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Editorial

DURING 1971 two addresses were delivered to the Historical Society. The first, entitled "Quakers and Music" was given by Edwin H. Alton of Marsden Meeting on February 5; the second, the Presidential Address, by Stephen Morland, was delivered in the Autumn. This latter, a study of the administration of business in the Middle Division of Somerset Monthly Meeting during the eighteenth century, forms the leading article in this issue. It brings forward, by means of detailed local instances, a revealing survey of the difficulties which faced the leaders of a small group of rural Friends' meetings in trying to maintain their testimonies and support the discipline of the Society of Friends during a period when the enthusiasm of the early Quaker leaders was a thing of the past.

The Autumn meeting of the Historical Society in 1970 heard Jennie Ellinor deliver an address on the Friends' School at Clerkenwell, the predecessor of Saffron Walden Friends' School, and this address forms the basis of the second paper printed here. It sheds new light on the development of the institution which David Bolam studied in *Unbroken Community*, 1952.

Edwin H. Alton contributes a biographical and critical study of John Marriott the late eighteenth century Lancashire Quaker poet.

Also included are various bibliographical notes, information on historical research currently and recently undertaken,

notices of new publications, the usual section for Notes and Queries, and the index to volume 52 of the *Journal*, now completed.

Readers will realize that a Society such as ours, and the *Journal* in particular, must rely in large measure for its usefulness and effectiveness on the co-operation of its members and readers. We always welcome information as to new material of interest to Quaker historians, whether this comes in the form of articles submitted for possible publication, in notes or queries as to matters of historical or current interest, or in references to new publications or documents relating to the varied fields of activities in which Friends engage.

Mid-Somerset Friends in the 18th Century

A Study in the Administration of Discipline

Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1971

This address is based on a study of the minutes of the Middle Division of Somerset Monthly Meeting housed at the Friends' Meeting House, Street, Somerset. References are given in the text, within square brackets [ ], to the dates of the minutes.

Women's Monthly Meeting and Somerset Quarterly Meeting minutes are indicated similarly, but with the addition of the letters WM or QM before the dates. Somerset Quarterly Meeting minutes are deposited at the Somerset County Record Office, Obridge Road, Taunton.

THE Middle Division of Somerset became a separate monthly meeting in the Autumn of 1691. Between 1668 and 1691, the large number of meetings in the centre and south of the county had formed Ivelchester, now Ilchester, monthly meeting. The county prison was at Ilchester; a number of influential Friends were usually incarcerated there, which made the decaying town a convenient centre for both quarterly and monthly meetings. Following the passing of the Toleration Act few Friends remained in prison, and it was decided to separate the monthly meeting into a Southern and a Middle division, to avoid unnecessarily long journeys on horseback. The new monthly meeting of the Middle Division [QM 18.iv.1691] comprised six particular meetings, Street, Shepton Mallet, Lydford, Brewton, Polden Hill and Burnham; the last two named were transferred from the Western Division. In 1721, Frome meeting was added.

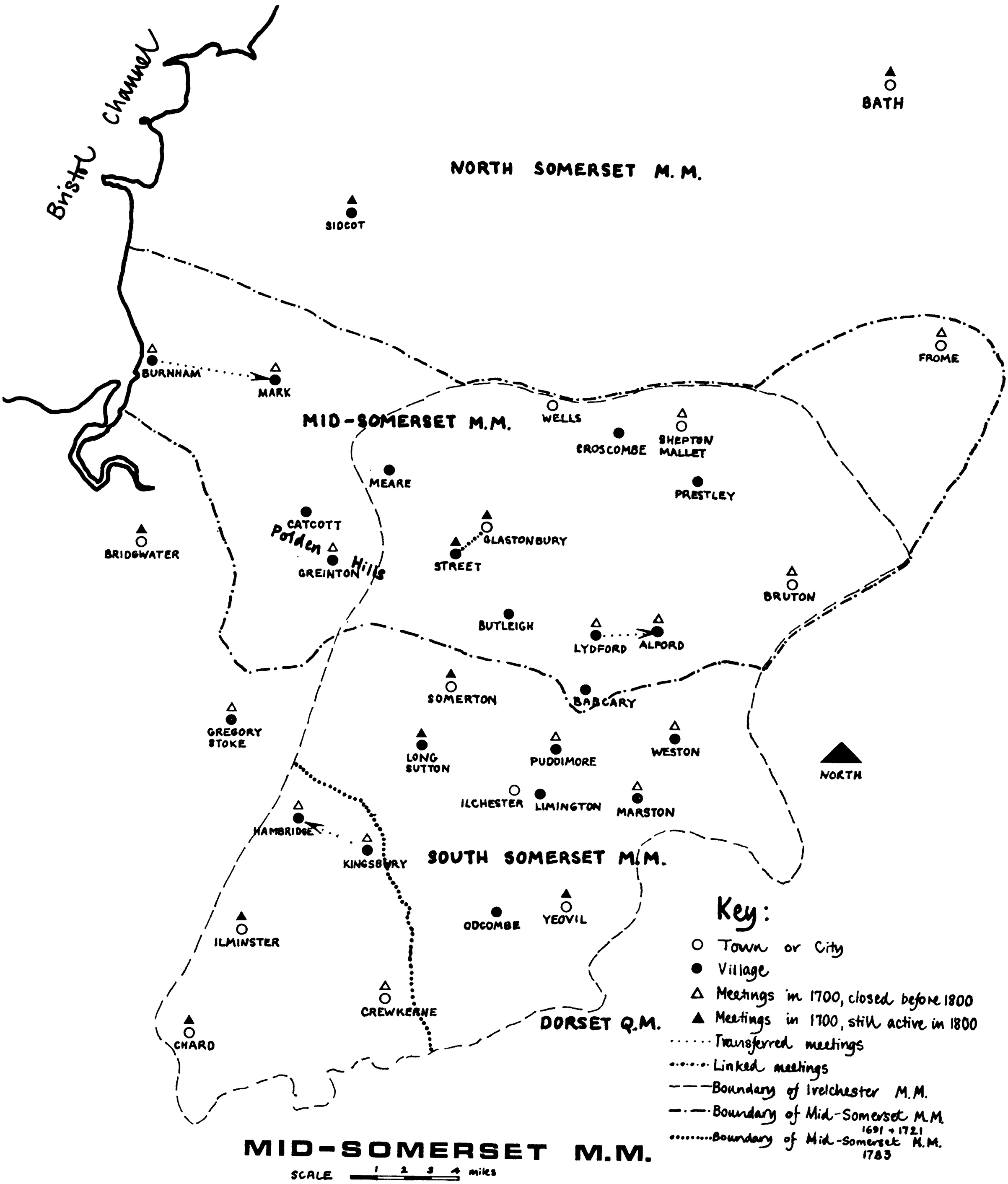
For more than 300 years, Street, which was regarded as one meeting with Glastonbury, has been the strongest meeting in the area: the other six named all died out during the eighteenth century. At Street a number of farming families were Friends; at Glastonbury they included shopkeepers, tradesmen and stocking makers. Frome and Shepton Mallet were centres of the cloth trade, declining during the eighteenth century. Lydford, Burnham and the

Polden Hills were farming areas; at Brewton John Whitehead was a clothier, and Philip Allen a farmer.

In the early days two well-known public Friends were members of the monthly meeting. Jasper Batt of Street who once "fed on husks among the Baptists", was described by a Bishop of Bath and Wells as "the greatest seducer in all the west and the most seditious person in the county!" He was at the yearly meeting in 1695, and reported triumphantly to Quarterly meeting that George Keith's errors had been repudiated by Friends; in a letter describing the yearly meeting he wrote of Keith that "his behaviour was very proud, arrogant and uncivil". Jasper Batt took a leading part in monthly and quarterly meetings and was also one who testified at the graveside at George Fox's funeral.

John Banks became a Quaker, in Cumberland, in 1654, at the age of 16; he had "learned well, both English and Latin; and could write well". He also learnt his father's trade of fellmonger and glover, but spent much time in missionary journeys in England and Ireland. His work was somewhat restricted during his six years in prison in Carlisle where, his powerful voice being audible in the street outside, to the great annoyance of the jailers, he continued to preach. In 1696 he married Hannah Champion, a widow of Meare, and settled in Somerset. He was himself a widower.

Their marriage was not accomplished without difficulty. In 1st month 1695/6, Hannah had appeared at Quarterly meeting [QM 19.i.1695/6] concerning her clearness from other ties, and it had been concluded that she was under no obligation to Thomas Hymans of Bridgwater, against whom the meeting had testified, six months before, on account of his being unable to pay his debts [QM 26.vii.1695]. In 4th month [QM 18.iv.1696], Thomas "came to the men's meeting, at Abraham Gundry's to claime Hannah Champion to be his wife . . . and trueth was against him". It was in 5th month [29.v.1696] that John and Hannah made their proposal of marriage for the first time to the monthly meeting of the Middle Division. Quarterly meeting minuted in 7th month [QM 24.vii.1696]: "Tho. Hymans came to this meeting in a rude and clamorous maner and demanded a hearing touching his claim to Hannah Champion for his wife, which this meeting unanimously refused." John Banks' own certificate of clearness from Brigham Friends was lost in the post, but


Bristol Channel
BATH
NORTH SOMERSET M.M.
SIDCOT
FROME
WELLS
BURNHAM
MARK
MID-SOMERSET M.M.
CROSCOMBE
SHEPTON MALLET
MEARE
PRESTLEY
CATCOTT
Polden Hills
GLASTONBURY
BRIDGWATER
GREINTON
STREET
BRUTON
BUTLEIGH
LYDFORD
ALFORD
SOMERTON
BARCARY
GREGORY STOKE
LONG SUTTON
PUDDIMORE
WESTON
NORTH
ILCHESTER
LIMINGTON
MARSTON
HAMBRIDGE
KINGSBURY
SOUTH SOMERSET M.M.
ODCOMBE
YEOVIL
ILMINSTER
CREWKERNE
DORSET Q.M.
CHARD
Key:
Town or City
Village
Meetings in 1700, closed before 1800
Meetings in 1700, still active in 1800
Transferred meetings
Linked meetings
Boundary of Ivelchester M.M.
Boundary of Mid-Somerset M.M.
Boundary of Mid-Somerset M.M. 1691 - 1721
Boundary of Mid-Somerset M.M. 1783
MID-SOMERSET M.M.
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by 8th month [9.viii.1696] a glowing testimony had been received from them describing him as "a faithful labourer in the Lord's service", and also as a grocer, not a fellmonger and glover; the marriage was allowed to proceed.

John and Hannah Banks lived at Meare until 1708, when they moved to Street to be nearer the meeting house; he was in bad health, ill of gout. A minute of 1706 [9.x.1706] shows his part in oversight; "John Banks being one ordered & chosen to oversee the walking of Friends and professors of truth in Glaston and Street meeting and now being under long weakness, as not fitt to perform that service, this meeting doe choos Thomas Hopkins in his steed". John was said to be so tall that a hollow was cut in a beam in the meeting house to allow him to stand upright when preaching. After the move to Street, monthly meeting, which he had been unable to attend for some years, was held at his house. In 1710 he rose from his bed and made his last journey, preaching at monthly meeting at Somerton, visiting Friends at Long Sutton, Puddimore and Yeovil, and staying with Samuel Bownas at Limington; shortly after his return home, he died. He had been of immense service, in spite of ill-health, in preaching, in administration, and in maintaining Friends' testimonies.

Samuel Bownas was the young man at whom Anne Wilson pointed an accusing finger in Brigflatts meeting, saying, "A traditional Quaker: thou cometh to meeting as thou went from it, and goes from it as thou came to it but art no better for thy coming; what wilt thou do in the end?" What he did, among much else, was to become an active and sympathetic preacher with great spiritual insight. He lived for some years at Limington near Ilchester, in the Southern Division, and was sometimes applied to by the monthly meeting of the Middle Division for help and advice in times of difficulty. He was appointed clerk of Quarterly meeting, jointly with Robert Banton of Long Sutton, in 1716.

