the Revd Edward Baines of Cambridge, who had enquired in response to the advertisement of the post of Principal:

> Perhaps it might be as well that I should 1st mention the high probability that the concession made to Mr Kennedy [who did not get the post, but went to Harrow] regarding the business of tuition being daily commenced with prayer may not be allowed to yourself or any other clergyman who may offer himself as a candidate for the Principalship. I think it but candid to mention this as my private opinion at least: some members of our Council are Quakers, and therefore have of course conscientious scruples which though they were got over - [in that] instance are not likely I belive to be quieted on a second attempt.

The founders and subscribers of shares in Bristol College included Joseph Storrs Fry (1767-1835 and son of Joseph Fry of chocolate fame), Thomas Richard Sanders (1792-1876) (any relation to the drawing-master of John Naish's school or the lender of capital?) and John Naish Sanders, who had two shares.[52] John Naish Sanders, nephew of the geologist William Sanders (1799-1875)[53] was one of the many enquiring intellects who enlivened early nineteenth century Bristol: a shareholder in Bristol Zoological Society, and a founder (in 1820) and funder of the Bristol Philosophical Society.[54] It seems possible that John Naish Sanders, who lived at Clifton Hill,[55] then outside Bristol, had an interest in one or more of the Naish family businesses around Bath, and thereby acquired John Naish's Ledger. Perhaps John Naish Sanders was the son or brother of John Sanders the drawing master, who might have married a Naish daughter? When Bristol College was forced to close in 1841,[56] the books must have been kept and eventually passed to Lewis John Upton Way, a local antiquarian,[57] who donated them to Bristol City Library in 1919.[58]

By the time this paper sees the light of day, no doubt the Ledger will have been recatalogued in its own right as the Ledger of John

Naish of Bath, member of the Society of Friends, conscientious objector to militia duty, proprietor 1806-1813 of an academy for young gentlemen at 1 Hatfield Place, off the Wells Road, Bath, and one of those involved in the foundation of Sidcot School.

William Evans

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For information about John Sanders and John Arnold Sanders I am grateful to Sheena Stoddard of Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery; Sarah Kelly of the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath; Dr Ann Sumner of the Holburne Museum, Bath; and Trevor Fawcett of the History of Bath Research Group.

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THOMAS BEVILL PEACOCK: QUAKER PHYSICIAN

Thomas Bevill Peacock (1810-1882) was born in York into a Quaker[1,2,3] family – his parents were Thomas and Sarah Peacock. He was educated at a school in Kendal (under Samuel Marshall) and became apprenticed to John Fothergill, an apothecary/surgeon in Darlington. He came to London and became a medical student at University College but also attended St. George's Hospital for surgery. He qualified L.S.A. (Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries) in 1835 and became M.R.C.S. (Member of the Royal College of Surgeons) the same year. Following the Apothecaries[4] Act of 1815 Licentiates of the college were permitted to practice medicine (although initially this was opposed by both the physicians and surgeons). He was always a traveller and after qualification he became a ship's surgeon and visited Ceylon – he also studied for a time in Paris.

On return to England and for a short time he became a House Surgeon in Chester. However, in order to gain further qualifications he worked at the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh where he acquired his M.D. in 1842. He then returned to London and became L.R.C.P. (Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians) in 1844 and F.R.C.P. in 1850. In London he was appointed physician to the Aldergate Dispensary in 1845[5] and also to the Royal Free Hospital at the same date.[6] (The Dispensary movement[7] is now a forgotten service but was in its time a major step forward in the provision of health care for the poor).

A Dispensary had been provided by the Royal College of Physicians from 1696 until 1725 when it faded out and John Wesley had started one in 1746 but this had lacked medical support and it was left to Dr. John Coakley Lettson (a Quaker) to pioneer the formation of the Aldersdate Dispensary in 1770. This Dispensary founded by local gentry (friends of Lettson) employed a physician, a surgeon and an apothecary, offered out-patient treatment and home visits to the local population. It is true that usually the patients had to have a letter of introduction from one of the governors (so that the very poor were still excluded) but, at a time when hospitals were still developing, the service was, as Loudon[8] had said (quoting Buers) "The Crowning glory of 18th century medicine is that it first attempted to bring such knowledge as it had, to the service of the

Thomas Bevill Peacock MD
1848

mass of the people. The new figure was the Dispensary Doctor risking his life in the disease ridden hovels of the poor". Further, many rising physicians used the Dispensaries as a stepping stone to employment in the hospitals. Following the establishment of the Aldersgate Dispensary many more were started in the East End of London (often at the instigation of Lettson) and many big cities in the United Kingdom and abroad followed suit. Indeed many continued into the twentieth century and some (changing their function) have continued to the present time.

Peacock was, at this time, the only physician and sole medical voice on the Governor's Committee at the Royal Free Hospital.[9,10,11,12] He is recorded as caring for 80 children with cholera at the hospital referred from Tooting and only 4 died. In 1849 he was appointed assistant physician to St. Thomas' Hospital and when he left the Royal Free Hospital he was presented with a silver salver and the governors wished him well in his future career. At the same time he resigned from the Aldersgate Dispensary.

The City of London Chest Hospital[13,14,15,16]

On March 13th 1848 certain gentlemen, perceiving the need for the provision of accommodation for patients with chest diseases, met at the London Tavern. At the meeting it was decided to form a sub-committee to "prepare a prospectus and mature plans" for such a project. This sub-committee met on April 11th 1848 at the same place.

Mr. Henry Edmund Gurney took the chair and the members of the committee were Mr. J.G. Barclay, Mr. J. Tucker, Mr. Samuel Gurney, jnr., Henry Tucker, Joseph Tucker, William Smee, Charles Gilpin, John Barclay, Edwin Fox, Richard Bentley, J. Williams, F. Fowler, Richard Trevs, John Pryer, John Fletcher, J.J. Purnell, Dr. H. Jeaffreson, Dr. Benj. Guy Babington, Thomas Bevill Peacock, Edward Bentley and Mr. Chas. Aston Key, surgeon. Of the committee thirteen were Quakers and so the importance of the Society of Friends in the foundation of the hospital can be seen. It has been said that Drs. Peacock and Bentley were the prime movers in the formation of the committee and Dr. Peacock particularly so through his contacts in the City.[17] Mr. Henry Gurney undertook the duties of Treasurer of the Institution and Messrs. J.G. Barclay and J. Tucker were elected Trustees. At the meeting it was agreed:-

1) To establish a hospital in some salubrious locality near the City.

2) That this hospital shall have for its main object the provision of accommodation for persons suffering from chest diseases who, although in rank above the very poor, are yet poor enough to be received in a charitable institution.

3) That until a hospital can be provided, a public dispensary in the City shall be maintained for the treatment of people affected with Chest disease. (It will be noted that still the very poor were not catered for – and this seems to have been the same at other dispensaries - they had to go to the workhouse). A house (No. 6 Liverpool Street) was purchased and opened as a dispensary on June 13 1848. Dr. Jeaffreson and Dr. Babington were Honorary physicians. Mr. Aston Key was the consulting surgeon, Dr. Peacock and Dr. Edward Bentley the acting physicians. Dr. Peacock and a small sub-committee were also delighted to find a suitable site for a hospital. Eventually this was found near Victoria Park and the Hospital settled here. The foundation stone was laid by the Prince Consort in 1851 and wards were opened in 1855. In all this Dr. Peacock exerted a major influence. When the hospital opened he remained the leading personality and was practically its controller. He served on nearly all the committees, he visited the hospital nearly every day and inspected and directed every detail, even to the position of every piece of furniture, including those in the sisters' rooms. His punctuality was legendary and it was said that a nurse would be stationed at a window to watch for his coming so that all would be ready for him. He was so particular about cleanliness that the mere scent of tobacco smoke was enough to upset him for a whole afternoon. He considered the Pathology workroom of the Hospital to be his own and resented any intrusion there. In spite of his strictness and austerity he was very kind hearted and spared no trouble if he could do any good. His patients at the hospital considered it an honour to have been treated by "the Doctor" remembering it even after twenty or thirty years.

Even though he was autocratic and fixed in his views he was the ideal man for the hospital at this stage in its development to establish it as a leading institution. Although he was physician to St. Thomas' Hospital it was said he always regarded the Chest Hospital as his special care. – These details are taken from a History of the Hospital[13] written in 1893 when his memory must have been still fresh.

At St. Thomas' Hospital[9,10,11,12]

In spite of his work at the Chest Hospital there is no doubt that he wielded considerable influence at St. Thomas' Hospital. At this time it was said that the hospital was "governed" by the Treasurer, the matron and the Apothecary and that Peacock had "the ear" of them all. He visited the wards, often at 8.30 a.m., and took copious notes on his patients. He was also much concerned in teaching both students and nurses. He lectured initially on Medicine and Materia Medica and was created Dean in 1855-6. His lectures were rather dry, although he is remembered as a quiet reserved man but kind. His students nick-named him "the Bird". He was created a full physician in 1860 and retired from work there in 1877 and was made a consultant physician, an honour not given to all physicians.

Apart from his hospital work he was a founder member of the Pathology Society[18] in 1846 and contributed many communications to the Society and publications in the *Transactions of the Society* – his publications were copious both in the *Transactions* and elsewhere. Many were concerned with diseases of the heart and lungs.

He was Secretary to the Pathological Society in 1850 and President 1865-1866. He delivered to the Croonian lectures to the Royal College of Physicians in 1865 on "Some Causes and Effects of Valvular Diseases of the Heart".

Other publications included:-

Different Forms of Pulmonary Consumption – London 1870.,

French Millstone makers Phthisis – Rowland Brown – London 1862.,

Malformations of the Human Heart – Churchill – London 1866.

He was founder with Sir Jonathan Hutchinson and Dr. Saunders of the New Sydenham Society. He was always friendly with Jonathan Hutchinson and with Thomas Hodgkin, Joseph Lister,William Fox and Daniel Tuke formed a group of Quaker doctors who were prominent at the time.

In his private life he married Cornelia Waldick in 1850, the marriage was childless and she died in 1869. He was much upset by her death and the absence of children was said to have accounted, to some extent, for his rather cold demeanour – he had few intimate friends. Outside his work, his one passion was travel and on his annual holiday he visited North and South America and the Mediterranean Countries – some of the photographs he took still exist. He lived at 20 Finsbury Circus where he also ran a private practice – this was not large and devoted mainly to members of the

Society of Friends. In 1877 he suffered from a mild, left sided, stroke. He recovered from this only to suffer a recurrence on the right side in 1881. He collapsed in May 1882 while showing visitors around St. Thomas' Hospital and died in George ward. He was buried in the Friends Cemetery, Bruce Grove, Tottenham. He left an enormous library of some 500 books which he bequeathed to the Chest Hospital and which have been catalogued recently It was suggested that a memorial should be erected to him in the grounds of the Chest Hospital, but it was felt that the Hospital was his memorial and that he needed no other monument. In 1998 the Chest Hospital celebrated its 150 year anniversary and this provided an opportunity to pay special tribute to Dr. Peacock and his work.

