

*The  
Journal of the  
Friends Historical  
Society*



*Volume 62 Number 3*

# CONTENTS

page

- 149-150 Editorial
- 151-164 'I had cause to be thankful that marriage would furnish me with a chaise'; conscious and unconscious motivation in the journal of Catherine Payton Phillips, 1727-1794.  
*Gil Skidmore*
- 165-183 The London Yearly Meeting and Books in the Quaker Atlantic world in the late Seventeenth Century.  
*Jordan Landes*
- 184-191 The Banker and the Marine: Two Brothers from an Eighteenth-Century Quaker Family.  
*David Ian Hamilton*
- 192-210 Quakers and the World of Objects: The Acquisition and Maintenance of Daniel Boulter's Eighteenth-Century Museum in Great Yarmouth.  
*Sylvia Stevens*
- 211-218 Recent Publications
- 219-221 Notes and Queries
- 222 Biographies

---

## FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

<i>President 2011:</i>	Gil Skidmore
<i>Clerk/Membership Secretary and Newsletter Editor</i>	Gil Skidmore
<i>Treasurer:</i>	Rod Harper
<i>Editor of the Journal:</i>	Howard F. Gregg

Annual membership subscription due 1st January (personal, Meetings and Quaker Institutions in Great Britain and Ireland) £12 US \$24 and £20 or \$40 for other institutional members. Subscriptions should be paid to Gil Skidmore, Membership Secretary, 31 Melrose Avenue, Reading, Berks RG6 7BN. Orders for single numbers and back issues should be sent to FHS c/o the Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.

# THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal*  
c/o 6 Kenlay Close, New Earswick, York YO32 4DW, U.K.

Email: h-fg@hotmail.co.uk

REVIEWS: please communicate with the Assistant Editor, David J  
Hall, 125 Oxford Road, Cambridge CB4 3PJ.

---

---

## EDITORIAL

The Editor regrets the late despatch of this *Journal*.

In her Presidential Address of 2011 Gil Skidmore examines the life of a prominent woman Quaker minister whose calling to the ministry required a careful exercise but whose spiritual vocation caused conflict between her responsibilities as a minister and the duties which family and marriage also required, unconsciously revealed in her *Journal*.

Jordan Landes explores the means by which, given the commercial pre-eminence of London, Quakers were able to use their print culture to spread and sustain their faith in a transatlantic community, helping to establish Quaker faith and practice in the first seventy-five years of the Society.

David Ian Hamilton details contrasted lives in a Quaker family and its connexions in Ireland and England between 1660 and 1748.

Sylvia Stevens, in her Presidential Address of 2010, places the establishment of a museum in Great Yarmouth by a Quaker shopkeeper within the background of British eighteenth century cultural history and the acquisition, purpose and disposal of such collections in that period.

The reviews secured by the Assistant Editor, David J Hall, reflect a wide range of Quaker historical topics.

The Editor welcomes articles or short items for consideration in future *Journals*. He is willing to read drafts and advise where appropriate. He would like to include annotated Quaker historical documents, of reasonable length, i.e. not too long, from contributors

who have the expertise and enthusiasm to prepare them.

Contributors are advised to use the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) *Style Guide* in the preparation of material. This is available from the Subscription Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (email: [maney@maney.co.uk](mailto:maney@maney.co.uk)) or online at MHRA's website ([www.mhra.org.uk](http://www.mhra.org.uk)).

The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

The Editor regrets the delay with the issue of the Supplement.

*Howard F Gregg*

## 'I HAD CAUSE TO BE THANKFUL THAT MARRIAGE WOULD FURNISH ME WITH A CHAISE'; CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS MOTIVATION IN THE JOURNAL OF CATHERINE PAYTON PHILLIPS, 1727-1794

At first sight Catherine Payton Phillips appears to be in many ways typical of the large number of eighteenth century Quakers, both men and women, who were recognised by their local meetings as having a particular gift for vocal ministry. After a period of local nurture and testing this recognition would be recorded centrally and these ministers, or as they were also known, 'publick Friends', might feel called to travel in the ministry, usually with at least one other person, some locally but some much more extensively, nationally or internationally. Catherine's journeys in the ministry were extensive, taking her all over the British Isles and also to Ireland, America and Holland.

At the end of her life, as many other ministers of that time did, she wrote a journal, an account of her life, ministry and travels, and this was published in 1797, three years after her death<sup>1</sup>. So far, so typical: but what sets Catherine's journal apart is the amount of self-justification which her writing contains and also the degree to which she often seems unconscious of the impression of herself which is given to the reader.

In this article I want to look at what stand out as particular themes of the journal and also to touch on some of Catherine's conscious and unconscious motivation, as far as this can be discerned by a modern reader. I will draw on her own writings, the journal itself and her published and unpublished letters, as well as on accounts and letters written by some of her contemporaries.

Most unusually too, at a time when most likenesses of Quakers, when there were any at all, were silhouettes, a small pencil sketch of Catherine survives<sup>2</sup>. This is reproduced on the front cover. It is hardly flattering and was almost certainly done without her knowledge, possibly during a meeting, but it does begin to show her as an individual.

I will begin with a short account of Catherine's life. Catherine Payton was born in Dudley in Worcestershire in 1727, the sixth

and youngest child of Henry Payton and Ann Fowler, Henry also having a son by his first wife. Her father was a recorded minister and earned his living as a maltster, although for many years before his death he was unable to work because of a paralytic disorder, and responsibility for the family fortunes rested on his wife. Catherine spent a lot of time with her father reading to him when she was young and also held a special place in her mother's affections. She was educated mainly at home although she did go to school in London for a few months in 1742 when she was 15. She read widely and also wrote both prose and poetry.

In 1746, when Catherine was 18, her father died at the age of 75. Two years later she took up what her mother saw as the mantle of his ministry and spoke in Dudley meeting at the age of 21. Soon after this she began her travels, going to Wales for seven weeks, and it was here that she met William Phillips, from Redruth in Cornwall, a widower with two young sons, who was visiting relations in Swansea. He was attracted to her and they began a correspondence but Catherine stopped this after a year, giving William no reason.

Catherine continued to travel extensively, first in Ireland and then for three years from 1753 to 1756 in America with the Irish friend Mary Peisley to whom she was very close. After their return, in 1757, Mary Peisley married Samuel Neale, another Irish minister, and shockingly died only three days later. Catherine returned to Ireland and later the same year visited Holland with Sophia Hume. Catherine continued to travel tirelessly all over the British Isles. In 1761 her sister Hannah died aged 45 leaving three children and the next year her half-brother Henry also died. Then in 1766, when she was 39, Catherine met William Phillips again. They resumed their correspondence and eventually in 1772 married, when Catherine was 45. Catherine continued her travels, visiting Ireland again in 1776, although her declining health sometimes made this difficult, but in 1785 William died, followed the next year by the death of her brother James Payton at the age of 68.

Catherine was more and more restricted by ill health, eventually becoming almost house bound, although she still attended local meetings and also wrote letters and her journal. She died in 1794 at the age of 67 and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Kea [now called Come-to-Good] in Cornwall.

Having given you an overview of Catherine's life I want to move on to place her in the context of the eighteenth century and the particular anxieties and prejudices of her time, which may have led to her perceived need to justify herself as well as to both her conscious and unconscious motivation for writing her journal. I

want to look first at problems with 'popularity' among ministers and then at the struggle, particularly hard for women, between duty to family and duty to a religious calling.

In the eighteenth century there was a worry among Quakers, a worry not unknown in our own time, that the Society of Friends might not survive without new active members. As the generations passed it was seen as vital to encourage those brought up as Friends to find the reality of their faith for themselves and to become not just birthright Friends but convinced Friends. The phrase often used at the time was that they needed to find 'the power, not the form'<sup>3</sup> in their religious experience.

Friends had also not given up hope of convincing others - the world's people - of the truth of the Quaker way, and Catherine and others took on this work by preaching at large public gatherings as well as at Quaker meetings. However, although it was allowed to be necessary to appeal to the general public, Friends were very ambivalent about the idea of 'popularity'.

In particular there were worries about some ministers becoming personally popular, as this, it was thought, would lay the way open to the danger of spiritual pride and of ministering 'in their own strength' instead of relying on a divine call to minister on every occasion.

Also, because in the eighteenth century the fact of women preaching was such a novelty, it was women who were seen as being in particular danger. Samuel Johnson's remark about a woman preaching being like a dog walking on his hind legs - 'It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all' - is well known, and in general women ministers were looked upon by outsiders as a curiosity and often as no more than a spectator sport, which makes Quaker misgivings about 'popularity' more understandable.

In general women ministers were very conscious of the problem and did all they could to avoid it. Esther Tuke of York, an exact contemporary of Catherine, when told that the beauty of a woman minister's pronunciation of the word 'Mesopotamia' had reduced some young women who heard her to tears, was horrified and vowed to correct her own 'sweet tune' and speak more harshly in future.<sup>4</sup>

Catherine says in her journal that from the beginning of her ministry she consciously avoided popularity, and gave up writing poetry for that reason, although she conceded when looking back in later life that she might have taken this resolve too far. It is evident from her letters that she had a naturally warm and affectionate nature and she was much concerned to nurture the ministry of women. She was encouraging to the young and one of her American converts,

Rebecca Jones, went so far as call Catherine her 'beloved parent in Christ, through whom I received the first awakening stroke.'<sup>5</sup>

However, although she had loyal and affectionate friends among her fellow ministers and travelling companions the effect she had on other people was not always positive and one particular example merits some detailed attention.

James Jenkins [1753-1831] first met Catherine when he was a young man of 25 and she was an established married woman of 51, at a Quaker gathering held at Launceston in Cornwall in 1778.

It has to be said that James's relationship with Quakers was always ambivalent. The illegitimate son of a Quaker and his servant, James was brought up by his father's relations and only learned of his parentage by accident. Although he was very fond of many of the Friends he knew, particularly those in Ireland who he saw as a truly accepting Quaker community, James's first-hand knowledge of Quaker hypocrisy made him distrust the often hagiographic testimonies written about the lives of deceased ministers. He resolved to write 'alternative' testimonies giving a different and often critical picture of the whole person. Although his manuscript was, unsurprisingly, never published, it did survive and provides a very useful, if obviously partial and prejudiced, view of eighteenth century Friends.

James Jenkins' initial view of Catherine was far from favourable:

'I recollect that Catherine Phillips, like a great Autocratrix, sometimes governed, and sometimes without succeeding, attempted to govern this assembly - to an austerity of conduct that had much the appearance of domination, she added a sourness of temper, that disgraced the woman, and assumed an over-bearing consequence which (at least I thought) an *humble* minister of the gospel could not assume'...

'She was not only the Lady-president of our table at the Inn, but directed nearly all our movements there, and several vexatious circumstances occurred which called forth, not only her reprehension, but (once) her extreme anger.'

'Each morning after breakfast, a council of procedure was held, with respect to the distribution of ministers to the different places of meeting - upon this (and indeed upon every occasion) she not only assisted at the Council-table, but sat at the head, in the chair of sovereignty...'<sup>6</sup>

He also describes her appearance rather negatively: 'She was rather tall of stature, had a wide mouth, with masculine features,



and mien upon the whole, the reverse of that feminine softness, which to our sex is so generally attractive.’<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to note that Catherine’s account of the same meeting is very short, as though it is nothing out of the ordinary. She describes the meeting as ‘a large and favoured solemnity; and although I did not think the ministry rose so high as I have known it in some of those general meetings, it appeared to be a serviceable opportunity, and the people seemed well satisfied therewith.’<sup>8</sup>

Jenkins believes that Catherine’s behaviour derives from her always being made a fuss of and approved by other ministers and quotes a Dudley woman friend to that effect. As he says, ‘She told me that while Catharine [sic] was a young woman, she became a minister, and was so fondled by Friends of the foremost rank, as to be spoiled by them; for even in her juvenile days, she assumed a great deal of consequence; often asserting, and maintaining authority to which she had no rightful claim, and which was in some instances, unusual for women to exercise.’

Jenkins concludes, ‘that she was constitutionally of a high and domineering disposition - fond of power, and the exercise of undelegated authority, and that the fire of this disposition was constantly fed, and fanned by caresses and adulation.’<sup>9</sup>

So Catherine certainly had her detractors although in her own eyes she was only avoiding ‘popularity’ and doing her duty as a Quaker minister, asking for no more authority than the role itself demanded in her opinion. In her journal she justifies all her actions as done in the service of her religious duty.

One point on which she justifies herself again and again is what others, and indeed sometimes even she herself, perceived as a conflict of duty arising between faithfulness to a calling and responsibility towards one’s family. There are things that she is expected to do as a woman rather than as a minister which make Catherine’s life difficult and uncomfortable. This is an area where the difference between what Catherine expresses consciously and unconsciously, both in her journal and in her letters, is most marked, both in relation to her parents and siblings, and also to the long story of her own marriage.

Catherine’s greatest ally in her ministerial career was her mother, whose attitude to religious duty began with her husband and extended to her daughter, as Catherine reports:

‘She said that when she married him, she was so far from being intimidated at the thought of his leaving her, to travel in his ministerial office, that she entered the solemn covenant,

with a resolution to do her utmost to set him at liberty therein; and when it pleased Divine Wisdom to deprive her of a husband whom she might offer up to his service, she was desirous that some one at least of her offspring might be called to the ministry; which was fulfilled in me, whom she bore rather late in life, and tenderly loved; but, I believe she as freely dedicated me to the Lord as Hannah did Samuel, and was always ready to put me forward in his work... And although, after I was called to the ministry, it was my lot to be much absent from her, she never repined at it, but frequently encouraged and excited me to faithfulness.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from her mother, though, Catherine felt that she had little support from her family or her fellow Quakers in Dudley. This is perhaps why she so valued her fellow ministers and companions such as Samuel Fothergill, Mary Peisley and later Lydia Hawksworth and reflected that 'a steady sympathizing friend is a great strength and blessing'.<sup>11</sup> In Dudley she says, her lot was 'cast in a quarter where there were none near who were capable of giving me much assistance or wise counsel, not having trodden the same steps.'<sup>12</sup> She obviously felt that she was a prophet without honour in her own country and wryly remarks that when she came back to visit Dudley after her marriage, 'the meetings were large as has been usual, when I have visited that place ; since my removal from it my old neighbours pressing to the meetings, more generally than when I resided amongst them...'<sup>13</sup>

Catherine repeatedly encountered criticism for leaving her aging mother and the rest of the family for long periods, which she justifies again and again in the journal, stressing that her mother was willing to let her go. There was obviously particular criticism over the length of her visit to America with her dear friend and companion Mary Peisley for three years and one month from 1753 to 1756 which Catherine counters in detail.

'... Our stay in this country was considerably longer than usual for friends who visit it from Europe; which was much in the cross to our natural inclination, but quite in the unity of the sensible body of Friends; who saw that we were industriously engaged in the service to which Truth had called us; and whatever some loose spirits might suggest respecting our long absence from home, I have this testimony in my conscience, that since I have been engaged in the solemn service of the ministry, I have ever endeavoured to accomplish the duties assigned me, in as

short a time as I could; being desirous that I might not afford occasion of censure to such, as being unacquainted with the humbling weight of this service, may conclude that we travel for pleasure, or to gratify a roving or curious disposition; as well as that I might spend the spare time afforded me in the exercise of my duty in my own family; and examining the state of my mind.<sup>14</sup>

There is an unconscious element in Catherine's justifications however. Her mother and brother James were often ill and in need of care. Most of her mother's problems related to old age but James's ailments had a nervous element, as did Catherine's own. She says in a letter to Samuel Fothergill written in 1758 'my brother seems bravely recovered, but as the stability of his health depends much on that of his mind I dare not promise to myself its continuance.'<sup>15</sup>

Catherine's letters are full of references to problems at home which she calls 'a scene of trials' and laments that she 'can expect no outward Help except from dear Mother.'<sup>16</sup> Always, in Catherine's eyes, it was religious duty, *her* religious duty, that must come first. She became accustomed to expecting help from her sisters Anne and Hannah.

One example of the family dynamic happened in 1759. Catherine set out for Quarterly Meeting at Evesham, intending to go on from there to Yearly Meeting in London. Her brother James, who had been ill, felt recovered enough to go with her to Evesham, intending to return home from there, but on the first day's journey 'he was taken very ill.' As Catherine tells it: 'This brought a fresh exercise upon me, under which I petitioned the Almighty that he would be pleased to direct me how to act for the relief of my own mind, and the discharge of that duty which I owed to an affectionate brother.' They went on to Evesham and Catherine attended the Quarterly Meeting. She then felt drawn to Worcester

'whereto my brother was persuaded to accompany me, and to take the advice of a physician, who strongly pressed his going to Bath. Upon considering the urgency of his case, some of my friends with myself judged it best for him to proceed there directly, as returning home first would but weaken him the more: so I wrote an account of our determination to my dear mother and sister [Anne], who acquiesced therein. I also informed my brother and sister Young [living in Leominster] of my afflicting situation, and requested that one of them would accompany him; and Providence so ordered it, that my sister came prepared for the journey the day after I sent for her. The next day, being

the First of the week, we were favoured together by Divine goodness; and the following morning we parted in much affection, and they proceeded to Bath, and I was at liberty to pursue my journey.<sup>'17</sup>

Catherine is convinced that Divine Providence provides care for her brother that will allow her to continue on her important journey. I wonder whether her sisters saw it in quite the same light?

Things became more difficult for Catherine after her sister Anne married Thomas Summerfield in 1760 and moved to Bloxham in Oxfordshire. As Catherine puts it, 'After my sister Ann's marriage, a load of domestick concerns devolved upon me. Through my mother's very great age, and my brother's frequent indisposition, my times of respite from travelling and gospel-labours were far from being seasons of rest.'<sup>18</sup>

A certain amount of resentment comes through in another letter to Samuel Fothergill, written in December 1760, this time even directed at her mother who seems, uncharacteristically, to have been making demands.

'- I don't know but I may leave Home again the latter end of next week in order to Visit my sister Summerfield, as none of the Family have been since she Married. My Mother seems desirous I should go this winter. I rather chuse to leave Home so as to attend the Quarterly Meetings at Warwick & Oxford ... the short space of Time betwixt them I rather think will be all I can spare to spend with my sister...& disagreeable as my allotment is at this Place I don't think I am easy to be much from it (considering the state of our Family) unless Duty required it - my Mother is yet preserved in Health beyond what may be expected for her age but my Brother is frequently Complaining....'<sup>19</sup>

We have seen the conscious and unconscious motivation at work in Catherine's writings about her family so now let us look at the way in which she writes about the long story of her marriage with William Phillips. In a way this is the centrepiece of the journal and Catherine is very aware that she is perhaps writing primarily to justify her actions and motivations to her publisher - her stepson James Phillips. Maybe this is even a way to ensure that he will publish the journal after her death, as he perhaps would not have done only to memorialise her ministry. It is interesting to note that it is published with a very plain title-page and no preface of any kind recommending it to the reader.

There is a gap in the journal between 1763 and 1772, caused, according to Catherine, by a lack of notes so that she cannot give an account in detail of her travels. Instead she goes into some considerable detail about the development of her relationship with William Phillips of Redruth in Cornwall.