During the eighteenth century the number of Friends in the monthly meeting declined. There are no lists of members, but some measure of the extent of the decline is shown by the number of marriages proposed. During the nine years, 1691–1699, 23 marriages were minuted, and during the next decade, 28. The number dropped to four in 1760–1769 and three in 1770–1779. In 1783 the Southern Division was

broken up and Yeovil, Somerton, Puddimore and Long Sutton were added to Street and Greinton (once Polden Hill) the only meetings then surviving in the Middle Division. Surprisingly the number of marriages from the old Middle Division rose to 15, between 1790–1799, but dropped again to five in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Apart from those born into the Society, some who consistently followed the Quaker way of life and accepted its disciplines came to be regarded as Friends, without any minute recording their acceptance. Towards the end of the century, a few applications for membership were received, and treated with the utmost caution. One form of outreach, circular Yearly Meetings held in different towns in the western counties, and attended by large numbers of those interested, ended in 1786 through declining effectiveness.[1] Visits from Friends travelling in the ministry, of the greater value in the earlier days of the Society, were again becoming more frequent as 1800 approached; Thomas Clark was beginning his own journeys in which before his death in 1850 at the age of 91, he could claim to have visited almost every meeting in the British Isles, many twice and some three times.

It is not quite true to say that only a few devoted families remained in membership, Clothiers and Clarks at Street, Metfords and Paynes at Glastonbury, and in the Southern Division, Palmers at Long Sutton, Gilletts at Somerton, Salters and Isaacs at Yeovil; but without the devotion of these families, Quakerism could hardly have survived here.

The first alphabetical list of members was made in 1812. They then numbered 93 of whom 25 were men. The average attendance at the men's monthly meeting during that year was over 14, and only one man failed to attend at all; he was old and possibly ill. The business of the Society had clearly ceased to be the concern of a select body of leading Friends; of the men almost all members were involved. With a very much larger membership, the average attendance had been 7 in 1692 and 12 in 1702.

Meeting Records

The quality of the records reflects the state of the Society. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, minutes were

[1] See *Journal F.H.S.*, 39 (1947), pp. 33–44.

full, vigorous, and often written into the book month by month. By 1740 attendance at monthly meetings had dropped, and some particular meetings were sending no representatives. In 1741, after some delay [12.viii.1741] the minute book was produced, and the record reads: "The monthly meeting Book being brought here we find that nothing has been transcribed therein since the 10th of the 2nd month 1727, from which time to the 5th month 1736 it appears that several of the minutes are lost or mislaid . . . James Clothier is appointed to begin at the 3rd month 1727 & transcribe as much as can be found." Actually two years were missing. At three meetings in 1748 and 1749 no business was done because no-one had brought the minute book; there was very little transacted when the book was available. Important matters were not always minuted, nor were decisions reached always clearly stated.

From 1759 onwards the minutes are usually more careful, better written, fuller, and more formal. In that year, Yearly Meeting asked for greater care to be taken in registering all marriages, births and burials, and in 1760, for plain and explicit answers to queries. Friends were appointed to visit monthly and quarterly meetings to exhort members to greater devotion and regularity.

Discipline was the responsibility of the monthly meeting from about 1700 onwards; before then, final action when all else failed, was usually left to Quarterly meeting. Friends believed that their spiritual welfare depended on unity in the truth. The first concern of the meeting when a Friend was "walking disorderly" was, by visits and discourses, to bring him back into unity by repentance. The second was to clear truth of the scandal and reproach his conduct had caused. The erring member was asked to sign a paper acknowledging his sin, expressing his sincere and unfeigned repentance, and hope for better future conduct. This paper was read at the close of the meeting for worship which he attended, a shaming experience for the person concerned, and might even need wider publicity. In 1724, Matthew Stower Jnr., was instructed "to fasten up" the paper he had signed "at the publicke cross in Glaston" [15.iv.1724]. He refused to do so and was disowned [13.v.1724]; he had "given himself up to commit gross evills by getting his maid with child" and had been married to her by the priest. In 12th

month 1726 [13.xii.1726] a full statement of repentance, signed by him, was read in his presence in Glastonbury meeting, and he was apparently received again into unity.

When in 1695 Quarterly meeting [QM 26.vii.1695] heard that, after repeated persuasion, John Peddle and Robena his wife had signed a paper condemning their actions after a finally successful visit by Edward Blenman, the minute is cautious: they were "left to be owned by us, as they shall manifest in their conversations the reality of what they have written".

If no satisfactory paper of acknowledgement and sincere repentance was forthcoming, or if the sin was too blatant for visits and discourse, the meeting prepared a paper of disownment to clear Truth; this was also to be read at the close of meeting for worship formerly attended.

No collection was to be received from the person concerned, nor could he be relieved in the manner of poor Friends, nor admitted to sit in meetings of discipline, until restored into unity.

That hope for a return to unity was sometimes realized is illustrated by the case of Hannah Merrett. In 1722 [9.v.1722] refusing to condemn her disorderly action, she was disowned for her marriage by a priest. She was disowned again in 1738 [10.viii.1738] for marrying her first cousin Thomas Marriott; they were both "deemed members of our society" and Friends disallowed the marriage of first cousins.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, disownment by the monthly meeting for a number of offences became almost automatic; reinstatement, after a decent interval, was possible on formal application to the same monthly meeting.

In fourth month 1695 [3.iv.1695] monthly meeting minuted the appointment of two Overseers for each meeting, who: "if any friend or friends shall at any time walke disorderly and bring reproach upon the holy way of truth . . . may gently reproove them . . . that they might take more care for the time future; and if any one shall reject the reproofe . . . that they give an account of their names at the monthly meeting." There were further appointments of two overseers for meetings in 1698, 1727, and 1730. In 1757 [15.viii.1757] no Friends were willing to be appointed, but within a year John Hackett for Frome, James Clothier for

Street and Samuel Clothier Bryan for Shepton Mallet had accepted the office. Appointments of one for each meeting were again minuted in 1784 [3.xi.1784], but it is clear that appointments could not always be made, and some that were made were not minuted.

Among the many disorderly walkers that the monthly meeting attempted to guide back into the straight and narrow path, was John Hellier of Mark. He had been dealt with in 1686 by West Somerset Monthly Meeting for taking up arms for Monmouth, but living in the area of Burnham meeting, he had become the care of the Middle Division. When, in 1692 [31.viii.1692], he was in trouble for not paying a debt, it was found that he had given Friends no satisfaction for his part in the rebellion. Thomas Burnell reported after a visit that John "were sorey for that his miscarriage . . . and acknowledges God's great mercy to him in that his life was preserved, and hoped it would be a warning to him so long as he should live". It was the danger to his life rather than bearing arms for which he was sorry. Friends expected a paper of condemnation from John Hellier, but none was received. In second month 1694 [2.ii.1694], it was reported that he was going with a woman, not a Friend, with intention of marriage, and Friends were appointed to visit and warn him, in love, to desist. In 4th month [4.iv.1694] "John Hellier hath of late, come into a meeting of friends at Sydcot, where unto he did not belong, and took the said woman to be his wife". His regrets were inadequate, the paper he signed was not acceptable; his offence was referred to Quarterly meeting which disowned him for his disorderly marriage [QM 20.x.1694]. After many disagreements he had remained so much a Quaker that it was to a meeting that he went to take a wife.

No other case of a member taking arms is recorded until 1800, when Isaac Dennis "acted contrary to the Rules of our Society in enlisting himself a Soldier" [2.i.1800]. Three Friends appointed "had an Opportunity with him, and not finding him at all sensible of his mis-conduct", it was decided "to draw up a few lines as a Testimony of disownment" which were to be read at the close of meeting at Somerton.

Shepton Mallet Meeting

The two Overseers appointed for Shepton Mallet meeting

in 4th Month 1695 were Edward Blenman, then over 70, and Thomas Bryan, a young man of 23. In 7th month of the same year [2.vii.1695] it was reported that Katharine Bryan, aged 18, a sister of Thomas, had been married by the priest "to a man not professing truth", and that Lydia Nicholls, aged 32, also of Shepton Mallet "was got with child before married (if she yet be)". Edward Blenman had already visited her; both women had sent papers acknowledging their errors, though Lydia's "mencons no particulars"; naturally Friends wanted to know whether she was indeed married [30.vii.1695]. An obscurity clouds the consideration, month by month, of the cases of these two women. A minute fifteen years later [13.ix.1710] "ordered that Richard Coopper, Philip Watts, Samuel Clothier, Robert Meker and Thomas Freeman doe look over the old monthly meeting book & to race out such things as are not fit there to remain". In 1710, Samuel Clothier and Robert Meker were leading Friends in Shepton Mallet; Edward Blenman was dead, Thomas Bryan had gone; among the things thought not fit to remain in the book were the minutes concerning Katharine and Lydia, those concerning John Tucker who had married at Shepton Mallet church during the same year and those referring to an attempt, initiated by Edward Blenman, to persuade poor members receiving charity to ease the expense to Friends by applying to the parish overseers for relief. These minutes were very carefully scribbled over, but as the ink has faded to a slightly different shade of brown from the original writing, parts of the latter can be read. Why these particular matters were selected for oblivion is unexplained.

From what can be read through the scribbling [3.iv.1695], it appears that in 9th month, Katharine Bryan seemed to be willing to submit to Friends' judgment. In 1st month 1695/6 [2.i.1696] she had been visited again by Edward Blenman and Jonas Nicholes (Lydia's father) and was very penitent.

She appeared at the next meeting [30.i.1696] where her brother Thomas was also present "and weeping saies she is sorry for what she hath done, but friends proposing whether she could draw up a condemnation against what she had done & fix it at the Presente [?] publick view [?] she says [?] The thing is soe publick, which she saies is so hard as she

can not doe it". Further patient visits still found "her saying she can not doe it against her selfe", and in 4th month [1.iv.1696] it was decided that the matter should be referred to Quarterly meeting.

Lydia Nicoles was repeatedly visited by Friends. She refused to come to the Monthly meeting in 9th month [8.ix.1695], was very penitent in 1st month [2.i.1696], but the paper she had signed gave no satisfaction. The minute in the 4th month [1.iv.1696] refers to her "marriage with one of the world, if not worse"; Edward Blenman was asked to visit her again, and failing satisfaction was asked to report to Quarterly meeting on the matter of Katharine Bryan, Lydia Nicoles and John Tucker.

Quarterly meeting met on the 18th of the 4th month 1696 at Ilchester; Shepton Mallet was well represented by Edward Blenman, Francis Hand and Jonas Nicholes; but Edward did not raise "the matter touching them of Shepton" [29.iv.1696], and apparently neither did Lydia's father nor Francis Hand. Edward may still have hoped that further visits would procure true repentance. Monthly meeting probably considered his explanation and what further action should be taken in 5th month 1696, but the censors of 1710 were more effective at this point; half a page of the minute book was cut out.

A minute of 1726 [16.iii.1726] does something, but not much, to explain why the minutes of 1695 were not fit to remain in 1710: it begins: "Complaint being made to this meeting that Joan Whiteing, Daughter of Samuel Whiteing, Butcher, of Shepton Mallet, have had a Bass child, notwithstanding she have had her Education amongst Friends and as she goes under the name of a Quaker." Joan was disowned forthwith, but the testimony against her ends with a hope of "unfained Repentance" and a return to unity with Friends. Samuel Whiteing was the man Katharine Bryan had married in 1695 in Shepton church; Joane Whiteing, her daughter, had been brought up as a Friend. Katharine's death in 1724 was registered by Friends. I have found no later record of Lydia Nicoles, but John Tucker may also have returned to Friends. The wife to whom he was married by the priest in 1695 was buried by the priest in 1712; a John Tucker of Croscombe, near Shepton, who married Tamson Wason, a widow, in 1729, and attended monthly meetings until

1772, might well have been his son. The minutes of 1695 may have been thought best forgotten if Katharine Whiteing and John Tucker or their children were accepted as Friends in 1710.

Returning for a moment to Joane Whiteing: she married her man, Thomas Batt, in Shepton church in June 1726; their baby Jane was baptised during the same month; Joane was baptised herself a year later. The hope of her "unfained Repentance" was vain. Katharine Whiteing, probably a sister of Joan, married John Osmond of Prestley at meeting in 1721, and was buried at Street in 1731. A minute of 1747 [9.ix.1747] suggests a hardening attitude towards sin: "Bastard" is written in the margin. "Catharine Ozmond being lately brought to bed of a Bastard child, we no longer Esteem her a member of our Society." But in fact this did not quite end the responsibility of the meeting towards her and her child. The copy of registers of births at Friends House includes the entry sandwiched between two lines as if those making it had at first thought it unfit to appear, "Osmond Elizabeth, 1747.9.1:" parents given as "——— & Jane". Those responsible for making the entry have even signed their names to it in the margin. But why was Catharine miscalled Jane? The death of Katharine Osment of Street was registered by Friends in 1751. So a daughter and a grand daughter of Katharine Bryan were in similar trouble with Friends.