Geoffrey A. Storey

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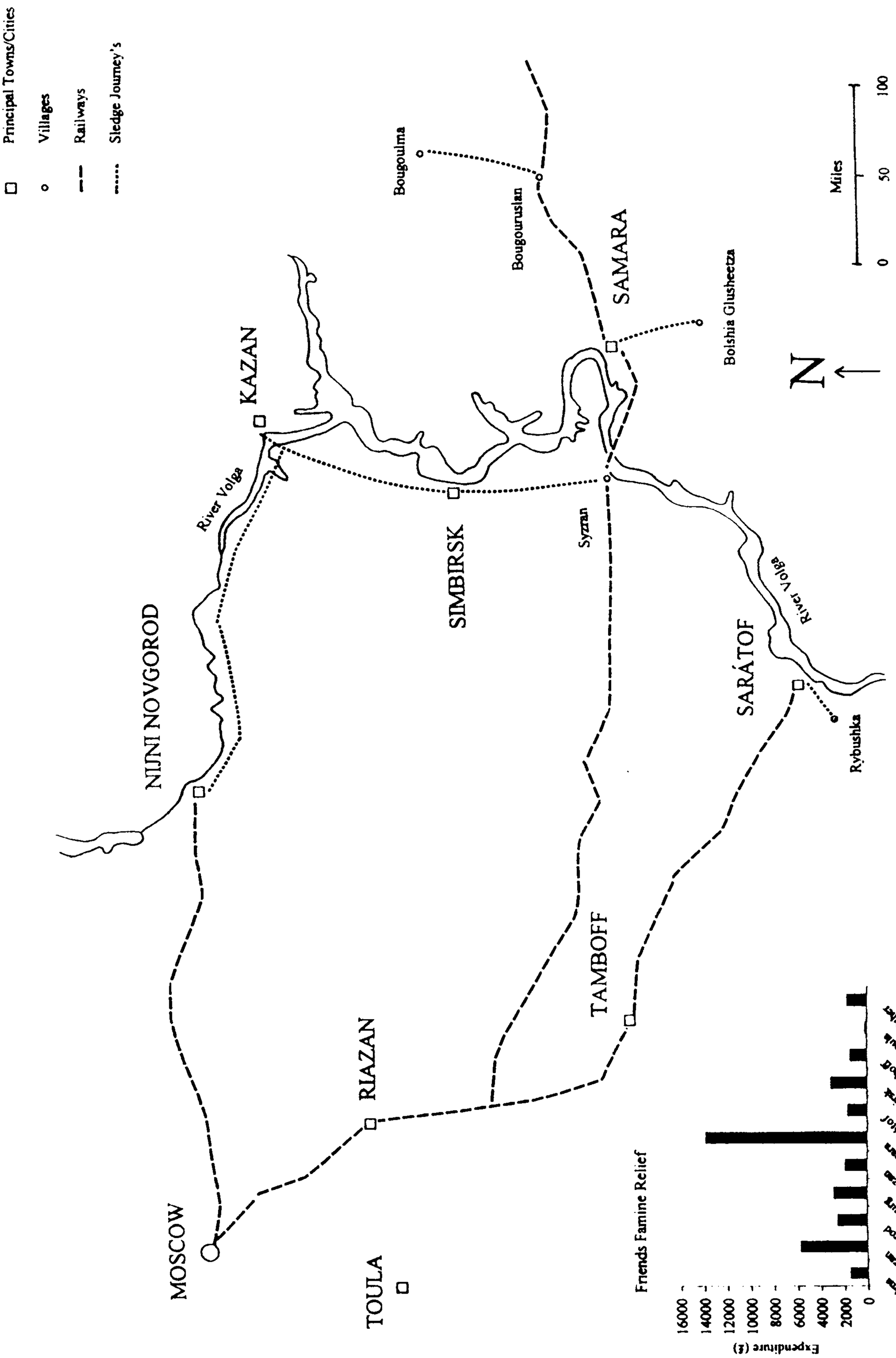
THE GREAT RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1891–2: E.W. BROOKS AND FRIENDS FAMINE RELIEF

"The thermometer was at 6° below zero, Fahrenheit and there was a breeze blowing, so the ride of two hours duration was a bitterly cold one and our faces and ears suffered slightly from frost bite. The route lay chiefly over the steppe, a treeless, trackless and dreary waste of snow, so we were by no means sorry to come to the end of it. We passed one or two small villages on the way, but no house more important than a peasants cottage."[1]

So wrote Edmund Wright Brooks in December 1891, of his first sledge ride in Russia. Together with Francis William Fox he had departed from London twenty days earlier, charged by the Meeting of Sufferings to investigate the degree of distress caused by the widely reported famine. Closer inspection of some nearby houses graphically illustrated the conditions under which the Russian peasants were living.

> "The house of the ['rich' peasant] was such as would be thought very poor in England (the floor being of earth) and consisting of an entrance shed and one apartment which was kitchen, living room and bedroom all in one, if that could be called bedroom which possessed not the slightest vestige of a bed.
>
> It seems the arrangements of all peasants' cottages are identical: a brick oven is built in the middle of the one room, in which the bread is baked, whilst the stack of hot bricks warms the room, and on a sort of loft-floor over the oven, without bedsteads of bedding of any description, and without undressing, they sleep. It is a hard life and a hopeless lot: notwithstanding which it is only fair to add that the general appearance of the peasantry, both men and women, is cheerful and clean. Almost their sole food is black bread and their drink water, tea or coffee; meat they seldom or never get. The cottage of the 'poor' peasant which we saw was miserable indeed, and the poor inhabitants appeared in the last stages of destitution, burning the thatch of their poor out-


Principal Towns/Cities
Villages
Railways
Sledge Journey's
KAZAN
NIJNI NOVGOROD
SIMBIRSK
SAMARA
SARÁTOF
TAMBOFF
RIAZAN
TOULA
MOSCOW
River Volga
Bougoulma
Bougouruslan
Bolshia Glusheeza
Syzran
Rybushka
Miles
0
50
100
N
Friends Famine Relief
Expenditure (£)
16000
14000
12000
10000
8000
6000
4000
2000
0
Bougoulma
Kazan
Nijni Novgorod
Orenburg
Riazan
Samara
Sarátof
Simbirsk
Tamboff
Toula
Other

-house for fuel, having no other, and being dependant on precious gifts for their rye-meal. In this cottage we left a small donation of four roubles."[2]

During the month long journey they became more and more convinced of the magnitude of the distress and the necessity for action. They were not alone in calling for action; in Russia hundreds of committees were formed to raise money for famine victims, while prominent men such as Anton Chekhov and Count Tolstoy undertook practical aid. Their intention was to render as efficient help as possible to those overlooked by the authorities. Overseas aid was also forthcoming, with the Americans dispatching several shiploads of flour and cornmeal, while in England many funds were set up to aid the distress.[3]

In 1890 the frosts had come early, soon after the winter crops were planted. As a result they were subjected to sub zero temperatures without the usual protective layer of snow. When spring winds came they carried away the topsoil and by April, the long dry summer had begun in earnest. For many areas no rain fell for nearly three months, the subsequent harvest was naturally insufficient.[4] By the autumn an area double the size of France was devastated, with at least sixty-eight percent of its population requiring assistance throughout the winter and until the harvest of 1892.[5]

The area centred on the Volga, Russia's mighty river, and indeed the longest river in Europe. In this area nearly 90 percent of the population were employed in agriculture. It should be remembered that Russian agriculture primarily employed very primitive farming methods compared to those of Europe and America.

The failure of the crops in such an important region of Russia was seen as a catastrophe. In consequence bread prices would rise in the industrial areas where wages were barely sufficient in normal conditions.[6] By May in seven provinces peasants were surviving on 'grass porridge' and 'green bread' (a mixture of lime-tree leaves & bark).[7] For the Russian periodical *European Review*,[8] the famine was bringing to light the fact that the peasants were forced to live from hand to mouth. As a result they consumed everything they produced with little if anything set aside for emergencies. In their view a famine would naturally follow a bad harvest.

For many contemporary writers whether the famine would instigate a revolution was of greater consequence. Lenin apparently opposed the use of humanitarian relief, as he believed the destitute peasants would help bring the revolution one step nearer.[9] Modern

historians still consider the famine to be a major tragedy, if not the most important event in the pre-Revolutionary period. It highlighted the incompetence of and culpability of a discredited regime and set the people on a collision course with the Tasarist government.[10]

In October *The Times*, reported that the harvest had been a complete failure in many districts and was bad in all others.[11] In ordinary years these areas produced a sufficient surplus to be exported. This year, however it was estimated that at least 20 million of grain would be required to maintain life; by the end of October the government had raised this sum as a loan.[12] It was customary in normal years for the Zemstvo or local council to collect grain from the peasants in order to store it for emergency uses. However in recent years many Zemstva had imposed a tax instead; for these areas; there were no stores at all.

While *The Illustrated London News* provided graphic representation of the appalling conditions, *The Times* regularly reported that the authorities were failing to meet even the basic needs of the rural population. They also published letters giving first hand accounts of the conditions in Russia and appeals for financial aid.

It was against this background that at the Meeting for Sufferings on 6th November 1891, a committee was appointed to consult with Herbert Sefton Jones over the seriousness of the Russian famine.[13] The committee consisted of Isaac Sharp, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and six others; later the number was increased to 16.[14] They also collected reports from various sources, including the agents of the British & Foreign Bible Society as well as the Foreign Office and consulted with Dr. Baedecker and Madame Novikov, who had intimate knowledge of Russia,[15] as well as considering first hand accounts such as that of Leonard Owen of Voloshkino, near Nijni-Novgorod. He wrote "Thousands are literally on the point of starvation. I can assure you that it is impossible to exaggerate the deplorable and heart-rending state in which the peasants of the Volga district are."[16]

The committee approached Sir Robert Morier, the British Ambassador to St. Petersburg, who initially could see no harm in a deputation being sent to Russia. As a result the proposal to visit Russia was sanctioned by a special Meeting for Sufferings on 27th November, as were the services of Francis William Fox[17] and Edmund Wright Brooks as commissioners.

Edmund Wright Brooks was born 29th IX 1834, the second son of Edmund Brooks and his wife Ann (née Wright). He received an education at Sidcot School and later entered the engineering works of John Fowler & Co. of Leeds. By the 1860s he had set up in business in

Guildford. However following an inspection of a cement works he became much impressed with the potential of such a business. As a result he was to establish the first Portland cement works on the north banks of the Thames. By the 1890s he was employing over 500 people and was possibly the largest employer in this part of Essex.[18]

At 11am on Monday 30th November 1891, the two Friends commenced their 75-hour journey to St. Petersburg, capital of Tsarist Russia. Before the end of the day, the Foreign Office had received instructions from St. Petersburg that a Quaker mission would not be agreeable to the Russian government. Despite this their arrival appears to have been anticipated. At the Russian frontier their passports were inspected. However the officer had received a telegram and he immediately gave instructions that their luggage was not to be inspected and personally escorted them through the barrier.

Once settled in St. Petersburg they immediately set about making enquiries of the British Charge d'Affaires who informed them of the unfavourable response from the Russian Government. However they were more successful during a forty-minute interview with Mr. Pobêdonostsef, who as Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod exercised considerable influence.[19] He informed them that 16 governments were effected and that the major problem was the transportation of the available crops to this area. The rivers Volga and Don were blocked with ice, there was insufficient hay to feed the horses and and the railways were inadequate and lacked sufficient rolling stock.

Most significantly the government considered the task as their own and declined the commissioners' offers of help. However, as private individuals they were free to proceed and he took both men by the shoulders, proclaiming "we are brothers in Christ".[20] For the next two weeks they went from meeting to meeting gathering information in both St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was an eighteen-hour overnight journey to Moscow so that by the time of their return they were understandably feeling slightly fatigued.

It was suggested by General Kostannotoff, the military governor of Moscow that an interview with Alexander III could be arranged if the British Ambassador would make the necessary introductions. However Sir Robert Morier was unwilling to intervene. Another three years were to pass before E.W. Brooks would be granted an audience, and that was on another matter.[21]

On the 14th December, they received an invitation from the 63 year old Princess Marie Dudakov Kirsakov to 'take tea' with her sister and herself. Her appearance must have been startling as she was

always shabbily dressed and carried around an old satchel 'worth about two pence'.[22] She admitted that she had read about the two Friends in the newspapers. This meeting was to prove very useful. Here they met Count Heiden and his family who were very interested and keen to assist in any way possible. This was to be the beginning of a twenty year friendship.

It was necessary to employ a guide to help them with their investigations. He proposed to take them on a "... tour of inspection amongst the villages, within a radius of 20 or 30 miles of Sarátof and northwards along the course of the Volga to Samara."[23] After nearly sixty hours travelling they arrived at their first port of call, the Norikoff estate. The trains in Russia were notoriously slow and they covered vast distances. For the great majority of travellers pillow, blankets and a tea set were prerequisites of any railway journey.

Before leaving England the committee had called upon Madam Olga Novikov who confirmed all the press reports and provided an introduction to her son, Alexander, who was managing the family estate near Bogodolensk, in Tamboff. His refusal to allow alcohol on his estates, would have met with Brooks' approval.[24]

Here they had their first introduction to travelling by sledge and horse. They spent the day inspecting the deplorable condition of the peasants in the area, despite their host's reticence to do so. He expressed the government's view that there must be an ulterior purpose to the inquiries. Despite this with their help he was to organize eight kitchens to help feed the local peasants. The following day they departed at 5am for a '... very cold moonlight ride...' to the railway station and their onward journey to Tamboff. This was one of the smallest of the affected provinces with little in the way of industry.

At Tamboff they called upon the governor who impressed them with his actions.[25] However of more importance was the introduction Count Heiden provided to a Mr. Tchitcherine. Through his English wife they learnt of the condition of the poor in the government of Tamboff. The local government intended to provide each family with only 30lbs of ryemeal per head each month. However the father and the first two children were excluded from this allowance![26]

A further eighteen hour train journey brought them to Sarátof, 'the golden port of the Volga'. In the previous seven years the river had apparently receded from the once busy wharves. Here they met Pastor Thompson, a German Lutheran, who highlighted the plight of the German colonists who resided along the length of the Volga. The rainfall during the past year had apparently average only 10

E.W. Brooks in a Wolf-Skin Coat
© Barry Dackombe

centimetres, while for much of the area no rain had fallen for over five months with temperatures rising to 100°F (38°C) in the shade.[27] As well as hearing of the loss of crops, they also learnt of the dramatic losses of cattle; here up to 4/5th of all cows and horses had either died or been sold for a couple of roubles. Not surprisingly Brooks was eager that the Committee should immediately start raising funds to alleviate the suffering. This he saw as a 'grand opportunity of providing in a practical and effective manner'.[28] He was however concerned over the policy of *The Times* towards Russia and sought the co-operation of the *Daily News*.[29]

Before setting out on a seven day sledge journey of around 400 versts[30] (265 miles) it was necessary to take sufficient provisions on their newly constructed sledge.[31] With travel in sub-zero temperatures special clothing was required, and in a letter to his family, E.W. Brooks describes the clothing they purchased in Sarátof.