She explains why she could not entertain the idea of marriage with him when they first met in 1749. Her main stated reason then is that the responsibility of marriage would have interfered with her duties as a minister, duties upon which she had only just embarked. 'My mind had been, and was under strong restrictions in regard to entering the marriage state, should I be solicited thereto; for as it appeared that for a series of years I should be much engaged in travelling for the service of Truth, I feared to indulge thoughts of forming a connection which, from its incumbrances might tend to frustrate the intention of Divine wisdom respecting me.'<sup>20</sup>

Marriage to William at this point would have brought extra responsibilities in the form of his two sons, James aged 6 and Richard aged 4. In her extended reflection on her relationship with William, his sons are hardly mentioned.

As well as possibly preventing her from fulfilling her religious duties William was 'considerably older' than her and his profession, as a copper agent, although it brought prosperity, meant that he had to give more time to business than he would if he were a gentleman and 'free' from working. It also brought him into what Catherine sees as too much contact with 'the world' - and worldliness becomes part of his character. She feels that he is insufficiently religiously mature to marry her. Cornwall is also not attractive, being characterised as a 'poor county'.

Catherine praises the propriety of William's behaviour to her.

'His behaviour to me was prudently restricted, though he afterwards confessed that his mind was affectionately disposed towards me. We were favoured together, especially in one meeting, with the uniting influence of Divine love, but parted merely as common friends. Very soon after, a circumstance happened, which, without the least design on either side, necessarily introduced a correspondence by letters between us; and we exchanged several in restricted terms, suited to our situations.'<sup>21</sup>

In the next year, 1750, Catherine travelled to Cornwall and held meetings in Truro and Redruth at both of which, she says,

'William Phillips was very serviceable; and his spirit being dipped into sympathy with me in my service, and mine, with him under his religious exercises, it tended to strengthen the regard we had for each other; yet such was the restriction we were preserved under, that no sentiment transpired, nor was there any, the least part of his conduct, more than was consistent with a distinguished friendship: and thus we again parted, and continued our religious correspondence.'<sup>22</sup>

But Catherine soon had doubts about continuing the relationship for a variety of reasons. As she puts it, 'ruminating upon the injurious consequences which might ensue to us both, should our affections be engaged contrary to the Divine will; and that, perhaps, the continuing an intimacy with me might prevent his mind from settling upon some other person, who might be a suitable companion for him through life; and seeing clearly, that my religious prospects would not for a long time admit of my changing my situation; I concluded it safest to relinquish our correspondence, and to leave the event of the foundation of affection which was laid, to future time: hoping, that if Divine wisdom designed a nearer union betwixt us, he would prepare my friend to be a suitable helpmate for me.'<sup>23</sup> It is obvious who Catherine sees as the most important person in this relationship - although she might say that it was the minister she was more concerned about than the woman - so she cut off their correspondence without giving William any reason.

By the time they met again in Cornwall where Catherine was engaged in visiting most of the meetings in the county in 1766, seventeen years after their first encounter, William's sons were grown men. Richard the younger was helping his father as a copper agent and the elder, James was in London pursuing his career as a printer and publisher and soon to be married.

William and Catherine talked about the past although the only opportunity they had to speak in private was when 'riding on the high road' from meeting to meeting. He told her how hurt he was when she cut off their correspondence without giving a reason and goes further saying,

'he had never admitted a sentiment of displeasure at me on the occasion, as he concluded that I had some reason for so doing, which was of sufficient weight to myself; but if my being in a single station were the cause, I needed not to have feared him, for although he loved me, hitherto his mind had been under a restriction from endeavouring to

pass the bounds of friendship.'

Catherine adds,

'This was saying more than he had ever done before; but during his being with me on this journey, his behaviour was strictly consistent with friendship only.'<sup>24</sup>

During this visit Catherine began to appreciate William's character and see how he might assist her ministry. Local Friends were doubtful about the possibility of holding a meeting at Plymouth Dock but William saw no difficulty and immediately put arrangements in hand. As Catherine says, 'It was a favoured opportunity, at which the friends who accompanied me for the promoting of it were very serviceable; but had not W Phillips assisted them, it did not appear probable that so large a meeting would have been procured, and held so quietly; he was peculiarly fitted for such services.'<sup>25</sup> Catherine and William resumed a correspondence at this point and occasionally met during Catherine's religious travels. Eventually, six years later in 1772 when Catherine was 45 years old, they married.

Looking back on their courtship Catherine writes, 'A short time before I married, my left elbow was dislocated by a fall down stairs, and reduced with considerable difficulty. As that joint from my infancy had been weak, and had several times been hurt by falls from my horse, as is before related, it became from this time so weak, as to render my riding single improper, and riding double was rather dangerous as I could not help myself on horseback without my arm; I had therefore cause to be thankful that my expected new station would furnish me with a chaise.'<sup>26</sup>

It seems a very prosaic, not to mention 'worldly' reason for marriage but it is clear that Catherine values William as a friend and an ally who she can rely on to make her life as a minister possible. Her other main ally, her mother, was becoming too frail to help her and indeed died two years later. William had proved his worth in arranging rooms for her public meetings and making sure they are publicised. He could give her a home and a chaise to travel in and would not try to restrict her. The unspoken bottom line is that she and her ministry will still be at the centre.

It is evident from what James Jenkins says that the marriage did raise some eyebrows, mainly because of the advanced ages of both parties. Jenkins was a great friend of James Phillips and it may have been his disapproval that is being expressed. It seemed to outsiders that Catherine's main motivation in waiting so long was to avoid the possibility of having children.

Jenkins quotes one rumour. 'I have heard that her objection to an earlier marriage arose from a desire to avoid the transmission of a disease allied to insanity with which several of her family (as well as herself for a while) had been afflicted.'<sup>27</sup> Catherine of course makes no mention of this possibility in her journal but there may be some truth in it. Her oldest sister Mary, who died in 1741 at the age of 31 is mentioned in her father's will quite separately from her siblings and given an annuity only through others acting for her, her 'assigns'. Perhaps she was not capable of looking after herself - but that is pure speculation at this stage in my work.

Were there other unconscious factors holding Catherine back from marriage - perhaps an understandable fear? Not only were there examples all around her of women dying in childbirth but the shocking death of her dear friend and companion Mary Peisley only three days after her marriage to Samuel Neale, even though this was from a long-standing illness, might have made another connection between marriage, and indeed the marriage of a minister, and death in Catherine's mind.

William was respectful, helpful and persistent. Their reconciliation in 1766 did not lead to marriage immediately, as it might have done in the pages of a novel, but took another six years until Catherine was persuaded. She was sure of his affection and support before the marriage and learned to value him truly after it.

Although the account of William's courtship, their life together and his death in the journal is so full, and possibly extended for the benefit of his son, Catherine's publisher, there can be no doubt that it is sincere.

However even in the account of their married life Catherine reveals some unconscious assumptions. One of Catherine's failings comes from her upbringing as the favoured youngest child, growing up to take her father's place as a minister. She assumes that she and her calling are more important than anything else. When she is ill, she expects to receive every attention and although she is lavish in her praise of those who take good care of her, it appears from other sources that she can be harsh and critical if this does not happen. Not much of this finds its way into the journal but I will touch on two examples.

Soon after her marriage, in 1774 Catherine suffered a long illness and compares the treatment she receives with what would have been her lot at home. 'I was reduced so extremely low by this indisposition, as to be doubtful, whether I could have survived it, had I not been removed from my



mother's family; as in that, considering her situation, and my brother's, it was unlikely I should have been so released from care, and so tenderly and affectionately attended to, as by my dear husband, and the assistance he procured for me.'<sup>28</sup>

Another telling example though is towards the end of the journal in 1781 when William Phillips, usually in robust health and a stranger to pain, is ill.

'He was so dangerously attacked with a quinsy [an abscess on the tonsils following tonsillitis], that it appeared he very narrowly escaped death. His son [Richard] was from home, and the weight of his critical situation, together with the attention which was due to him, bore heavily upon my weak body and spirits, and but that our cousin Frances James, now Fox, was then with us, I know not how I should have sustained my fatigues. She very tenderly and assiduously attended upon my husband, and assisted me in this season of affliction; which I note with thankfulness to that good Hand which furnished us with her help. My husband's first wife was her mother's sister, and she being left an infant orphan, my husband, with other relations, had cared for her, and a mutual affection subsisted; so that her services were the more willingly lent, and pleasingly accepted.'<sup>29</sup>

Again Catherine writes quite unconsciously, giving what she sees as a reasonable explanation.

Catherine Payton Phillips's journal and other writings reveal a woman of strong character - too strong for the taste of some of her contemporaries - who was true to a calling not always easy even for Quaker women in the eighteenth century. She battled against prejudice and against weakness both physical and spiritual. In her care to avoid what were seen as the snares of popularity she acquired a sometimes imperious manner and made enemies. But she also inspired affection and devotion in those who knew her well, her fellow ministers and travelling companions such as Mary Peisley, Samuel Fothergill, Lydia Hawksworth, Rebecca Jones and of course her husband William Phillips who remained devoted to her for so many years.

As we have seen, in her writings Catherine does acknowledge weakness, particularly in relation to her failings in her religious duties, but she also reveals weaknesses in her character which she seems unaware of.

However I hope I have shown that this only makes her more interesting and more deserving of further study than if we were to take her at her own face value.

*Gil Skidmore*  
*Presidential Address given at Britain Yearly Meeting*  
*4 August 2011*

## ENDNOTES

1. Catherine Phillips, *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips to which are added some of her epistles* (London, James Phillips, 1797)
2. The illustration of Catherine Payton Phillips on the front cover appears © Religious Society of Friends in Britain, from the Gibson MSS in the Library of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London.
3. 2 Timothy, 3.5.
4. James Jenkins, *The Records and Recollections of James Jenkins*, ed. J William Frost, (New York and Toronto, Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), p.87.
5. Rebecca Jones, *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, compiled by William J Allinson, (Philadelphia, Henry Longstreth, 1849).
6. Jenkins, *Records*, pp.118-9.
7. Jenkins, *Records*, p.262.
8. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.246.
9. Jenkins, *Records*, p.260.
10. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.4.
11. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.18.
12. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.17.
13. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.26.
14. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.143.
15. MS letter from Catherine Payton to Samuel Fothergill, 1758. FHL Port 21/166.
16. MS letter from Catherine Payton, 1756. FHL Port 21/111.
17. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.184-5.
18. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.206.
19. MS letter from Catherine Payton to Samuel Fothergill, 1758. FHL Port 21/118.
20. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.207-8.
21. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.209.
22. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.209.
23. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.210.
24. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.212-3.
25. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.215.
26. Phillips, *Memoir*, p.207.
27. Jenkins, *Records*, p.260.
28. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.223-4.
29. Phillips, *Memoir*, pp.269-70.

## THE LONDON YEARLY MEETING AND BOOKS IN THE QUAKER ATLANTIC WORLD IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Quaker use of print culture has been an important subject for studying the spread and support of the faith in England and beyond. Kate Peters contributed greatly to the examination of early Quaker print culture, arguing that Quaker writing and publications ‘emerged as a tool of leadership’, or as a method of maintaining authority over the movement.<sup>1</sup> J. William Frost examined the idea of the Quaker Transatlantic Community through books, comparing books read by English Quakers to those read by Pennsylvania Quakers in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This paper looks at the early Quaker Atlantic World and its networks, from travelling ministers and emigrants to commercial trade, examining some of the mechanisms of selection and distribution of Quaker print materials. The paper relies on the term *community* to mean a group of people with shared beliefs and a process of exchange but who were dispersed over a large area. Books printed in London, one process of exchange among others, allowed London Quakers to communicate ideas with a community of scattered Friends. The London Yearly Meeting was able to take advantage of London’s position as a national and international city to create systems to exchange correspondence, print materials, and supplies necessary for survival in the colonies, and this paper will focus on its use of books in the Quaker Atlantic World.<sup>3</sup>

The roots of early Quaker print culture grew out of Thomas Aldam’s 1652 recommendation that print materials were ‘verye serviceable for weake friends, and convinceing the world’,<sup>4</sup> and the growth of Quakerism into a transatlantic community led to wider use of books and pamphlets for the same purposes. The London Yearly Meeting’s 1691 printed epistle encouraged the ‘spreading Friends’ books for the service of Truth’, agreeing that

[T]he said books be sent by the several correspondents of each county; who are desired to send up the money for the books, when received, to the Friends that are correspondents in London: and to be diligent in spreading the Friends’ books for truth’s service.<sup>5</sup>

Separated by an ocean from the active London press, colonial

Friends' access to the most recent Quaker writings became a concern of the London Yearly Meeting, who relied on two administrative meetings to maintain contact with widespread Quaker meetings: the Second Days Morning Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings. The Morning Meeting was at the hub of several Quaker networks, its members responsible for writing epistles to colonial meetings, for the approval of ministers travelling abroad, and for the approval of books to be printed. Composed of ministers who had travelled throughout England, but often further, the Morning Meeting had access to newly printed books and to travelling ministers, as well as an existing system of correspondents essential to the distribution of print materials. The Meeting for Sufferings was composed of members of the Morning Meeting, as well as one Friend from each county who could travel to London as needed. The Meeting for Sufferings recorded persecution into the Great Books of Sufferings, kept minutes and reports of cases in which it was involved, and became responsible for the expenses of the London Yearly Meeting. The responsibilities of the two administrative meetings did overlap at some points, as members of the Morning Meeting also attended the Meeting for Sufferings and could address the same issues in each meeting, especially in the case of printing. While the Morning Meeting was the main communicator with American and Caribbean Quaker meetings, the Meeting for Sufferings enabled such activities.

Distribution of books to colonial Quakers emerged from the Morning Meeting's original responsibility of approving Quaker publications. The Quaker relationship with the press had begun with the start of the movement in the 1650s, when books and publications were used to spread beliefs, to defend Friends from anti-Quaker publications, and to be delivered to government officials to gain sympathy or understanding.<sup>6</sup> In addition to developing a process for publication and relationships with printers, London Quakers also created methods of dispersing books by sending them to local correspondents who would then distribute them locally.<sup>7</sup> The Morning Meeting set about developing a system of choosing titles and destinations, as well as arranging payment, in order to excite colonial Quakers 'to the reading of the Holy Scripture and religious books',<sup>8</sup> as it had done in the previous decade for English Quakers. Through books, the Morning Meeting could share emerging ideas and beliefs, mostly from writers in England, with scattered Friends.

In addition to collecting two copies of every Quaker publication, the Morning Meeting also collected one copy of every anti-Quaker publication beginning in 1673, and read and approved responses to

the negative publications. With growing experience in responding to anti-Quaker writing in England, the Morning Meeting was in a position to provide responses for American and Caribbean Quakers in the face of opposition to colonial Quakerism. At other times, books were sent according to the wishes of the authors. For instance, members of the Morning Meeting wrote to Bermuda indicating the inclusion of the printed Yearly Meeting Epistle, as well as 'some few Books which the Authors send as a token of their Love to you'.<sup>9</sup> The Morning Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings sent books to the American and Caribbean colonies nearly every year, and though destination was often included in the meeting records, quantities were only listed occasionally. The Morning Meeting came to rely on a number of specific titles to ship to colonial Quakers, perhaps counting on these writings to best communicate beliefs and stances on particular issues.

The activity of the Morning Meeting was particularly well documented in 1693, when the minutes of the meeting included titles, quantities and destinations of print materials. The same four titles were shipped to the colonies in 1693: George Whitehead's 1692 *Antichrist in Flesh Unmask'd*;<sup>10</sup> his *The Contemned Quaker*,<sup>11</sup> also of 1692; his 1693 *The Christian Doctrine and Society of the People called Quakers Cleared from the Reproach of the late Division of a Few in Some Parts of America*;<sup>12</sup> and Robert Barclay's *An Apology for True Christian Divinity*,<sup>13</sup> first published in 1675.<sup>14</sup> Barclay's *Apology* was a very important book to send to Quakers abroad, as it is considered to be the first printed work of Quaker doctrine.<sup>15</sup> Barclay's book was extremely important to colonial Quakers with little contact with ministers, '[b]eing a Full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines'.<sup>16</sup> George Whitehead had become a main figure of Quakerism, especially after the deaths of George Fox and Stephen Crisp, being 'the chief of the leaders whose convincement dated back to the first days of the Quaker movement'.<sup>17</sup> He was also an active member of the Morning Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings. These writings of Whitehead and Barclay served the Morning Meeting's goals in distributing books to colonial Quakers that clearly communicated the latest doctrine and beliefs. George Whitehead's 1693 *The Christian Doctrine* was sent in the largest numbers, with fifty to Barbados and the Leeward Islands, fifty to New England, twenty-five to Maryland and one hundred to Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. Fifty copies of Whitehead's book to Barbados and the Leeward Islands meant multiple copies for each monthly meeting in these colonies, where there were fewer than five meetings. This large number of copies might indicate that

the London Yearly Meeting expected the books to be shared with non-Quakers, perhaps attracting them to the established meetings. Other books shipped from London in 1693 were twenty-five copies of Whitehead's 1692 *Antichrist in Flesh Unmask'd* and twenty-five copies of Barclay's *Apology* shipped to Barbados, as well as six, ten, or twelve copies of the three titles shipped to Jamaica, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, Pennsylvania, the Jerseys and New York.<sup>18</sup>

In 1702, the Morning Meeting minutes included a list of fourteen 'Books and Papers which appear most suitable to be collected and Printed in a small Vollume to manifest the Christian Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers', therefore representing those works the Morning Meeting preferred Quakers to read.<sup>19</sup> The 'Vollume' contained the names of the three books listed above, as well as Alexander Pyot's *A Brief Apology in Behalf of the People called Quakers*, sent to New England in 1705,<sup>20</sup> to Maryland and Carolina in 1715,<sup>21</sup> and to Connecticut in 1716.<sup>22</sup> The Morning Meeting shipped two hundred copies of John Crook's *Truth's Principles* to Maryland and Carolina in 1715,<sup>23</sup> where there were between twenty and thirty meetings, along with one hundred copies each of William Penn's *A key opening a way to every common understanding* as well as another title.<sup>24</sup> The Meeting for Sufferings sent 1000 copies of John Field's *The Christianity of the people called Quakers asserted by George Keith* to Maryland in 1700.<sup>25</sup> While other titles were shipped on specific occasions, especially those in response to anti-Quaker activities as in the cases of George Keith and Cotton Mather, the titles listed above were the works to which the majority of colonial Quakers would have had access.