Having become involved in the troubled history of Shepton Mallet meeting, it may be best to continue with those Friends already mentioned. Thomas Bryan did not attend monthly meetings after his sister's case was considered. In 4th month 1699 [12.iv.1699], Francis Hand and Samuel Clothier were desired to let him know "that this meeting expects him to be at next meeting" [10.v.1699]. He was not; he had absconded, but in a letter to John Banks "he gives account of his debts and what he is worth, and makes himself worth more than he owe by £100 and upwards, and that he will satisfie every body to a penny; which if doth prove friends will be glad". He likewise [11.ix.1700) "doth accuse Francis Hand of behaviour contrary to truth". Nothing further is heard of Thomas Bryan's debts, but in 9th month 1700 the monthly meeting had received a letter from him "on which he desires of this meeting a certificate"

of clearness with regard to marriage, and adding almost offensively "or on refusall the reasons why it cannot be" [9.x.1700]. No reasons were found and a certificate was "signed to be sent him with a letter to be shown to friends concerned" [10.xii.1700]. The terms of the certificate or letter did not please him; he wrote again but "this meeting being satisfied in what they have all ready don; doe see no grounds to give another".

Thomas and Katharine Bryan had a brother Nathaniel who married Samuel Clothier's sister Hannah in 1694. In 1705, Nathaniel was "often at set drinkings and keeping loos company" [11.xii.1705], but gave forth a paper condemning himself and promising to reform [13.ii.1706]. He did not keep his promise [9.x.1706]; his disorderly conduct continued, and a Testimony was drawn up against him and read in Shepton Meeting. This did not apparently involve disownment, as his children continued to be recorded as Friends, and his son, Samuel Clothier Bryan, born in 1712, was a valuable and devoted minister. When S. C. Bryan moved to Glastonbury in 1772 or 3, Shepton Mallet meeting came to an end. He died 6.iii.1805 at the age of 93, and a blank page in the minute book was left for a testimony to his life and service, which was never copied in. The testimony was properly recorded by Quarterly Meeting.

Francis Hand, accused of "behaviour contrary to truth" in 1699 by Thomas Bryan, denied this "except his puting him in court" [11.vii.1699]. He and Samuel Clothier had [11.xii.1705], in their own keeping, certificates for meetings in their own dwelling houses; he had been in prison and had attended Quarterly meetings, and should have been a Friend in good standing. But 13.xi.1706, Samuel Clothier was ordered "to take some other friend with him & speak to Francis Hand concerning his conversason . . . for friends are jelous it's not well". Consequently, Francis attended the next monthly meeting [10.xii.1706], where "Edward Stower spake after this manner. . . . 'we are saff none of us no longer than wee keep to the infalibel guid, the spirit of truth', Whereon Francis Hand denied that infalibility, and persisted in a long confused self-contradictory discours, and after much baring with was desired to give the meeting satisfaction for his opposing such a fundamental scriptural truth." He was allowed until next meeting to satisfy Friends. It is odd that,

summoned to monthly meeting to answer various charges, he should take the opportunity to involve himself in theological argument.

In 1st month 1706/7, Samuel Clothier reported on the previous complaints; "some of what he hath been accused he denies, but as to his speaking you to a single person, and puting off his hat at a buriall to serve about wine and calling men master and sir, all which are repugnant to our profession, and this meeting is hearwith dissatisfied and advises that Francis Hann doe come and give friends farther satisfaction to the next meeting" [10.i.1706/7]. This request was repeated month by month as he did not appear, and he was sometimes from home when Friends wished to visit him. On 9.xii.1707 it was decided "that Thomas Hopkins doe writ some lines for him to set his hand too in condemnation." He refused to sign: "its now abreviated, and sent to him again" [15.i.1707/8]. The last reference to these matters was a note on 6th month 1708: "Remember Francis Hann's business his false judgment about infallability anwsered" [16.vi.1708]. If it was remembered or answered, there is no record: he remained a Friend [10.viii.1715].

Edward Blenman had been listed by Jasper Batt among "the first receivers of those that first Published the Gospel in Somerset" and by John Whiting as one of the first that "Received the Truth" here.[1] His later years were full of trouble. A long difference with his sons Edward and Thomas was settled by arbitration in 1701 [9.xii.1701]. He left Shepton Mallet and was living at Butleigh, apparently with Thomas, when it was reported to Quarterly Meeting that the latter had lost £193 by fire. The minute of 4th month 1705 [QM 21.iv.1705] reads: "In remembrance of the respect they have for Edward Blenman his father (now living) desire that a collection be made . . . William Reeves, Robert Banton and Philip Watts . . . to give advice to the said Tho Blenman how to manidge his affaires for the future and to furnish him with said monies as they shall think necessary." This was help in a very practical form. A sheet from the monthly meeting book is missing, with the record of meetings between 2nd and 8th month that year. In 9th month [12.ix.1705] Edward was asked to satisfy William Reeves to whom he owed money, and promised to pay Mary Young

[1] *First Publishers of Truth*, 1907, pp. 224, 227.

in one or two weeks. In 10th month, Edward and Thomas applied to Quarterly meeting [QM 10.x.1705] to extend the collection to Friends in Bristol, and Thomas Hopkins was appointed by monthly meeting to prepare the necessary "few lines" for Bristol [14.xi.1705]. At the same meeting it was reported that "Edward Blenman hath not yet satisfied Mary Young, but hath broke his promiss from time to time". She was allowed to "doe as she please" to collect her money. At the end of the next year he attended Monthly meeting for the last time. He had been asked to come, and gave "account that his tithes hath been paid by a neighbour for 2 years as supposed, they two having much concerns together; so that this meeting doe advise him to caution his neighbour to the contrary & show him his reall dislike and prevent it for the future" [10.xii.1706/7]. A sad old man, probably approaching his ninetieth year, in financial trouble, unable to maintain his testimonies as a Quaker, he died in 1709. Three years later his son Edward was insolvent.

With Edward Blenman's move to Butleigh, leadership in Shepton Mallet meeting seems to have passed to Samuel Clothier. Samuel held a licence in 1705 for meetings in his dwelling [11.xii.1705]. Ten years earlier he had been reported to monthly meeting for refusing to pay his mother £3 per annum [3.vii.1695]. In 1715 he was involved in a complicated dispute with other Friends; he was accused of having burnt two deeds [10.viii.1715]. Quarterly meeting arbitrated and Samuel Clothier accepted their award: but monthly meeting still wanted him to sign a paper condemning his action [15.viii.1716]. All they could get from him was two lines: "I Samuel Clothier do think that I have given full satisfaction in referring the difference to Friends" [12.ix.1716]. At the same meeting was produced "a lease for 2,000 years from Samuel Clothier to Friends for the Burying ground in Shepton Mallet". A burying ground for 2,000 years, in the view of the monthly meeting was no substitute for a signed paper of condemnation, so Quarterly meeting was asked for advice and appointed a committee [10.x.1716], "which committee would not let us have their answer in writeing, but were desirous we should drop it" [14.xi.1716]. They may have been wise: five years later he was "building a meeting house at Shepton at his own charge" [14.vi.1721]. It has sometimes been difficult to discipline our wealthier members.

BENJAMIN METFORD

The Metfords at Glastonbury produced one very inconvenient member, from whom the later generations of this family were descended. Benjamin Metford's marriage to Mary Lambert was reported in 1st month 1700 [11.i.1700]. In 5th month monthly meeting heard "that Benjamin Metford & his wife doth not agree, but hath quarled & fight" [15.v.1700]. They were asked to sign a paper "to clear truth" [12.vi.1700]. They refused. Eighteen months later, "there being a matter of difference betwixt Benjamin Metford and his mother in law Mary Lambert", they chose four Friends to arbitrate, "and doe agree to be bound in bond to stand to their award" [13.ii.1701/2]. When it was reported next month that the award had been made, but that he would not abide by it, John Banks and Samuel Clothier were appointed "to goe and speake with Benjamin from this meeting" [11.iii.1702]. They found him "stubborn and willfull" [15.iv.1702], and two more Friends were appointed to warn him that "according to the order of truth", Friends "will be constrained to testifie against him". In 7th month 1702 is the minute: "Agreed in Relation to the Case in difference betwixt Benjamin Metford and his mother in law that John Banks and Thomas Burnell goe to them and signifie the judgment and sence of friends therein" [14.vii.1702]. There is a blank space in the minutes of the next meeting, and Benjamin Metford disappears from Friends records until 1712, when he had a daughter Elizabeth. Perhaps the "judgment and sence" of Friends in 1702 had been to suspend his membership for ten years. The register of baptisms in the parish church of St. John the Baptist at Glastonbury includes the entry: "Joseph the son of Benjamin Metford was born May 25th 1704": "Born", not baptised: even when out of unity, Benjamin remained a Quaker. And re-united with Friends Benjamin remained Benjamin: there are a series of minutes in 1713 and 1714 about 20/– which he was accused of detaining. In 7th month 1714 was a further complaint "for useing much abusive language, and beating a mare, contrary to Truth which he makes profession of" [13.vii.1714]. He was told "that friends cannot have unity with him, unless he promise to amend his actions and leave of his abusive language" [15.ix.1714]. In reply "he saith he thinks he shall not do the like again" [13.x.1714]. The

sufferings of the mare were forgotten. He died in 1728 without any further miscarriage recorded against him. (In my own childhood, as my mother told me, a member of Street meeting was disowned for beating a horse. He thought this most unfair: the wealthy friends in the meeting, who were so hard with him, could afford to treat their horses kindly: he, a small farmer, had to make his animal work.)

FRIENDS' WRITINGS

The Second Day Morning meeting in London examined and considered the writings of Friends before publication was allowed: monthly and quarterly meetings were also involved in this censorship. George Keith's attacks on Quakerism increased the need for this procedure. John Mabson of Glastonbury was not a regular attender at meetings for church affairs but was the Friend asked "to draw the deed of Glastonbury meeting house on Stampt parchment" [9.xii.1701], and to copy into the minute book the Particulars (Advices) agreed at Quarterly meeting in 1st month 1697/8 [16.iii.1699]; for this last he was paid 2/– [12.iv.1699]. His writing was not always acceptable to Friends and in 12th month 1702, Monthly meeting received a letter from Quarterly meeting saying that John should: "deliver in all his papers that he hath wrote against Friends" [15.xii.1702]. Monthly meeting was unable to persuade him to do so, but in 4th month 1703, Quarterly meeting minuted: "person concerned hath delivered up all his papers into the hands of two friends, and they alsoe are to take up all other Papers of the like tendency . . . The said two friends to do therin as they in the wisdom of God shall think fitt" [QM 17.iv.1703].

The next year John Banks submitted to Quarterly meeting [QM 22.iv.1704] a manuscript of his travels, sufferings and exercises: in due course these were approved.[1]

Following an enquiry from Second Day Morning Meeting in 4th month 1704, Quarterly meeting appointed John Banks, John Mabson, Jonathan Tucker and Roger Jewell "to seek out records of faithful labour and travels not yet in print" [QM 22.i.1704/5]. This may have been a peculiar choice of Friends for the purpose. Quarterly meeting con-

[1] The printed edition of John Banks' *Journal* appeared in 1712, after his death.

sidered a testimony against John Mabson received from Monthly meeting, again for his writings, in 1st month 1707/8, and appointed friends "to heare what he hath to say and persuade him to submit himself to truth" [QM 18.i.1707/8]. Monthly meeting minutes omit any reference to this. John was not alone, as a minute of 4th month 1707 reads: "Whereas Jonathan Tucker hath brought a paper to this meeting which is reflicting on friends testimoneys & to advise him to desist such writings that is repugnant to Truth" [9.iv.1707]. In the margin is written: "to be burnt".

At this time a separatist movement was still causing trouble among Bristol and Wiltshire Friends which may indicate the tendency of John Mabson and Jonathan Tucker's writings.

Marriage "Out"

As the eighteenth century proceeded, an increasing proportion of disciplinary cases involving Monthly meeting concerned marrying out of unity with Friends. In 1704, John Burrow of Burnham "had made attempt to take a woman of the world to wife in that meeting", but Friends "stopt him in his proceedings haveing no unity therewith" [13.i.1704]. He was advised "to signifie to the woman before two witnesses, that he was too forward in conserning himself with her upon the account of marriage, being contrary to the truth he made profession of". He did nothing of the sort, and when visited after they had been married by the priest: "they find him in a dark hardy state not like to be in a sence of condemning his action" [11.x.1704]. John Banks was asked to write a testimony against him which was read in Burnham meeting.