> "...enormous wolf-skin fur coats, with enormous collars, which can be turned up, entirely if enveloping our heads right above our caps, enclosing ears and face and thus protecting them from the keen wind. Ridiculous if as we should appear in your eyes, we have been thoroughly glad of them to-day and found them none too large or too heavy. We also wear great felt boots reaching half-way up to our thighs, and astrakhan caps."[23]

Their first overnight stop was at the village of Rybushka, a distance of 57 versts or 6$^{3/4}$ hours uncomfortable sledge ride from Sarátof! The track passed over "...the low mountains which lie in a most singular manner on the right bank of the Volga almost from its source to its mouth...".[33] Here they found around 3000 people beings supported solely by outside contributions, especially from their fellow German colonists in Sarátof. For Brayley Hodgetts, the German colonists were in a worse condition than the local Russians; even the Red Cross were passing them by.[34]

The following day they travelled a further 40 versts to visit several villages. At Salofka (10,000 inhabitants) they saw pot-bellied children due to malnutrition. Indeed the staple diet currently consisted of Rye gruel for breakfast, boiled cabbage for dinner and rye gruel for their evening meal. Just before midnight they arrived at the home of Mr. Schmidt in the village of Merser, through whose efforts the level of poverty had been alleviated locally.

The next day they progressed to Gsloi Caramus, passing within feet of their first wolf. Here they discovered up to 19 residents

crowded into one small room. The local pastor had opened a soup kitchen where on alternate days 3-400 people received a meal. At Volskaya, they learnt that less than 4 percent of the 'cultivators' had seed for future planting. Here there was a fear that as German colonists the government would be unwilling to provide assistance.

Later they travelled to Hansau, a Mennonite settlement This was "...laid out with a broad street some 100 feet or so broad, bordered on each side with a row of handsome trees. The houses are large, well built and tile roofed but as they were built many years ago they are no evidence of the present financial condition of the people."[35] This community had suffered four bad harvests of which last year's had been the most serious; their survival was aided by a loan from which they had purchased sufficient seed for sowing and food. They also prophetically warned that as spring arrived famine fever will strike and that 'millions must die.'

At Warzenfeldt, they learnt how 100 men and women were given a basin of thin soup without bread or meat every second or third day due to the kindness of the local Pastor. Throughout this journey they had little trouble securing fresh horses to pull the sledges and houses were willingly opened to them. "We had seen enough during this visit of enquiry to show that help was urgently needed if the peoples lives were to be saved. So we decided to start home at once to report to the Meeting for Sufferings what we had seen."[36]

When Brayley Hodgetts visited Sarátof in January, he found he had been "...proceeded here by two English Quaker gentlemen, who visited several villages and investigated the distress."[37] The Russian press reported that in this province 42,000 of the distressed population were receiving no help from the authorities. The majority of these were labourers, harvesters and small artisans.[38]

On their return to St. Petersburg they received an invitation from the Heidens, who were keen to help in any way possible. The Countess Alexandra Tolstoy again joined them together with Princess Nadia Mestchertsky, who both requested information on their mission. Afterwards the Countess confided to Brooks that it was initially felt that "...at that time they thought you were sent by Lord Salisbury."[39] This was a sentiment they had earlier heard from Alexander Novikov in Tamboff province. They felt however that they had made a favourable impression and were confident that the Tsar would receive a full account.

While Brooks departed on the 4th January, Fox remained in Petersburg in order to have a further interview with Mr.

Pobêdonostoff. The original coolness he found had gone, as they were no longer considered to be agents of the British government. Through these discussions it became apparent that the Friends would be free to distribute the relief fund as private individuals provided that none of the money was received from any government. Pobedonostoff later produced a letter stating this.

Fox had experience of Indian famines and this led him to expect the major problems to be, first the transport of grain from the southern ports and secondly, irrigation of the fields. Throughout their journey he had made enquiries and discovered that transportation of grain would not be as serious a problem as expected, provided it was undertaken before the thaw set in. With regards to irrigation they hardly saw any attempts, but when it was, the crops were significantly improved. He drew up a scheme for temporary irrigation primarily using gravitation fed by springs or simple pumps. Despite presenting this to the government, all these provinces were again gripped by famine in 1906-7 and in the 1920s. On both occasions committees were formed and action taken to alleviate the conditions prevalent in Russia.[40]

On the 8th January Brooks presented a full and detailed account to the committee. He was convinced that there were sufficient opportunities to distribute the relief through private channels. He also considered that it was imperative that action was taken immediately as the thaw was only two months away. After this point transport would be impossible and many thousands would die. As an inducement to start a relief fund he put forward £250 and offered his services to return to Russia. At his last meeting with the Heidens he had promised to return and personally distribute any funds with the Count's assistance.

At a special Meeting for Sufferings on 15th January 1892 a circular was issued to all Meetings throughout the country. Also appeals were sent to the leading newspapers in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol and Newcastle. This described the millions of destitute and starving people. They also announced that all the funds raised would be distributed as all expenses of administration and travelling expenses were to be met by the Society.

Brooks had expressed a concern to the committee over Fox's inability to understand or communicate in Russian, French or German. As a result both Herbert Sefton Jones and Edwin Ransom of Bedford, who had experience of Russia, offered to accompany Brooks on the return journey. In the event it was Sefton Jones who was selected, while Ransom 'waited in the wings'.

By the middle of February the fund stood at over £17,000 and several thousands of pounds had been forwarded to the trustworthy committees identified by Brooks and Fox. The planned departure was slightly delayed by 'an attack of influenza' on Brooks. However by the 15th February they set off on the long journey to St. Petersburg. They wrote from Berlin on the 17th advising that Brooks' health was 'well sustained' and, by the 19th, safely settled in their hotel he was 'none the worst for the journey'.[41] On arrival the Princess Dondoukoff Kirasakoff met them with an invitation to call upon the Heidens.

They spent much time interviewing religious ministers who had come to St. Petersburg to raise funds to alleviate the starving. One of these was Pastor Francis who was responsible for the distribution of the flour being sent from Philadelphia. He had apparently managed to arrange free delivery by rail with the government. Discussions with the American Minister, Mr. Smith, revealed that he anticipated several more shiploads of flour from various parts of the states. They feared that the arrival of this flour at areas far from the railways might be too late to prevent terrible catastrophes and would in any event arrive after the thaw.

Through discussions with Count Heiden, who had just returned from Toula, it was decided to direct their attentions to the Governments of Sarátof and Samara, together with Kazan to the north and Orenburg to the east. The intention was to find trustworthy persons who were already engaged in administering relief or failing that to set up their own committees. In return for financial grants the committee in London expected detailed accounts of the expenditure.

The problems of transmitting money between London and St. Petersburg, let alone the rest of Russia was to drive Brooks to distraction. With evidence of an early spring he waited anxiously for sufficient funds to arrive to enable them to embark on their mercy mission. With Count Heiden's help they entered into an arrangement with the Volga Kama Bank whereby the fund's bankers Messrs. Barclay Bevan & Co. would confirm sufficient credit in favour of the Russian bank. This would enable them to withdraw funds as required from the various branches. In the meantime he was still awaiting the arrival of the originally promised funds, which it seems were wrongly directed to Moscow!

Count Heiden and Herbert Sefton Jones proceeded directly to Samara to make the necessary preparations. This included organising a supply of cooked meat, cooked fowls, bread, etc. which froze and

kept 'perfectly fresh' until required.[42] Samara is situated at the extremity of the great 'loop' of the Volga. While most of the other towns lie on the left, Samara has been attracted to the right bank of the main stream. With its fine public buildings and churches it had a most impressive appearance.

Brooks frustratingly awaited the requisite funds. Before leaving, Pastor Francis confirmed that there were 50 truckloads of American flour available to them to distribute. This he valued at around £4,000. Finally after a four day delay the money was received by the Volga Kama Bank. At 8pm on 29th February, two weeks after leaving England, Brooks was able to depart for Samara. A journey, which despite travelling day and night would take more time than that between London & St. Petersburg.

In Samara they were cordially received by the Governor who informed them that large quantities of grain was daily arriving from the south for distribution by the Red Cross and local agencies. Despite this, experience showed that what was supposed to last a month could barely last beyond three weeks.

On the 5th March they departed in two sledges for Samarofka 50 versts away. Here they met two responsible ladies who they felt would be able to provide reliable relief up until July. Afterwards they travelled a further 45 versts to the village of Dimietrovka, where they met Mr. Schmidt. He informed them that the government was the sole support for the local population. With their aid Mr. Schmidt's schemes were extended to support other local villagers. This was especially important as official assistance through the Zemstva provided 30 lbs. of grain per head per month. However this excluded all children under 2 years of age and all males between the age of 18 and 60!

Here they met an impressive young student from St. Petersburg who, utilising her own money, had set up a soup kitchen in the neighbouring village without any outside help. The following day in the company of Mr. Schmidt they travelled several versts to visit this village. They arranged for her to receive assistance through Mr. Schmidt, who they had selected as a suitable individual to administer any relief they were able to give locally.

A further 38 versts brought them to Smolyanka where they lunched at the local hostelry and changed horses. The Count who, as a former judge, was a figure of authority, called the local priest and representatives to report. They immediately formed them into a committee and provided the necessary finance to support the local inhabitants.

Their next destination, Bolshia-Cllsheetza was 60 versts distant and took them until midnight. The journey had been very cold and when disrobing Brooks discovered his Bashleek frozen to his cheek. They roused the proprietor of a hostelry who with reluctance vacated the best room. Discovering unmentioned insects residing they "...determined to sleep in the middle of the floor ... we spread our rugs on the floor over an armful of hay, and our travelling pillows placed to receive our heads we lie down side by side like 3 dead fish on a slab and soon were all fast asleep..."[43] On another occasion they stayed in the house of a 'rich' peasant, just big enough to accommodate 3 beds. In the middle of the night he was awoken by Sefton Jones who couldn't sleep due to the number of companions in his bed! On investigation Brooks too found he wasn't alone but simply said to them, "if you will leave me alone, I will leave you alone", which they apparently did.[44] Indeed they were not alone in noticing this aspect of house guests. Others too have referred to the houses 'swarming' with insects or *Klop*, which the peasants considered to be beneficial.[45]

In the light of day they made their enquiries and discovered great distress with governmental and Red Cross assistance keeping people alive.The people only had a light meal once a day or even on alternate ones. On leaving the village they came across a Tartar village which together with its inhabitants had a most miserable appearance. Through their priest or Mollah they learnt that as Mohammedans they were unprovided for in the governmental arrangements. Others not accounted for were the wanderers who came to most villages in search of food. As these were not members of the commune, no provision was made for them by the Zemstvo and the Red Cross provided limited support.

After a week's travelling they finally arrived back at Samara at 6am on the 10th March. Here they caught up with letters from home informing them that £1,000 had been received from the Hon. Gilbert Coleridge fund,[46] and a telegram from Pastor Francis authorizing them to distribute 70 railway truckloads of American Flour. However Brooks was becoming increasingly concerned that the thaw would set in within a fortnight, thereby hindering transportation for some time.

While in Samara they made the acquaintance of Prince Pierre Dolgorukov, who had brought some aid to the people around Bogoruslan. The local population was apparently Mohammedan or Tartars, who were very difficult to deal with due to their mistrust of Christians. With their assistance the Prince intended to return and

establish bakeries in the district to distribute bread through local communities. They also learnt of the work of the Tolstoi family who had set up 270 free soup kitchens throughout the province.

Jonas Stadling, writing in 1893 about aid in Samara, commented that "Private benevolence was supplied mainly by foreigners... Out in the province it was likewise mostly with foreign money that private relief was carried out. The English Friends distributed through their representatives much help, and supported Prince Dolgorukoff's sanitary expedition to eastern Samara..."[47]

In October 1891 *The Times* reported that Samara province was suffering due to the incapacity of local government to cope with the situation. It was reported that in many cases the really destitute were suffering needlessly while the more prosperous were receiving help. The Russian press were reporting that due to the dry summer and autumn many localities were suffering from a water shortage. As a result for many melted snow was the only available source."[48]

As a result of these revelations the local governor was keen to show how successful local administration of famine relief was. He summoned the Presidents of the local councils to report in public. However the representative from Bougoulina's account was so totally unsatisfactory that the Governor and Mr. Shiskoff, President of the Red Cross committee decided at once to investigate further. Here a dispute had arisen between the Tartars and the Zemstvo as to how any relief should be administered. As a result nothing had happened other than a stirring of religious prejudices on all sides. Indeed the Tartars expressed a desire to die rather than comply with the Zemstvo conditions.