Travelling ministers approved by the Morning Meeting occasionally requested books to carry with them or to be sent to American Quakers. When proposing to travel to America in 1702, Samuel Bownas also asked if the meeting wanted to send books with him 'to be dispersed amongst the People as there may be service soon for their Information'.<sup>26</sup> Meeting members John Butcher, John Field, John Tomkins and Theodor Eccleston were chosen to select titles to send along with Bownas. Writing from America two years later, Bownas again asked that the meeting send books and pamphlets, this time specifically about baptism, to be directed to Long Island at the cost of twenty shillings.<sup>27</sup> Thirteen years later, travelling minister John Farmer wrote a letter from Maryland requesting specific titles and quantities of books and pamphlets to be sent to Maryland Quaker Richard Johns for dispersal to other Quakers or interested parties. He asked for a hundred copies of Penn's 1673 *Key*, two hundred copies of John Crook's *Truth's Principles*, fifty copies of Pyot's 1694

*Apology*, a hundred copies of Field's *The Christianity of the People Called Quakers*, and ten copies of Joseph Wyeth's 1699 *A Switch for the Snake*.<sup>28</sup> For Farmer, these publications communicated the faith most clearly to Maryland Quakers, and apparently the Morning Meeting agreed with Farmer, as it acted on his recommendation. Farmer's request for books was laid before the Meeting for Sufferings, who decided upon the quantity to be sent, added some titles to the list, and the books were apparently shipped.<sup>29</sup>

In rare cases, individual members of the Morning Meeting could propose books to be sent abroad, as in 1705 when Theodor Eccleston, not a regular correspondent of the New England meetings, asked for the meeting's consent to send four copies of Pyot's *Apology*.<sup>30</sup> Also, the London Yearly Meeting directed the Morning Meeting to send books abroad on some occasions, as in 1704, when the Yearly Meeting had the Morning Meeting send five books each to Virginia, New England and Jamaica, titles not specified in the minutes.<sup>31</sup> The Jamaican Yearly Meeting acknowledged receiving a book shipment sent 'by the Yearly meetings order'.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, colonial Friends could request books that they felt could help defend and spread the religion through the colonial correspondents of the London Yearly Meeting. In 1703, Daniel Zachary, a New England Quaker, advised the Morning Meeting to send books 'to disperse there among the People for their Information in the Doctrines of Truth'. The meeting did so, but with the direction that the value of the shipment should not be more than three pounds.<sup>33</sup> Three years later, the Morning Meeting received a letter from colonial Quakers, acknowledging that they had received copies of Wyeth's *A Switch for the Snake*, as well as printed epistles by George Fox, and further requesting four dozen additional copies of Wyeth's book, as well as 'sundry other books'.<sup>34</sup> The responses of the London Yearly Meeting to colonial requests were targeted at times, as in the case of the 1703 reprinting of *New England Judg'd*.<sup>35</sup> Requests from colonial Quakers allowed the Morning Meeting to provide books that could meet the needs of Friends abroad and to be sent to more remote areas when ministers could not be spared.

In striving to strengthen beliefs throughout the transatlantic Quaker communities, the Morning Meeting chose to target areas where Quakerism was newly introduced or challenged, ensuring their inclusion in the growing Quaker community. For example, in 1699, Theodor Eccleston, John Field, John Butcher and Samuel Waldenfield were appointed by the meeting to select some Friends' books to be sent to America, specifically to Boston and areas east of that city.<sup>36</sup> Quakers in Massachusetts were frequent subjects of

persecution through a series of laws enacted before the Restoration to punish Quakers by whipping and mutilation, then by exile after.<sup>37</sup> The Morning Meeting took care in selecting titles, taking a year to prepare a list that the meeting then 'left to them to consider as the Quantity and sorts and to Add or Deminish as they see meet of the same or other sorts'. The meeting did ask that the list be presented again, with the costs, before the shipment was made.<sup>38</sup> The minutes mention that just months later, John Field and John Tomkins wrote a postscript to an Epistle to Rhode Island regarding the distribution of a shipment of books, possibly referring to the same shipment directed to New England.<sup>39</sup> While ministers could have been punished or banished from Massachusetts, books could spread doctrine and discipline in their place with less risk of punishment.

### *The Payment of Books*

The Meeting for Sufferings arranged for the original payment for the books shipped abroad often, whether from the National Stock or donated funds. In 1679, the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings declared that 'all books read at Second days Morning Meeting be presented to the meeting for Sufferings who are to order and direct the manner and number of books & the printer thereof'.<sup>40</sup> The first record of the Morning Meeting arranging for the sending of books to Nevis and Bermuda in 1688 raised the issue of payment. Following the proposal in the Morning Meeting to send the books, John Field took this proposal to the Meeting for Sufferings, seeking their 'consent to defrey the charge of them, being about 5 or 6s'.<sup>41</sup> Just a year later, Thomas Northcott, a London printer, presented to the Morning Meeting a bill for books George Fox had sent 'beyond the seas as Barbados &c for the spreading of truth,' which was directed to the Meeting for Sufferings.<sup>42</sup> The question of payment appeared in the minutes with some frequency, and was usually referred to the Meeting for Sufferings. The distribution of books was important enough for the London Yearly Meeting and its administrative meetings to allocate money from their accounts, and the meetings undertook some of the costs to print and send the publications. Often, books published for colonial communities were a financial burden for the Meeting for Sufferings and Morning Meeting,<sup>43</sup> who occasionally sought other methods of payment.

When payment for books did not come from within the London Yearly Meeting, colonial quarterly or yearly meetings paid for the books and shipping, arranged through factors or agents in London. The 1700 epistle from the Bermuda Yearly Meeting included an order for George Fox's *Journal* 'and if you please let us know the price, as



also some other Books that are New and Epistles that are necessary to be Read'.<sup>44</sup> The minutes of the 1705 Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia recorded an order of two hundred copies of George Bishop's book from printer Tace Sowle, stating that 'She intends to send them in Two Bottoms, at as Low a rate as she can Whereupon this Meeting orders that Care be taken to pay for them (as soon as it shall be known that they are Shipped) out of the Yearly Meeting Stock,'<sup>45</sup> that is, its own stock. Also, correspondents of the Morning Meeting informed colonial meetings of the cost of books, as with Joseph Wyeth's 1701 letter to New England Friends with an 'Inclosed catalogue of books amounting to the sume of Four pounds Seven Shillings'.<sup>46</sup> In other cases, individual Friends offered to pay for books to be reprinted and sent abroad with their own money. During the Morning Meeting's work on addressing the New England sufferings, Jonas Langford of Antigua gave money for the new edition of George Bishop's 1662 book.<sup>47</sup> London Quaker John Baker had offered two guineas to the 1702 Yearly Meeting to be put toward books to be sent to New England. Baker gave his donation to John Field of the Morning Meeting, as well as an additional three guineas more for books to be sent 'to any other parts', which the meeting directed to Carolina, Bermuda, Nevis and Antigua.<sup>48</sup> Although cases of funding from outside the London Yearly Meeting and other yearly meetings were less common, the Morning Meeting could use these funds for specific shipments on occasion.

### *The Flow of Books*

It is possible to establish where and when shipments were sent from London based on the minutes of the Morning Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings, and the epistles from Caribbean and American colonies provide some evidence that the shipments were received there. For example, in 1681, the Meeting for Sufferings recorded sending books to Virginia, and in 1682 a member of the Yearly Meeting in Virginia, Thomas Jordan, wrote of their arrival in a letter to the meeting.<sup>49</sup> Another example was the Morning Meeting's shipment of books to Bermuda in 1688, when in the following year, they received an acknowledgement of receipt in an epistle.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the minutes of colonial yearly meetings record the arrival of book shipments, such as the 1706 entry in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's records that the 1705 order of two hundred copies of George Bishop's book from Tace Sowle had arrived in part.<sup>51</sup> The number of copies of titles sent hints at the availability of chosen titles to colonial Quakers, and two hundred copies to Pennsylvania and the Jerseys would have provided more than one copy per monthly

meeting, potentially even providing books to be distributed outside of Pennsylvania. In some cases, there is a record of the shipments not arriving, such as in 1694, when 'the Ship wch Friends of late Sent Letters and books &c by to America was taken by the French'.<sup>52</sup> Many times the question of whether specific shipments arrived is not answered.

When the transatlantic shipment of print materials was successful, the books were directed to the colonial correspondents for distribution amongst meetings. This further distribution was no longer the responsibility of the London meetings for discipline and fell under the colonial yearly meetings' purview. For example, distribution in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys was impacted by decisions made by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's Overseers of the Press, a group of ministers and laymen who wished to play a similar role as the Morning Meeting did in the London Yearly Meeting. The Overseers also decided which books would be ordered from London or reprinted by the Philadelphia printer, and distributed books shipped from London, effectively dictating what Pennsylvania Quakers without their own transatlantic connections read.<sup>53</sup> The 1705 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting ordered two hundred copies of George Bishop's book from Tace Sowle, suggesting they 'may be divided as usual among the Several Meetings'.<sup>54</sup> The 1717 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting appointed eleven members of the Overseers of the Press to distribute part of 1500 books, 'one half to the Quarterly meeting and the other half as they find Occasion And it might be mentioned in this meeting that some other books might be of Service to spread in some parts of this and the adjacent Countreys'.<sup>55</sup> Most of these eleven Overseers signed epistles sent from Philadelphia to London, and several of them were official Correspondents with the London Yearly Meeting, making them active participants in transatlantic Quaker networks.

Outside of Quaker sources, tracking shipments of books is more difficult. While books were entered into the London Port Books, such as an August 1683 entry for William Woodbee's shipment of books, among other items, to Pennsylvania,<sup>56</sup> the destruction of port books after 1696 makes a study of book trade over several decades difficult.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, books that were shipped were not always included in port book entries. For example, avid book collector James Logan avoided paying duties by transporting books in a shipmaster's chest.<sup>58</sup> However, the shipment of books was well documented in 1695, which allows for an examination of the London Yearly Meeting's response to George Keith.

With the American press outside of New England slower to

develop, colonial Friends were frequently dependent on Europe for print materials, and especially dependent on London, in their earliest decades. Therefore, the flow of Quaker books in the Atlantic World was predominantly from London to the colonies leading up to 1725, and this aspect of the book process was very much overseen by the London meetings for discipline, from the authoring of works, through editing, funding, printing and distribution. As J. William Frost posited, this one-sided flow of books meant that American Quakers read about English Quakers through the books sent by the London Yearly Meeting, while English Quakers learned about American Quakers only through correspondence and the reports of travelling ministers.<sup>59</sup> In addition to the transatlantic shipments of books reaching Quakers, however, there were a couple of printers in the colonies producing Quaker materials, although less consistently. William Penn arranged for printer William Bradford to establish a press in Philadelphia,<sup>60</sup> and his press was ready by December 1685. Bradford stayed until 1693, and Philadelphia was without a Quaker printer until 1699, when Reynier Jansen arrived. Jansen died just seven years later and the Philadelphia Quakers were again without a printer until the hiring of Andrew Bradford, William's son, who printed little before 1720.<sup>61</sup>

The London Yearly Meeting and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting attempted to establish an exchange by 1694, rather than simply books flowing from London across the Atlantic, as confirmed in an epistle from the Morning Meeting to the Pennsylvania and Jersey Yearly Meeting that proposed that Quakers in the colonies would request that every book printed regarding Quakers, both against and supporting, would be sent by their correspondents.<sup>62</sup> For example, John Field was sent ten books from Pennsylvania with the understanding that the books would be returned when finished.<sup>63</sup> In 1695, Quakers in Barbados sent a book to Morning Meeting member George Whitehead for examination.<sup>64</sup> The importance of sending books from the colonies was reiterated in a 1704 epistle from Pennsylvania that agreed 'to send one book of what are printed there,'<sup>65</sup> for which the Morning Meeting agreed to pay.<sup>66</sup> However, as James Green wrote, 'the early colonists relied on the presses of London'.<sup>67</sup> In the early years of the colonies, it was cheaper to import books from London, especially when London Quakers were willing to absorb some of the expense of shipping and the books. This fact gave the London Yearly Meeting the opportunity to use books and pamphlets as tools, giving it a near monopoly of the Quaker press in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in London. Nonetheless, while the vast majority of books travelled westward

from London, early exchanges attempted to establish foundations of a transatlantic dialogue.

### *Books in the Colonies*

Despite the London Yearly Meeting's encouragement, there were concerns about Friends, including children, not reading these materials. In 1705, Friends in Jamaica wrote to the Morning Meeting that 'in this island, the people Generally are more desirous of Reading Play books and such like rather then look into a Friends book'.<sup>68</sup> Fifteen years later, the interest in the more popular press continued to be enough of a problem that the London Yearly Meeting epistle advised that 'no Friends suffer romances, play-books, or other vain and idle pamphlets, in their houses or families, which tend to corrupt the minds of youth'.<sup>69</sup> Quaker books and pamphlets needed to be accessible for colonial Quakers to provide an alternative to the more popular press.

Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic started to develop meeting house libraries where their communities could share books. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting made arrangements for 'a library of a sort and lent or given as there may be occasion' created from a 1712 shipment of books from John Askew of London.<sup>70</sup> In England, meeting house libraries were established in Lincolnshire in the 1690s, at Evesham as early as 1706, and at St Albans in 1734.<sup>71</sup> Meeting house libraries apparently lent books to members, as when the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting lent a copy of George Fox's *Journal* to member Richard Armit in 1705.<sup>72</sup> The content of the collections in these meeting house libraries possibly held the Morning Meeting's most suitable books and papers, although meetings with merchant members may have held a wider range of titles due to these members' access and communication with London. In addition to Monthly Meeting collections, some well-known Quaker individuals had personal collections with non-Quaker, and even non-religious works. James Logan of Philadelphia owned more than 3000 books covering a large range of subjects, while Thomas Chalkley of London, then Pennsylvania, owned about one hundred books.<sup>73</sup>

Books became useful items for the London Yearly Meeting, providing it with tools to address challenges to the faith throughout the Atlantic World. For example, in 1702 the Morning Meeting decided to update George Bishop's 1661 *New England Judg'd* as a response to Cotton Mather's 1702 *The Magnolia Christi Americana*, assigning responsibility to member Joseph Grove,<sup>74</sup> based on a recommendation from travelling ministers William Ellis, Aaron Atkinson and Joseph Kirkbridge.<sup>75</sup> The updated book countered

Mather's justification of the execution of four Quakers, while addressing the ongoing interest in the New England Quaker 'martyrs' among colonial Quakers.<sup>76</sup> Tace Sowle printed and bound fifty copies of the updated *New England Judg'd* by 1704 to be sent by ship as soon as possible.<sup>77</sup>

The concerted effort of the London Yearly Meeting to address the challenges raised by George Keith in the last decade of the seventeenth century also included the printing and distribution of books. In 1691, Keith first broke with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting over his proposal of a set of rules, including a required confession of faith, ideas the meeting called 'downright Popery'.<sup>78</sup> He formed a splinter group called the 'Christian Quakers' and the controversy spread beyond Philadelphia by the end of 1691. After returning to London by 1694, Keith was disowned by the London Yearly Meeting, but continued to write and speak out against Quakerism. The first mention of Keith in the official London Yearly Meeting transatlantic correspondence was in a 1693 epistle to the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey that year in Burlington, West Jersey, referring to Keith's 'controversial point'.<sup>79</sup> Following that epistle, the 1694 London Yearly Meeting asked members John Field, John Vaughton, and John Butcher to choose books to be sent 'beyond the sea,' including published responses to George Keith.<sup>80</sup> The 1695 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting requested that the London Yearly Meeting act, writing in their epistle 'we desire that you would be pleased to take care that Such Books and Papers as may be of Service to us may be sent some of each sort by Every opportunity as may happen after their Publication for our adversary George Keith is very Early sending his here'.<sup>81</sup>

The Morning Meeting reacted by arranging for books to be written in response to Keith's own writings. According to the Port Books of London, in 1695, well over 600 books left London in eleven different shipments, bound for Antigua, Virginia and Barbados, potentially to be distributed to other colonies from ports in those three colonies.<sup>82</sup>

Table 1: Recorded Books Shipments from London in 1695

Month	Ship	Destination	Merchants	Quantity of books
May	<i>Adventure</i>	Antigua	Thomas Clarke	300
June	<i>Durham Yard</i>	Barbados	Richard Diamond	75
July	<i>Elizabeth</i>	Barbados	Walter Benthall	100
July	<i>Sarah Mary &amp; Hopewell</i>	Barbados	Richard Diamond	14
July	<i>Sarah Mary &amp; Hopewell</i>	Barbados	Walter Benthall	Hundred-weight (112 pounds)
December	<i>Hampshire</i>	Virginia	Edward Haistwell	50
December	<i>Hampshire</i>	Virginia	Edward Haistwell	25
December	<i>London Armes</i>	Virginia	Edward Haistwell	50
December	<i>Mary</i>	Virginia	Edward Haistwell	14 pounds
January	<i>Harding</i>	Barbados	Sylvanus Grove	25
January	<i>Joseph</i>	Barbados	Richard Diamond	14 pounds

Source: *The National Archives (UK), London Port Books E190/152/1 (Waiters: Overseas: Exports by denizens, Xmas 1694 - Xmas 1695).*

Tace Sowle's bill for 'books sent beyond Sea by the 2d dayes Morning Meet order and for books given at Turners Hall in Answer to Geo. Keith' was over £6.<sup>83</sup> The payments from the National Stock included over £20 in 1695 and over £65 in 1696 to Tace Sowle, as well as more than £2 to another London printer Thomas Northcott in 1696.<sup>84</sup>

The exact actions of the colonial yearly meetings upon receiving the shipments is open to further study, but the response by epistle to London to the arrival of the books was appreciative. For example, the 1696/1697 Virginia Quarterly Meeting thanked the London Yearly Meeting for the books sent in 1695, acknowledging 'Edward Haistwells love and kindness to us in sending a parcell of Good Friends Books to be delivered amongst friends here'.<sup>85</sup> By 1699, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting included in their annual epistle to the London Yearly Meeting that the 'mischievous factions Raised by George Keith, who are soe Confounded Scattered and Divided, that

their Name is now Scarcely heard'.<sup>86</sup> Epistles sent in 1700 and 1701 from the colonies to London indicated that Keith's influence had waned significantly there.<sup>87</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Quaker use of print materials to spread the faith and support Friends in the Atlantic World was different than that of Puritans in the earlier seventeenth century and preceded the later use of books by the Church of England through the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, or S.P.C.K., after its 1699 founding. While Puritans transported books and newsletters across the Atlantic, friends and family of the colonists supplied these books.<sup>88</sup> However, the local autonomy of Puritanism, especially the strong congregationalism of many New England Puritans, meant that the exchange of books was not centrally directed or administered. Following Thomas Bray's report of the 'deplorable State of the English Colonies where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism; or, which is much at one, Quakerism, for want of clergy settled among them',<sup>89</sup> Bray helped the Church create the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., relying on the S.P.G.'s ministers and missionaries, as well as the S.P.C.K.'s distribution of books, to more firmly establish the Church of England in the colonies.

While books allowed the London Yearly Meeting to disperse detailed descriptions of faith and ideas to distant Friends cheaply, and without endangering the lives of travelling ministers, by the 1720s, books were less frequently used as a tool in the Quaker Atlantic World and, indeed, amongst all Friends. In London, the number of Quaker books being produced dropped from 117 per year in the 1660s to just six in the 1700s.<sup>90</sup> For example, while the Morning Meeting continued to send the 'most suitable' books to colonial Friends in 1702 and again in 1715, there are no entries in the minutes of the Morning Meeting about transatlantic books for the following ten years.<sup>91</sup> One suggested reason was that the Morning Meeting's approval process accounted for some part of that reduction, as George Fox and the Morning Meeting's 'successful attempt to delimit political and religious speculation within the movement' led to 'the famous decline of Quakerism into the respectable quietism of the eighteenth century'.<sup>92</sup> An alternative suggestion is that a more permanent establishment of a print culture in Pennsylvania led to decreased demand on London Quaker presses. Nonetheless, before the decline in the eighteenth century, the London Yearly Meeting and the meetings for discipline effectively used religious, political

and commercial transatlantic networks to communicate with scattered Friends, reaching dispersed people with shared beliefs, in part through the distribution of print materials.