Fifteen years later when Mary Moore was married by a priest, she gave "something under her hand for the clearing of Truth" [9.iii.1720] which Friends ordered to be read at the next monthly meeting at Mark, to which Burnham meeting had migrated. (This reference to a monthly meeting was to a periodical, probably circular, meeting for worship.) When "some further misstep" was reported, three women Friends were desired "to have some conference with her about it" [15.vi.1720]. Two men Friends "drew a paper which Mary Moore signed with her own hand, and it was read

in the last monthly meeting at Mark" [12.x.1720]. She remained in unity.

There were others who would give the meeting no satisfaction, who would sign no paper that was acceptable, or whose conduct was otherwise unQuakerly. With Prudence Wason, a girl of 16, daughter of Tamson who married John Tucker, it was "her too complicent deportment" [12.iii.1729]; Elizabeth (Gane) Rogers "doth not as yet manifest much sorrow" [13.viii.1729]; but others did satisfy the meeting and remained in unity.

That the question of disownment much exercised Friends is shown by a minute of 1739 [27.vii.1739], when an adjourned monthly meeting met at 8 in the morning of the Quarterly meeting at Minehead, only John Burrough and James Clothier being present. It reads: "Inasmuch as we are in the Practice of Disowning of persons (that have been in Unity with us) for going to the Priest to be married, & upon enquiry we find that others is not in the same practice, its therefore agreed to by this meeting to apply to the Quarterly meeting, about the same." Quarterly meeting made no reply. Two years later, Yearly meeting of 1741, with Samuel Bownas as clerk, defined Quaker practice on the lines I have outlined earlier in this paper. Quarterly meeting considered that the minute of Yearly meeting involved no change in practise [QM 14.i.1743]. The Monthly meeting occasionally ignored the rules.

After John Clark (1680–1758) had reported on his visit in 1745 to Ann Risdon, who had been married by the priest, the minute reads: "it is the mind of this meeting for severall reasons that the same shall be dropt" [13.xi.1745]. No paper was signed, but her brother [?] Abraham was the mainstay of Mark meeting.

In 1755 John Clark (1724–1793), son of the John who had visited Ann Risdon, married Jane Bryant in Greinton church. Jane was one of the three orphan children of Thomas Bryant, a neighbour and friend of the elder John, who were brought up in the Clark family at Greinton. An attachment grew up between the younger John and Jane, to which James Clothier (1687–1759) refers in a letter which has survived. He wrote: "loving Friend John Clark, I heard very lately by a certain friend the party was afraid that thou would go to the priest for a wife . . . Thou mayst prevent

it if thee will, and therefore I would have thee desert from proceeding any further with the giddy girl of Grenton at present, and waite, have patience, who knows that in time she may come to join the Friends . . . I hope thou have all along refused to pay Tythes or [the priest's] demands that way, and now to go or fly to him for a wife is a sort of contradiction . . . and remember thy dying sister's words and put them in practice, which was to be dutiful to thy Father . . . thy loving friend, James Clothier.

P.S. It may be thou may think some person or other have put me upon scribbling, but I can assure thee that thy Father nor yet any other person in the world hath said anything to me about it."

"John Clark's irregular marriage" was reported to Monthly meeting in 7th month 1755 [14.vii.1755], and his testimony "in which he condems his said act, & show a hearty repentance of the same", was received and accepted at the same meeting. He wrote: "That what I did was even then much contrary to my mind, & what I do now (so far as being married by a priest) sincerely Condeme . . ." He expresses no regret for marrying Jane—something she could have resented—but for going to the priest for the purpose. Within six years she was attending the women's monthly meeting [WM 13.iv.1761], and she and John were both appointed elders in 1787 [3.i.1787].

In 8th month 1755 it was reported that John Hackett (Junior) of Frome had been married by the priest [11.viii.1755]; his father was a leading member of Frome meeting. Following only a month after John Clark, John Hackett Jnr. was also treated with the greatest tenderness and sympathy, possibly undeserved. In 11th month he attended monthly meeting and expressed his sorrow, "but do hope that his conduct for the future will be such, as will be more satisfactory to Friends" [10.xi.1755]. The meeting suspended action "until Report be made, by some Friends of Froom meeting, of his future conducts". In 4th month 1756, "he not behaveing to the expectation he gave Friends", two Friends were asked to write to him "a few friendly & cautionary lines" [12.iv.1756]. In 10th month, John Budd and William Thatcher were desired "to be particularly Thoughtfull and Observing of the said John Hacketts conduct, and conversation, and make report to

our next meeting" [11.x.1756]. No report was made for six months; then his "Conduct and Behaviour of late seems more orderly . . . so that affair is dropt for the present" [11.iv.1757]. Frome meeting was already weak. William Thatcher became insolvent in 1762; the John Hacketts, both father and son, died in 1764. Friends appointed to visit Frome in 1767 reported that the meeting "is nearly dropt scrace [!] any Friends there to atend the same" [7.xii.1767]. The meeting house needed repair, which was authorized.

The Clothier Family

From the earliest days of Friends in Somerset, there had been Clothiers at Shepton Mallet, Street and Lydford meetings, probably unrelated. The Street family, who have up to the present day given service to the meeting for more than three centuries, had a series of difficulties with Friends, but were always able to retain or regain their membership. In 1740 [10.xii.1740], John Clark read a testimony in Glaston meeting against William Clothier, who had been married by the priest and had acted "greatly to the reproach of Friends". It was his third marriage. Nearly 20 years later [12.ii.1759] he returned to Street from Philadelphia where he had been living, and made an acknowledgment of his disorderly conduct "in a manner that seem to demonstrate a sincere Repentance with a desire of being Reunited" [12.xi.1759]. Assurances having been received from America "that as far as they know his life and conduct was orderly and agreable to Friends and truth whilst among them"; he was re-admitted, and certificates were forwarded to Philadelphia for which he had left with his younger children. The firm of Strawbridge and Clothier in that city was established by his descendants.

William Clothier left behind him a daughter by his first marriage, Love, who had already been helped by Friends' charity for the seven years since she was 21 [13.i.1752]. I find it a little surprising that a young woman could not support herself, and that her family left it to charity to support her. Sometimes it was her Uncle James Clothier who passed on to her money received from Quarterly meeting for "our poor objects" [15.vii.1754]. When she was 37 she was married by the priest [14.xi.1768]; she acknowledged that "she had

acted contrary to the rules of our Society" [13.iii.1769], but hoped that her "future conduct will be such as is agreable to truth". Her letter: "no Friend making any objection to the same, [it] is by this meeting accepted." She received no further help from Friends' charity, and died a Friend in 1771.

The affair of James Clothier (1730–1801) son of James last referred to, was very much more serious (15.viii.1774). He had lost his second wife, when in 8th month 1774, he had "by his own confession contracted too great an intimacy with, & seduced his late servant & is since married to her by the priest which seductions is greatly to the scandal of the Christian name as also the whole of his conduct in this affaire being contrary to the Rules Established amongst us".

At the next meeting [12.ix.1774] a paper was received from him "condemning his late conduct but it being without date and not to the satisfaction of this meeting the same is returned". William Hucker was appointed "in the room of James Clothier as an Elder or overseer of this meeting". A month later [17.x.1774] a second paper was not accepted in full satisfaction, although "this meeting believe he is in som measure sincere". William Hucker reported in 11th month [14.xi.1774] that "Friends appointed have treated with James Clothier and he have sent here another paper of Condemnation for which his late conduct which with a lietle alteration is accepted". James Clothier read the paper himself "at the close of a meeting of worship at Glaston, the same being to the sattisfaction of Friends" [12.xii.1774].

Within two years [10.xi.1776] James Clothier was again attending Monthly meeting. His wife was admitted to membership 12 years after their marriage [6.xii.1786], and four of their children three years later [4.xi.1789], following a minute from Quarterly meeting asking meetings to "enquire into the State of Friends children who have been maried out of our Society".

In 1804, Martha, one of James Clothier's children, was disowned; she "has suffered herself to be seduced" by William Gillett, a widower, a leading Yeovil Friend, who was also disowned [2.v.1804]. She was re-admitted 10 years later, satisfactory particulars having been received from Friends in Bristol where they were living [6.iv.1814]. He had to wait another six years for re-admission, but became a

regular attender at Monthly meetings after they moved to Street [3.v.1820].

Arthur, a younger son of James Clothier, was disowned 6.v.1812 for marrying out, and re-admitted three years later. His wife and three children were admitted in 1818. Arthur Clothier was very active in the meeting, and was one of those instrumental in building the present meeting house at Street in 1850.

The records show that James Clothier in 1774 was the last member of the Monthly meeting for many years who married out and was not disowned. The earlier belief that such a marriage was a sin that God alone could forgive, but for which sincere and unfeigned repentance and a public testimony to clear truth, could be accepted by Friends, was changing. It came to be accepted that marrying out was a breach of the rules for which disownment was the penalty. In the minute of 1774, it was seduction that "is greatly to the scandal of the Christian name": both this and marriage by the priest, were "contrary to the rules Established among us". But the rules had not been applied too rigidly. Members of the Monthly meeting were often neighbours, sometimes closely related, and their virtues and failings must have been well-known to each other. Consequently the esteem with which the offending member was regarded, his value to the Society, the depth of his interest in it, and the particular needs of his meeting, can all have influenced the decision of Friends. Factors which were never reflected in the minutes were the character and feelings of the other party to the marriage, the man or woman of the world. Altogether about 60 Friends in the Monthly meeting were accused, between 1691 and 1774 of going to the priest for a wife, or worse.

Drunkenness

Drunkenness was occasionally a cause of complaint against a Friend, but there was often hope of reform. "Deborah Nichols being at Clark's Ale its reported she was overgon with liquor to be spoken to by Philip Watts." That was in 1707 [9.iv.1707]: no further action was recorded.

George Ham of Glastonbury in 1722 "hath run out into a disorderly behavior, & loose conversation often drinking to excess, & then behaveing himselfe very foolish & un-

becoming", and was disowned and denied "to be one of us while he continued in so doing" [4.xi.1722]. Robert Champion in 1729, "hopes for the future to be more orderly" [10.i.1729].

In 1738, Thomas Clark, uncle of the John who later married Jane Bryant, was accused of intemperance [18.v.1738], and when he could be persuaded to attend Monthly meeting, was "advised and admonished, to take care to avoid keeping bad company, & excess in drinking" [12.vii.1738]. A testimony was drawn up against him, but not read; his brother John explained a year later "because of late he seem to behave more orderly" [15.viii.1739]. The improvement, if it existed in any eyes but those of his brother, did not last; eventually, nearly two years after the first complaint, John Hackett and James Clothier were appointed to read the testimony in Greinton meeting [9.iv.1740]. There is no record that they did so.

In 1794, after six years intermittent visiting and support from the charity, women Friends reported having visited Eleanor Gillett a widow at Glastonbury, "on account of her having of late again fallen into excess drinking and that their visits have been unsatisfactory" [4.vi.1794]. A joint visit with men Friends was equally unsatisfactory, and she was disowned [6.viii.1794]. Twenty-five years later she was re-united with Friends.

Altogether, in more than 100 years, only four members, including Nathaniel Bryant, were testified against for excess in drinking. One or two others were guilty of undefined disorderly conduct.

Tithes

Friends' testimony against payment of tithes was a most inconvenient burden laid particularly heavily on those who were farmers. When imprisonment for non-payment ceased, the seizure of goods or crops usually resulted in the cost of sale and other charges being added to the legal demand from the rector. In 1697 John Banks and Abraham Gundry were ordered to go and visit four Butleigh Friends "who make a profession of Truth, but walke contrary thereunto in not bareing their testimoney against payment of tythes" [10.x.1697]. They made various excuses and failed to appear at the next monthly meeting as desired. Possibly as a result of their unfaithfulness, "This meeting desires

Butleigh friends to joyne them selves with Street meeting for worship" [8.iii.1698]. They seem to have begun to regard themselves as a separate meeting [8.ix.1695]. It may be remembered that Edward Blenman was living at Butleigh in 1705, when he too was unfaithful regarding tithes.

Bruton meeting was never strong; Philip Allen was one of its older members, appointed overseer in 1695. In 1704 [10.v.1704] he admitted paying tithes, but, "so far from condemning his action therein, that he rather pleads for the payment of it . . . friends . . . are grieved that a man of his age both as to yeares and profesion of the Truth, should let fall his Testimoney against that great oppression of tythes . . . if he doe not condemn his action herein friends will be constrained to testifie against him." When visited again, he "seemed concerned for what he had don and hoped should have strength to withstand it for time to come" [14.vi.1704].