In the company of Mr. Shiskoff and Prince Pierre Dolgorukov the three commissioners travelled overnight by train to Bougouruslan. The following day they left by sledge at 6.30am and travelled until 8pm to reach Bougoulma, a distance of around 60 miles. The road after a few miles became exceedingly bad such that the sledge containing the Count and the Prince overturned dragging them upside down for a short distance. Luckily they were unhurt.

While Mr. Shiskoff made official investigations, the others travelled into the surrounding countryside. The Court applied his legal training to elicit the required information from the inhabitants. While no one appeared to have died here they learnt that the Tartar village of Chalpy had formerly a population of 2000, of which half were believed to have died of starvation, and that in the outlying districts at least 60,000 people were starving.

On their return to Samara they found a letter awaiting them from the committee. This alarmed both of them as it appeared the committee intended to send out more commissioners. Both felt this was uncalled for as they would arrive after the thaw and they would find it difficult to follow in their sledge tracks. In one of Herbert Sefton Jones' few letters to the committee he felt compelled to make his own observations.

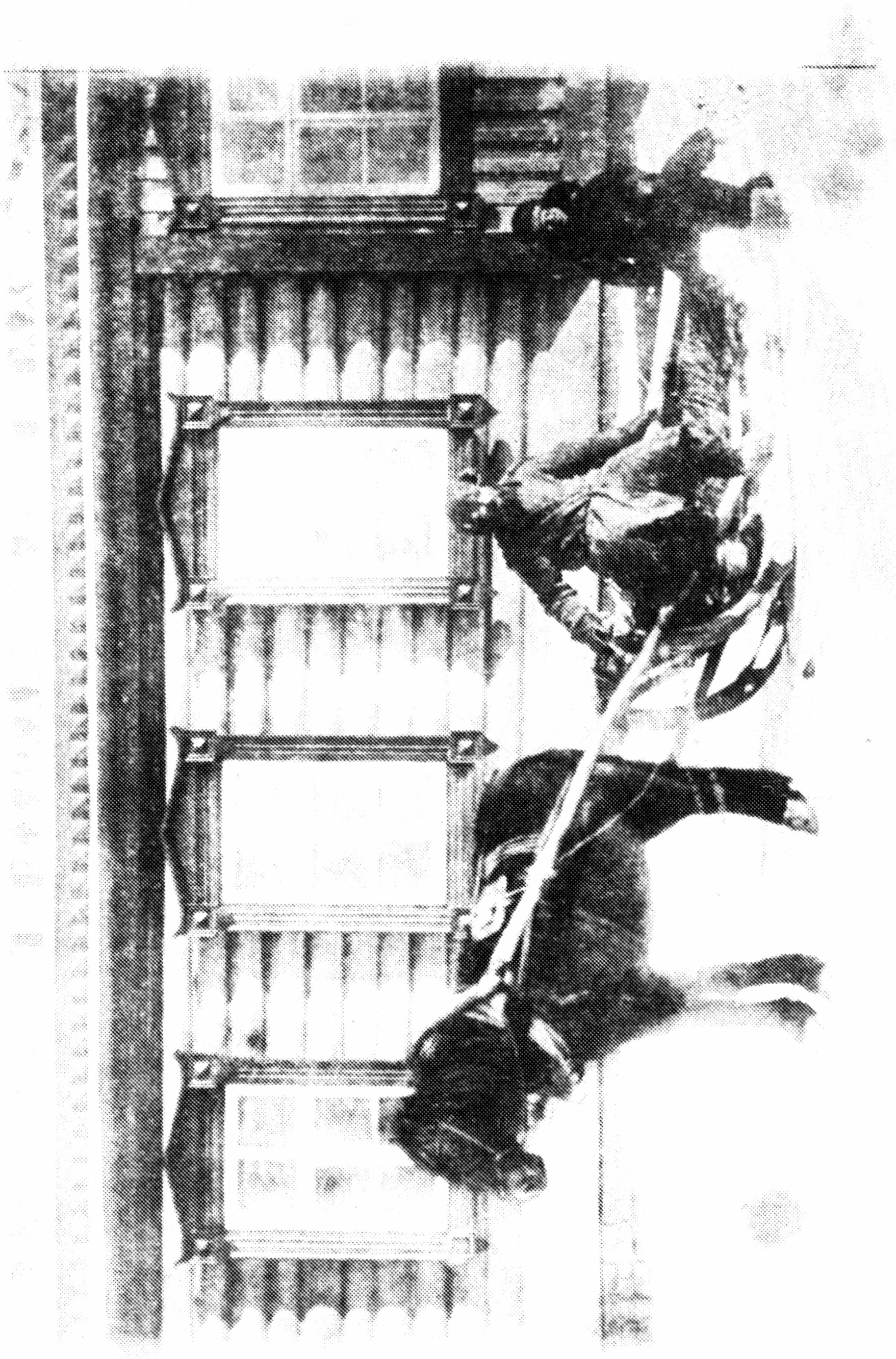
> "I myself felt not the slightest doubt but that the sum which we have distributed will be faithfully applied... to actually check the operation of each local distribution would require months of labour of commissioners familiar with Russian customs and language."[49]

Travelling the short distance by train to Syzran, they set out on their long journey across country to Kazan, and eventually Nijni Novgorod. Their first destination was Simbirsk a large town 97 miles distant. He believed this could be accomplished in a little over 12 hours with six changes of horses. In reality everything took longer than expected and finally 24 hours after disembarking from the train at Syzran they reached their destination. They had travelled continuously through a cold night with snow falling until around 3am.

Through the Governor they had learnt that the total population in the area was 1 1/2 million of which the Zemstvo and the Red Cross were supporting nearly half. In addition the local 'nobility' were actively involved in supporting the peasants. They visited several soup kitchens and formed committees where none existed. Before leaving the weather changed from the favourable bright clear skies and frost to the less favourable cloudy and thawing conditions.

Their next destination was to be Kazan, which they believed to be another two days journey. This was a long journey, the thaw was setting in and they found themselves in danger of being stranded 300 miles from the nearest railway station until the Volga became navigable. They finally arrived at Kazan at 6am after an 18-hour sledge journey from Letzoushic. By now they were convinced that the 'Society of Friends' was a household word in Russia and he believed that the memory of their task "...will last the lifetime of the present generation."[50]

Kazan was famous as the capital of the Tartar Khans. It stands about 3 miles from the left bank of the Volga. Only in times of floods did its waters reach the city; at other times communication with the



Simple Russian Sledge
© Barry Dackombe

Volga is through the river Kananka. The old citadel, or Kreml's, only remained in the form of two stone towers. Despite its remoteness from the railway at least half the population were involved in track and manufacture and it had boasted a university since 1804.

Approaching the Volga they discovered the ice was breaking. "Our sledges took us about half way across, we then got down and walked or were drawn with our luggage on small hand sledges or toboggans to the waters edge, a boat which was in readiness soon landed us on the other side when sledges were in waiting to receive us..."[51] As they felt they required some protection from the inclement weather, they hired a heavy hooded type of sledge. However the thaw made road conditions much worse than expected, the first 23 versts should have taken around 4 hours. Instead they continued into the night and beyond into the early morning.

> "Almost immediately after starting up the hillside over which our track lay we were met by a torrent of water of the volume of a river which percolated through the dark snow... the result was that though the snow looked smooth and fair in the surface it was as treacherous as the slough of Despond. The horses feet broke through the surface and the poor animals were immediately up to their bellies in water; – struggling to extricate themselves, they only floundered deeper till I began to fear that one of them would drown, stepping out of our sledge to lighten it, I was instantly up to my knee in the water..."[52]

Help was at hand to extricate them and they proceeded until with heavy snowfall and a rising wind they became stuck in a ditch. Darkness was falling. However "it is never quite dark on the snow covered ground..."[53] This time their fellow travellers were nowhere to be seen and indeed the driver was completely lost! Eventually a search party located them and led them to the warmth of the nearby post station. After breakfasting and an hours rest they set out again for a further 13 hours to reach the village of Akozeino.

By now they had accomplished 20 percent of the journey to Nijni Novgorod in 26 hours! They exchanged the two heavier sledges for three lighter ones, each pulled by three horses. The lighter sledges, however, provided little in the way of comfort or protection but they could skim boat-like over the snow. As a result they could travel much faster especially as the frost had come on again. What in summer would be a pleasant and enjoyable journey across the Volga, in winter became extremely unpleasant and uncomfortable.

The road continued to be waterlogged and the sledges unfortunately were not watertight. For several days they sledded for up to 20 hours a day in their new lighter sledges. From the comfort of a warm room in Nijni Novgorod, Brooks described this part of the journey as "...the most disagreeable, the most arduous and the most memorable journey of my life. We arrived somewhat worse for wear, faces scorched with exposure to sun, wind and driving snow, shaken and bruised in body and wanting rest but otherwise well."[54]

While in Simbirsk, they had sent a telegram requesting the remainder of the fund to be forwarded. Following consultation in London, a cheque for £5,000 was drawn together with a covering letter stating that "there is a little feeling of anxiety amongst some of our committee..." regarding the public placing of the funds.[55] On arrival in Nijni Novgorod they found the letter awaiting them. Understandably after travelling for 4 days and 1 night Brooks was to put it mildly disturbed. He wrote "I was under the impression that Herbert [Sefton] Jones and myself possessed the confidence of the Committee... before these people can send accounts it is obvious that they must first spend the money and make use of the goods brought... the expenditure has been intended to run over 2 months, the probability is that accounts will not be furnished until the 2 months have expired. The committee in their expectations must be at least be reasonable."[56]

In a personal letter to his friend J.B. Braithwaite he pointed out that he could not have undertaken the mission if it was desired he should operate on the principal of 'universal suspicion'. During the journey he found that the Russians were raised in his esteem and had everywhere been received with the greatest kindness and respect.[57] Even when he arrived in Moscow, he must have still been frustrated by the committee as he wrote "well I could tell those friends that it is much easier to stay comfortable at home and find fault than it is to come here to do better."[58] He concluded that it had taken him much more time than he had anticipated but would remain a 'matter of much satisfaction to me.'

Eventually a letter reached them explaining that the earlier letter from the committee had been misunderstood. Their explanations were satisfactory and the committee recorded their fullest satisfaction and confidence in the two commissioners. Brooks was confident that the government, agencies and private charities could between them maintain the general public to a reasonable degree until the next harvest was gathered. The first two American steamers had by now begun discharging their truckloads of flour.

These had been received with music, ovations and banquets, while the Tsar gave gifts to the two captains.[59]

Sefton Jones remained behind in St. Petersburg awaiting further instructions from the committee, while Brooks returned to England at 6pm on 12th April. He finally arrived home on the afternoon of 16th after an absence of 8 weeks and 5 days. It was just over 23 weeks since the Meeting of Sufferings had set in motion this momentous task. During this time he had travelled many thousands of miles, endured severe hardships in an inhospitable landscape and visited countless destitute communities. Despite being time-consuming they had found it most satisfactory to travel by sledge from village to village, make the necessary inquiries and 'adjudicate on the matter' As Richenda Scott reminds us "it was no light effort for a man nearing sixty... but it would need more than such discomforts to put off a tough Quaker ridden by concern".[60]

In total they raised £37,262 15s. 2d., from over 3,800 individuals and groups. This included donations from churches of all denominations, together with 156 local Friends meetings and also Friends in Philadelphia, Richmond (Indiana), New York, Quebec and Toronto. The funds were used to supply flour, millet, salt, wood, peas, seeds, hospital and medical supplies, wheat flower, corn, buck, wheat, pease, potatoes, cabbage, meat, fat, oil, eggs and bread. Kitchens were opened over a wide area which helped many thousands of peasants through the harvest. In addition feeds were provided to keep as many horses and cows alive as possible. It had been calculated the kitchens worked on about 3 kopeks[61] per head per day and recipients would usually divide their portions into 2 or 3 parts thereby ensuring that everyone received at least something.[62]

Many correspondents commented on the unexpected benevolence shown to them by so many 'strangers' and that "...the year 1891/92 will not be forgotten when the present generation had passed away..."[63] Indeed throughout his travels, Brooks discovered that news of the English aid in all its forms was widely known and greatly appreciated. Somehow news of their visit preceded them and on arrival they would sometimes find the locals kneeling as an expression of their gratitude. This demonstration always disturbed Brooks and Count Heiden would have to shout at them to get up.

Before the main committee was discharged in November 1892, a minute of thanks was sent to Count Heiden acknowledging that the "...successful administration of the fund...[was] due in the highest degree to his efficient aid". He was deeply touched but felt he had played an 'unimportant part'.[64] News of a poor harvest reached

Brooks in the spring of 1893 and again in the winter of 1894, which was considered. However it was decided to take no action. Finally in 1894 the committee was wound up and all its papers placed into safe storage.