*Jordan Landes*

## ENDNOTES

1. Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 36.
2. J. William Frost, 'The Transatlantic Community Reconsidered' (Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies Seminar, 17 February 1984)(Unpublished Manuscript).
3. This discussion of the transatlantic book trade is a product of a larger study of London Quakers in the Atlantic World in Jordan Landes, *London's Role in the Creation of a Quaker Transatlantic Community in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Unpublished PhD thesis. University of London 2010).
4. Thomas Aldam to George Fox, 1652 from Ian Green and Kate Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England 1640-1695', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge, 2002), 67-93, (p. 70).
5. London Yearly Meeting, *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends. Held in London to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland and Elsewhere, from 1681 to 1857, inclusive...* (London, 1858), p.59.
6. Thomas O'Malley, "'Defying the Powers and Tempering the Spirit": A Review of Quaker Control over their Publications 1672-1689', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33(1) (1982), 72-88, (p. 77).
7. O'Malley, "'Defying the Powers"...', p. 80. For example, the 1699 minutes contain an entry regarding the distribution of books in Norfolk and Suffolk (Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain (hereafter referred to as LSF) MS Morning Meeting Minutes (hereafter referred to as MMM), Volume II, transcription, p. 134.)
8. London Yearly Meeting, *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, p. 157.
9. LSF, MS Answers to Forreign and Domestick Epistles (hereafter known as LSF MS Epistles sent). Vol I, p.65.
10. George Whitehead, *Antichrist in flesh unmask'd, the Quakers Christianity vindicated, from the malicious and injurious attempts of [brace] Edward Paye, William Alcott, & Henry Loader, in their late defaming confused book falsly styled. Antichrist in spirit unmask'd, or Quakerism a great delusion, wherein their causeless outrage, folly and falshood are deservedly exposed* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1692.) (English Short Title Catalogue Citation R186514)
11. George Whitehead, *The contemned Quaker and his Christian religion*



- defended against envy & forgery in answer to two abusive invective pamphlets, the one stiled Antichrist in spirit unmasked, the other Railings and slanders detected, promoted by some persons commonly called Anabaptists at Deptford in Kent who have unwarily begun the contest* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1692.) (ESTC Citation R26354)
12. George Whitehead, *The Christian doctrine and society of the people called Quakers; cleared from the reproach of the late division of a few in some part of America, as not being justly chargeable upon the body of the said people there or elsewhere* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1693.) (ESTC Citation R233931)
  13. Robert Barclay, *An apology for the true Christian divinity, as the same is held forth, and preached by the people, called, in scorn, Quakers being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments, deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimony of famous authors, both ancient and modern, with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them, presented to the King / written and published in Latin, for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay; and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his country-men* (London: unknown, 1678.) (ESTC Citation R1740)
  14. Books identified using Joseph Smith's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books written by Members of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, From Their First Rise to the Present Time Interspersed with Critical Remarks, and Occasional Biographical Notices, and Including All Writings of Authors Before Joining, and by Those After Having Left the Society, Whether Adverse or Not as Far as Known* (London, 1867).
  15. One historian has even referred to Barclay as 'the systematizer of Quaker doctrine'. [Jack Marietta, 'Wealth, War and Religion: The Perfecting of Quaker Asceticism 1740-1783' *Church History* 43(2) (1970), 230-241 (p. 230).]
  16. Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, 1678, retrieved from the Quaker Heritage Press, <http://www.qhpress.org/texts/barclay/apology/front.html>.
  17. William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* 2nd edn (York, 1951), p. 454.
  18. LSF MS Morning Meeting Minutes Vol II, p. 16.
  19. LSF MS MMM Vol II, pp. 102-103.
  20. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 222. *A brief apology in behalf of the people in derision call'd Quakers. Written for the information of our sober and well-inclined neighbours in and about the town of Warminster in the county of Wilts* (London: Thomas Northcott, n.d.) (ESTC Citation R229320)
  21. LSF MS MMM Vol IV, p. 86.
  22. LSF MS Meetings for Sufferings (hereafter MfS), Vol XXII, p.155.
  23. John Crook, *Truth's principles: or. Those things about doctrine and worship, which are most surely believed and received amongst the people*

*of God, called Quakers viz. concerning the man Christ, his sufferings, death, resurrection, faith in his blood, the imputation of his righteousness, sanctification, justification &c. Written, to stop the mouth of clamour, and to inform all who desire to know the truth as it is in Jesus; by the servant of the Lord, John Crook. To which is added, somewhat concerning the difference between the persuasions of reason, and the persuasions of faith* (London: unknown, 1662 ) (ESTC Citation R204876)

24. LSF MS MMM Vol IV, p. 86. William Penn. *A key opening a way to every common understanding, how to discern the difference betwixt the religion professed by the people called Quakers and the perversions, misrepresentations and calumnies of their several adversaries : published in great good will to all, but more especially for their sakes that are actually under prejudice from vulgar abuses* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1693) (ESTC Citation R28422). The other title was either George Whitehead's *The Christianity of the people commonly call 'd Quakers asserted: against the unjust charge of their being no Christians, upon several questions relating to those matters, wherein their Christian belief is questioned* (London: Tace Sowle, 1698) (ESTC Citation R214792) or John Field's *The Christianity of the people called Quakers asserted, by George Keith: in answer to a sheet, called, A serious call to the Quakers, &c. Attested by eight priests of the Church of England... and affirmed by George Keith, or the new sworn deacon* (London: T. Sowle, 1700,) (ESTC Citation W33617)
25. LSF MS MfS Vol XIV, p. 363.
26. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 98.
27. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 181.
28. LSF MS MMM Vol IV, pp. 86-7. [Wyeth's publication was, in full, *Anguis flagellatus, or, A switch for the snake being an answer to the third and last edition of The snake in the grass : wherein the author's injustice and falshood, both in quotation and story, are discover'd and obviated, and the truth doctrinally deliver'd by us, stated and maintained in opposition to his misrepresentation and perversion* (London: T.Sowle, 1699). It was written in response to Charles Leslie's *The snake in the grass: or, Satan transform 'd into an angel of light. Discovering the deep and unsuspected subtilty which is couched under the pretended simplicity of many of the principal leaders of those people call 'd Quakers* (London, 1696).
29. LSF MS MMM Vol IV, p. 88. There is no note of receipt of the shipment unfortunately.
30. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 222.
31. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 180.
32. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 41.
33. LSF MS MMM Vol XVI, p. 139. Daniel Zachary of New England had written his brother Thomas Zachary of London four months previous requesting books in that letter, as mentioned in the

- minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings. LSF MS refs Vol XVI, p. 178 and p. 18.
34. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 160.
  35. George Bishop, *New-England judged, by the spirit of the Lord. In two parts. First, Containing a brief relation of the sufferings of the people call'd Quakers in New-England, from the Time of their first Arrival there, in the Year 1656, to the Year 1660* (London: Tace Sowle, 1703.) (ESTC Citation T103606)
  36. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 144.
  37. Carla Gardina Pestana, 'The City Upon a Hill Under Siege: The Puritan Perception of the Quaker Threat to Massachusetts Bay, 1656-1661', *New England Quarterly* 56(3) (1983) 323-353 (p. 325). There was also a threat of execution after the hanging of three Quakers in Boston in 1660.
  38. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 173. Unfortunately, the titles were not listed in the Morning Meeting minutes,
  39. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 182. Quakers in Rhode Island could be relied on to distribute books to Massachusetts Quakers, increasing the chances that the books would not have been confiscated upon arrival in Boston.
  40. LSF MS MfS Vol I, p. 101
  41. LSF MS MMM Vol I, transcription, p. 90.
  42. LSF MS MMM Vol I, transcription, p. 96.
  43. O'Malley, "'Defying the Powers...'", p. 79.
  44. LSF MS Epistles Received, Vol IV, p. 318.
  45. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, minutes, 1681-1821, seventh month 1705. Haverford College Quaker Collection 1250, Microfilm 7X (hereafter referred to as HCQC).
  46. LSF MS MfS Vol XV, p. 122.
  47. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 181. Full title of book from Earlham Digital Quaker Collection.
  48. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 183. John Field was also a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, but this donation was noted in the Morning Meeting minutes.
  49. LSF MS MfS Vol II, pp. 57 and 62.
  50. LSF MS MMM Vol I, p. 90, and Epistles Received Vol I, p. 81.
  51. 18 seventh month 1706 at Burlington. PYM, minutes, 1681-1821. (HCQ Collection 1250, Microfilm 7X).
  52. LSF MS MfS Vol II, p. 251 (26 8mo 1694)
  53. J. William Frost, 'Quaker Books in Colonial Pennsylvania,' microfilm, *Quaker History*, 78, (1991), 1-23 (p. 7).
  54. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, minutes, 1681-1821, seventh month 1705. (HCQC Collection 1250 Microfilm 7X).
  55. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, minutes, 1681-1821. 14-18 seventh month 1717. (HCQC Collection 1250 Microfilm 7X).

56. The National Archives, London Port Books E190/115/1 Surveyor General of Tunnage and Poundage, Overseas: Exports by Denizens, Xmas 1682-Xmas 1683.
57. Jacob M. Price and Paul G. E. Clemens, 'A Revolution of Scale in Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675-1775,' *The Journal of Economic History* 47(1) (March 1 1987), 1-43 (p. 2).
58. Edwin Wolf, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia 1674-1751*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974), p. xxvi.
59. Frost, 'The Transatlantic Community Reconsidered', p. 6.
60. James N. Green, 'The Book Trade in the Middle Colonies, 1680-1720' in *A History of the Book in America, Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, ed. by Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (Cambridge, 2000), 199-223. Green's discussion of the book trade in the Middle Colonies sheds further light on the development of the press in Pennsylvania and New York.
61. Green, 'The Book Trade in the Middle Colonies...', p. 216.
62. LSF MS Epistles Sent Vol I, p. 439.
63. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 34.
64. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 62.
65. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 182.
66. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 192.
67. Green, 'The Book Trade in the Middle Colonies, 1680-1720', p. 216.
68. LSF MS Epistles Received, Volume 1, p. 428.
69. London Yearly Meeting, *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, pp.257-58.
70. 23-24 7mo 1712 at Burlington, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, minutes, 1681-1821. (HCQC Collection 1250, Microfilm 7X)
71. Susan Davies, *Quakerism in Lincolnshire: An Informal History* (Lincoln: 1989), pp. 63-64. Several books were given by Evesham Meeting to Woodbrooke Library in 2006 or 2007, and at least one had this inscription inside: 'Gospel-truth demonstrated in a collection of doctrinal books / given forth by that faithful minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox [...]. London, T. Sowle, 1706'. Clifford T. Crellin, *'Where God had a People': Quakers in St Albans over 300 Years* (St Albans Preparative Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends: 1999), p. 39.
72. Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (New York, 1948), p. 153.
73. Wolf, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia 1674-1751*, p. xviii and Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, p. 159.
74. LSF MS MMM Vol II, p. 172.
75. LSF MS MMM Vol II, p. 172.
76. Pestana, 'The Quaker Executions as Myth and History', *The Journal of*

- American History* 80(2) (1993), 441-469 (p. 455).
77. LSF MS MMM Vol III, p. 165.
  78. Gary Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* New edn (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1993), p. 147.
  79. LSF MS Epistles Sent Vol I, p. 149.
  80. LSF MS MMM Vol II, transcription, p. 46.
  81. LSF MS Epistles Received Vol II, p. 235.
  82. The National Archives, London Port Books E190/152/1 (Waiters: Overseas: Exports by denizens, Xmas 1694 - Xmas 1695). These shipments broke down to 300 books to Antigua, 175 to Virginia, and well over 200 to Barbados, likely to be distributed to other colonies from there.
  83. LSF MS MfS, Vol XI, pp. 185-9. (1 Imo 1697)
  84. LSF MS National Stock Accounts, Vol 1, pp. 62-71.
  85. LSF MS Epistles Received Vol I, p. 268.
  86. LSF MS Epistles Received Vol I, p. 204.
  87. LSF MS Epistles Received Vol I, p. 388, and Epistles Received Vol I, p. 366.
  88. David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migrations and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 232-233.
  89. I.K. Steele, 'The Board of Trade, The Quakers and Resumption of Colonial Charters, 1699-1702', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 23(4) (1966), 596-619 (p. 613).
  90. David J. Hall, 'The Fiery Tryal of their Infallible Examination': Self-Control in the Regulation of Quaker Publishing in England from the 1670s to the mid 19th Century', in *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1992) 59-86, (p. 59). Hall points out that these figures are 'possibly misleading in that they take no account of the relative size of the publications in the sample'.
  91. LSF MS MMM Vol. IV, p. 86.
  92. O'Malley, "Defying the Powers" ...', p. 87.

## THE BANKER AND THE MARINE: TWO BROTHERS FROM AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY QUAKER FAMILY

From their beginnings, Quakers have believed that their direct relationship with God precluded acts of violence. 'Whoever can reconcile "resist not evil" (Matthew 5.39) with the injunction that evil must be resisted by force' wrote Robert Barclay, 'must also have found a way to reconcile God with the devil. War is absolutely unlawful for those who would be disciples of Christ.'<sup>1</sup> But this path of peace 'was that of individual renunciation, essentially turned inward toward one's own soul'.<sup>2</sup> It did not mean that non-Quakers should be expected to lay down their arms. In Barclay's words, 'Today's Christians are still an admixture of the old and the new. They have not yet achieved a patient suffering spirit...therefore they cannot leave themselves undefended until they attain that degree of perfection.' Isaac Pennington 'spoke not against people's defending themselves or making use of the sword to suppress the violent and evildoers... for a great blessing will attend the sword when it is borne uprightly to that end, and its use will be honourable'.<sup>3</sup> Only over time would nations reach that 'better state, which the Lord has already brought some into'.

Some of those early Friends had a military background, including James Fade who was born around 1620 at an unidentified spot called Aunderdell. It was probably in the old Scottish county of Dumfries, from where this unusual surname originates. Perhaps he served in the army sent over by the Edinburgh government during 1642 to help the Scots settlers in Ulster and which remained there until defeated by Cromwellian forces seven years later, but he is not listed among their Officers.<sup>4</sup> Some troops opted to stay in Ireland. James Fade is believed to have married Cecily White in 1648, and their eldest son Robert was born in Dublin during 1651.<sup>5</sup>

Four years later, 'Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith came to Dublin and spoke at St Audoen's (Church) , for which they were promptly imprisoned by the Lord Mayor'.<sup>6</sup> James may have been among their earliest converts, as in 1660 'for refusing to pay toward the repairing of the steeple-houses were taken in Dublin City from (him) some goods'.<sup>7</sup> In the next year, James was one of the twenty-one Friends 'taken out of their usual meeting-place by a guard of

soldiers and committed to Newgate by order of the Mayor'. And in 1673, 'because he would not answer on oath...he not only lost £40 (owed to him) but £70 more to get clear of the debtor'.<sup>8</sup> Cecily died in 1664 and three years later James married Elizabeth Smith, perhaps the preacher. Through his two marriages he fathered eleven children, of whom three sons and three daughters outlived him.<sup>9</sup> James' involvement in the linen trade grew into a financial and property empire which by his death in 1701 included houses in fourteen Dublin streets and two pieces of land outside the city.<sup>10</sup> As an active Quaker, he was appointed to the committee for finding a new meeting house in 1677 and was the second largest contributor towards its eventual cost.

The major contributor, who provided £30 compared with James' £10, was Anthony Sharp from Gloucestershire, who had arrived at Dublin in 1669. He represented a new type of Quaker, concerned above all with the Meeting's reputation. In 1681 he and three colleagues 'had been sent to see (James) because his behaviour grieved Quakers, but when he refused to acknowledge his faults. Sharp's delegation left him to have the matter referred to the Meeting if he thought good'. The old soldier who had suffered for his faith must have had a low opinion of this younger generation as he was accused of 'statements attacking Sharp and other stalwarts of the Dublin Meeting'. Then in 1694 and 1696 'the Meeting dispatched Sharp and others to speak with James Fade's sons because their "untruthlike carriage" reflected adversely on Friends'.<sup>11</sup>

By January 1701 (New Style) James, aged about 80, had fallen into hopeless debt. He owed £1,652 to prominent Dubliners, including several Quakers, and 'had to sign over virtually all his possessions to six trustees (including Anthony Sharp) in return for five shillings per annum'. Later in the year James died and his trustees wound up his estate. He had bequeathed £400 to his son-in-law Joshua Wilcocks 'in lieu of his wife's portion', £50 to Joshua's son Issachar, £4 a year to his own son William, £1 to his daughter Cecily Richardson (who had been married by a priest), then 'all remainder to Joseph Fade', his youngest child.<sup>12</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

Anthony Sharp did not survive his adversary for long. One of the four overseers of his will in 1707 was Joseph Fade, born in 1680 and now aged 26/27. He had probably been too young to attract the Meeting's earlier censures, and had become a model Quaker. Under his direction the family's linen and banking interests flourished again. His father's will had realised £4,000 for him, and 'the Bank at the Glib' (named after a Dublin stream) expanded until 'in 1755

it was said that more than £300,000 of notes issued by Fade's Bank were in circulation'.<sup>13</sup> Joseph drew the notice of Dean Jonathan Swift, who in 1725 wrote forty-eight lines of doggerel lampooning a new coinage issue. One verse has the 'halfpenny-monger' declare:

You will be my thankers, I'll make you my bankers,  
As good as Ben Burton or Fade;  
For nothing shall pass but my pretty brass,  
And then you'll be all of a trade.'<sup>14</sup>

Joseph's involvement in Dublin development led to two streets being named after him in his own lifetime; Joseph Lane has now disappeared under a market but Fade Street still runs south-east of the Castle.<sup>15</sup> His property extended beyond the city to an 'estate and lands in the County Wicklow known as the two Brittass',<sup>16</sup> and a villa named Furry Park House which he had built on a farm at Killester, four miles north-east of Dublin centre.<sup>17</sup> It was there that he wrote his Diary, of which the first seven months of 1736 are preserved in Dublin Friends Library.

At first glance this Diary seems simply to record the humdrum life of a small farmer - walking his fields, worrying about his cattle over the winter, noting when he heard the first cuckoo,<sup>18</sup> having 'Smutt the cat killed for killing some young chickens'. Above all he meticulously recorded the weather, morning and evening. But then it becomes apparent that he is also mixing with distinctly urban people. On the day before the cuckoo, he 'went to the Glib (where) Col. Beckett gave a mortgage for £476.1.5d on four houses in Francis Street'. Two weeks later, 'a very fine warm bright day. Alderman Grattan who is now Lord Mayor came here and dined'. Then after sending two cucumbers to the Speaker of the Commons and two to the Bishop of Derry, he 'went to the Change, the merchants signing a paper against the falling of the gold. Dean Swift there and signed it'. Joseph's religion barred him from seeking public office for himself.