In 1761, six Friends "appointed by the yearly meeting to visit the Monthly and Quarterly meetings were present here and there Company and seasonable advices have been well accepted" [17.xi.1761]. "As there apear some unfaithfulness in the Testimony against the paying Tythes and those called church Rates it is left to next Meeting to appoint some Friends to treat with those that are remiss therein." The misconduct of some members and the visiting of families were also left to the next meeting but were not then dealt with, "the minutes of last meeting being misled" [8.iii.1762]. It was later reported that those unfaithful regarding the payment of tithes and Friends of Glaston in relation to misconduct had been admonished, but "as to visiting of Familys, we find none that is willing to undertake that service".

It appeared in 1796 that as William Moxham "dos not stand clear in oure Testimony against an Higherling Ministry it appears right unto us not to apply to him as usual for collections" [1.vi.1796]. Four years later the meeting was informed that he now declines the payment of tithes and all similar demands, and "this meeting is of the opinion his collection may be again accepted" [4.vi.1800]. This case of moral pressure may not have been as successful as Friends were informed. We have a volume of Sufferings, recording distraints on Friends for non-payment of tithes during this

period, where William Moxham's name does not appear. The tender treatment he received may have been influenced by other factors. In the *Universal Directory* for 1792, Glastonbury Friends are described as shopkeepers, stocking makers, a baker and a carpenter; William Moxham alone of the meeting was a gentleman, he was also an old man.

When Jonathan P. Newman was disowned in 1805, his payment of tithes and absence from meetings were mentioned [6.iii.1805, 1.v.1805]. He had in fact no interest in remaining a Friend; quite to the contrary: once freed from his Quakerism he was able to become mayor of Glastonbury.

The record of Sufferings shows the contrasting burden on tradesmen and farmers. William Metford, a shopkeeper, was liable in 1801 for a Wardens Rate of 6s. 3d. with 10s. charge for collection; an Elm Tree, valued at 23s. was taken, and 9d. returned. In the same year James Clothier was liable for £21 11s. 6d. with 10s. charges: they took 16 sheep valued at £24, and returned nothing. Some farmers' names appear year after year; manufacturers were occasionally assessed for the Militia or Navy. The largest single seizure in the book was from James and Samuel Salter, sailcloth makers of Odcombe, who lost in 1808 sundry pieces of cloth valued at £108 17s. 4½d. to meet a claim for £74 13s. 6d. The goods were sold under value and only £16 2s. 4d. was returned.

Insolvency

When a Friend was insolvent, true repentance and practical steps to help the creditors were demanded by the meeting. One of the overseers appointed for Lydford meeting in 1695, was Thomas Cooling of Babcary. In 1st month 1710/11 [12.i.1710/11] Monthly meeting heard that he "hath run himself into debt far beyond (as tis said) what he is able to pay". Joseph Moore, appointed to tell him that "Friends expect he should give forth a Testimony against his so running into debt", failed to find Thomas, whose wife said that "he hath undone her and her sisters" [9.v.1711]. In 10th month "by what he saith, [he] hath been much abused by some of his creditors", but hoped to make up his accounts and satisfy them. In 2nd month 1712 the "death of his Wife and two Sisters delayed his coming to Glaston" [14.ii.1712]. "We have a further account that he's

gone over Sea." More than a year later a letter was received from him and with the reply a testimony against him was enclosed [11.iii.1713].

I have already referred to the insolvency of Edward Blenman Junior in 1712. Friends' advice to him was "that he doe speedily offer up all that he hath to his Creditors" [15.vii.1712]. They would not accept it. He was again "advised to satisfie his Creditors to the utmost of his ability by offering up all that he hath (if it can not be done within), and not to give occasion to Friends to give forth a publick Testimony against him" [15.x.1712]. Samuel Clothier gave account in 12th month "that he hath spoken to Edward Blenman and he signifies that he hath offered up all to his Creditors, and some have accepted it and others will not" [9.xii.1712]. There is no further record of the matter.

In 1736 Robert Gundry and Mary Stower of Street were in financial difficulties and Monthly meeting received a letter wherein Robert condemned his proceedings. He was advised that he "ought if possible to make some reinbursement to his creditors out of the wages which he may receive, which will be certain proof that what he writes is real" [3.iii.1737]. He found it difficult "to comit any mony as yett", and he and Mary Stower were informed "that if they can not see freedom publickly to disown their wrong steps, this meeting will find themselves under obligation to do it, and that if Robert will comitt something to his poor creditors, this meeting will supply him so far in case he should have the small pox, if need require" [12.vii.1737]. Without explanation, the next reference is: "The case of Mary Stower and Robert Gundry is dropt" [14.ix.1737].

When William Thatcher of Frome became insolvent in 1762, "he seemed inclinable to take Friends Advice in delivering up his all to his Credittors and if that won't do his Body also" [9.viii.1762]. The last phrase means, I suppose, that he would work for them, or at least contribute from any wages he might earn. At a later meeting, "finding no tokens of sorrow or repentance for his outgoings" [4.x.1762], he was disowned. At this time there was clearly no rule that insolvency must necessarily be followed by disownment.

In 1783 the four meetings from the Southern Division which was then too weak for separate existence as a Monthly

meeting, were added to the Middle Division. Street, Glastonbury and Greinton made a compact area where interrelated families of quite well-to-do Friends were strengthened by mutual support. The four meetings added included some valuable and active Friends, Isaacs, Palmers, Gilletts, Salters, but were straggling and struggling often unsuccessfully, bringing a great variety of problems with them. Friends were too scattered for some younger members to form attachments for other members of the society: this particularly applied in families less comfortably circumstanced. Fifteen members were disowned by the monthly meeting between 1783 and the end of the century; 10 had married out; one misconducted himself with his father's woman servant; two had no interest in the Society and did not intend to come to meetings again; Eleanor Gillett drank to excess, and Samuel Rowsell was simply said to be disorderly. Of these fifteen, thirteen were from the Southern Division meetings, and only two from the Middle Division. Four were re-admitted eventually.

In 1804 Somerton and Long Sutton Friends asked for men and women to meet together for Preparative Meetings, a sure sign of weakness [12.vi.1804], and in 1805 Puddimore meeting house, being dilapidated, was sold.

Women Friends

The monthly meeting for women met usually at the same place and on the same day as that for men. The range of their work as recorded in their minute book for 1761 to 1793 does not support the view that women and men had an equal status in the Society of Friends, except perhaps in purely spiritual matters. God's guidance was sought by men in their meetings for church affairs in many matters affecting property, charitable funds and their distribution, membership, discipline, and the wider interests of the Society. His guidance for women was looked for in a more restricted field. Both the men and women considered and answered the Queries: women also inquired into the clearness from other ties of women Friends intending marriage to a Friend, visited those walking disorderly or contemplating doing so, and reported thereon to their Men Friends for them to take action. As to charity, in 1792 for instance, the men brought from Quarterly meeting £30 in 1st month and £20

in 7th month for distribution to those once called "our poor objects". The women distributed about 20s. every three months, which they had brought with them to be collected at their meetings.

By a men's minute of 10.xii.1706, four Friends were appointed "to advise the women friends to be carefull in distributing their charity from the meeting to such as walk deserving". Men's guidance as well as God's was available for the women.

After 1783 problems arising from the Southern Division occasionally gave women Friends some visits to arrange and report; otherwise I suspect that after a time for prayer and for answering the queries, they were able to prepare food for their men.

A touching note appears in a minute of 1785: "The epistle from our Womon friends of America and likewise from London was read at this meeting which being the first of the kind we have had rather cheerd some druping spirits that was almost ready to faint for want of bread" [WM 7.vi.1785].

Conclusion

I have found the study of these records most rewarding. We shall never know what was decided about Katharine Bryan and Lydia Nichols, nor why the matter of Mary Stower and Robert Gundry was dropped. What appears from the minutes is that a devoted and determined body of concerned men and women, often at fault themselves, and to modern ideas sometimes very narrow minded, kept Quakerism alive and vigorous in Mid-Somerset. If they and others like them had not maintained their testimonies, inconvenient and restricting as they were, the probability is that what was good in the Society of Friends could have disappeared with what was distinctive. These men and women preserved the Society as a foundation for later Friends to build on. What was the Quakerism that they practised?

That active minister Thomas Clark (1759–1850) in his later years wrote a brief autobiography[1] in which he describes his life and spiritual growth. When an apprentice he was

[1] Thomas Clark's autobiography was copied into an exercise book by my grandmother Mary (Clark) Morland. I do not know whether other copies have survived.

present at a crowded yearly meeting in about the year 1775, at Bristol, attended by persons of different creeds: the meeting was very unsettled. "Then Samuel Spavel [Spavold] stood up and said: 'I must leave disputable points of Doctrine to those who have capacity to handle them to Edification. I feel nothing but Love, and my desire is, that all my Fellow Creatures of every Creed, and what ever their Religious Notions may be, that all may be delivered from the Wrath to come and out of the Stronghold of the Adversary, and this cannot be unless we come to Christ . . . .' This and much more brought the meeting into a state of Solemn stillness not soon forgot."

He admits his parsimony, for which he is still remembered. I will finish with one further quotation from his writing: "Religious minds sustain great loss when wholly depending on immediate supplies of Spiritual aid as saith the Prophet, 'My people have committed two Evils they have forsaken me, the Fountain of living waters, and hewed themselves out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water'."

STEPHEN C. MORLAND

Clerkenwell in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Quaker Attitudes in Education

(Address to the Friends' Historical Society, London, November 6, 1970)

Notes on Sources

IN dealing with the early history of Quaker education—before the eighteenth century—I have relied largely on Dorothy G. B. Hubbard's unpublished London M.A. thesis, entitled "Early Quaker Education". This, completed in 1939, is a most valuable piece of research: it seems a great pity that it remains unpublished.

The Saffron Walden Friends' School archives include a complete set of Committee minutes from 1701 to the present day, and a nearly complete set of rough minutes. The eighteenth century is covered by 12 volumes of "fair" minutes, closely written by hand and not always very easy to read. In addition, there is a unique manuscript, the personal memorandum book kept by the fifth Steward, Richard Hutton, and usually referred to as "Richard Hutton's Complaints Book"; also a large number of ledgers, cash books, etc., from 1701; the first printed account of the Institution, 1746; and the first printed *Rules* 1780. Extracts from these *Rules* are given towards the end of this paper.

The first printed statement, *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the School and Workhouse Maintain'd by the People called Quakers, at Clerkenwell, London*, is an appeal for money. The copy at Saffron Walden School is in its original dust cover and gives no printer's name. A young Old Scholar a few years ago succeeded in tracing through the minutes the entire history of this pamphlet from the time when the idea of its publication was first put to the Committee by Timothy Bevan early in 1745, through many meetings when the matter was "continued" to the decision, almost two years later, to have 1000 copies printed, and the final minute of 2.xii.1746.

> "T. Bevan reports 1000 of the State and Acc[t] of this House have been printed and mostly delivered to the members of the six Monthly Meetings. The charge of which by Railton and Hind is £2.17.0."

In London the Quarterly Meeting included the following monthly meetings:

Devonshire House, Gracechurch Street, Peel, Ratcliffe, Southwark, and Westminster.

The Six Weeks Meeting at the beginning of the eighteenth century included representatives for each of the six monthly meetings. It was regarded as "the prime meeting of the City" (G. Fox) and had extensive powers.

The Chamber where alternate meetings of the Workhouse Committee were held, was at the Meeting House at Gracechurch Street—which piece of information George Edwards supplied to me when I began to read the minute books.

When Samuel Tuke addressed the Friends' Educational Society at its meeting at Ackworth in 1838 on the subject of the early days of Quaker education, he gave a warning which it is perhaps well to repeat:

> "Whilst not hopeless of arriving at some sound and valuable inferences, from the facts which come before us, it greatly behoves us to be patient in the investigation of them and slow to arrive at dogmatic conclusions."
> (Education in the Society of Friends. Samuel Tuke, 1871.)

Education at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century

We have now reached the centenary of W. E. Forster's great Education Act of 1870. Perhaps we should remind ourselves that there were probably fewer illiterate people in the eighteenth century than in the years immediately preceding that Act. In the latter part of the seventeenth century private benevolence was active, especially in the towns. By 1704 there were 54 charity schools in London and Westminster alone, containing over 2,000 children.[1]

The old established grammar schools were mainly concerned with the classics and some were in a poor state. In contrast, the nonconformist Academies were flourishing: they offered such subjects as mathematics, modern languages, history, geography, logic and even navigation and commercial subjects. The high standards and the liberal education in the best of these did much to compensate dissenters for their exclusion from the universities.