Within two months of his return he was standing as the Liberal candidate for South-East Essex in the 1892 General Election. Despite his valiant efforts he failed by only 542 votes to remove the Conservative incumbent. Brooks also made several other journeys to Russia, which included the 1896 visit to St. Petersburg in order to collect information on the Dukhobors, who were subsequently assisted to resettle in Canada. In 1899 he travelled with John Bellows to Russia and visited Count Leo Tolstoy. While in 1895 he presented an appeal for religious tolerance to Nicholas II.

Shortly before his death in 1928, he looked back on this episode with much satisfaction. Observing "we were pitched out of our sledges half a score of times every day, but there is dry and crisp snow each side of us and it never hurt us to fall out, it was simply an experience!"[65]

Barry Dackombe

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For more information on the Society's involvement in subsequent Russian Famine Relief:

Quakers in Russia by Richenda C. Scott, published by Michael Joseph, 1964.

Quaker Encounters: Volume 1, Friends and Relief by John O. Greenwood, published by Williams Sessions, 1975.

A Quaker Adventure by A. Ruth Fry, published by Nisbet & Co., 1926.

1 Friends House Library, London (hereafter F.H.L.), description of journey to Novikov estate 6° below is equivalent to -22° Celsius; Letter dated 21st 12 1891, Tamboff–Russian Famine Committee (1891-94) (hereafter R.F.C.) folder 10.

2 *Op. cit.*

3 A detailed account of Tolstoi's work is given in, Jonas Stadling, 'With Tolstoy in the Russian Famine', *Century Illustrated Magazine*, vol. 46, (1893), pp.249-263; Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924*, (1996), p.159; James Y. Simms, 'Impact of Russian Famine, 1891-1892, upon the United States', *Mid America*, 60, 3, (1978), pp.171-184.

4 Figes, p.157.

5 George S. Queen, 'American Relief in the Russian Famine of 1891-1892', *The Russian Review*, 14, 2, (1955), p.142; James Y. Simmons,'The Economic Impact of the Russian Famine of 1891-92', *Salvonic & East European Review*, 60, 1, (1982), p.68.

6 S. Stepniak, 'The Russian Famine and the Revolution', *Fortnightly Review*, pt 51, (1892), pp.359.

7 Stepniak, p.359.
8 Quoted in *The Times*, 12th January 1892; Stepniak, p.359.
9 Stepniak, p.359; Figes, p.129n.
10 Simms, (1982), p.63; Figes, p.161-2.
11 *The Times*, 16th October, 1891.
12 *The Times*, 26th October, 1891; *The Times*, 31st October, 1891.
13 Herbert Sefton Jones had travelled to Russia as a young man, spent some time exploring the Pamirs, a series of high valleys bordering Afghanistan and China, before settling in Nijni-Novgorod. He was multi-lingual and spoke fluent Russian.
14 The committee included E.W. Brooks' cousin Thomas Marsh, his uncle Alfred Wright and son Herbert Brooks together with his brother-in-law and partner Bedford Marsh. Other members were William Jones, Thomas Pritchard Newman, Robert Horne Penney, Joseph Gundy Alexander, Henry Tuke Mennell, Reginald Ryley, Edwin Ransom plus three commissioners.
15 London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1892, p.104.
16 Letter dated 12th November 1891, R.F.C., folder 10.
17 F.W. Fox was an engineer with experience of irrigation works in Egypt and involved in a wide variety of humanitarian works. He was born 15 IX 1841 to George and Rachel Fox of Kingsbridge, Devon; see J.E.G. de Montmorency, *William Francis Fox: A Biography* (1923); and also *Contemporary Review*, February 1924.
18 The most extensive biography can be found in *The Grays and Tilbury Gazette and South East Pictorial Telegraph*, June 23 1928; p.5; see also *The Friend*, 13th July 1928, pp.635-637; the history of Portland cement in Essex and E.W. Brooks involvement is detailed in *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, Vol. II, (1907), p.492-3.
19 He had held this post since 1880. It provided an important link between the Russian church and the Tsar. He was also one of Alexander III's most trusted advisers.
20 This action was illustrated in the *Daily Graphic*, 28 January, 1892.
21 In 1894 E.W. Brooks presented an appeal for religious toleration to the newly installed Nicholas II
22 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1932, private collection.
23 Letter dated 13.12.1891 – R.F.C., folder 10.
24 He had taken the temperance pledge in 1841 at the age of 6; Membership card for Melksham Total Abstinence Society, private collection.
25 Letter dated 21st.12.1891, Tamboff – F.F.C. folder 10.
26 Letter dated 23. 12. 91, – Sarátof – F.H.L., Temp. MSS, Box 13, folder 13, bundle A, pp.62-76.
27 *Op. cit.*
28 *Op. cit.*
29 George Cadbury was proprietor.
30 A standard Russian unit of distance: it is equal to 0.6629 miles or 1.067km.
31 The sledge was ordered and made in one day for the equivalent of £2.10 shillings. *Grays & Tilbury and South Essex Pictorial Telegraph*, 23 June 1928.
32 Astrakhan is a town in the lower Volga, the caps being made from the skin of young lambs, whose wood resembles fur; *Grays & Tilbury and South Essex Pictorial Telegraph*, 23 June 1928.

33 Letter dated 26.12.91 – Rybushka – F.H.L., Temp. MSS, box 13, folder 13, bundle B, pp.77-95.

34 E.A. Brayley Hodgetts was *Reuter's* correspondent, who travelled through the Volga region to investigate the famine. His reports were regularly published in *The Times*. He also published *In the track of the Russian famine*, (1892); *The Times*, 29th February 1892; 3rd March 1892.

35 Letter dated Dec 28 – Volskaya: F.H.L., Temp MSS, box 13, folder 13, bundle C.

36 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1923, private collection.

37 *The Times*, 1st February 1892.

38 Russkiya Viedomosti as quoted in *The Times*, 26th February 1892.

39 The Countess was cousin to Leo Tolstoy and lived in the Winter Palace; Letter dated 8.1.92 – London, R.F.C., folder 10; Lord Salisbury was the Conservative Prime Minister.

40 See E.W. Brooks, 'Starving Russian', *Review of Reviews*, vol. 25 (May 1907), pp. 472-475; *The Literary Digest*, Vol. 34 part 4, (1907), pp.124; John O. Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters, volume 1: Friends and Relief*, (1975), pp.127-129 & pp.239-251; A. Ruth Fry, *A Quaker Adventure*, (1926); Richenda C. Scott, Quakers in Russia, (1964).

41 Letter dated 17.2.92 – Berlin, R.F.C. folder 10; Letter dated 22.2.92 – St. Petersburg, R.F.C., folder 10.

42 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1932, private collection.

43 Letter dated 8.3.92 – Bolshia Gloosheetza, R.F.C. folder 10, copy letter pp.37-58.

44 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1932,private collection.

45 Jonas Stadling, 'The Famine in Eastern Russia: Relief work of the Younger Tolstoy', *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. 46, (1893), pp.563; his host is quoted as saying "Klop are healthy; they purge the blood".

46 In January, E.W. Brooks had a meeting to discuss cooperation between the two committees. The Coleridge committee finally raised just over £2,000, the remainder being forwarded to Count Tolstoy.

47 The sanitary expedition consisted of 2 physicians, 2 surgeons and 6 'sisters of charity'; Stadling, p.561.

48 Sarátof Viestnik quoted in *The Times*, 26th February 1892.

49 Letter dated 20.3.92 – Samara (Herbert Sefton Jones) R.F.C. folder 10.

50 Letter dated 28.3.92 – Kazan, R.F.C. folder 10.

51 Letter dated 30.3.92 – Kazan, R.F.C. folder 10, copy letter pp.91-102.

52 Letter dated 31.3.92 – Village of Akozeino, R.F.C. folder 10, copy letter pp.91-102.

53 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1932, private collection.

54 Letter dated 5.4.92 – Nijni Novgorod, R.F.C. folder 10, copy letter p.103-9.

55 Committee Letter Book, R.F.C. item 9, p.241.

56 Letter dated 3rd April, 1892, Nijni Novgorod, R.F.C. folder 10, copy letter pp.1-6.

57 Letter dated 4.4.92 – F.H.L. Temp. MSS box, folder 13.

58 Letter dated 8.4.92 – Moscow – FHL Temp MSS, Box 13, folder 13.

59 *The Times*, 6th April 1892.

60 Scott, pp.133.

61 100 kopeks = 1 rouble; 3 kopeks is therefore less than 1 penny.

62 Letter dated 14/26th October 1892; R.F.C. folder 14; From J. Blessig, whose original intention was to raise £1-2,000 and establish a few kitchens, but in doing his accounts found that £18,200 and £22,000 worth of American flour had passed through his hands. At least half this money was received from the Friends Famine Relief Fund; double dating was used in many Russian letters as Russia still used the old *Julian* calender until 1918.

63 See 'Shishkoff Russian Famine Fund', *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, vol. 31, (1892), pp.871-876; Blessig correspondence in R.F.C. folder 14, letter dated 5/17th October, 1892.

64 London Yearly Meeting Proceedings 1893, p.114-5.

65 'E.W. Brooks' Russian Memoirs' MSS transcribed by Ernest C. Fry, 1922-1932, private collection.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Pictorial Guide to The Quaker Tapestry. Quaker Tapestry at Kendal, 1998. Pp 96. £9.50

Vibrant details from the Tapestry's introductory panel, "The Prism", symbolise spiritual awareness, enhance the Guide's cover and draw attention to a book of outstanding merit. The A4 format is well-suited to its task, each of 77 sides a complete unit, Tapestry panel above, two well-spaced columns of text below, designers and embroiderers acknowledged. Excellent work by Bryn Lennon Photography ensures that the texture of the material, the harmonious colours, well-researched detail and over-all design of this narrative crewel embroidery are convincingly conveyed. The writing is masterly in the selection and control of detail. It is the work of Edward Milligan, erstwhile Librarian at Friends House and past President of the Friends Historical Society.

The numbered panels are grouped under headings such as "God and Man", "The Art of Living" and "Social Responsibilities". These correspond to titles in "Christian Faith and Practice" (1960), counsel for Friends current at the Tapestry's inception. Historic quotations in each embroidery help to unify the whole: an appendix gives the sources. Cross references are helpful, and there are nine sides of well-conceived biographical notes.

Details on George Fox tell of Quaker origins in the 1650s. He rejects temple, priest and tithes for "there is one, even Christ Jesus, can speak to thy condition". He envisages "a great people gathered", Children of Light, whose "trembling at the word of the Lord" earns them the name, Quakers. (The description, the Religious Society of Friends, comes later.)

Friends' testimonies are apparent. For instance, in 1665 the pressganged Richard Seller (revised spelling of surname) observes that his "warfare was spiritual, therefore I durst not fight with carnal weapons". Margaret Fell, wife of Fox, "mother of Quakerism", speaks out for "those things that make for Peace, Love and Unity". "Friends of Truth" need no recourse to oaths and in their "innocent trades" fixed prices serve Truth better than barter. Simplicity is commended, social titles are shunned and equality finds favour.

Women play an important part in spreading the Quaker message. Mary Fisher approaches the "Turkes Emperour" in 1658, but Mary Dyer, on reaching Massachusetts, is hanged for her beliefs. Persecution is at times severe. Stitchwork records the tragic death in prison of the youthful James Parnell and shows children keeping their Meeting for Worship when their persecuted parents cannot attend. "…. Young children are as much members as their parents". Their valued work for the Tapestry is evidence of this.

Over the years Friends follow their spiritual leadings and develop their concerns. Public health, clean air, children's courts and aborigines' protection are among causes that they pioneer. In 1681 in Pennsylvania William Penn works for democracy, religious toleration and peaceful institutions: he deals

honourably with the Indians. John Bellers seeks "to put the poor in a way to live by honest labour". Slavery is challenged and animal welfare upheld by the American John Woolman (1720-72); his journal is edited by the Quaker writer, J.G. Whittier. Elizabeth Fry gives service among prisoners, and cheaper food and wiser counsels for Ireland are a focus for John Bright. There is sometime involvement in "bankering", iron works or canal and railway development, industrial welfare arising as an expression of Quaker faith.

Friends' relief work earns the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. Conciliation efforts are widespread. There are Quaker U.N. offices in Geneva and New York and a Council for European Affairs in Brussels. Friends help to initiate Peace Studies at Bradford University. They have schools and colleges and a record of commitment to the Adult Schools Movement. The arts are explored by the Quaker Youth Theatre and Festival Orchestra and Chorus. Quaker scientists study "the creative processes of God". Good stewardship of the earth's resources is a vital concern. Friends are spread throughout the world, "a wealth of branches rooted in one source", symbolised by an oak tree in the final panel.

The whole is a handsome and eloquent guide for general reader and seasoned Friend alike. Well-loved anecdote, scholarly research and interpretation and fresh findings show Friends seeking to heed the leadings of Truth. They do not lay sole claim to the insights it provides. The Tapestry is the inspiration of the late Ann Wynn-Wilson, and the Pictorial Guide takes forward her faith that "by considering the insight of past generations, we might recognise the availability of guidance in our own..."