Joseph regularly exchanged visits with local (Church of Ireland) parsons and attended meetings of Clontarf Parish Vestry (or Council). He also bought half a pew for the use of his servants. His own trips to Dublin Friends Meeting took place most Sundays, particularly the first of each month when collections were made, 'our poor being in want of necessaries'. He always noted who preached and who prayed, rarely more than two of each but equally men and women, with occasional English visitors. Once 'a paper was read for Friends to be careful and that we may deserve the favour of the affirmation (instead of oath-swearing) that was granted to us this last session of Parliament, and not to be anyways concerned in defrauding the king of his duty by running of goods'. This was timely, as the Commons Speaker himself



had been caught with an illicit cask of Madeira sent from Holland. Joseph wrote that 'I never was concerned in that trade'.

Joseph did not marry, and in 1736 his sister Elizabeth, Joshua Wilcocks' widow, was living with him. Her son Issachar had been made a Bank partner in 1728, but was dead by February 1748 when Joseph made his will, proved on 25 May of that year. He was aged 68 according to the Friends' Burial Register. Elizabeth was left £100 and a silver tankard, with £50 each to three others in her family. Smaller bequests were made to various kinsmen and servants, with £200 for a bed at St Stephen's Hospital and £100 to 'Blewcoat Hospital', a boys' charitable school, both in Dublin. But the bulk of Joseph's estate went to the families of his two nieces, who were Elizabeth (Betty), married to Benjamin Dawson, and Mary (Molly), the wife of Jacob Goff. Both of them lived close to Joseph and were constantly visited by him. Molly was left £500 together with Joseph's punch-bowl and silver-ribbed ladle, while six of her children were given sums ranging from £300 to £500 according to their age, not their sex.<sup>19</sup> Betty was bequeathed Joseph's Wicklow property 'with reversion to her son John Dawson, linen draper'. John had succeeded Issachar Wilcocks as Joseph's business partner. His younger brother Benjamin was given £500 and married sister Sarah some rents, but John was left the residue of the estate 'including interest in the Bank at the Glib', and was to be sole executor of the will. As a Quaker, he 'made his solemn affirmation well and faithfully to administer and dispose of...the goods and chattels of the deceased'.<sup>20</sup>

Yet in 1755 the Bank collapsed with a £42,000 deficit, largely due to embezzlement by a clerk. Both Parliament and Monthly Meeting set up investigations, and creditors were eventually paid 18 shillings for every pound.

\* \* \* \* \*

Betty Dawson and Molly Goff were the only children of John Fade who was born in 1675. Molly's birth is given as 10th of 3rd month 1700 (21 May New Style) in Dublin Friends' Register; Betty's arrival does not appear, but as she married in 1717 she was probably the elder sister.<sup>21</sup> John had wed Sarah Barnard, four years his junior and therefore a teenage bride, at an unknown date. Unlike his two surviving brothers, he was unmentioned in his father James' will. (The only other unmentioned child was Katherine, married by a priest in 1682.)

John was probably one of James' sons rebuked by Dublin Meeting in 1694 and 1696. After this date he may have moved to England and never returned to live in Dublin, even though Molly's birth was noted there. The Barnards were London Friends; Sarah's father

John Barnard of Devonshire House Meeting had goods confiscated in 1683 and was fined £5 two years later after being 'indicted for a riot'. He was a wine merchant and his son John, Sarah's younger brother, 'joined the family firm at the tender age of 15 because of his father's failing health'.<sup>22</sup> John junior conformed to the Church of England and subsequently became Lord Mayor of London, MP for the City, and a knight. Yet his concerns included theatre regulation and corruption in Sir Robert Walpole's government, and he 'never discontinued the plain Quaker garb'.<sup>23</sup> Joseph Fade noted his visit to Dublin in 1736, when they met at the Dawsons' home.

John Barnard senior had in 1677 married Sarah Payne, daughter of two pillars of Reading Meeting. Robert Payne was imprisoned on 8 April 1662 at Newbury Sessions 'for not going to the public worship',<sup>24</sup> and his wife Sarah followed him nineteen days later. They were in and out of gaol for the next fifteen years. Their children must have been among the young people that 'kept the meetings up when we were all in prison, notwithstanding the wicked Justice, when he came and found them there, (who) would pull them out of the meeting and punch them'.<sup>25</sup>

The quotation is from a letter to George Fox from Thomas Curtis of Reading, in whose house the meetings took place and who was also dragged off to prison in 1662. The Payne and Curtis families were probably linked by marriage; Robert Payne's elder brother Silvanus had married an Elizabeth Curtis in 1653 and his uncle John Payne wed 'Ales Curteyes' in 1609.<sup>26</sup> Thomas Curtis had a daughter Esther, who was to become the first wife of Anthony Sharp of Dublin.

The bond between George Fox and Thomas Curtis was shattered in 1675, when Curtis supported John Story and John Wilkinson in their opposition to the growing centralisation of power among Friends. Anthony Sharp, with his personal connection to the Curtises, tried to mediate though eventually he came down on Fox's side. But the strongest opponent of Curtis's party in Ireland seems to have been James Fade, who Curtis alleged had spread 'spurious charges that he (Curtis) had accused Fox of attempting to establish popery in England'.<sup>27</sup> James denied the accusations but it may have embittered him against Curtis's supporters, who included the Paynes and Barnards. Perhaps it soured relations with his son John, as he married into this family network. In Reading, the exchange of harsh words (Curtis called one opponent a "mooncalf") led to the establishment of separate meetings.<sup>28</sup> The schism continued until 1716, by which date all its instigators were dead.

John must have become disillusioned with Friends' divisions. On 30 January 1706, aged 30, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant

in Colonel Jacob Borr's Regiment of Marines, in the Colonel's own Company.<sup>29</sup> He may have enlisted several years earlier; the start of the Spanish Succession War in 1702 had led to the creation of six Marine Regiments, and Borr's troops took part in the capture of Gibraltar during July 1704. Unlike the regular army, Marine commissions were not purchased. On 1 April 1706 John was joined by a James Fade, also made Second Lieutenant in another Company of the Regiment, who was perhaps a son of John's much older brother William.<sup>30</sup>

Warfare in Spain produced rapid promotions to replace officers killed in action. James Fade was made First Lieutenant on 25 February 1708; John reached the same rank on 13 April 1709 and was promoted Captain of his own Company on 18 February 1710. In the summer of that year, four hundred Marines including a detachment from Borr's Regiment joined an expedition to Nova Scotia which captured the French settlement of Port Royal. But in 1713 the fighting ceased, the Marines were disbanded, and both Fades were placed on half-pay. Two years later Borr's Regiment, along with three others, was restored as an Infantry Regiment 'on account of their eminent services during the late war'.<sup>31</sup> James Fade was recommissioned (though he does not appear again in the records) but John apparently did not return to the colours.

On 2 December 1728 John signed his will, 'being indisposed in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, praised be God'.<sup>32</sup> Aged 53, he entitled himself 'Captain of the Honble. Colonel Charles Dubourgay's Regt. of Foot', though Jacob Borr had remained in command until 1723. The will reveals him to have been a wealthy widower. At his daughter Betty's wedding in 1717 he had been described as 'John Fade of Clapham', home of the Barnards, but in 1724 he had leased the six-acre Murcoat Farm at Crudwell, near Malmesbury in Wiltshire. Future income from this property was to be divided equally between his two daughters. £200 was left to each of his grandchildren, but any marrying without parental consent were to be disinherited. Ten guineas were bequeathed to his brother Joseph, and the same to his sister Elizabeth Wilcocks and his brother-in-law Sir John Barnard (also Sir John's younger brother Robert). £50 was left to Thomas Holeman, an old regimental colleague, and £10 'to be distributed among twenty of the poorest and most ancient people in St Patrick's Parish, Dublin'. Bequests were made to servants, with £20 'to buy them mourning'. The residue of the estate was then to be shared between Betty and Molly. The will concluded that 'if any strife or contention shall arise... I devise the legacy of such contentious person to my executors', who were John's two sons-in-law, Benjamin Dawson and Jacob Goff. They jointly made

their solemn affirmation on 26 September 1729, as John Dawson was to do for Joseph Fade nineteen years later.

\*\*\*\*\*

John Fade effectively ceased to be a Quaker on joining the Royal Marines, and there is no sign that he ever returned. He made no mention of the Religious Society in his will, which gives the months their conventional names. But like Sir John Barnard, he must have retained his Quaker sympathies. Perhaps it was his wife's death, date unknown, that caused him to send his daughters back to Dublin, where they were probably brought up under the care of their uncle Joseph. Both married Friends in Dublin Meeting House and raised their children within the Religious Society. In due course, John's body was returned to be buried in Dublin Friends' cemetery.

John Fade's military career precluded him from Quaker involvement but did not extinguish his concern for Friends nor his wish to have Quaker descendants. And it seems that the amicable relationship between John and his younger brother transcended their different occupations, both of which derived from their father James. John's daughters and his brother Joseph had chosen the 'better state' of peaceable people; yet they did not condemn those who bore the sword uprightly and used it honourably.

David Ian Hamilton

## ENDNOTES

1. Dean Freiday (ed) *Barclay's Apology in Modern English* (Newbury, Oregon: Barclay Press, 1967), pp. 427, 435.
2. Meredith Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.229
3. Isaac Penington, quoted in *Quaker Faith and Practice*, (Britain Yearly Meeting, 1995), 24.21
4. Edward M Furgol, *A Regimental History of the Covenanting Armies, 1639 -1651*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1990)
5. The Library at Quaker House in Dublin holds records of Fade births, marriages and deaths.
6. Maurice J Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, (Dublin, 1992 edition), p. 19
7. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, (London, Luke Hinde, 1753), Vol.2 pp. 467, 471
8. Thomas Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland from the year 1653 to 1700...* (Dublin: 1.Jackson, 1751) p. 138.
9. James Fade had five children by his first wife, of whom William (born 1653), Katherine (born 1655) and Cecily (born 1659) reached adult life. He had six children by his second wife, of whom James (born 1672), John (born 1675), Elizabeth (born 1677) and Joseph

- (born 1680) reached adulthood. James junior's widow is mentioned as a tenant in the 1701 document, but not as a legatee.
10. Edited by P B Eustace and Olive Goodbody, *Abstracts of Wills from Quaker Records of Dublin*, (Dublin, 1957), p.31
  11. Richard L Greaves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643 - 1707*, (Stanford University Press, 1998), pp 140, 187
  12. *ibid*, pp.195-6.
  13. Richard S Harrison, *Dictionary of Irish Quakers*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008) p.84
  14. Jonathan Swift, *Petition to the People of Ireland from William Wood, Ironmonger and Half-penny monger*, (1725). Burton was a non-Quaker banker.
  15. "Fade Street" is the title of A Reality Television series set in Dublin and aired by RTE in Ireland from November 2010.
  16. *Abstracts of Wills*, p. 32
  17. Furry Park House still stands, though divided into flats and fronted by a garage.
  18. Joseph "heard a cuckow" on 14.2.1736 Old Style, 25 April New Style.
  19. The Goffs' eldest child Joseph Fade Goff got £500; Fade Goff and Hannah Goff £400 each; Mary, Jacob and Elizabeth Goff £300 each; a seventh child Sarah (not the youngest) is unmentioned in the will.
  20. Will Administration from Dublin Friends Library.
  21. Betty married on 28.1.1717 Old Style, 8 April New Style; Molly on 7.7.1721 Old Style, 18 September New Style.
  22. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), Vol 3, pp. 959-61.
  23. J M R (Jane Marion Richardson), *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland 1655-1890*, (London, Edward Hicks, Jun., 1893), p. 74-5.
  24. Joseph Besse, Vol. 1. p. 13
  25. W C Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), pp 226-227
  26. International Genealogical Index (IGI), Berkshire County
  27. Richard Greaves, p.40
  28. Chris and Gil Skidmore, 'Unquiet Quakers': paper read at Reading University (2008)
  29. Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1902), Vol. 5 p.149 and Vol. 6 pp. 121,122: all dates are in New Style.
  30. A James Fade married Barbara Phillips in London on 9 March 1694 New Style: (IGI)
  31. Charles Dalton, Vol.6 Introduction p. xxix
  32. From a manuscript supplied by a Fade relative.

I would like to acknowledge the help of Dublin Friends Library, particularly Mary Shackleton and Christopher Moriarty; Julia Hudson of Friends House Library in London; and Reading Friends Meeting especially Ted Milligan, Chris Skidmore and Paul Kingston.

## QUAKERS AND THE WORLD OF OBJECTS: THE ACQUISITION AND MAINTENANCE OF DANIEL BOULTER'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSEUM IN GREAT YARMOUTH

On 8 August 1778 Daniel Boulter, a Quaker shopkeeper living in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, opened his Museum, an event that was recorded in the *Norfolk Chronicle*.<sup>1</sup> With a touch of understandable pride he confided, in his brief autobiography, that he had been collecting for about ten years but that many thought it to have been 'a work of much longer time'. 'Objects', as Neil Macgregor's radio series 'A history of the world in 100 objects' demonstrates, is a useful word to describe the contents of a museum, encompassing as it may both examples drawn from the natural world and those that have been hand-made. The contents of a museum are acquired, whether by gift or purchase, so the title of this address arose partly from a recollection of the title of the studies of eighteenth-century consumerism edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere I have explored briefly how Daniel Boulter may have managed to combine his enthusiasm for collecting with his Quaker beliefs.<sup>3</sup> In order to present a rounded study this article has to cover some of the same ground (and include some of the same quotations) but I welcome the opportunity here to extend my research by investigating the influences that may have encouraged Daniel Boulter, who began life as an unschooled Norfolk boy, to form his collection and eventually to describe himself as a 'Dealer in Curious Books Antiquities and Natural Productions'.<sup>4</sup> By the time that a catalogue was published in 1794 the Museum covered the range of material that the eighteenth century understood by the descriptions 'natural history' and 'natural curiosities'. These terms included not only botanical, zoological and geological exhibits, but also artefacts made by men and women, for example items brought back from Captain Cook's voyages to the South Seas.<sup>5</sup>

Daniel Boulter (1740-1802) was born at Worstead, in northeast Norfolk, on 23.xi. [January] 1740/41, the eldest surviving son of Rachel (born Dekker) and Daniel Boulter, members of Lammas Monthly Meeting, which at that time consisted of two particular meetings, one in the village of Lammas, the other on the outskirts of the small market town of North Walsham, to which the Meeting

in the port town of Yarmouth would be added by transference from Norwich Monthly Meeting in 1763. Daniel's father was a butcher. Although, by the time his brother Joseph was of school age the family was able, with the help of the Monthly Meeting, to provide a school education for him, Daniel had no such opportunity. In the short autobiography that he wrote towards the end of his life Daniel stated that his mother, who came to live with him after her husband died, was:

very examperly & often praid to the Lord for the preservation of us all her children, & when through devin assistance would often advise us to be deligent in the atending of meetings for worship & discipline, which she was in the practice of when health permitted.<sup>6</sup>

Reading was a skill that was generally acquired separately from writing in the eighteenth century, and Boulter mentioned that it was his mother who taught him to read.<sup>7</sup> In their study of women in early modern England Sarah Mendelson and Patricia Crawford have concluded that 'Godly mothers found it convenient to teach piety and reading... simultaneously' and that such instruction might begin very early in a child's life.<sup>8</sup> There was at this time no catechism specifically aimed at the needs of young Quaker children - Abiah Darby's *Useful Instruction for Children, by Way of Question and Answer*, written in the 1750s for her own children, was published in 1763<sup>9</sup> - but once Daniel had progressed beyond the early stages of letter and word recognition Rachel Boulter would probably have used biblical passages as the basis of instruction.

Boulter's own account of his Quaker childhood moves straight from his reference to learning to read on to his first employment, when he and his brother acted as draw-tiers (tying up the loose ends) for the local weavers in Worstead. It is only possible, therefore, to indicate some of the influences to which he may have been exposed. However few the printed works his family owned, as he grew older Daniel would have had opportunities to learn about the lives and writings of early Friends, either from printed sources or by oral transmission. Monthly meetings were being encouraged to build up collections of books and pamphlets that could be circulated among members and there is evidence that by the time Daniel was thirteen years old Lammas Monthly Meeting, of which the Boulters were members, had copies of standard Quaker works, for example George Fox's *Journal* and *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (often known as his 'Doctrinals'), Robert Barclay's *Apology*, and volume one of Joseph Besse's first collection of accounts of the sufferings of early

Friends, the *Abstract of Sufferings*.<sup>10</sup>

A popular genre among those who had neither time nor inclination to read such substantial works, and one that interwove printed and oral tradition, consisted of collections relating the good lives and dying sayings of earlier Friends. By 1721 John Field's collection, under the title *Piety Promoted*, contained an account of the last days of Richard Ransome from Lammas Monthly Meeting, who had joined Quakers in about 1676 and who died in Bristol in 1716 while on a religious visit to Friends in the western counties.<sup>11</sup> Vivid accounts of Ransome's imprisonments for refusal to pay tithes or to swear oaths were written into the sufferings book of his home Monthly Meeting<sup>12</sup> and his grandchildren were prominent among its members, some of them being themselves Friends whose gifts in spoken ministry were recognised and who travelled as ministers, or 'public Friends'.

One cannot be certain to what extent young children would have encountered travelling ministers who came to Norfolk unless the visitors were lodging with their families, but some accounts probably spread orally. In 1748, for example, John Griffith (1713-1776), whose home was then in America, was on a visit to Friends in Britain and included Lammas and North Walsham in his itinerary. During the voyage, the vessel in which he was a passenger was captured by a French privateer, and he was held for some months before eventually being released.<sup>13</sup> For modern historians the account that he wrote for his *Journal*, published after his death, raises issues relating to the author's perception of Catholic religious practice. For adult Quakers of his own time it revealed an instance of divine providence upholding the minister, and for young children it might, additionally, be a tale of adventure with a good outcome.