Nonconformist teachers were liable to prosecution. Those who wished to avoid this had to compromise and declare their conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England. From time to time, Friends, and others, were imprisoned, but persecution of Friends ceased soon after a legal judgement in the case of John Owen, 1718.[2] Dorothy Hubbard lists 60 prosecutions of Quakers for teaching: the first in 1664, the last in 1728. These include two names I shall mention later:

[1] Sir Charles Mallet in *Johnson's England*, ed. A. S. Turberville, 1933, ii.211.

[2] D. G. B. Hubbard, "Early Quaker Education", London M.A. thesis, 1939 (typescript copy in Friends House Library), p. 148.

EDWARD POWELL, who was charged together with Richard Claridge in 1707 in London; and
JOSIAH FORSTER, at Darlington in 1717.

Clearly there were many who taught without such interference from the law: probably much depended on the area in which they lived and the attitude of the local church authorities.

FRIENDS AND EDUCATION IN THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE SOCIETY

From the beginning the Society attracted a number of people who were very well educated, and of liberal outlook. Neither they, nor George Fox, condemned outward learning as such, but they saw clearly that it must not, in itself, be regarded as constituting a spiritual authority.

Barclay wrote in his *Apology* (Proposition X, §19):

> We judge it necessary and commendable there be publick schools for the teaching and instructing youths, as are inclinable thereto in the languages . . . . But this knowledge can no ways make up the want of the Spirit in the most learned and eloquent.

George Whitehead, in 1691, wrote:

> Divine Learning in Christs' School, we have ever preferred and loved . . . . Human Learning, in its place, we have not denied but owned.

The Committee appointed by Yearly Meeting in 1759 to consider education looked back on this early period and wrote:

> The best things are liable to great abuses: But there is no Fault in the things themselves. Isaac Penington, Robert Barclay and William Penn had very liberal education. Many others might likewise be mentioned: indeed there were so many persons possessed of great Talents and great Learning earlily convinced that nothing of this kind was wanting among them.
>
> Human learning was by them very justly condemned, while it was so commonly and unjustly esteemed as essentially necessary to a Gospel Minister. They endeavoured to distroy this False notion: and clearly demonstrated that the most excellent human qualifications availed nothing to Spiritual Worship; nevertheless it seems not to have been their intention to discourage an application to human literature or to set aside the advantages resulting from it in civil life. (Entered in Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings 20.vi.1760.)

In the first fifty years of the Society individual friends set up both day and boarding schools: at least fifteen such boarding schools are known to have existed in 1671. In 1674 the Six Weeks Meeting established a day school in Devonshire House: this is noteworthy as being a Meeting concern. They sought a teacher "skilled in Latin, Writeing and Arithmatick." The next year some Friends were considering the possibility of publishing "suitable" teaching material. The developing idea of a "guarded education" is clearly stated in the Yearly Meeting of 1690:

> And yt friends may be carefull of Friends Children to provide Schoolmasters & Mistresses that are Friends (Where they are Capable) & not to send Them to the World's Schools to corrupt them by learning Heathen Authors and the Names of their Gods, But to take care that they may Train them up in the Language of Truth, and ye plainness which becomes the Truth.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was widespread interest in the Society in the subject of education, and deep concern for the welfare of its young people. Education was an important topic at every Yearly Meeting. At one time or another schools were carried on *in* nearly all the London meeting houses, and some of these were not confined to Friends' children.[1]

On the whole Friends were prosperous, though they were still liable to heavy financial losses through their refusal to pay tithes and church rates. Such Friends were likely to appreciate schools such as that at Tottenham where Greek, Latin and French were taught, with mathematics (not just arithmetic), geography and merchants' accounts. But the practical uses of education were not to be confined to the children of prosperous Friends. In 1695 it was advised in the Yearly Meeting Epistle that "'Poor Friends' Children may freely partake of such Education, in order to Apprenticeship" and in 1696 Yearly Meeting suggested that poor children should be educated to become teachers.

This was the climate of thinking into which John Bellers introduced his proposals.

John Bellers

John Bellers, a well-educated, well-known philanthropist and student of social conditions, was troubled by the

[1] W. Beck and T. F. Ball, *London Friends' Meetings*, 1869, p. 360.

problems of his age—then, as now, including the care of the aged, the poor, the children, and the unemployed. He hoped to establish all over England colonies of about 500 people, old and young, where all could work and live to the advantage of all. In 1695 he published an appeal to benevolent people in his pamphlet *Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a good Education for Youth.*

A response to this scheme came from London Quarterly Meeting which evidently had a number of poor Friends, about 178 aged poor and 53 children needing help. An appeal for £2,000 was made. Nearly all this amount was raised and "an extriordinary convenient hous at Clerkinwell" was leased. A Committee of thirty Friends was appointed, five from each of the six monthly meetings, and rules were made to "Methodise the Committee".

e.g. That all debates be desided by the majority and the Chairman put the question both for and against: if an equality of hands the Chairman to give it as hee please.

The building had been a Workhouse, and the name continued. The first inmates arrived at the end of 5th month 1702. The Institution, out of which the present school at Saffron Walden was to grow, had begun.

Clerkenwell—The Early Days

The building—of which a plan remains—was a large two-storey brick building joining three sides of a square. The fourth side of the square was occupied by a prison. There were forty-six rooms, the largest being 85 ft. by 20 ft. This was eventually used for the boys dormitory.

Who were the first occupants? Some "ancient Friends" and a few children. It is difficult to make a correct assessment of the exact numbers at first. The first Minute Book records the names of those from the six Monthly Meetings "to come into this Workhouse" but the Admissions Register records only two of the seven from "Horslydown" and three of the seven from "Ratclif". J. B. Crosfield in his short account of the School, written in 1902, quotes (p. 9) the names of five boys and one girl, but only three of the boys' names appear, and not that of the girl. The Register records two

girls as entering in 1704, but as nine names were added in 1746, as having been previously omitted, it cannot be regarded as entirely reliable.

What is probably the earliest list of "ancient Friends", gives thirty-five names and the ages of twenty-two of them. Of these ten were aged between 70 and 80, and three were over 80.

Some examples:

THOMAS PRIEST, from Devonshire House, "winds silk", admitted 1702, died 1721.

WILLIAM ELKINGTON, an old man, expelled after about a month on account of his bad behaviour, but given 5s. because he was poor.

PHILIP NIBLETT, aged 79 from the Bull, admitted in 1703 and died in 1709, whose occupation in the House was stated as "dos something".

ELIZABETH HOBDAY, aged 85 on admission from Devonshire House, picked oakum, and lived 4 more years.

MARY ENWOOD, only 47, "washes and gets up the clothes".

Some of the women were as troublesome as some of the men: 7.x.1702 "Severall Complaints Being made against Bennett Hall, She was Called up Before the Committee and Reprehended by them, and Discharged from attending on the Boys for the future, (Excepting washing their Linen) & is to pick oakam or do such other work as Geo. Barr shall put her to." She was 75! Before the same month was out there was another Minute about her using "awfull language" and Daniel Quare, the famous clockmaker, was desired to speak to her about her work and language.

And the children? There was:

GEORGE GORDON, whose misbehaviour is quoted at length in David Bolam's book *Unbroken Community* (pp. 22–23).

SAMUEL THORNTON, who suffered from "the crookedness of his body" and Rachael Armstrong took him into her home to try to cure him.

H. CROFT, who had a "hair-lip". His parents requested that "Our surgeon Daniell Phillips Dose the Best he can to Cure him."

16.vi.1703 A minute states clearly, "there being no girles come in as yet, the Committee thinks it proper the suspending the Girles coming In till another or two offer".

4.x.1704 The Committee "finding convenient Room in this house" invited applications for "girls about 8 years of age and sound of health". Two were admitted soon after this. According to the Admissions Register the two sisters died after a few years; Joanna Macklin in 1711 and Elizabeth Macklin in 1712. So presumably both were there in 1707 when a Report to the Quarterly Meeting (1.xi.1707) stated: "There are about 34 aged people and 16 boys and one Girle who are all carefully looked after and ye Children have a suitable Education."

THE STEWARD was at the head of this strange family, or Institution. He and his wife had under them a maid, a cook (who left fairly frequently): in 17.v.1707 after a month without, "a poor inmate Ann Brayley", aged about 50, offered her services and was accepted: and a "hostler" who was expected to "keep the boys in order" as well as to look after the stables where visiting Friends found accommodation for their horses.

The steward bought the provisions, sometimes helped by a Committee Friend, and carefully noted his expenditure in the Cash Book.

Examples from 1702:

2 legges of Mutton		5s 6d.
16 stone of Pork		£1 10s 8d.
Bringing of it home		3d.
Eggs.	2 women very sick	3d.
Ale.	2 sick women & Ea. Cook(80)	1½d.

He bought the materials needed for the industrial work of the inmates: wool and cotton for spinning, silk to wind, materials for making "mopps". The steward also arranged for the sale of the products. He did the bookkeeping. He coped with those who needed special care and attention. He reported the worst cases of grumbling, or misbehaviour to the Committee—and they had many such to deal with. He helped the new arrivals.

In 1708 Peter Bayle (or Bayley), a Frenchman, was presented for admission by Six Weeks Meeting "to be here intertained if thought best". The Committee agreed to accept him "at 3d. per week with necessarys while capable to doe sum thing towards his support" (14.iv.1708). He spoke no English, and four months later had to have an interpreter when he went to the Committee to ask if he might be "bourded

out where he may have Conversation in his own language". He stayed in the institution till he died.

And there were orphans such as "John Rogers a poor boy and Fatherlesse, of about 12 years of age" admitted in 1708, and Scipio Africanus, a "black boy" in 1728. He had come into the care of a Friend.

It is clear that non-Friends were admitted. Was the Frenchman a Friend? It seems unlikely. A minute notes that a Friend seeks admission for "a poor boy who has come into his care"; another refers to "Two taken in on security, not Friends' children."

It was not until 1738 that a ruling was made.

5.iv.1738 The Minute relating to taking in Children into this House whose Parents are not Friends being now considered, it is the opinion of this Committee that Children so Circumstanced should not be admitted into this House.

But this was followed:

31.v.1738 On reading the Minute of last Committee day relating to children being taken into the House, whose Parents are not Friends, it is agreed the following words be added thereto. Viz. Except such Child or Children, being destitute of Parents, and are related to a Friend in our Society, and falls to his lot to maintain.

Is it surprising that there were five Stewards in the first ten years?

GEORGE BARR, 1702–1704: was discharged, no reason being minuted.

JOHN POWELL, 1704–1709: died.

JOHN DAVIES, 1709. Resigned almost immediately, "his Wife is preposesed against ye Workhouse yt shee is not comply with his settling their".

SAMUEL TRAFFORD, 1709–1711: could not cope with the accounts and "misappropriated" some money. Then, after his dismissal,

RICHARD HUTTON was appointed and continued until his death in 1737. It is his "Complaints Book" which throws so much light on the day to day life of the Institution: the problems of the Steward, and his relations with the Committee.

By 1710 the Committee had had to ask themselves some searching questions both about the aims of the place and the finances. Their report at the Chamber 28.x.1710 is most

revealing. There were thirty-four ancient people in the home, some so weak and helpless that "they are constantly kepe in their chambers & divers others are continuelly imployed to tend them". Their earnings averaged less than a penny a week. "Therefore we conceve . . . it will be for all ye Monthly Meetings to remove ye Antiant peoples from thence or allow ye Home suffishant to mentaine them. And to continew ye workhouse only for Boys and girles which would be of great benifit to pore freinds children for it both kepes them out of idlenese . . . and also thay have an opportunity of suteable iducation and larning fitting ye Boys for trades and ye girls for servants." Then, having given this opinion, the Committee seems to have had second thoughts and the minute concludes: "yet when we behold and seriously consider how well they [the Ancient Friends] lived and what a comfortable provision is made for them . . . we thought fit to signifie it to be our Judgment that if freinds are desierus to have an Hospitall to maintaine their aged yt. are reduced to poverty they must be content to pay for their maintanance."

So the charges went up and the Old People's Home continued.

What about the School? Little has been said so far about education. Can we now trace how much teaching there was, and to what effect? When were the first teachers appointed and what did they teach to the boys who were to be fitted for trades and the girls for servants?