Stella Luce

Primitivism, Radicalism and the Lamb's War: The Baptist-Quaker Conflict in Seventeenth Century England. By Ted Leroy Underwood New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 188 pp, £30

This book has to do with the history of theology, and some readers of the *Journal* may think that such a study of long gone controversies need not concern them. Not so. The Quaker movement grew out of the disturbances of the Civil War, and much of this history of that time is the history of theological controversy. Without understanding the theology one misrepresents the history, but the theology, or way of thinking, is difficult to grasp because of its unfamiliarity.

Ted Underwood deals with a period when a form of Calvinism was the normal religious background of many of the people who became Quakers and of many who disagreed with them. Religious controversy was a popular diversion, and people of opposed ideas would arrange set debates, attended by audiences who expected to be entertained. Quakers flung themselves into this milieu with gusto, and the importance of not missing opportunities is shown by an urgent letter sent to the Quakers' London Headquarters, asking for help from the best debaters

I being at Arndell [Arundel] sessions freindes informed me of a challeng made for a dispute with friends...this was sent in wrighting by ye greatest baptise champion in ye south Mathy Caffen and some freinds returned answer to him in wrighting that he should be mette for ye purpose one ye 19 daye of this leventh month at Chechester, where they give out they shall have the Citty hale for ye purpose and yt if freindes doe not meete them they they should for ever stoup their mouthes; soe yt in all likely hood ye expecttation of ye peaple may be very greate.[1]

Ted Underwood's book deals specifically with the issues between Baptists and Quakers, but the matters in dispute were much the same whatever the religious inclination of the opponents. Disputes with parish ministers would give more prominence to issues of ministry, notably the payment of the tithe or church tax, and the calling and training of ministers, but on other matters the points at issue between Quakers and all others were the same, and concerned the authority of the Bible, the nature and work of Jesus Christ and the means by which the individual received salvation. These are discussed by Underwood with reference to the many encounters between Quakers and Baptists, both Particular (Calvinist) and General (Arminian and closer to Quakers in some points of theology). The queerness of Quakers, according to the accepted ideas of the time, becomes very clear. They were dismissive of Biblical authority. While they said they believed in the atoning sacrifice of Christ at Jerusalem, in practice they appeared to rely on an internalised cross and a Christ entirely within. Salvation came from 'the light', and what did Quakers mean by that? Quakers insisted that they alone constituted the true church. Their meetings were strange, and there was no celebration of Baptism or the Lord's Supper.

This is an excellent and much-needed book. Most books about early Quaker ideas have been written by Quakers, and it is salutary to have them observed from outside. I have just two criticisms. One concerns the make-up of the book, which is arranged entirely by topic. It covers a considerable period, from the 1650s to late in the seventeenth century, though with particular reference to some major debates in 1672-74. It would have been interesting to know something of the main protagonists, and the actual conduct of debates. More importantly, the topical arrangement obscures possible developments in theological ideas. I am not in a position to say whether Baptist theology developed during this time, but Quaker ideas shifted considerably between the 1650s and the 1670s, as certain Quakers made more effort to meet their opponents' objections, and as their original enthusiasm cooled.

My other criticism concerns Underwood's thesis that the disputes between Quakers and Baptists were the result of their differing approach to primitivism, or the desire to return to the faith of the primitive church. He says in the Introduction, that while Baptists tried to replicate the early church model, Quakers *appear* [my italics] to have believed that they were the early church. There was no appearance about it, for Quakers did make such claims, but they were equally likely to describe themselves as having returned to

prelapsarian innocence, 'that state in which Adam was before he fell' as Fox put it.[2] The mainspring of Quakerism was not, in fact, a study of the Bible by way of the intellect to determine the nature of the primitive church, which was the practice of Baptists and of others who had left the parish churches. Something had happened to Quakers, the power of the Lord had fallen upon them and their meetings were shaken with it. Quaker theology originated in attempts to express this extraordinary experience within the framework of seventeenth century thinking, and Quakers were often accused of blaspheming, or of talking nonsense.

However, this criticism does not seriously detract from the value of Underwood's book, for his description of the actual matters in dispute is not greatly affected by his understanding of the origins of the controversy. Friendly historians should read it.

Rosemary Moore

Notes

1 Swarthmore Mss. 4.216, January 1659, Thomas Patching to Fox. The eleventh month was January according to the old calendar. Matthew Caffyn was a leading General Baptist minister and a Messenger with responsibilities for a district.

2 Fox, Journal, ed. Nickalls, 27.

Taming the Phoenix: Cirencester and the Quakers 1642-1686. By Brian Hawkins, William Sessions Ltd, York, 1998. £10 + p&p.

In *Taming the Phoenix: Cirencester and the Quakers 1642-1686* Brian Hawkins makes use of Quaker biography in the form of Daniel Robert's account of the life of his father, John Roberts, entitled *Some Memoirs of John Roberts* published in 1759. From this the reader is given a picture of the convincement of a man of 'middling' means, the effect of Quakerism on his life and the relationship of Quakers to the communities they lived in.

The early part of the book will probably only be of interest to local and family historians, concerned as it is with Cirencester and family background. Subsequent chapters however touch on the religious, social and economic milieu from which Quakerism emerged and the author usefully discusses Quakerism within the context of the English Civil War, in keeping with current Quaker historiography. Brian Hawkins briefly discusses the emergence of Quakerism as a background to his subject's convincement. His approach however is a little Fox-centred, relying on descriptions from Fox's *Journal*. On page 76, for example, he describes Fox's meeting with Westmorland Seekers on Firbank Fell and states that these people had waited 'for power from on high and looked for an Apostle with a visible glory and power. He had now come, and the Quaker movement was born'. This approach possibly lies in an over-reliance on more traditional accounts of

early Quakerism such as W.C. Braithwaite. Although the origins of the movement are not central to the book, a brief mention of current thought would have been useful.

Brian Hawkins provides useful insights into the relationship of Quakers with their contemporaries. In his chapter on the minister, George Bull and Quaker opposition to him, the author provides a good outline and explanation of Quaker anti-clericalism as does the chapter following this and relations with the authorities are also usefully examined. The author's discussion of Cirencester Quakers also sheds further light on the social status of early Quakers and re-affirms current thought on the subject. He notes that they were mainly from the 'middling sort', men who 'as trades people, craftsmen or farmers, were their own masters, enjoying a measure of economic independence. They had the opportunity and means to claim liberty of worship, denied to those ultimately financially dependent on the squirearchy or unsympathetic employers'. (p.154)

The usefulness of the book to the Quaker historian lies also in the period it covers. As the subject's life spans the period from the 1620s to the 1680s, Brian Hawkins gives as much attention to post-1660 Quakerism as he does to its inception and this is very much a strong point as so many modern accounts still tend to concentrate on either the 1650s or the period post-1660. Of interest is the account of the development of local Quaker organization and the transformation to an organized society. Usefully the author reveals the links between the strong central organization of the later seventeenth century and the meetings in the localities, noting for example how Meetings for Sufferings at London assisted Friends in Gloucestershire.

Taming the Phoenix is a book which will appeal in different ways to a wide range of readers: local, family, social and Quaker historians alike. The use of biography gives the reader an intimate picture of the life of a seventeenth century Quaker, and by way of background to his subject the author also sheds light on other, wider aspects of Quakerism at this crucial time in the movement's history.

Caroline Leachman

Unbridled spirits - women of the English Revolution: 1640-1660. By Stevie Davies: London, The Women's Press Ltd. 1998. £17.99
ISBN 0 7043 5083 3

This work consists of a series of vignettes of the lives of certain women in the seventeenth century, the underlying plan being designed to show how political upheavals and the turmoil of civil war and its aftermath gave women (especially of the poorer sort) an opportunity for action outside the home: preaching, signing petitions, and joining mass demonstrations against what they perceived as injustice. The author's contention is that such freedom did not last.

The first nine chapters of the book deal mainly with what may be termed

the pre-Quaker era, and the reader is introduced to a succession of women (by no means representative of women in general) whose names may be unfamiliar to most Friends: they include the prophetic Lady Eleanor Davies, Sarah Wight, a "marginalised adolescent", Anna Trapnel, the singing prophetess, whom even the Quakers, "seasoned interrupters", could not subdue.

Quaker women, described as "incendiary" and "confident of their equal status with men", in the presentation of their petition against tithes in 1659, are introduced in an early chapter to point a contrast with the Leveller women and their "venerable form of procedure".

The dramatic impact of the arrival of George Fox at Swarthmoor Hall; the confinement of Margaret Fell, the subsequent toleration by Judge Fell towards Friends. are dealt with at some length, and with some dramatic licence, like "the seven Fell youngsters eyed George Fox". The author shows due respect for Margaret Fell's leadership and other qualities, but one senses a certain reserve, as if Margaret Fell were too efficient and authoritarian, and not quite 'visionary' enough.

The other Quaker women who appear in the story are less constricted. There is an assumption that "the inner light licensed in Quaker women an aggressive exhibitionism". The association of Martha Simmonds with James Nayler's bizarre entry into Bristol reinforced a reputation for 'dangerous wildness'; while the adventures of Barabar Blaugdone the school mistress are offered as an example of how radical actions could be seen as a threat to public order.

The vicissitudes of Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers, and their long imprisonment in Malta, are described in some detail, mainly in their own words, and the importance of friendship among women, even above other ties, is underlined. The sufferings and death of Mary Dyer are here linked with later Quaker participation in and influence on women's rights in America, and on the abolition movement. The moral tale of Joan Dant, who began as a peddler and became rich through "conscientiousness" is seen as foreshadowing the rise of Cadburys, Rowntrees and Clarks.

The author blames Quaker men for a later alleged change in women's status within the Society. "Women" she writes, "were quelled and bonneted by a movement increasingly obsessed with internal discipline"; they were limited by the prohibition on marrying out and their ministry was curbed. By the end of the century, she argues, Quaker men had "chillingly erected an apparatus for censoring preaching and writing" in order to "depoliticise and sober the visionary element in the movement", and that women especially were muzzled. It is conceded that "women's meetings remained" as an area where women had authority - a view the opposite to that expressed in some recent writings, where the women's meetings are seen as limiting someone to the domestic sphere.

What the present author and others overlook is the fact that when persecution and sufferings (except in the matter of tithes) ceased, Friends in general were glad to accept the toleration and to go about their business as

normal citizens, without attracting any unfavourable notice; and also that restraint imposed by the organization applied to men as well as to women. Lest any readers should fail to catch her point, Stevie Davies links the present to the past in a concluding newspaper extract concerning the bitter opposition of an Anglican priest to the ordination of women. Opposition has not disappeared.

Steve Davies has obviously made use of some of the standard histories of Quakerism, and has also trodden many byways among writings by and about women of the period; but her style and language we do not inspire great confidence. Men do not speak: they snarl or gnash; we are told that "turbulence spasmed into armed conflict". Some sentences border on the meaningless: "Bathed in a sea of polymorphous spiritual nurture and eroticism, early Friends recapitulated in a blissful experience of oneness the 'oceanic' feeling of primal belonging". Moreover, there are some dubious statements, such as, "Fasting, often seen as a Quaker fetish, actually set them [Quakers] beside the mass of have-nots..."

On the whole, though it has some interesting insights, the book does little to enlarge our understanding of Quaker women in the early days of the movement. Friends House Library heads the list of thanks in the Acknowledgements, but this is not the story which the standard histories give.

Jean E. Mortimer

Sufferings of Early Quakers in Yorkshire: 1652 to 1690. Facsimile of part of the 1753 edition by Joseph Besse, with a new/Introduction and newly compiled Index of people and Places by Michael Gandy. Sessions Book Trust. York 1998 (Pages viii introduction + 87 facsimile + 12 index) £12 + p&p.

It is a testament to the work of Joseph Besse that nearly 250 years after its first publication *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers...* is still actively sought by historians and genealogists alike. By making available the Yorkshire section, with a new introduction and index by Michael Gandy, the Sessions Book Trust has brought part of this invaluable source within easy reach of a wider audience. It is hoped that given sufficient support the remaining sections can ultimately be republished.

Sessions have issued a facsimile of the original 1753 edition, with only a slight reduction in size, the resultant text is as readable text as in the original. The new edition however has the additional advantage of portability. The original page numbering has been retained throughout making comparisons possible. Two new indexes have been compiled; the first is of surnames only but surpasses Besse by its inclusion of ministers, magistrates and informers; the second, of places mentioned will be of great benefit to local historians. There is a brief introduction to the history of the venture together with a summary of the eight causes for Quaker suffering highlighted by Besse.