When he stopped working for the weavers Daniel Boulter lived for a while with his uncle, John Sparshall, who at that time was a farmer in Southrepps, northeast of Worstead.<sup>14</sup> This can be shown to be a very significant family link. Firstly, John Sparshall was also uncle to the Quaker sailor Isaac Seeker (1716-1795), who had himself grown up within Lammas Monthly Meeting and who, in the early 1750s, was nearing the end of his years as a sailor, an occupation that had taken him to the Arabian Peninsula and the South Seas. After he retired from sailing in 1755, Seeker would marry and settle in Holt, a market town in north Norfolk, as a grocer, and write an account of his travels. Around 1800 a copy of this account was made for Daniel Boulter.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, around 1755, Daniel became apprentice to John Sparshall's son Joseph (1723-1810), a grocer and tallow chandler in Yarmouth, for seven years. At some stage Joseph inherited a silver



pipe that, according to his son Edmund, had been given to his father by William Penn.<sup>16</sup> When Joseph Sparshall died in Beccles, a town in Suffolk a few miles south of Yarmouth, in 1810, Edmund contributed a brief account of his life to the *Monthly Magazine* in which he stated, in a passage that is worth quoting at length, that his father had been:

an instance of what may be effected by the powers of a natural bent of the mind unassisted by the advantages of a liberal education. Of natural history in all its branches he was passionately fond; but Botany, Chemistry & Electricity, were his favourite studies. He wrote some essays on Philosophical subjects, one of which, giving an account of a remarkable Aurora Borealis, appeared in a volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and procured him the offer of becoming a member of the Royal Society, an honour he had the modesty to refuse.<sup>17</sup>

Further investigation has revealed that in 1750 Joseph Sparshall, who was then living within the compass of Wells Monthly Meeting in north Norfolk, sent his description of the Aurora Borealis to the Norwich naturalist William Arderon (1702/3-1767), and that it was Arderon, who forwarded the account to the Royal Society. In communicating with Arderon Sparshall was associating himself with a man who was acknowledged in his own time as one who was a diligent recorder of observations that were of interest to naturalists and antiquarians. The Society at that time was keen to extend membership widely, and Arderon had been elected in 1745.<sup>18</sup> Edmund Sparshall ended his tribute to his father by commending his character: 'as a Christian he perhaps cannot be better designated, than in the words of our inimitable Poet, for "He look'd through Nature up to Nature's God".<sup>19</sup> We shall return to Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* later in this paper.

The years following Boulter's apprenticeship were spent in a variety of short-lasting employments. In 1763 his Essex employer recommended him to a London firm of tallow chandlers in Aldersgate Street. There turned out to be no vacancy there, and Boulter, not being a City freeman, found it impossible to gain employment. He stayed in London for only about two weeks, to 'see a little of London'. This may, however, have been long enough to acquaint him with the location of the nearby Gracechurch Street Meeting in White Hart Court, where also the keen botanical collector Dr John Fothergill had his London home until 1767.<sup>20</sup> Back in Great Yarmouth Boulter stayed with 'either Joseph Sparshall or Edward Fuller, and

it was his 'good Friend' Edward Fuller who, in April 1764, told him of a trading opportunity to acquire the stock and fixtures of the late Jacob Master, situated on the Quay.<sup>21</sup> The main focus of my study is on the cultural and religious rather than the economic aspects of Daniel Boulter's life as a museum-keeper, but it is instructive to examine briefly the little that is known about the financial aspects of his endeavour.

Jacob Master's business was acquired on an eleven-year lease at £14 per annum, and the stock was valued at £231. No accounts kept by Daniel Boulter have survived but it is possible that Edward Fuller provided some of the capital. Fuller, who was a grocer in the town, became known as someone who might be willing and able to lend money. When, in 1771, the doctor Syllas Neville was short of money he approached a Mr Wall who, being unable to help, 'mentioned Fuller, a Quaker and great friend of [Thomas] Deverson, who (he said he was certain) would let him have the money, but Deverson declined asking him'.<sup>22</sup>

In 1777 Boulter sold his shop and stock on the Quay to his brother Joseph for an undisclosed sum, and bought a shop and premises in the Market Place for £884 together with stock valued at £279.9s.6d., - a total of around £73,124.40 in today's terms - and spent a 'considerable sum' refurbishing it. It was here that he opened the Museum, at a time when Yarmouth, as well as being an important port, was becoming a fashionable resort.<sup>23</sup> Not surprisingly he had to borrow to meet these outgoings, although his business was on the increase. Also in that year an 'unkind' Quaker whom he did not name called in a loan of £200 on bond, and Boulter was obliged to take a large parcel of his best books and expensive prints to London, where he was reduced to selling them in an (untraced) auction. Further difficulty came in 1783, when his bank, Mason and Woods of Yarmouth, failed, and he lost £43.15.0d. It does not appear that he transferred his account to the Yarmouth branch of Gurney's bank.<sup>24</sup> There is no mention in the autobiography of any specific difficulty in 1787, or of the advertisement that he placed in the issue of the *General Evening Post* for 13-15 September in which he offered his house, shop and Museum for sale, stating that he wished 'to retire from business'.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps, had he received a suitable offer he would indeed have realised all his assets for not only had he lost money from the failure of Mason's bank, but he had been contributing to the cost of his nephews' and niece's education over several years. Yet it seems unlikely that he did indeed expect to achieve a sale, for on 29 of September 1787 he took his nephew John as apprentice. Admittedly he received a £30 premium, but this was a seven-

year commitment. In 1794 he did resign his business, including the Museum, to his brother Joseph on behalf of Joseph's son John Boulter, at a cost of £1200 for the premises.<sup>26</sup>

Daniel Boulter had personal as well as business difficulties. Having married in 1764 he was disowned in the same year when he acknowledged that he was the father of an illegitimate child, but his application for reinstatement was accepted in 1768, when Edward Fuller was one of the appointed visitors; he also suffered from ill health around this time.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, over the next ten years he built up his shop-keeping business. An advertisement that he used some years after the opening of the Museum stated that he sold goods 'in the newest taste... in the Jewellery, Cutlery and Toy Line;' as well as books, stationery, haberdashery and other goods.<sup>28</sup> The Revd James Woodforde of Weston Longville, who visited the shop on 4 June 1778, shortly before the opening of the Museum, recorded:

After breakfast we took a walk about Yarmouth, called at Boulters shop in the Market Place and there I bought a fine doll for Jenny's little Maid. pd. for it 0. 5. 0 ... Boulter is a very civil Man and a Quaker. He is also an Antiquarian and has a good many Curiosities as well as Medals. He shewed me a complete set of Copper Coins of the 12 Caesars. He offered to sell them to me for 10 guineas, but I could not spare the money.<sup>29</sup>

It was not only in London, where, for example, the British Museum, founded in 1753, had opened to the public in 1759, and to which Sir Ashton Lever transferred his extensive collections from just outside Manchester in 1775, that museums flourished in the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> One that owed its origins to collective sociability in the pursuit of learning was that founded by the members of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, who had recorded in September 1727 that:

the presses being all filled up with locks and shelves and the instruments disposed therein according to their proper classes... the secretary requested... that the members would bethink themselves of what they had to contribute towards filling them with usefull instruments or curiosities in art or nature and promised to bestow upon the museum some specimens of each kind out of his collections.<sup>31</sup>

At the time when Daniel Boulter was gathering his collection a renowned private museum, housed in her homes in London and Buckinghamshire, was that of Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland. So extensive was this that when it was dispersed after

her death in 1785 the sale ran from 24 April 1786 'and the thirty-seven following days'.<sup>32</sup> Another example is Richard Greene's museum in Lichfield, which was open to visitors by 1774, when Dr Johnson visited it.<sup>33</sup> That there were others similar to Boulter's is apparent from Peter Brears's description of two that opened in 1784, one in Keswick, where Peter Crosthwaite sold minerals and fossils in his museum, and one in Hawkshead, which also existed in the 1780s and was housed in the back of a shop.<sup>34</sup> Boulter, who described buying 'a collection of curious spars & ores with some polished Derbyshire ornaments' in 1781, may well have known of several such establishments.<sup>35</sup>

In his account of the Museum the ornithologist Thomas Southwell counted 66 sections and 5,079 lots described in the 165 pages of the *Catalogue*.<sup>36</sup> These included collections of mammals, birds, fish, shells, minerals, Roman antiquities, crucifixes, mathematical instruments, coins, medals, dress (from North America), a collection 'from the new discovered Islands in the South Seas by Capt. Cook & others' and books, paintings and engravings. Unfortunately Boulter did not describe how he built up this substantial collection: perhaps, under the influence of Joseph Sparshall, he began by noticing interesting specimens, for example carnelians, found on Yarmouth beach.<sup>37</sup> Boulter had a keen eye for business opportunities and the presence in Yarmouth of collectors such as Thomas Deverson, who had a collection of 'shells, fossils, petrifications, and other curiosities', Syllas Neville, who in 1771 confided in his diary that he had

Bought more fine agates and fossils than I shall find it easy to pay for I wish I had more money or that such temptations would not fall in my way.

and John Barber, who had a cabinet of 'Greek, Roman, British, Saxon, English, Scotch, Irish and Foreign Coins and Medals' that was sold in 1786 after his death, may have provided additional motivation.<sup>38</sup> Andrew Moore, who has studied the Dutch and Flemish paintings in Boulter's collection, has referred to 'pictures' as among the stock that Boulter acquired from the stock of Jacob Masters. Although I dispute this reading of the passage in Boulter's autobiography, I owe much to Moore's investigation, which stimulated my interest in exploring the contents of the Museum and, importantly, has drawn attention to the significant role played by travelling dealers, notably in the period following the French Revolution when aristocratic collections of paintings were broken up and there was an 'influx of old masters from the continent'.<sup>39</sup> It may be that many of Boulter's paintings were a comparatively late acquisition.

In 2003 the British Museum published a collection of papers under the title *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by R. G. W. Anderson, M. L. Caygill, A. G. MacGregor and L. Syson that provides a scholarly and accessible overview of museums in Britain from the late seventeenth down to the end of the eighteenth centuries. In his contribution to this work, in which he has surveyed natural history in eighteenth-century British museums, Hugh Torrens also has referred to the part played by dealers, among them George Humphrey or Humphreys (1739-1826). Humphrey, who inherited his collection, principally of shells and minerals, from his father, had extensive connections with dealers within and beyond his family.<sup>40</sup> When Humphrey went bankrupt his collections were sold in 1779, and listed in a sale catalogue in which they were collectively given the title *Museum Humfredianum*, although it seems that, unlike Boulter, Humphrey did not admit visitors only to view.<sup>41</sup> Among the dealers was Daniel Boulter, who listed George Humphrey of London among the donors to the Museum Boulterianum.<sup>42</sup> It is rare for marked copies of sale catalogues, giving names of purchasers as well as prices, to have survived. Fortunately a copy of the *Museum Humfredianum* that has been so marked, and of which the Natural History Museum has a copy, is held by the University of Oslo. Daniel Boulter is not named - if he was present, he must have been an unnamed cash buyer - but someone identified as 'Roper', who bought extensively, chiefly shells and petrefactions, was named. Michael Cooper's *Robbing the Sparry Garniture* (cited in endnote 5) has greatly extended knowledge of dealerships, with particular reference to their dealing in minerals, through the years between 1750 and 1850. In the biographical section he devoted several pages to Boulter. He also mentions that George Humphrey catalogued John Fothergill's collection of shells, and refers to at least three Quaker collectors of minerals in Cornwall, Robert Were Fox (1754-1818) of Falmouth, and Silvanus James (fl. 1803) and William Jenkin, both of Redruth.<sup>43</sup>

The sale of the Duchess of Portland's Museum in 1786, already mentioned, was considered of such interest to gentlemen and dealers that a marked copy with prices and the surnames of non-cash buyers was published and has survived in several copies.<sup>44</sup> Cambridge University Library has a copy that has been further annotated. The name of a [Mr] Boulter occurs on several days, and he was buying cautiously, chiefly from the collections of shells, in a way that would be consistent with a dealer hoping to attract small-scale purchasers who had caught the craze for shells as objects of display as well as those with a more learned, or 'curious' interest, but who (as we

have seen) may have been running short of money. Also present, on more occasions than Boulter, was a Mr Roper, who also was buying shells. Interestingly, in this copy the name 'Barker' has been changed in manuscript to 'Barclay'. It is impossible to determine whether the alteration was made by someone who had been present - in which case it would be tempting to suggest that the 'Barclay' may have been David Barclay of Youngsbury (1729-1809), and, even more speculatively, that the 'Roper' may have been John Roper of Norwich, who, according to James Jenkins, 'travelled for orders as a silk merchant for the firm Roper, Toll & co.' - a firm that had a notorious disagreement between the partners - and who would have had the opportunity to be in London.<sup>45</sup> The identification of Boulter as Daniel Boulter, a conclusion that Michael Cooper also drew, is rather more secure, partly because Boulter specifically identified himself as a dealer, and partly because his collection included a framed engraving of the title page of the sale catalogue.<sup>46</sup>

In what was common practice, Boulter used various methods to promote the museum. One method was to use as a bookplate an adaptation of the title page of the Portland catalogue, showing the famous vase imprinted with Boulter's initials under which was displayed the description already mentioned; 'Dealer in curious books, antiquities and natural productions'.<sup>47</sup> Admission to the Museum was by ticket, priced at one shilling each person, the same fee that was charged for entrance to Peter Crosthwaite's Museum in Keswick in 1784. It was almost identical with that used by Sir Ashton Lever as a combined admission and lottery ticket when he was endeavouring to sell his collection in 1786 and showed a proprietor in cap and gown sitting among his exhibits and welcoming genteel visitors.<sup>48</sup> An advertising token, portraying the figures of Britannia and Europa, was issued by Joseph, Daniel and John Boulter in 1796.<sup>49</sup>

A note stuck into one of the Cambridge copies of the *Catalogue* refers to the existence of a visitors' book. Unfortunately this has not survived, but a list of 59 donors, printed at the end of the *Catalogue*, gives some indication of the support Boulter received.<sup>50</sup> The listing of a donor does not necessarily imply direct personal contact but does reveal the network to which Boulter had access. The dealer George Humphrey, who gave the zoophyte known as a 'warted gorgon', has already been mentioned.<sup>51</sup> Of the remaining donors at least eleven were Norfolk Quakers, and five (not all of whom were Quakers) were members of the Boulter family. Seventeen donors, including Daniel's apprentice, were of Yarmouth. At least one, Lilly Wigg of Yarmouth, who had worked in the local branch of the Gurneys' bank, was, like Boulter, self-taught.<sup>52</sup> In addition

to Yarmouth neighbours of varying ranks there were London gentlemen, including Sir Ashton Lever.

Many of the donors were mentioned in the text of the *Catalogue*. 'Ashley' Cooper, who gave a skull with teeth, was identified by Thomas Southwell as Astley Cooper, the London surgeon.<sup>53</sup> Gifts from M. Branthwayt, a gentleman who lived just outside Norwich, included a pocket watch and a white satin purse embroidered with pearls. William Darton, the London Quaker, gave four items relating to slavery and the slave trade. Here Boulter demonstrated his agreement with the increasing opposition to this trade expressed by Friends by listing an 'iron mask' and printing the description 'which the head is locked up in at the pleasure of their cruel Oppressors'.<sup>54</sup> Captain Cook was the main source of the items from the South Seas, which Boulter apparently acquired by purchase, perhaps from members of the crew.<sup>55</sup> Joseph Sparshall donated a 'Norfolk plover or thick-knee'd bustard' and Edmund Sparshall gave items from Botany Bay. There were also examples of craftwork, such as the parrot cut in paper that was donated by H. Maria Sparshall.<sup>56</sup>

The Museum continued to exist for about ten years after Daniel Boulter sold it to his nephew. Some of the portraits were sold at the end of 1803, in a joint sale with portraits from Samuel Tyssen's collection, and a further sale was advertised in 1804, but some items remained in the family.<sup>57</sup> After long years of war, and without Daniel Boulter's presence in the background to support its continued existence, it is perhaps not surprising if the number of visitors diminished and the Museum became unviable.

Thus far this study has focused on the connections and processes that enabled Daniel Boulter to acquire the exhibits in his Museum Boulterianum, and to maintain the collection. Now I need to return to the quotation from Pope's *Essay on Man* that Edmund Sparshall included in his tribute to his father, Joseph: 'He look'd through Nature up to Nature's God'. It was a sentiment that resonated with the sociably learned throughout the century. In the midst of the descriptions of natural curiosities and shells, Boulter's *Catalogue* included two inscriptions that provide evidence of the widely held belief that the divine hand was manifest in the works of nature:

In the Middle Room are the following Inscriptions, intended to remind the Spectator of the wonderful variety, beauty and oeconomy of Nature's Works, and of the infinite Wisdom and Goodness of their great Creator.<sup>58</sup>

Two quotations followed. One, in Latin and printed without translation, was from Psalm 104: *Quam ampla sunt opera tua, O Jehova:*

Oh Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches. So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.<sup>59</sup>

The second, from Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*, emphasized rational observation:

Go, from the Creatures thy instructions take:  
Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield;  
Learn from the beasts the physic of the field;  
Thy arts of building from the bee receive;  
Learn of the mole to plow, the worm to weave;  
Learn of the little nautilus to sail,  
Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.<sup>60</sup>

The intention was in accord with Quaker opinion as well as that of the wider society: William Penn, for example, advocated teaching children about the natural world and wrote that the world was 'wearing the Marks' of its Maker.<sup>61</sup> It was also a shrewd juxtaposition that drew attention to the religious as well as the intellectual value of the exhibits.

In his introduction to *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850*, Holger Hoock has written that 'As Britain expanded its global empire, Britons also built empires in their cultural imagination'.<sup>62</sup> As a Quaker in good standing with his Monthly Meeting, who endured distraint of the stock from his shop for non-payment of church rates, and probably only avoided similar exactions to support the navy during the French revolutionary war on account of his age, and the injury he had sustained in a coaching accident, Daniel Boulter would have disclaimed militaristic empire. How far his late-eighteenth-century viewers would have been thinking in terms of empire as rule, as distinct from expanding trade and the advantages of their own culture is a complex and debateable issue. In bringing together artefacts and natural objects from distant places, especially the newly-discovered areas of the South Seas, listing, and possibly keeping in stock, some of the learned works in which they were described, for example 'Parkinson's Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, 4to. London: 1773' - the edition edited by Sydney Parkinson's brother - he was most certainly providing them with the opportunity to expand their understandings.<sup>63</sup>

An eighteenth-century gentleman who was a keen collector of natural history would count paintings among that category and would also inherit or build up a library. There is no direct evidence of provenance for Daniel Boulter's books and paintings but Andrew



Moore, as we have seen, has drawn attention to the travelling dealers from whom he may have acquired at least some of them. At the end of the seventeenth century Friends were debating the morality of trading in fine goods: Henry Lombe of Norwich, for example, felt called upon to testify against taking part in making 'Figured and Gaudy Stuffs, whose end and Service was chiefly to satisfie the Vain and Proud Minds of Men and Women, that live in disobedience to God', although he lived in a city that was at the centre of such trade. There were too authors such as John Kelsall junior (1683-1743) who gave copious advice on personal conduct to Friends who were living in the midst of a popular culture of dancing, fiddle-playing and, at least in their eyes, extravagant styles of dress.<sup>64</sup> As will be shown below. Boulter did wear Quaker dress, but no evidence has survived to indicate that he had any hesitations about promoting the contents of his shop and Museum, and for the latter hesitations could be overcome by the use of the quotations he displayed. Accounts of travels and voyages are listed among his books, but, unlike the 'plays and romances', against the reading of which London Yearly Meeting cautioned in 1764, such works were, or, at least, could be assumed to be, factual accounts.<sup>65</sup> The threat of financial loss, even bankruptcy, on the other hand, would have had a more immediate impact upon Boulter and his family and had the potential to disrupt his relationship with Friends as well as his good standing.