It is not easy to trace exactly the facts about the appointment of teachers in the early days. Some minutes are very brief, others are retrospective. Sometimes a matter is left without a concluding minute, and one is left to assume that the instruction in the previous minute was, in fact, carried out.

> A minute of 15.xi.1702, "Order'd it be Proposed to Each monthly Meeting that if they have any Poor Children capable to work the Committee will take them In, the Meeting paying 12d. a week for each . . . and the Committee intends to Provide a Schoolmaster to teach them Reading, Writing and Arithmetic."

A year later they were still looking for one:

> Minute 14.xii.1703, "This Meeting doth unanimously agree that Inquiry be made for an able Schoolmaster both for Writing, accounts, and also for Latin etc to keep a schoole in a Parte of the Workhouse distinkt from the Poor."

Richard Claridge (1649–1723) was at this time keeping school at Barking, and he was asked to help. But by 8.iii.1704 the Committee was still minuting, each month, "a reminder to be given to R. Claridge about getting a Schoolmaster."

Towards the end of 1705 some Friends appointed "to give an accou^t^ next Quarterly Meeting of ye boys progress in larning" were able to report: "in their instruction in reading and writing . . . we have A very good account."

On 4.ix.1706 two Friends were appointed to examine the boys each month and to report on their "progress in Writing and reading".

I can find no minute of appointment for the first schoolmaster, but in 1707 the examining Friends were asked to report what Edward Powell "should have for his Care for the time past and what for a year to come". They decided "he deserves 4s. a week, and seven pounds for the time that is past", and shortly afterwards it was agreed that "He is to be paid at £8 for one year and to attend three times a week two hours at a time."

In the same year comes the first reference to a Schoolmistress. 11.vi.1707: "having a Mistress com into this home who is capable to teach Scoole . . and one Girle being com into this home, the Committee desirs that ye monthly meetings may be acquainted therewith that they may send more as they see Acasion."

In 4th Month 1710 the Ratcliffe Friends appointed as visitors for the month were "desiered to mind ye Boyes are better instructed in their writing". Later in the year three boys, ready for apprenticeship, one about 16 years of age, the others about 14, were described as "all prity well grone lads and writs prity well".

But Edward Powell's teaching seems no longer to have been quite satisfactory. A minute of 25.x.1710 reads: "The Bull freinds to visset ye house and to speke to Edw. Powell yt. ye boys be beter looked after, they declineing in their writing and very small progress in their arethmetick." Edward Powell was the son of the former steward, John Powell, who had died in 1709. He had been prosecuted for teaching in 1707, together with Richard Claridge (see Hubbard, p. 138). After his father's death he was much occupied in settling his affairs and may have found difficulty in continuing with this part-time appointment at the

Workhouse. So the Committee settled their accounts with him, paying him £17 for "1 yeare ¾ Teaching ye Boys" and he "offered for ye futer to send Two persons twise a week and 1 person once a week instid of sending on person 4 times a week as heretofore".

But in 1712 it is recorded that Edward Powell is no longer a teacher and a new one has been found.

This was William Hill, who was asked in addition to teaching to attend committee meetings to write the minutes "he having promised fidelity ann Secrecy in yt. Trust." I can find no record of his leaving his post, but in 1719 the appointment of Josiah Foster is recorded.

> 7.vii.1719: Josiah Foster offering his services as a School Master to the House, this Committee agrees to give him after the Rate of £10 a year . . . upon tryal for one month.

Later it was reported that "his manner of Teaching ann bringing the Children forward seems to be pretty agreeable ane his Qualifications Tolarably Answerable to his Station". By this time there were thirty-seven boys and eighteen girls. By 1722 he had been pressing for increases in his salary and he wanted these to be back dated. The Committee would not agree and decided to "discontinue him" but eventually refrained from giving him formal notice "his having given us Expectation to do it himself next Committee Day".

Samuel Uring was appointed in his place, but stayed only a short time. Then Josiah Forster (Foster) reappeared. His letter to the Committee was regarded as of sufficient importance to be copied into the rough minute book. As here again we have records which appear to complement previous research, I will give the letter in full:

> To the Committee at the Work House
> Loving Friends,
>
> If you want a School Master at the Work House and would please to accept me for One I am willing to serve you—and the terms I insist upon is £20 p. ann. salery to Continue for One Year Certain and after that to be free by a Quarters Warning given on Either Side and in the Discharge of my Duty when In the place Shall Endeavour to give what Satisfaction I am capable of.
>
> I am your Obliged Friend,
> Josiah Forster
>
> Banbury
> October 20. 1722

This letter caused the steward, Richard Hutton, to take the unusual step of summoning a special meeting of the Committee, which he was entitled to do by the standing orders. This met at the Chamber on 29.viii.1722. The Committee heard the letter read and decided "to accept of his Service upon ye Terms therein Mention". "Being in hopes (according to ye Expectation given us) that his Endeavours to give us Sattisfaction Will be attended with a Suitable Conduct."

But this reappointment, as presumably it was, did not last. A minute of 22.v.1723 reads: "Josiah Foster [*sic*] our Schoolmaster, having by a letter last Committee desired to be discharged . . . the Steward is order'd to discharge him and pay his Wages to this time."

The Schoolmistress

After the first brief mention of one of the Ancient Friends as schoolmistress in 1707 there is no further mention until 1715 when a Report on the State of the House, given to Quarterly Meeting, stressed a "great necessitie" for one to teach the girls and "prevent them being with the boys, which cannot be done while they both Work in the Same Room together". A letter from the Committee to the Women's meeting at Devonshire House, about this, stated that she was to teach the girls "Sewing, Knitting etc."

Elizabeth Sprake undertook the duty. A minute of 2.v.1716 records her as agreeing "to teach any number of Children not exceeding 30 for a Twelve Months Certain commencing Midsummer last". Her salary was to be £8 a year and "one shilling per pound arising out of the earnings of the children".

By 1721 Elizabeth Sprake was in difficulties, and she had to leave. Friends appointed to "speak with her in the presence of the Steward and Stewardess" reported "She acknowledges to them that she is under Severall Intanglements of Debts, and to them She Appears to be pretty much Fatigued and Harrased in her mind and Wholly Unfit to Discharge the Trust Reposed in her."

It is nice to know that the Steward, Richard Hutton, was sympathetic to her difficulties and pleaded for her. She was succeeded by Hannah Hands who had two months trial and

was unwilling to continue: "ye Fatigue being more than she cares to engage herself in."

Richard Hutton, who had the oversight of the Institution, was himself interested in education. He is a person about whom I should like to know more. He had come from Lancashire and settled in Lombard Street as a tailor. On his appointment he had to give "fifty pounds for his fidelity" and was paid at the rate of £20 a year. Several pages in his so-called "Complaints Book" set out in admirable style ideas about teaching, and refer to the writing of a book about accounting called "The Tradesmans' Companion or Tradesmen's Copy Book". As these pages are written in the first person I assumed that they were Hutton's own thoughts and philosophy of education. Now I find that they are a quotation from a book by Colonel John Ayres, published in 1688. Ayres was a teacher of writing, arithmetic and accounts at the "Hand and Pen" in St. Paul's Churchyard, and is credited with introducing the Italian hand into England between 1680 and 1700.[1]

It is not necessary to continue to trace in detail the records of teachers. The only mention of Latin was in 1703. The general education referred to earlier as approved by early Friends is replaced by the instruction in the three R's needed for boys going to apprenticeship and girls going as servants, the manual training each needed, and the practical work done in the House.

Minutes such as that of 1710 ordering the steward and the rest of the family that are able to do so to attend Peel Meeting three afternoons a week so that they "have the benefit of 4 Meetings in a week beside seasons set apart to wait upon and worship God in silence", leave us in no doubt about the care being exercised to further the religious life of the community.

The Later Years

W. A. Campbell Stewart in *Quakers and Education*, described the two middle quarters of the eighteenth century as "the worst years in the Society's educational history, when there was little general conviction about the necessity of a good schooling, and the Society was able to excuse its

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

shortsightedness and apathy in the negative counsels of Quietism".

Certainly, at Clerkenwell in the middle of the century, the Committee was preoccupied with finance. "The family is conducted with good Order and Decency: the provisions have been provided in the best manner, yet our expenses exceed our intentions and Income."

In 1747 Dr. John Fothergill became doctor to the Institution and he continued to serve it until 1765. During that time he evidently observed it closely, critically and somewhat sadly. He gave books, goods and advice. The gift of a barrel of rice was minuted with appreciation as "a good and useful hint for ye Benefit of this House, at ye present high price of Corn". In 1760 Dr. Fothergill presented the report of a Special Committee on Education to Yearly Meeting. His comment on Clerkenwell was: "Too few of the youth educated therein have turned out useful and respectable members of society." Was this a criticism of the school, or, as David Bolam suggests in *Unbroken Community* (1952), of the employers to whom the children were apprenticed?

RULES, 1780

The Rules of the Institution, evolved over the years, set out in detail the duties and responsibilities of the various officers, the Steward, the Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress. They also give the Clothing Lists and the Bill of Fare. They were first printed in 1780. These state clearly how much time was to be given to learning, and also leave us in no doubt about the moral atmosphere of the time. The "guarded education" continued.

Some extracts from "*Orders for the Schoolmaster*"

Rule 5. One half of the boys is to be at school in the morning, and the other half at work, and to exchange places in the afternoon; and those who are at school in the mornings one week, are to be at school in the afternoons the next week; when there is no work they are all to be in school.

Rule 6. On seventh day afternoons both boys and girls are exempted from work or attendance at school.

Rule 7. The girls of suitable age are to attend the master's school, three mornings in the week, viz. on the second, fourth, and sixth days; to stay the usual hours; to be heard to read; and to be taught writing and arithmetick the remainder of the time.

Rule 8. He is, at suitable times, to walk with the boys in the fields, for the benefit of the air, at least twice in the week, when the weather

permits; and to take care that they be not out of his call during the time; nor when at play at home, without some inspection. (Page 18)

From "*Orders for the Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress*"

Rule 4. They are to sit down with the children on first-day evenings, reading to them, or causing them to read, suitable portions of the holy scriptures and other religious books; selecting such parts and subjects as are the most instructive and best adapted to their understandings.

Rule 5. They are to be watchful that no improper books, pamphlets or papers be introduced or secreted among the children, this being a source of much evil.

Rule 6. They are diligently to inculcate a modest and humble deportment, to enjoin them to use the plain language; always to speak truth without prevarication; to behave respectfully to their elders; taking due notice of such as speak to them.

Rule 7. Finally, They must be very careful of their own conduct; remembering, example is more prevalent than precept.

ACKWORTH

Meanwhile, in 1779, Ackworth had been founded, through the interest of Dr. John Fothergill. I have had the opportunity to examine the early registers there and find that in the first ten years over 100 children went there from the six monthly meetings in the London Quarterly Meeting. This was about 1 in 10 of the entry. The aim "a pious, guarded useful education of the children of Friends not in affluence", and the subjects taught, were much as at Clerkenwell, but the parents of these children were willing to send them on a four day journey to a place that really was a school.

But reputations tend to linger. Was it a recollection of the old days at Clerkenwell that caused a Committee Friend at Ackworth in 1802 to refer to Islington as "the school where naught is taught"?[1]

Those who drafted the Preface to the first printed Rules, in 1780, a document most carefully considered by Quarterly Meeting, were Friends in the area who knew the institution and its children. They wrote: "this establishment has already been attended with beneficial effects to the Society, in this city and its neighbourhood."

As I warned you at the beginning of this paper—"We must be slow to arrive at dogmatic conclusions."

JENNIE ELLINOR

[1] Notebook in the Ackworth Archives.

An Eighteenth-Century Quaker Poet

John Marriott 1762-1797

EARLY Quakers did not condemn poetry as they condemned music; the latter was anathema but the former, perhaps because of the moral sentiments it was capable of expressing, was, if not encouraged, at least tolerated.

The subject of this study, John Marriott of Redyford (Readyford or Reediford), Lancashire, was born on September 23, 1762 at Clare Green, a comfortable house near the hamlet of Edgend, Little Marsden. The hamlet lies a mile or two S.W. of Colne, on the slopes of the wide valley that runs N.E. from Burnley, and looks across to the hill called Pendle, lying like a huge, stranded whale, the haunt of the Lancashire witches, from the top of which George Fox saw in what places the Lord "had a great people to be gathered".