In 1729 Joseph Besse was charged with finding a method of abridging the sufferings of Friends. By 1741 he had produced five manuscript volumes, with the first three volumes of Abstracts in print (1600 to 1666). However it was decided at this point to combine all the information into two new folio volumes.[1] After many years work the "printed & bound" volumes were presented to the Meeting for Sufferings in 1753. Of the one thousand copies printed, 719 went to subscribers at the price of 22 shillings, 100 copies were sent out to the 43 Quarterly Meetings and 50 copies were shipped to Philadelphia.

Besse's *Sufferings* cover the period from 1650, that being the point "The Name *Quaker* was first given"[2]until 1689, when the Act of Toleration was introduced. During which time many thousands of Quakers were persecuted for their religious beliefs. In reading through the Yorkshire section it is possible to get an idea of what Friends suffered. The page are filled with accounts of Friends speaking in 'Steeple-houses'; refusing to pay tithes; non attendance at the parish church; holding meetings; as well as the occasional description of Friends being stopped while riding to meetings and 'unlawful' marriages. Itemised accounts are given of goods taken by distraint, other punishments being imprisonment, beatings and even being turned off their land.

Through Besse it is also possible to see how the various informers and officials acted towards Friends, which were not always considered to be 'above the law'. The unusual deaths of several informers are recounted. While under the Conventicle Act in fourteen months nearly £2000 in fines were levied in the North Riding & Durham County alone on the information of just one man! In York in 1659 a watch was even set to try to keep the Quakers out of the city.

As we approach the new millennium, Besse's *Sufferings* remains the most comprehensive, reliable and accessible authority available for this period of religious persecution.

Barry Dackombe

Notes

1 *JFHS* vol. 23 p.6.
2 Preface to the 1753 edition.

John Woolman 1720-1772: Quintessential Quaker
By David Sox, William Sessions Ltd, York, 1999. Pp. 148. £16.00

John Woolman is one of the most important Quaker historical figures, and this is reflected in the large number of extracts from his writings in *Quaker Faith and Practice* - he comes third after George Fox and William Penn. Yet it is strange that for very many years no book about him could be bought, apart from Phillips Moulton's fine edition of his *Journal* and important essays

which is still available. Janet Whitney's full biography came out in 1943; Reginal Reynold's superb exposition of Woolman's ideas: *"The Wisdom of John Woolman"* was last reprinted in 1977; several American books on him have likewise been out of print for a long time. This very serious gap has now been filled by David Sox's most welcome new account of Woolman.

His book has a number of very obvious merits. It is an excellent introduction to Woolman for non-Quakers, attenders and newly joined Friends. He makes a point of explaining words such as ministry and also the structure of the Society, and draws on his own experience as a Preparative Meeting clerk. This is important for understanding Woolman, who was a recorded minister of Burlington Monthly meeting at the age of 22, and was a Clerk of Meeting for 17 years, and who, as David Sox reminds us (p.58) "... always worked within the framework of Quaker organisation and discipline...Reading through meeting minutes, it soon became apparent how involved he was in the corporate Quaker witness." The shortness of the book's 148 pages also has its advantages because one of the author's declared aims is that it "will appeal to a larger audience not likely to tackle the *Journal* unaided. Ultimately the goal is Lamb's injunction (p.3) 'to get the writings of John Woolman by heart'." The photographs and reproductions of pictures, are also useful features of the books because they anchor Woolman historically and link him with the present: views of Rancocas Creek and the nearby Memorial house at Mount Holly, New Jersey, and even of the author working there, a homely touch. His description of going on the heritage trail in New Jersey brings Woolman nearer to the reader.

Yet this book also has much to say to those of us who have some knowledge of Woolman and have read his *Journal*. The subtitle, 'Quintessential Quaker', brings out that Woolman was 'the purest and sweetest flowering of the Quaker spirit' (Harold Loukes p.5) and this is well reflected in the book. He is best known for his early witness against slavery and David Sox quotes (p1) Harvard Divinity School's Dean Willard Sperry, who said in 1972: "If I were asked to date the birth of social conscience in its present-day form, I think I should put it on the 26th day of the 8th month of the year 1758- the day John Woolman in a public meeting verbally denounced Negro Slavery". He also emphasises that Woolman never ranted at slaveholders, as later abolitionists did, but used 'soft persuasion': "Woolman's special genius was that he would draw from his Quaker upbringing and understanding of how he might speak and write in a way that would deeply move Quakers and non-Quakers." (Michael Heller p.61) He had a tremendous tenderness; witness his concern for the hard life of the sailors on the voyage to England, and, when he got there, for the post-boys and horses of coaches, which he saw were over worked and exploited, and therefore refused to ride in them. The same sensitivity and humility is shown towards the native Indians in his well known remark in the *Journal* that love prompted him to visit them "... that I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of Truth

amongst them." David Sox brings out very clearly that in all his dealings with his fellow creatures Woolman was governed by a divine principle, and this led to his continual search for Truth. This word comes up again and again in Woolman's writings, and it was by this yardstick that he judged and condemned slavery. It was this spiritual truthfulness that made him aware of the 'cumber' of a preoccupation with business and possessions, and his insistence that we can all live modestly, which he exemplified in his own, by giving up his prosperous business and living as an independent tailor. As David Sox says (p.18): "Oh how far we have come from that simple truth: try presenting that conviction in today's markets." Woolman saw the great wealth of the important Quaker families in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century - the Logans and Pembertons - because he visited their homes often, and knew it had great dangers which could lead many from Quaker principles. He has much to say to us today in his concern not only for simple living, but also for the environment, for the welfare of animals and his irenical approach to fellow Christians. David Sox also reminds us that he found time to teach and write a primer on reading and writing, and he makes worthwhile points about his mysticism and his visionary dreams. I was surprised in the Epilogue to read about Daniel Boone the 18th century American frontiersman, an ancester of David Sox and of Quaker origin. But the author, an American living in England, derives some interesting insights from a comparison between Woolman and Boone.

Inevitably a book of 148 pages has some limitations. Janet Whitney's much longer biographer (432 pages) is narrative history, and, although this leads to her imagination about Woolman's life running away with her at times, she does provide a great deal more detail, which is illuminating eg about his journeys to Quaker slaveholders and to the Indians. I have been rereading Reginald Reynold's *The Wisdom of John Woolman* with its excellent selections from all his writings, and prefaced by his radical commentary on his ideas. A small part of this is dated by its appearance in 1948: there are references to the Empire and the Labour government of the day, but these are not obscure and continue to illustrate Woolman's ideas effectively. I would make a plea that it be reprinted with a suitable introduction, as occurred in the 1970s reissue. This book, together with David Sox's fine study, would be the perfect reference resource for all those wishing to understand and appreciate John Woolman.

Eric Bramsted

John Hoare, A Pacificist's Progress. Edited by Richard J. Hoare £10.00 + £1.65 p&p)

This book is primarily a collection of letters and other papers describing John Hoare's spiritual development and experiences during the First World War and afterwards.

Richard J. Hoare, John Hoare's son, is described as an editor rather than an

author, and this is a fair description. It also gives a warning that the book is not a straight-forward chronological narrative. The first chapter forms, in effect, an introduction to the book as it records an interview describing John Hoare's experiences that he gave in 1974 for the Imperial War Museum. The following chapter summarises the history of the family which had a considerable Quaker element and was connected with other Quaker families such as the Gurneys. The remaining chapters begin with a brief narrative introduction but consist mainly of letters and extracts from diaries and other papers.

This arrangement I found difficult to follow, at least, at first. It makes the book seem disjointed. On the other hand, it makes it much more vivid.

One gets a clear picture of the loneliness of a teenager at a public school who gradually becomes convinced that he should be a pacifist, but with practically no-one to turn to for advice. It is interesting that one of the most sympathetic people that he did get in touch with was William Temple, his former headmaster, and later to be archbishop. The generosity of Temple's character is shown as he could support and understand John Hoare while not himself a pacifist.

Later when John Hoare is in and out of prison as a conscientious objector, by which time he has met many other conscientious objectors, one sees both his sincerity and his individuality. He is true to his own insight which leads him to make his own decisions. These sometimes differ from those of other conscientious objectors around him.

The chapters covering John Hoare's life in prison, provide a glimpse of prison conditions during the First World War, a harsh regime in many ways but sometimes relieved by the humanity of individual prison officers. This shows the influence that an individual can have, even when working within a closely regulated system.

While reading this book I could not help comparing the hard conditions that John Hoare endured with the much easier circumstances that many conscientious objectors experienced after the Second World War, Many of us, including myself, did not have to go to prison.

Apart from his sincerity and determination, this man had other talents. At the very end of the book is a poem he wrote while still at school. It is a moving description of the consequences of war seen from an unusual perspective. I am glad the editors decided to include it in the book.

Peris M. Coventry

"Pacifists in Action". The Experience of the Friends Ambulance Unit in the Second World War. By Lyn Smith. Published William Sessions Ltd., York. £17.50 & £3.50 p&p.

The authoritative history of the FAU in the Second World War must remain the comprehensive volume produced by Tegla Davies and his team in 1947 when their own experiences were fresh but the

book now reviewed has a firm place as a complement to the earlier work.

Lyn Smith's work for the Imperial War Museum's Sound Archive involved a major project on the anti-war movements, including the Friends Ambulance Unit in the Second World War so she is well qualified to produce this substantial piece of research. Over recent years she has obtained from a wide range of members of the Unit accounts of what they did and why they did it. In this book the accounts are set out in the members' own words with linking passages to give the historical context. It should be of interest to all those concerned with war and peace and alternatives to violence.

The story told is by any standards a remarkable one. About 1300 young men and women passed through the Unit but the membership was never much over 800. They were conscientious objectors to military service, mostly in their twenties, from a wide variety of backgrounds, and largely accepted only such discipline as they imposed on themselves. Yet they were able to overcome the general prejudice in a world at war against pacifists and to obtain the co-operation of governments and other organisations to enable them to carry out humanitarian work, not only in the UK and Europe but as far afield as China, India, Africa and the Middle East.

They were heirs to the reputation established by the FAU in the First World War and had the support of some nationally known personalities of the Quaker "establishment". A major factor in facilitating their achievements must have been the bearing of the name "Friends", (the Society being so well known and respected for its humanitarian work) although the Society itself held no responsibility for the Unit and did not fund it. Indeed Quakers who were inclined to the absolutist view of pacifism initially felt the Unit compromised too far in co-operating with authority, including wearing khaki where necessary and sometimes working with the army. Just over half the Unit members were members of the Society of Friends but the Society's ideals, attitudes, even ways of doing business, permeated the whole Unit.

The experiences described are so differing and so numerous that it is impossible to give details. You will have to read the book. Suffice to say that they range from dangerously high adventures (17 members gave their lives and many were affected by disease) to the mundane - handling pig swill. The reception given to these activities was similarly varied. To quote "I don't think the Chinese we mixed with had the faintest idea of what we were and why we were there." In Ethiopia "the local population had no idea of what we were". In less exotic surroundings, Europe, hospitals, troopships, working alongside the army, there was often initial prejudice, generally overcome.

I approached this book with some reservations about what are

essentially the reminiscences of men and women who of necessity must now be in their seventies and eighties. Would they speak with the benefit of hindsight, put a gloss on the doings of 50 years ago? Lyn Smith deals convincingly with this doubt in one of her linking passages: "As with any oral history undertaking, asking FAU members to remember events of more than 50 years ago was fraught with problems of accuracy of recall; this was especially so when it came to recalling thoughts and emotions of the times. But all struggled, even agonised to get it "right" - to separate out the then from the now; and to distinguish their more mature selves and judgements from the green youngsters they then were."

As a lifetime pacifist, and writing as I do at the time of the Balkan agonies, I found the final chapter, "50 years after - would you say that still?" of particular interest. This is no poll but of the 23 responses most are yes, with or without reservations. Donald Swann, one of the most colourful Unit members, has the last word, "There is this whole idea of living with a conscience and that we had to go on living with it. You know, I think I've lived with it ever since. And it is a permanent partner: a little, quiet, second identity that goes along with you - a little conscience, a little box. And I think I am a conchie for life..."

Duncan Jones

NOTES AND QUERIES

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

Norman McCord and Richard Thompson: *The northern counties from A.D. 1000.* (London & New York, London, 1998. A Regional history of England).

A broad-sweep history, graced with useful references, has about half a dozen references to Quakers. In the far north west in the 17th century, a

> "watered-down form of Presbyterian in the ascendant, with little ecclesiastical discipline, which may have helped the spread of Quakerism. Southern Cumbria was a neglected part of the diocese of Chester". (pp.161-2).
>
> "During seventeenth-century troubles, Quakerism attracted thousands, with south and west Cumbria a main centre. Support dwindled during the eighteenth century, to no more than 3 or 4 per cent of the population." (p.165).

In the 19th century, the enterprises of the Pease family in railways in the north east, and the networks of Quaker and Unitarian families in and around Kendal also receive attention.

"A Radical's books: the library catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1623-90." Edited by Michael Hunter [Birkbeck College], Giles Mandelbrote [British Library], Richard Ovenden [Natural Library of Scotland] and Nigel Smith [University of Oxford]. Published by D.S. Brewer,1999.