Nevertheless there is one category, namely Boulter's collection of paintings, which calls for further comment within the Quaker context, although it is not possible here to give it the extended treatment that it deserves. In her study of Quakerism and visual culture Marcia Pointon has cited the practice of Dr John Fothergill as clearly illustrating 'the distinction between portraits as art and portraits as information, and between portraits of others and portraits of oneself', citing R. Hingston Fox's mention of Fothergill's possession of views as well as portraits. The Quaker John Scott of Amwell, wrote an 'Essay on Painting' in the form of a poem that had as a source Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses*. Scott did not, as far as is known, visit Daniel Boulter's Museum, but he did pore over engravings and visited many exhibitions. In addition Clare Haynes has recently published a perceptive study of the seeming contradiction apparent in the fact that English Protestants highly esteemed Catholic art. The Museum Boulterianum contained Catholic objects and paintings, catalogued without comment.<sup>66</sup> I raise the question whether Scott's poem, and perhaps (if researchers are very fortunate) correspondence between John and his brother Samuel, who was a minister, might shed light on how Friends viewed these items.

There is a sense in which Daniel Boulter, in his Quaker dress, was also on display. Whether he gave permission for the portrait of him, painted by James Butcher, the artist who painted a series of scenes of Yarmouth and who died in 1803, or whether it was painted from an engraving after Boulter's death in 1802 is unclear.<sup>67</sup> Neither version has survived, but the painting has been described by F. Duleep Singh. It showed him half-length, seated turned to the left, and wearing a 'snuff-coloured plain coat [no collar]'. He held a roll of paper, and there were books on shelves behind him, and on the table on which his hand rested.<sup>68</sup> For Boulter himself acting as a dealer and museum-keeper enabled him to engage in a learned and sociable activity that permitted him to have thousands of objects on display or in specially designed cabinets, without laying himself open to a charge of over-indulgence or arrogance. It has been suggested that he was a 'magpie' collector, a description that suggests that he picked up objects here and there as they caught his fancy.<sup>69</sup> This article has explored some of the early influences in his life that may have encouraged a more sustained interest in the natural world and motivated him to build up a collection that, on a scale suitable to a provincial town rather than a capital city, eventually covered the wide range of exhibits that that term implied. This was not only a source of income, albeit a precarious one, for a dealer it was, as Daniel Boulter wrote when thanking the donors, his 'favourite pursuit'.<sup>70</sup>

*Sylvia Stevens*

*Presidential Address given at Britain Yearly Meeting on 30 May 2010*

## ENDNOTES

1. Norfolk Record Office - hereafter NRO - MS 4415, p. 524; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1778. Manuscripts and archives in NRO are quoted with permission of the Record Office and of Norfolk and Waveney Area Meeting of the Society of Friends.
2. Neil Macgregor, BBC Radio 4, 2010; John. Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).
3. In my study of Quakers in society in north-east Norfolk, 1690-1800, forthcoming from The Edwin Mellen Press. I am grateful to the Press for agreeing to some overlap of subject matter.
4. The description is taken from Boulter's bookplate, reproduced in Thomas Southwell, 'Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum at Great Yarmouth "Museum Boulterianum" and on the Development of the Modern Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 8 (1908), p. 113.
5. *Museum Boulterianum. A Catalogue of the Curious and Valuable*

*Collection of Natural and Artificial Curiosities in the Extensive Museum of Daniel Boulter of Yarmouth* (London: To be had of Henry Gardner, No. 200, Strand; B. & J. White, Fleet Street; Darton & Harvey, No. 55 Gracechurch Street and Norwich: Yarrington and Bacon and R. Beatniffe, n.d.), cited hereafter as *Catalogue*. There is no date, but copy 7460.d.54 in Cambridge University Library has the manuscript note 'J. Haig 16 May 1794'. I am grateful to Hugh Torrens for drawing my attention to the advertisement in the *General Evening Post*, July 25-29 1794, which refers to publication 'this day', price one shilling, and to Michael P. Cooper's study: *Robbing the Sparry Garniture: a 200 Year History of British Mineral Dealers 1750-1950* (Tucson, Arizona: Mineralogical Record Inc., 2006). Cooper noted that the copy described by C. D. Sherborn in his article 'Museum Boulterianum' in *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society* 12 (1924), 667-9, has a pencil date 1793 and is now in the Natural History Museum, London.

6. Quotation from NRO, MS 4415. The autobiography survives in a copy authenticated by 'D. T', the Yarmouth banker and antiquary Dawson Turner. For Joseph's education see NRO, SF 191, Lammas Monthly Meeting minutes, 21.3.1759, which recorded 5s 3d given for a quarter's schooling.
7. NRO, MS 4415, p. 519.
8. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550- 1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 90.
9. Abiah Darby, *Useful Instruction for Children, by Way of Question and Answer* (London: Luke Hinde, 1763).
10. Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity as the Same is Held Forth and Preached by the People Called, in Scorn, Quakers Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines*, 4th edn in English, (London: T. Sowle, 1701); Joseph Besse, *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, vol. 1, [1650-1660] (London, Assigns of J. Sowle, 1733); George Fox, *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books, Given forth by that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox: Containing Principles, Essential to Christianity and Salvation, Held among the People Called Quakers* (London: T. Sowle, 1706); *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of...George Fox* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1694).
11. John Field, comp. *Piety Promoted. The Fifth part: Being a Collection of the Dying Sayings of Many of the People Called Quakers* (Dublin: Sam. Fairbrother, 1721)
12. NRO, SF 194/1, Lammas Monthly Meeting book of sufferings, for example 31.8 [October] 1696
13. John Griffith, *A Journal of the Life, Travels and Labours in the Work of*

- the Ministry of John Griffith* (London: James Phillips, 1779), pp. 72-99.
14. NRO MS 4415, p. 519. There is insufficient evidence to demonstrate the exact link between the Boulter and Sparshall families.
  15. NRO, YD 41/105 (original) and NRO, Rye MS 71 (copy). The copy may have been completed after Daniel's death, when it came into the possession of his niece Rachel Boulter.
  16. *Catalogue of the Select and Valuable Library, Paintings, Engravings, Coins, Medals, Curiosities, Plates, China &c which will be sold by Auction by William Wilde* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher) [1848].
  17. NRO, MS 4415, pp. 531, copied by Edmund Sparshall, and enclosed with a letter to Dawson Turner dated Norwich, Pottergate Street, 13th April 1841, from the letter Sparshall had sent to the editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, September 1810.
  18. For William Arderon see the entry by Giles Hudson in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), vol. 2, p. 369. Sparshall's description is in The Royal Society of London, *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 46 (1750), 502-505 [Johnson and Kraus reprint, 1963]. Arderon's own contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* included accounts of the condition of the Roman camp at Caistor in Norfolk, and of a halo he had observed, which appeared together in vol. 46 (1749), 196-203. Papers relating to potential members who declined to join were not retained by the Society in the mid-eighteenth century.
  19. Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. M. Mack (The Twickenham edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt, vol. 4) [1950] (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 331.
  20. NRO, MS 4415, p. 520; William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings* [1869] facsimile reprint with a new introduction by Simon Dixon and Peter Daniels (London: Pronoun Press, 2009), p. 146; this was Fothergill's home until 1767: John Fothergill, *Chain of Friendship: Selected Letters of Dr. John Fothergill of London, 1735-1780*, ed. Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press, 1971), pp. xxiii, 7.
  21. NRO, SF 191, Lammas Monthly Meeting minutes 12.1.1763, list of members of Yarmouth Meeting at the time of its transfer to Lammas; MS 4415, p. 520.
  22. Syllas Neville, *The Diary of Syllas Neville 1767-1788*, ed. Basil Cozens-Hardy (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1950), p. 96. There were other Quaker Fullers in Yarmouth in 1771 but Edward, whose occupation is given in his will, NRO, 1779 NCC, will register, Colls, 210, is the one whose age and standing fits Neville's description.
  23. NRO, MS 4415, p. 523. The sum of £73,124.40 is taken from the National Archives website [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk), through

- the links 'site help, A-Z, currency converter, 1780', accessed on 8.2.2011.
24. The surviving records of Gurney's Bank are in the custody of Barclays Archive Services, Wythenshawe. I found no record of Boulter, but it is several years since I visited the Archive and further material may have become available.
  25. *General Evening Post* (London) 13-15 September 1787. I thank Hugh Torrens for this reference.
  26. NRO, MS 4415, pp. 525-7.
  27. NRO, MS 4415, p. 520 and SF 201, 25.6.1764, report of marriage to Margaret Sutton; 8.10, 12.11 and 10.12.1764 disownment; SF 201, 8.2. and 9.5.1768 reinstatement; MS 4415, p. 521.
  28. *Catalogue*, advertisement in copy CUL 7340.c. 18.
  29. James Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson: the Reverend James Woodforde, 1758-1781*, ed. J. Beresford (London: Humphrey Milford, 1926), p. 226. For Boulter's description of his business as 'respected in the neighbourhood for our sivelity [civility] and strict attention to business' see NRO, MS 4415, p. 522.
  30. R. G. W. Anderson, introduction to R. G. W. Anderson, M. L. Caygill, A. G. MacGregor and L. Syson (eds). *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), p. 2, and C. Haynes, 'A "Natural" Exhibitioner: Sir Ashton Lever and His Holophusikon', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 24 (1) (2001), pp. 135, 137.
  31. Dorothy M. Owen (ed.). *The Minute Books of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society 1712-1755* (Lincoln Record Society 73, 1981), p. xii.
  32. Skinner and Co., *A Catalogue of the Portland Museum, lately the Property of the Duchess Dowager of Portland, Deceased, which Will Be Sold by Auction... at her late Dwelling House...in... Whitehall* [London: 1786].
  33. M. A. Hopkins, *Dr Johnson's Lichfield* (London: Peter Owen, 1956), pp. 225-6. I am grateful to Clare Haynes for this reference.
  34. Peter Brears, 'Commercial Museums of Eighteenth-Century Cumbria: the Crosthwaite, Hutton and Todhunter Collections,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, 4 (1) (1992), 107-26.
  35. NRO, MS 4415, p. 524.
  36. Southwell, 'Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum', p. 114.
  37. *Catalogue*, p. 28.
  38. Charles J. Palmer, *The Perlustration of Great Yarmouth*, 3 vols. (Great Yarmouth: George Nail, 1872-1875), vol. 1, 381 [Deverson]; Sylas Neville, *The Diary*, p. 116; *A Catalogue of the Genuine and Entire Cabinet of Greek, Roman, British, Saxon, English, Scotch, Irish and Foreign Coins and Medals... of the Late Mr John Barber, of Great Yarmouth, Deceased: which Will be Sold by Auction, by Mr Paterson... London... 25 July, 1786*. There is a marked copy in the British Museum, Department

- of Coins and Medals. Boulter is not named as a purchaser and although he may have been a cash buyer, and therefore unnamed, it is equally possible that Barber bought some of his specimens from Boulter.
39. Some of the paintings are included in a study by Andrew W. Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk*, Norfolk Museums Service (London: HMSO, 1988).
  40. Hugh S. Torrens, 'Natural History in Eighteenth-Century Museums in Britain', in R. G. W. Anderson, M. L. Caygill, A.G. MacGregor and L. Syson (eds), *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 81-89.
  41. *George Humphrey, Museum Humfredianum: a Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Museum of Mr George Humphrey... which will be sold by auction* (London: S. Paterson, 1779). Copy 3 in the Natural History Museum, London.
  42. *Catalogue*, p, 165.
  43. M. P. Cooper, *Robbing the Sparry Garniture*, pp. 19 [Fox], 77-79 [Boulter], 193 [Fothergill]. 198 [James], 199 [Jenkin].
  44. Skinner and Co., [Portland sale] Cambridge University Library, marked copy, with MS annotations.
  45. James Jenkins, *The Records and Recollections of James Jenkins*, ed. J. W. Frost, (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), p. 289.
  46. *Catalogue*, p. 165.
  47. This and the admission ticket are reproduced in Southwell, 'Notes on an Eighteenth Century Museum...' pp. 112-13.
  48. I am grateful to Clare Haynes for drawing my attention to these similarities. Sir Ashton Lever's lottery ticket is in the Wellcome Library (Surrey Rotunda ephemera book 50274/D/3). Boulter's ticket differs only in its border. George Shaw produced a description of specimens from Lever's collection. *Museum Leverianum, Containing Select Specimens from the Museum of the Late Sir Ashton Lever Kt. with Descriptions in Latin and English* (London: J. Parkinson, 1792).
  49. The token is described in Southwell, p. 11, and illustrated, with a quotation from Southwell, by Cooper, p. 76.
  50. The note, apparently referring to a Dawson Turner sale, is pasted inside the front cover of the Cambridge University Library copy 7340:18.
  51. *Catalogue*, p. 22.
  52. Anne Secord, 'Nature's Treasures: Dawson Turner's Botanical Collections', in Nigel Goodman (ed.), *Dawson Turner: a Norfolk Antiquary and his Remarkable Family* (Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore, 2007), p. 45.
  53. Southwell, p. 115. Sir Astley Paston Cooper (1768-1841) was born in Norfolk and spent part of his youth in Yarmouth.

54. *Catalogue*, pp. 59, 160 [Branthwayt], p. 56 [Darton].
55. Southwell, p. 116; *Catalogue*, pp. 76-81 [Cook].
56. *Catalogue*, p. 3 [Joseph Sparshall], p. 23 [Edmund Sparshall], p. 50 [H. Maria Sparshall].
57. Daniel Boulter, *A Catalogue of a...Collection of English and Foreign Portraits... from the Collection of Mr Daniel Boulter... and of Samuel Tyssen Esq [of Narborough in west Norfolk]... which Will Be Sold by Auction by Mr King... December 22, 1803* [London, 1803]. I am grateful to Hugh Torrens for drawing my attention to an advertisement in the *Ipswich Journal*, 1 September 1804, for an auction of the stock in trade. Museum and household furniture to be conducted by William Seaman on 16 September and following days, by order of the trustees. I have restricted my research to Boulter's lifetime, but it appears that, although, as Southwell records, some items indeed descended down the family, his statement (on p. 111) that the collection was not sold by auction needs modification.
58. *Catalogue*, p. 10. For a discussion of such arguments in relation to Quakers see Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles Holdings Ltd, 1968), chapter 8; Geoffrey Cantor, *Quakers, Jews, and Science: Religious Responses to Modernity and the Sciences in Britain, 1650-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chapter 6.
59. Verses 24, 25.
60. Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. M. Mack, vol. 3, pp. 110-11.
61. William Penn, 'Some Fruits of Solitude' in *A Collection of the Works of William Penn in Two Volumes: to Which Is Prefixed a Journal of his Life* (London: Assigns of J. Sowle, 1726), vol. 1, pp. 820-21.
62. Holger Hooek, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010), p. 3.
63. *Catalogue*, p. iv.
64. Henry Lombe, *An Exhortation Given forth at the Requirings of the Lord: in Tender Love to All that Have Been in Any Measure Turned unto Truth* (London: T. Sowle, 1694), p. 5. For Kelsall see Richard C. Allen, "'An Alarm Sounded to the Sinners in Sion": John Kelsall, Quakers and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Wales' in Joan Allen and Richard C. Allen (eds). *Faith of Our Fathers: Popular Culture and Belief in post-Reformation England, Ireland and Wales* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 52-74.
65. *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London*, 2nd edn (London: W. Phillips, 1802), pp. 11-12.
66. Marcia Pointon, 'Quakerism and Visual Culture: 1650–1800' in *Art History*, 20 (1) (1997), 397-431, p. 413, citing R. Hingston Fox, *Dr John Fothergill and His Friends* (London: Macmillan, 1919), pp. 216, 367; David Perman, *John Scott of Amwell: Dr Johnson's Quaker Friend* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Rockingham Press, 2001), pp. 233-5; Clare

Haynes, *Pictures and Popery: Art and Religion in England. 1660-1760* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006). See also chapters in Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck (eds), *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

67. I am grateful to Samantha Johns of Yarmouth Museum for information on the fate of the portrait and on James Butcher's paintings. In 1796 Butcher donated his painting of the Market Place to the Mayor and Corporation. The Boulter portrait may also have been a donation.
68. F. Duleep Singh, *Portraits in Norfolk Houses*, ed. E. Farrer. 2 vols (Norwich: Jarrold, 1927), vol. 2, p. 407. Singh's dating of the portrait to 1750-1760, and of a man aged 50, is questionable: Boulter was twenty years old in 1760, and 50 in 1790. The collarless coat indicates that Boulter was probably dressed in Quaker style. The portrait was destroyed in an air raid. There was an engraving, but no copy has so far been traced.
69. Andrew W. Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Painting*, p. 25.
70. *Catalogue*, unnumbered page after page 165.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The History of Henley Quakers within the Religious Society of Friends.* By Mike Macleod. np Skye Publications. 2010. 140pp., illustrations in text. £12. ISBN 978-0-9537252-2-9

This is a fascinating study and has much to teach those of us preparing local Quaker histories. How do you write a meaningful history of your meeting when for long periods there are no records or nothing significant seems to happen? How do you convey to the general reader what you feel to be the essence of Quakerism? How do you make full use of colour and graphic design to produce a book that is a delight to read?

Michael's stated purpose is to place the story of Quakers in Henley within the larger national context, so that the book is not just about local personalities and events but also provides a series of highlights from general Quaker history. Added to this, however, are two unusual features. In an attempt to help the general reader a number of quotations, mainly but not entirely from Quaker authors, and recognisable by the cursive script used, have been scattered through the book to 'recreate the mood of a gathered meeting and provide some focus for a faith which avoids inflexible statements of creed'. Further, because the meeting house garden and burial ground are and have been features important to Henley Friends, the text is enlivened by a series of attractive colour photographs of the grasses and flowers that grow there. Thus, the book can be read on three levels: as a history of Henley Quakers, as a selection of writings for reflection and meditation, or just enjoyed as a work of beauty.

The material is divided into four sections by century. Of necessity there is a broad brush approach, concisely written. Although there is no index, a detailed contents list enables the reader to find their way around. There is a bibliography and all sources are clearly referenced. Extensive use is made of monthly and quarterly meeting records where those for Henley Meeting itself are sparse.

I found the account from the late Victorian period onwards particularly interesting. The coming of the Adult School movement transformed the ailing fortunes of the meeting and provides abundant records for the researcher. Here Michael gives a vivid picture of the new energy and sense of purpose generated in the meeting. From then on letters, photographs and personal reminiscences amplify the meeting's records and take us through the two world wars and up to the present.

I am sure that this attractive and readable book will be treasured by local Quakers and also enjoyed by the general reader. Is this

purely objective historical research? No, I don't think so, but then I suspect that Michael is writing for a much wider audience than the research community. Does the book have value for FHS members? Most certainly yes. Not only does it delight and inspire and challenge us to rethink the way we present our findings, but hopefully it will also provide an impetus for the territory that Michael has begun to chart to be explored still further.

*Brian Hawkins*

*Sarah Biller of St Petersburg A Sheffield Teacher in 19th Century Russia.* By John Dunstan. York: William Sessions Ltd. 2009. x, 150pp., illustrated. £8.99. ISBN 978-1-85072-399-8

Sarah Biller (1788-1852) was born into a Methodist family, her father Alexander Kilham was a founder of the Methodist New Connexion. Her stepmother Hannah, known as a pioneering missionary in West Africa, became a Friend in 1803 and Sarah joined Balby Monthly Meeting in 1808. Hannah set up a school in Sheffield in 1806 in which Sarah helped and Mary Howitt was one of the pupils.