Introducing this welcome volume, the editors state that

> The library owned by Samuel Jeake of Rye (1623-90), nonconformist and local activist, was one of the most remarkable of its time. ... It documents a collection in which an extraordinary assemblage of radical pamphlets from the English Revolution stood side by side with works of the theology, literature, scholarship and science. ... Jeake's catalogue is unusual in the painstaking detail in which it described the library of some 2100 items ...

The *Dictionary of national biography* describes Jeake as a 'puritan antiquary; some time town clerk of Rye; detained in London as a nonconformist 1682-7'. It is interesting to see how a dozen Quaker authors' works found their way

on to his shelves. Several works printed by Giles Calvert and Robert Wilson are noted among them. The authors I note are – John Anderson, Daniel Baker, Edward Burrough, William Dewsbury, Benjamin Furly, Francis Howgill, John Lilburne, James Nayler, Isaac Penington, Robert Rich, Thomas Speed, Judith Zinspenninck, and one who has escaped me till now – Susannah Parr. Susanna Parr's "Susanna's Apologie against the Elders" (1659) is not named in Joseph Smith's bibliography.

DUBLIN PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS

James W. Phillips (1916-1986): "Printing and bookselling in Dublin, 1670–1800 – a biographical enquiry". With a foreward by M. Pollard. (Dublin), Irish Academic Press, 1998.

This doctoral thesis (Dublin, 1952) brings to notice the publishing work for Friends in the 17th century by Joseph Ray, and Samuel Fuller and the Jacksons in the 18th century, which have been mentioned in earlier volumes of this *Journal* (41, p.84; 50, pp.117, 132).

Dr. Pollard, in her Lyell Lectures volume ("Dublin's trade in books 1550-1800", Clarendon Press, 1989, p.95) states that Ray "was nearly, if not quite a Quaker". Be that as it may, Phillips dubs him "the leading Dublin printer of his day" (p.108),but also says "None of his printed works are noteworthy" (p.303).

With Fuller and the Jacksons we are on firmer ground, Dr. Phillips wrote: "The first really important schoolbook seller was the 'Scribbling Quaker', "Samuel Fuller. From the commencement of his venture in the book trade in "the early 1720s until his death in 1735, Fuller published and sold arithmetics, "classics, geographies and translations of classics. This specialty was "continued by his widow, Mary Fuller, and by the Jackson family, who succeeded "the Fullers 'at the Globe and Scales in Meath street'... Isaac Jackson, "the first of this family, conducted the business from 1737 until 1772. He "was followed by his son, Robert, who was, in turn, succeeded by his sister, "Rachel Maria, in 1793." (pp.75-76).

As a letter founder, the author does not find when Isaac Jackson began this branch of his enterprise,and he says: "Jackson left no specimen of his type except what he used in practical printing." (p.202).

Protestantism and national identity. Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850. Editors: Tony Clayton and Ian McBride. (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

In an essay entitled "Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760", Tony Barnard (Hertford College) says

"the flourishing condition of the Scottish presbyterians, quakers and, from the 1740s, the methodists" troubled the protestant interest which thought that the "potency and menace of catholics – probably about 75 per cent of Ireland's population – required unity" in the Church across the Irish Sea.

In another essay in the same volume, Brian Young (University of Sussex): 'A History of variations – the identity of the eighteenth-century church of England', notes the controversy about the quakers' tithe bill in 1736, which lost to Walpole the support of his chief clerical ally, Bishop Edmund Gibson (bishop of London, 1720-48).

The Quakers Tithe Bill is also treated in *Tory and Whig: the parliamentary papers of Edward Harley, 3rd earl of Oxford, and William Hay, M.P. for Seaford, 1716-1753*, edited by Stephen Taylor and Clyve Jones (Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust: The Boydell Press), 1998.

Edward Harley believed "that the aim was to exempt the Quakers from the payment of tithes" and he saw it as a cloak for more fundamental attacks on the church and Anglicanism. The whig William Hay, was a teller for the 'Noes' on the bill (which was passed on the division, 160 against 60) and done of only two members to speak against the bill. The speech is reported, and runs to four pages, and reveals his anti-clericalism and also his suspicion of dissent.

FRIENDS IN SECHWAN IN THE 1920S

The cultural contribution of British protestant missionaries and British-American cooperation to China's national development during the 1920s. By Dan Cui (University Press of America, Inc., Lanham, New York, Oxford, 1998).

This is a London School of Economics thesis on the influence in which protestant missionary societies played a role in China's national development. Extensive chapters cover separate aspects like medical services, education, social reform and the emancipation of women. There is an extensive bibliography. The editor has used Friends' Foreign Mission Association (Friends Service Council) records at Friends House Library, and he notes the varied activities (hospitals, teaching hospitals, in the West China Union University, and a small museum in Chungking).

"Catalogue of the European manuscripts in the Oriental and India Office collections of the British Library", by David M. Blake. (The British Library, 1998).

On page 429 the following entry is given:

MSS Eur R 207 1942-1949 Tape recording of interview given 1991, by (John) Richard Charters Symonds (b.1918).

Friends Ambulance Unit, Bengal 1942-44; Deputy Director, Relief and Rehabilitation, Bengal 1944-45; Friends Service Unit, Punjab and Kashmir 1947-48; U.N. Commissioner in Kashmir 1948-49.

6 cassettes. Summary available in Reading Room.

Russell S. Mortimer

AMPTHILL FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

Further to Russell S. Mortimer's notes on *Bedfordshire Chapels and Meeting Houses: Official Registration 1672-1901* edited by Edwin Welch (page 197, JFHS vol. 58, no. 2). It should be pointed out that a meeting was first registered for Ampthill in 1726 when the barn 'occupied by Christopher Bennell' was registered at the Quarter Sessions in Bedford. This is in fact the oldest registration identified for Ampthill by Edwin Welch, but not attributed as Quaker (page 17).

The barn was in regular use until 1753, when Christopher Bennell purchased it on behalf of local Friends for £42. Arrangements were set in hand for its demolition and the erection of a 30 foot long by 17 foot wide single storied brick meeting house at a total cost of £136. The meeting house and associated land were placed in trust in February 1755. Within 13 years the meeting was enlarged with a new 12 foot brick extension at a cost of £74. This was again financed by local Friends together with the proceeds from the sale of Biggleswade Meeting House for £21.

By the 1880s local meetings had ceased and in the 1930s with the approval of the Charity Commissioners the building was sold on condition that the proceeds were invested within the compass of the Monthly Meeting. Today Quaker meetings are again held within the old meeting house. The burial ground and small garden at the rear are under the care of local Friends.

(From Records held at Bedfordshire & Luton Archive & Records Service).

Barry Dackombe

Alan Penn: Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism. Woburn Press, 1999.

Alan Penn traces the development of military drill, and of physical drill and exercises, for pupils in elementary schools from 1870-1914. Militarism was inseparable from imperialism in Britain no less than in the case of its European rivals. Its proponents saw schools as an ideal means by which the nation's youth might be given an early introduction to military drill, handling weapons and even to firing them.

Children of all ages and both sexes were taught military drill, and were prepared, often by army drill instructors to participate in vast displays, carrying out complicated manoeuvres before the general public and sometimes royalty.

His Majesty's Inspectors visited schools to ensure that Government requirements were being met, and their reports illustrate the ebb and flow of support for military drill, or rather the 'ordinary' drill that increasingly challenged it. The development of the controversy between military drill and the more benign physical exercises were prolonged, and it had not been resolved by the time war broke out in 1914.

Official records consulted include parliamentary debates (Hansard), reports of the Committee of Council on Education and later, the reports of the Board of Education, Her/His Majesty's Inspectors' reports, Commissioners and Interdepartmental inquiries, Codes of Regulations, School Board and Local Education Authority records and school log books. There are passing references made to Quakers as part of the wider opposition to military drill.

Howard F. Gregg

Friends' activities are noted in Amy Z. Gottlieb, *Men of vision: Anglo-Jewry's aid to victims of the Nazi regime 1933-1945* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1998: ISBN 0 297 84239 7).

Gottlieb covers her stated subject extensively. She describes the role of the Society of Friends (though not every mention is indexed) and specifically mentions its Germany Emergency Committee, Friends Service Council (wrongly named "Committee"), and Friends Ambulance Unit in various contexts during the period under discussion. A few individual Friends such as Bertha Bracey (1889-1989) and Ben Greene (1902-1978) are mentioned, as others with Quaker connections: Philip Noel Baker MP (1889-1982), former Bootham scholar and founder-member of Friends Ambulance Unit (1914); similarly Anna Essinger, friend of Friends and founder of the school at Bunce Court, Kent. The author includes among her sources the official history of Friends Committee for Refugees & Aliens/Germany Emergency committee (unfortunately misspelling the surname of the author), and is familiar with Brenda Bailey's *A Quaker couple in Nazi Germany* (1994).

Josef Keith

THESES LISTED IN *THESES COMPLETED*, 1998

RELATING TO QUAKERS

Caroline L. Leachman
'From an 'unruly sect' to a society of 'strict unity': the development of English Quakerism, c.1650-1689'. London PhD, 1998 [sup: Dr. Nicholas R.N. Tyacke] (TC 1998: 205).*

Brenda Harrison
'The religious and business practice of 19th-century Quakers, with special reference to the Clarks of Street. Bristol' MLitt, 1998 [sup. Dr. Christine Macleod] (*TC 1998*: 262).

Laura E. Lauer
'Women in British nonconformity, c.1880-1920, with special reference to the Society of Friends, Baptist Union and Salvation Army'. Oxford DPhil, 1998. [sup: Mrs Janet H. Howarth] (*TC 1998*: 334).

Farah Mendlesohn
'Practising peace: American and British Quaker relief in the Spanish Civil War'. York DPhil, 1998. [sup: Dr. Edward Royle] (*TC 1998*: 419)*.

* In Library of Society of Friends

ALSO OF POSSIBLE INTEREST

Ann M.G. Bray, 'Famines in Ireland, 1822-49; changing attitudes to charity and relief in Ireland and the North West of England during the first half of the 19th century'. Manchester MPhil, 1998 [sup: Prof. Michael E. Rose] (*TC 1998*: 279).

Timothy Larsen, 'Friends of religious equality: the politics of English nonconformists, 1847-67'. Stirling PhD, 1997 [sup: Dr.David W. Bebbington] (*TC 1998*: 297).

Cristina M. Rodriquez, 'Engendering an American awakening: a study of the translantic network of women abolitonists and the development of anti-slavery ideology in the United States, 1835-60'. Oxford MLitt, 1998 [sups: Mrs. Janet H. Howath and Prof Daniel W. Howe] (*TC 1998*: 453).

Josef F.C. Craven, 'Redskins in Epping Forest: John Hargrave, the Kibbo Kift and the Woodcraft Experience'. London PhD, 1998. [sup: Prof. Martin J. Daunton] (*TC 1998*: 372).

Malcolm J. Thomas

YORKSHIRE QUAKER HERITAGE PROJECT

This exciting new project, based at the University of Hull Brynmor Jones Library, has been funded for three years by the Higher Education Funding Councils under the Research Support Libraries Programme. Its aim is to increase awareness of and broaden access to Quaker archives and printed collections held in Yorkshire and beyond. Within the region, the creation and preservation of Quaker records has been as careful and systematic as historians have come to expect from the Society of Friends; however over the years the transfer of records from the direct custody of Quaker Meetings has resulted in their dispersal amongst regional universities, libraries and record offices. Their location and scope can therefore be confusing for researchers.

A project archivist, Helen Roberts, was appointed as of 1 August 1999. She will work in collaboration with two partner institutions, the University of Leeds Brotherton Library and the University of York Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, to create the following resources for researchers: a central web site with links to other relevant electronic finding aids; an online database covering collections held by the participating libraries and elsewhere; name indexes to the Quaker archives held by the Brynmor Jones Library; and a research guide to Quaker source material held throughout Yorkshire. The main collections to be covered by the project include: records of Pickering and Hull Monthly Meeting and associated bodies, 1669 to 1993; research papers of Fred Fletcher (a former custodian of Quaker records); records of Yorkshire General meeting and six Monthly Meetings, namely Brighouse, Knaresborough, Leeds, Settle, Thirsk and York, 17th to 20th centuries; the Birkbeck Library, Leeds Friends Old Library and Society of Friends Library; papers of successive generations of the Tuke family, late 18th to late 19th centuries; archives of The Retreat Asylum, York, 1790s to 1939; papers and social survey material of Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954); and company archives of Rowntree and Mackintosh, 1862-1969. Research will also be undertaken into the collections held by the Library of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain and the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service, and a comprehensive survey of material in other locations will be carried out. It is hoped that the project may establish a model of what may be achieved on a regional basis which other parts of the country may wish to follow.

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Web site [under development]: http://www.hull.ac.uk/lib/archives/quaker
Helen Roberts

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

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

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

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