John Dunstan goes on to explain the spread of the Lancastrian school movement in Russia and the contacts formed there by the Friends William Allen, Stephen Grellet and Daniel Wheeler. In 1820 Sarah went to St Petersburg to establish a school for poor girls. The complex arrangements of schools set up under the aegis of the non-denominational British and Foreign Schools Society are thoroughly described in the broader context of Russian government and society. There is less firm evidence for Sarah's work and its direct imperial encouragement. Sarah resigned her membership of Friends in 1826 and worshipped thereafter with other protestants in St Petersburg. She became involved in distributing bibles and tracts in Russia. In 1832 she married William Biller and their work together for the British and Foreign Bible Society is described. The book covers her continuing educational and other philanthropic activities. She also compiled a memoir of her stepmother, published in 1837.

Sarah maintained some links with Friends and was buried at the Friends Meeting House in Evesham where she died in 1852. John Dunstan concludes that she was considered a Friend at the time of her death, notices of it appeared in *The Friend* and the *British Friend*.

This book about the unusual path taken by a nineteenth century woman Friend is very thoroughly researched with extensive and helpful footnotes and a long bibliography.

*David J. Hall*

*Joseph Bevan Braithwaite Snr: The Life of a Quaker in the Victorian Age.* By Peter Braithwaite. np 2008. 63pp. + chart. Illustrated. £3.50 including UK p&p, obtainable from the author, 38 High Street, Wallingford. Oxon. OX10 0DB

Peter Braithwaite has compiled this account of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite Snr, 1818-1905, with his subject's descendants and their families in mind. It is based chiefly on published sources and benefits from a number of well-chosen illustrations in the text.

Beginning with an interesting account of Braithwaite's childhood and his austere upbringing the author points out that between 1823 and 1829 his mother was away travelling in the ministry for six years and his father for four. His formal education ceased at sixteen yet he became a noted scholar in Hebrew and Greek in the spare time from his demanding legal work (he retired in 1896) and family life which he did not neglect.

Braithwaite should be best known to Friends for his role in the Society. He was recorded as a minister at the age of 26. He was much involved in the work of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. He invariably attended the Yearly Meeting in London for over 60 years and may have been involved in drafting the Epistle for 40 of those. He managed to travel overseas in the ministry to North America, Western Europe and also with the secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the Near East, helping in 1883 to form a monthly meeting in Constantinople. In old age he visited some 300 homes in his own Monthly Meeting.

Quaker controversy was familiar to Braithwaite. His mother had preached against the Hicksites on her first visit to America. He had initially supported Crewdson in the Beacon controversy but remained in the Society. As an evangelical Friend he was a leading member of the Yearly Meeting committee investigating the Manchester difficulty in 1870-71. Then he visited the Richmond Indiana conference in 1887 and was part of the group drafting the Richmond Declaration.

Peter Braithwaite's portrait of his ancestor, though brief, is balanced and conveys the humanity, broad interests, and desire to be a conciliator of someone who might otherwise be seen simply as an unyielding conservative and evangelical Friend.

*David J. Hall*

*Telling tales about men: Conceptions of conscientious objection to military service during the First World War.* By Lois S. Bibbings. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009. x+259pp., illustrations in text. £55. ISBN 978-0-7190-6922-2

A senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Bristol, Lois Bibbings is critical of standard accounts of First World War conscientious objection such as my *Objection Overruled* (1967), John Rae's *Conscience and Politics* (1970), and Thomas C Kennedy's *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship* (1981). She finds them wanting on the ground that they are all 'based upon one organising story and an argument which is linear (progressing from a beginning, to a middle and, thence, an ending) and often broadly chronological'. Bibbings offers instead what she believes to be 'an innovative approach to historical writing', telling not the story of COs but a number of different 'tales' with contrasting perspectives on 'how objectors were seen and dealt with'.

Ironically, after setting out her anti-linear methodology in Part 1, she begins Part 2 with her own 'brief linear history of conscientious objection, 1914-1918', before introducing six different 'tales' or conceptions in which the objectors are seen in turn as (i) 'despised and rejected', (ii) 'cowards, shirkers and "unmen"' (effeminates), (iii) deviants, degenerates and criminals, (iv) dangerous enemies of the nation, (v) men of conscience, and (vi) 'patriots and heroes'. These 'competing narratives' are the meat of the book, and the different perspectives are well researched, with ample notes and references.

Part 3 (barely three pages, including notes, plus an autobiographical epilogue) is given over to further theoretical explanation and defence of the author's multi-narrative historical methodology. She cites her own legal discipline, where 'different constructions of events and people that run concurrently are central to the practice of law', asserting that 'no one definitive representation of events is possible, although competing narratives can be assessed, criticised and ranked on the basis of their fidelity to the factual record'. And again, quoting James E Young, writing on the Holocaust, 'there can be no single way of describing the past... To put it another way, "things happen" and then they "get told" and these are two ontologically separate things "which narrative only *seems* to collapse into a voraciously all-encompassing discourse". Consequently, there is a need to acknowledge "the role of the... narrator", be they historian or social scientist, "in bringing us the facts".'

This kind of multi-perspective history is perhaps a little less innovative and radical than Lois Bibbings suggests, but the contrasting tales serve as a crucial reminder that there is always

more than one way of making sense of historical data. This reviewer, however, would want to assert that linear, chronological story-telling remains foundational, even in postmodernity (or post-postmodernity, which is where I think we are). Bibbings appears to have recognised this with her decision to precede her non-linear accounts with her own well-judged 'brief linear history' in the Part 2 Prologue, and her acknowledgment that 'competing narratives can be assessed, criticised and ranked on the basis of their fidelity to the factual record'.

Whether or not Bibbings' historical methodology is as radical and innovative as she supposes. *Telling Tales about Men* is an engaging, informative and stimulating addition to existing literature on the subject. It contains little new material, but familiar facts and viewpoints are presented in unfamiliar contexts. Bibbings recognises but does not exaggerate the important part played by Friends in a diverse movement which included religious fundamentalists as well as modernists, and a political spectrum from Marxists to Liberal radicals. It is a pity that the book's high price is likely to restrict its readership.

*David Boulton*

*Binding the Wounds of War: A young relief worker's letters home 1943-47 from the Friends Ambulance Unit and British Red Cross in North West Europe.* By Clifford Barnard. London: Pronoun Press, 2010. 198pp., maps and illustrations in text. £10.95. ISBN 978-0-9556183-6-9

Clifford Barnard's name will still be known to some as an active and well-respected member of the Society of Friends, having held several senior positions on the staff of the centrally-managed work of the Society. This book, his second\* about the Second World War, recounts his experiences as a conscientious objector, from the date of his tribunal (to which he was summoned on his eighteenth birthday in July 1943) until his return from Germany four years later in July 1947.

In his introduction to the letters, Clifford Barnard ponders the question 'Would someone, sometime, like to know what it had been like for a typical member of the Friends Ambulance Unit?' The question was answered for him by a reviewer of another book by a Quaker relief worker: 'It is hoped that other Friends have diaries or letters which will help later generations to understand some of the national and personal traumas that characterise the 20th century.' With these words in mind, he has edited and published the letters he

\* (*Two Weeks in May 1945*)

wrote to his parents with short interlinking passages, photographs and other illustrations where they were available.

The letters provide a surprisingly coherent account of a roller coaster of experiences from satisfying but exhausting to frustrating and boring. He also feels, at times, overwhelmed, terrified and horrified.

The FAU, despite or perhaps because of the changes to which its members were subjected, was a popular organisation with conscientious objectors, both with Quakers and with those not in membership. 5000 applied to join, 1300 were accepted; 17 lost their lives whilst serving. Clifford Barnard speaks of the deep searching before and after deciding conscientiously that he did object to war. He refers several times to his appreciation of a country which made allowance for these views at a time of national survival and how nationals of other European countries with whom he came into contact were amazed at this degree of tolerance.

The letters start with describing his initial weeks - medical training and an understanding of the operation of vehicles, as well as demanding physical exercise. An 18-mile route march starting at 1 am is mentioned, as well as 'malaria trials'. In one letter there is the laconic remark 'I have been bitten 8 times. I am starting to go a bit yellow'. It was not all tribulation, the Cadburys had put their resources at the disposal of the unit: 'We had a sumptuous tea with the Cadbury family, and a bath in their palatial bathroom'.

When finally sent to Germany, the horrors of warfare are spelt out vividly although one senses that what Barnard experienced was toned down, partly because of censorship of letters and partly because of not wanting to unduly alarm his parents: 'We had 50 stretcher cases at 7pm straight from the battle at Arnhem. Tired and dirty, some not injured, suffering from exposure and exhaustion, tired faces and staring eyes'. He writes of one ward given over to German soldiers 'one of their number being very Nazi' and refusing treatment from the enemy.

A major part of the book describes helping people driven from their homes, just to survive: 'we are surrounded by hundreds of homeless displaced people, there are few usable buildings and no electricity or uncontaminated water' and later 'the surrounding land has been cleared of all the debris of war - what a mess has been left behind. At times electricity did become available but only for lighting and then only spasmodically. Even park benches were chopped up'. We hear how many German people had to live in cellars as their homes had been bombed, how there was little work, limited public transport and no confidence in the currency.

There is much of interest in the book about the ordinary soldiers' contact with local German people, as well as that of FAU members. 'The average Tommy is friendly towards the Germans, giving away their rations though it is illegal'. Even in hospital wards where injured soldiers from both sides were present, he detects little animosity on either side, the German cheerfully responding to being called "Fritz".

This lack of animosity makes itself manifest as Clifford Barnard writes increasingly warmly of a young German woman. One of the last photographs in the book is of their marriage in the register office back in England.

These letters, in direct, simple but powerful language, communicate something of the brutality and of the abhorrent aspects of war, but this last event in the book, the marriage of a young German woman to a young British man, stands for what George Fox described as the ocean of light overcoming an ocean of darkness.

Clifford Barnard refers at the beginning of the book to looking at a pile of ageing letters. This uplifting book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the contribution those refusing to take up arms made, during the closing stages and immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

*Rod Harper*

*Elfrida: Elfrida Vipont Foulds 1902 to 1992.* By Susan V. Hartshorne. York: Quacks Books, 2010. 80pp., illustrations in text. £8.50. ISBN 978-1-904446-26-2

*Elfrida* is a book about a Christocentric Friend whose life spanned almost all of the twentieth century. She was privileged and born to parents with generations of Quakers behind them. She could remember bonneted elderly women Friends and bearded males; prayer and Bible reading with the servants; William Penn and the Indians, Elizabeth Fry and John Bright pictured on the walls at home. Hers was a world of large houses and Quaker boarding schools. Reading the book caused me to ponder the demography of contemporary Quakerism.

Her niece Susan V. Hartshorne is biographer for Elfrida Vipont Foulds, who was a writer, musician, wife, mother and more. 'She came to her own conviction through the experience of art' a Friend wrote of Elfrida in 1974 and her parents had been of liberal turn of mind at a time of change in Quakerism. In them and the imaginative, artistic Elfrida we see the shift to a Society of Friends in which the Arts were no longer shunned. As she wrote in *The Friend* in 1925 when she was dreaming of a life as a professional singer:

'We may be called to give our testimony in theatre, opera house or concert hall, but in so far as we remain faithful to the Light our service is one with all service for the Kingdom'

Writing, music, Quaker activity and her family were the foci of Elfrida's life. As headteacher (though unqualified) of the evacuation school at Yealand Manor during the second world war her love of music informed what went on there, though the work took its toll of her. Later she turned her evident story-telling ability to good ends, so as to bring to life people from the worlds of music, literature and Quakerism. Sometimes even the *Times Literary Supplement* approved. The BBC dramatized some of her stories and many Quakers now mature in years will have read her tales of Quakerism past. Twice she became Charles Vipont, however (1939, 1955), in an age when publishers thought that adventure stories would sell only if they were written by men.

My adult son easily recalled a story from his childhood entitled *The Elephant and the Bad Baby* and we chanted in unison 'And the bad baby said "Yes", and they went rumpeta rumpeta rumpeta all down the road ... but he never once said 'please'!' This is probably the best known children's tale written by Elfrida (1969), though it is not the one for which she was awarded the Library Association's Carnegie Medal in 1950. That had been *The Lark on the Wing*.

What was her philosophy of writing for the young in particular? The book does not tell us. It brings together a lot of detail about Elfrida's long life yet it misses the opportunity to do more. It does not tell of her response to the evolution of Quakerism in the twentieth century, for example, and I thought that was a pity.

*Christine Trevett*



## NOTES AND QUERIES

### Meeting Houses

John Hall set up a website about British Quaker meeting houses about five years ago. This ([www.flickr.com/photos/qnih](http://www.flickr.com/photos/qnih)) is almost complete and will carry photographs of over 500 current and former meeting houses as well as other relevant information.

The images are also being made available in an excellent series of 28 page colour illustrated pamphlets. These are produced in the USA to keep costs down and can be obtained via <http://dangerfield.magcloud.com> where each issue can be viewed, digital files can be purchased or print copies ordered. John Hall is also prepared to supply print copies himself though this is more expensive than ordering them from the USA. He can be contacted at [hall1885@btinternet.com](mailto:hall1885@btinternet.com) or 99 Wittonwood Road, Frinton on Sea, Essex C013 9LD. At the time of writing there are seven issues with the eighth imminent. Each covers a group of counties with a supplementary essay - e.g. number 4 is Cheshire and Lancashire with an essay on architectural styles in relation to Quaker belief.

For those discovering Friends through historic meeting houses the supplementary essays and the bibliographies enabling themes to be followed up in depth will be particularly valuable.

*Quaker Writings: An Anthology 1650-1920*. Edited by Thomas D. Hamm. London: Penguin Books. 2010. xxvii,370 pp. £12.99. ISBN 978-0-14-310631-9

After a thirteen page introduction and suggestions for further reading Thomas Hamm's anthology contains writings from more than 30 individuals as well as a few Quaker bodies, eg. the Balby Elders and finally the 1920 World Conference of Friends restating the peace testimony. The texts are arranged in six groups, five of them chronological with a final group covering peace from the 1661 declaration and including passages on the American Revolution and Civil War. Well-known authors, both British and North American are well-represented as are women. The origins to 1690 takes up 152 pages, the long Quaker eighteenth century (1690-1820) 42 pages and the remaining century 116.

### John Bunyan and Friends

In *Bunyan Studies* no. 14, 2010, (ISSN 0954-0970) pp.34-55 Vera J. Camden contributes 'The Unbearable Inner Light: John Bunyan's Controversy with the Quakers'. She explains that Bunyan's first two published works in 1656 and 1657 were the result of a controversy

with the Quaker Edward Burrough. This led to an ongoing enmity described as a 'lifelong expressive contempt for the Quakers' which the author argues is 'rooted as much in his psychology as his theology'.

*A Book of Quaker Poems* chosen by Simon Webb. Edited by Simon Webb. Durham: The Langley Press. 2010. 52pp. Illustrated. £3.99. ISBN 978-0-9564551-3-0

Simon Webb's all too brief anthology contains seventeen poems or extracts from poems. Six of these are by Whittier, two of them amounting to thirteen pages. Webb says that 'Whittier must take the laurel for commitment, volume of output, quality and learning'. There are also poems by Bernard Barton, Thomas Ellwood and William Howitt. Equally interesting are the poems or extracts relating to Friends by better and better known non-Quaker poets including Byron, Dryden, Pope and Tennyson. The pamphlet includes a short introduction by Webb and four pages of helpful notes.

*Only a Thought Away*. A personal story of bereavement and communication beyond death. By Angela Howard. York: Quacks Books. 2010. x +246pp. 8 colour plates. £8.50 ISBN 978-1-904446-28-6

The main content of *Only a Thought Away* is an account of Angela Howard's time with her husband Martin and her continuing communication with him after his death. She also recounts the related experience of two other couples. In later chapters she looks at spiritualism and psychic experience in a Quaker context. The limited historical elements of the book are a brief account of the beginnings of spiritualism and a few pages about related early Quaker beliefs. Angela and Martin Howard were among the founding members of the Quaker Fellowship for Afterlife Studies whose beginnings and work are described towards the end of the book.

## EVENT

The Revd Professor Alan P F Sell has drawn to my attention that the FRIENDS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY have organised a Summer Event to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Great Ejectment of 1662. A day conference will take place, with a book launch, at Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AR, on Saturday 9th June 2012 between 10.30 am and 5.00 pm. Thanks to the generosity of the sponsor, Congregational and General Insurance plc, lunch and tea will be provided, and there will be no charge for the day. Places are limited, on a first come, first served basis. If you wish to attend, please write to the Director at the

above address, or email [conference@DWLib.co.uk](mailto:conference@DWLib.co.uk), or telephone 020 7387 3727.

*Howard F Gregg*

## BIOGRAPHIES

GIL SKIDMORE has been a Quaker for more than thirty years and has researched, written and spoken on aspects of Quaker history for much of that time. She has written two collections of short biographies, published as *Dear Friends and Brethren*, and has contributed several articles to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. She has also had two books, *Strength in Weakness*, a selection of writings by eighteenth century Quaker women and *Elizabeth Fry, a Quaker Life*, an edition of Elizabeth Fry's Journal, published by Altamira Press. Now retired, she is working on a biography of Catherine Payton Phillips.

JORDAN LANDES is a graduate of Haverford College, where she was a student assistant in the Quaker Collection. She earned her MLS and MA from the University of Maryland, College Park, where she wrote about Maryland Quakers and politics before 1692. Most recently, she completed her Ph.D from the University of London's Centre for Metropolitan History, writing about London's role in the creation of a Quaker transatlantic community. She is the librarian for Shakespeare's Globe Theatre.

DAVID IAN HAMILTON is a member of East Cheshire Area Meeting. He is retired, having worked most recently for British Gas, and has written articles for *The Friends Quarterly*, *The Manchester Genealogist*, *The Irish Genealogist*, *The Ulster Genealogical Review*, and *the Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*. He is not a birthright Friend though he is a descendant of John Fade, the Marine of his article's title.

SYLVIA STEVENS is a longstanding member of the Friends Historical Society and writes as an independent researcher with particular interests in eighteenth century history and in exploring the ways in which the results of recent research in Quaker studies may best be presented to the wide range of interested readers. She is currently preparing her study of Friends in eighteenth century north-east Norfolk for publication.





## Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

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. Illustration. £1.00
33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00
32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00
34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827-1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25
35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866-1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00

FHS, Occasional Series No. 1 MANCHESTER, MANCHESTER AND MANCHESTER AGAIN: from 'SOUND DOCTRINE' to 'A FREE MINISTRY'. By Roger C. Wilson. 1990. Members £2.00, Non-members £3.00.

Back issues of the *JOURNAL* can be obtained for £3 per issue for members and £5 for non-members to include postage and packing. Overseas applicants are asked to add £2 to cover the additional cost of post. Requests should be made to the Treasurer c/o The Library, Friends House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ

---

### *Journals and Supplements Wanted*

FHS would be glad to receive unwanted copies of back issues of the *Journal* and of the Supplements. Address to FHS, c/o The Library, Friends House, London NW1 2BJ.

ISSN No. 0071 9587

---

Quacks the Printers, 7 Grape Lane, York