Remarkable men have frequently had remarkable mothers, and John Marriott's was no exception. She was Tabitha, the third daughter of Richard and Susanna Ecroyd of Edgend, and was born at Lane House on September 2, 1724. As a young woman, Tabitha had a deep concern to visit Friends in their own meetings. Her first visit in this religious service was to Cumberland, in company with an older Friend, Sarah Taylor of Manchester. Tabitha continued this work for about eight years until her marriage in 1757 to Richard Marriott of Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, the son of Richard and Elizabeth Marriott of that town. The young couple lived in Mansfield for a short time before coming to Clare Green. Both Richard and Tabitha were active members of the Meeting at Marsden, the meeting house being but a few yards from their home. Richard's name appears frequently in the minute books of Marsden Preparative Meeting as a representative to monthly meeting.

Her growing family kept Tabitha at home, but whenever she could, she continued her travels "in the service of truth". Joseph Gurney Bevan has this to say of her;[1] "In private

[1] Joseph Gurney Bevan: *Piety Promoted in Brief Memorials and Dying Expressions of some of the Society of Friends* . . . London, 1810, p. 38.

life, she was an example of meekness and lowliness of heart . . . She seemed to aspire after total resignation to the will of the Lord, in all the dispensations of his providence to her . . . She was esteemed a deeply baptized, and powerful gospel minister; her deportment in the exercise of her gift was grave and comely, and her expression clear; and in supplication she appeared to be at times favoured with near access to the throne of grace."

Richard and Tabitha Marriott had two sons and a daughter. The first son was William, born on June 14, 1761, who became an active member of Marsden Meeting and whose name is frequently found in the minute books. The second son was John, the subject of this essay, born on September 23, 1762, also an active member of the Meeting. Like his brother he often attended monthly meeting as a representative of Marsden.

Tabitha, distinguished in the neighbourhood for her piety, was especially solicitous for the "improvement" and happiness of her children. John's cousin, Mary Camm, who edited the poet's letters and poems, and, presumably, wrote the short account of his life that introduces the volume, states that John had a "guarded and religious education" and this, no doubt, was supervised by his mother.

Both Richard and Tabitha Marriott died in the year 1786, the former on May 2. He was buried three days later in the burial ground adjoining Marsden Meeting House. In the Register of Burials he is described as a Yeoman. Tabitha died some months afterwards on September 7, aged 62 and was buried three days later, close to her husband. Their bodies lie in shallow graves, without headstones, beneath the lawns in front of the existing Meeting House which is the building in which they themselves worshipped.

The young John was a clever lad and seems to have had little trouble with his schooling. He was said to possess a considerable knowledge of Greek and Latin, although no details of his schooling are known. He was of a mild and amiable nature and gathered many friends around him, but he seems, too, to have had a serious and thoughtful turn of mind, and disappointments in later life heightened these traits. He owned a corn mill but spent much of his leisure time in his garden, many of the arbours of which were the

work of his own hands, and this perhaps gave rise to the idea that he was fond of landscape gardening.[1]

At the time that Mary Camm was writing, at about the beginning of the nineteenth century, there remained a number of inscriptions which John had carved upon the trees in his "wilderness". His favourite walk was said to have been along the banks of Pendle Water near his home, and, says Henry Ecroyd Smith,[2] "one, if not more of the older trees, we believe, still retains the initials of his name, inscribed upon its trunk."

Even as a youth John seems to have possessed a poetic temperament, and later he showed quite a literary talent, but his poems were not seen in print until 1803, after he had been dead some years.[3] The prefatory verses to the volume were composed by Thomas Binns of Liverpool.

John Marriott's early verse, never intended for publication, is innocent and somewhat naïve, tending towards sentiments of virtue and piety. It is obvious that he had read the English poets, and much that he wrote was strongly influenced by them or written in imitation of them. He apparently thought little of his writings and seems to have parted with them reluctantly. His poems, however, seem to have circulated amongst his friends and to have been copied. It was partly to preserve a correct version, and also for the "amusement and instruction of his acquaintance and others" that his verses were eventually printed.

In his early years John had a strong affection for his cousin, Martha Ecroyd, but close consanguinity prevented marriage. Most of the letters that have been preserved were addressed to her. Later he fell in love with Hannah Mary Reynolds, but it appears that she did not return his affection, and this unhappy love affair, it is believed, was the cause of the plaintive character of much of his verse, and of the melancholy of some of his letters.

[1] "John Marriott was not only a writer of verses but he shared also the eighteenth-century and Quaker passion for landscape gardening . . .", J. Travis Mills, *John Bright and the Quakers*, 1935, i.56 note.

[2] Henry Ecroyd Smith, *Annals of Smith of Cantley, Balby and Doncaster, County of York*, Privately printed, 1878.

[3] *A Short Account of John Marriott, containing extracts from some of his Letters. To which are added, some of his Poetical Productions*, Doncaster, 1803. Although there are many volumes dating from the same period as this production in the library of Marsden Meeting, the writer has been unable to find in it a copy of this work. The letters, and the poems quoted in the second part of this paper are taken from this volume.

One love affair at least was consummated for in 1795 he married Ann Wilson, the eldest daughter of John Wilson of Preston Patrick. Most of the verse that has survived was written before he met his wife. John and Ann had two sons, Wilson, born in 1796, who had six daughters and died in Kendal in 1842, and John, named after his father, who was born in 1795 and who died the following year.

John's extant letters, dating from 1787 to 1797, were addressed chiefly to his cousin Martha Ecroyd; a few were to Esther Tuke and the remainder to un-named correspondents.

His melancholy turn of mind is shown in a letter dated March 5, 1787, written when he was 25 years old. In it he speaks of

> a mind, deeply and frevently humbled; for, "remembering my affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall", my soul is frequently bowed within me.

At this time, too, he seems to have been conscious of spiritual barrenness for in the next year (1788) he wrote to an unnamed correspondent:

> Instead of increasing in spiritual knowledge, I seem to grow poorer and poorer, more and more ignorant; and am often ready to fear, I shall, ere long, be numbered amongst those, who, though ever learning, are never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Yet he must have felt the presence of some power upon which he could draw, for later in the same letter he writes:

> Yet I sometimes hope a secret support, though I see it not, is near me, or surely I should, before now, have quite despaired of reaching the promised land . . .

By the Third month of 1788 he seems to have been in a mood of depression:

> . . . indeed, till a change takes place, he writes, I can deal in little but lamentation; that promise, "the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple," being so far from fulfilled in my experience, I seem farther in the situation of those, "who looked for the light, but behold obscurity for brightness, but they walked in darkness."

In Fourth Month, in another letter, he describes himself as:

> . . . thy poor, doubtful friend, the gloom of whose winter seems rather to increase, the recollection of past troubles being still, at times, almost overwhelming.

In Fifth Month he feels that he should be able to offer comfort and solace to his correspondent, but adds:

> . . . my mind is at present so depressed and impoverished, I am afraid I have it not in my power . . .

In October of the same year, still depressed in spirit, he writes:

> As to myself, I continue just such a poor loiterer as I have long been; and I have been sensible to-day, that repeated baptisms are necessary for me: without them I am apt to grow thoughtless, and to neglect opportunities of retirement.

In another letter, dated the same month, he expresses concern about his occupations: "I have been sometimes thoughtful about the business it might be right for us to engage in." In the Fifth Month of the following year (1789) still on the same subject he writes:

> I have noticed thy weighty and instructive remarks respecting business, I hope with a disposition to be profitted by them; but I am far from having come to any conclusion in my own mind."

In this same year he bewails the fact that he still does not feel the Spirit within him.

He is conscious of the temptations and distractions, not only of worldly concerns, but of the engrossing nature of what can be rightly considered as "lawful and laudable cares". He writes:

> If even the lawful and laudable cares are, when suffered to engross the mind, as fatal to the growth of the word as the forbidden pleasures of life, what care is necessary! How rarely is multiplicity of business found with fervency of spirit! An increase of worldly care does certainly call for as great an increase in spiritual watchfulness. (Third Month 1790).

In Sixth Month 1791 he writes in a similar vein:

> I am obliged to thee for thy hint; I believe there has been a considerable danger of the things of this world occupying too much of my attention, to the abating of those desires which ought to have pre-eminence . . .

In Fourth Month of the following year (1792) he hopes that his dear friend will continue to remind him of first things first.

> Amidst the crowd of worldly concerns, with which I am surrounded, I feel it particularly necessary that the pure mind should be frequently stirred up by way of remembrance; and as this will always, I believe, be the effect of thy letters, unless it be my own fault, I hope thou wilt see the propriety of continuing them.

In the same letter he goes on to say:

> This summer is likely to be a time of additional care to me: I am thinking about beginning my new house; and building is always a troublesome business.

In December of the year 1793 he returns to the theme of worldly affairs:

> How desirable a thing it is, to be detached from the burdens of worldly cares! But in some situations, there is such a constant succession of things that demand attention, and things that have a tendency to ruffle the mind and dissipate its true strength, that it is scarcely possible the good seed should not suffer amidst such a cumbersome growth!

In January 1797 he speaks of his state of health.

> The frequent sore throats which I was formerly subjected to, and particularly one of the inflammatory kind soon after thou wast here, had left a fulness that remained hard on the left side of my neck, and which made it considerably above its natural size; and after my throat got better, the hardness increased so, that before I went to Blackpool, I could not swallow without some pain; so I was again advised to try seabathing. I went to Blackpool about the middle of the 9th month, and stayed till about the 7th of the 10th month, and found considerable benefit from the journey. After my return, on getting cold, I grew much worse; my appetite has been poor for a long time, and I have a troublesome cough; the consequence is, I have lost considerably in weight, and am now very thin, and seldom free from pain in my head. I am more inclined to drowsiness than I ever remember to have been, and seem as if I could slumber all my time away.

Regarding his continuing illness he is reported to have said:

> The doctors give no name to my disorder; and seem at a loss to account for it. Medicine is now unavailing. There is none who can be of use to me, but the Great Physician of value, and my dependence is on him alone.

His health continued to decline and the last extant letter, "written at different times, under great bodily suffering", and dated Blackpool, 6th Month 1797, says: "My pain continues so violent that I think that I shall be able to write but few lines at a time."

In the earlier part of the day on which he died he gave some "weighty council" to his brother. In the afternoon, he asked that some portions of Scripture should be read to him. To his cousin he said, "Thou seest thy friend whom thou hast long loved: O! pray that the safe convoy may guide me through the region and shadow of death." Just

before his peaceful end he was heard to say: "A clear evidence; gratitude is a pleasing thing." Aged about 34, after a painful disorder which had been with him for over a year, John Marriott died about ten o'clock on the morning of August 11, 1797. The editor of the Letters and Poems says that the heavy affliction of his last year was borne with remarkable patience and resignation which served to refine his spirit. During the progress of his disease he was said to voice many instructive expressions to those around him. He claimed that his afflictions were small in comparison with what he truly deserved. He told a near relative how he had meditated on the thief on the cross and lamented his too great attachment to worldly matters.

> O! that I had lived in a little cottage, that the temptation to great things might not have overcome me as it has! . . . There was a time when my mind was too much taken up with political affairs; . . . that when yielded to . . . has a tendency to divert from objects of a superior nature. I was also inclined to pursue the amusement of coursing; but feeling the controversy of truth against it, I yielded to the conviction, and in withstanding these allurements, I had, and still feel, solid peace.

To another relative he bewailed his having been too much engaged in worldly concerns.

His widow later married John Williams Maud, a surgeon of Bradford. She was his second wife.

The Gentleman's Magazine for September 1797, printed the following Obituary Notice:

> August 11, at Reedyford near Colne, c. Lancaster, in his 36th year, John Marriott, one of the people called Quakers. The poor of his neighbourhood have lost a constant friend and assistant; his near connections a kind and affectionate relation; and his amiable widow a most tenderly-endeared husband and Society an active, useful and well-principled member. The republick of letters has also lost in him an illustrious ornament; though his communications have been mostly, if not entirely anonymous, his genius and learning shone out on many occasions, in distinguished poeticals and other effusions. His early proficiency in the Greek and Roman classicks was remarkable and his application to the culture of the useful sciences and the arts, unremitting and successful. His philosophy in morals and politicks was of that luminous cast, which supports the Rights and Liberties of mankind, on the sure foundations of evangelical principles. By his life he evinced the faith and virtues, and by his death the certain hope, of a Christian.

He was buried on August 15 in the Burial Ground where the remains of his parents were interred.

The Poems

Underlying the obvious poetic pose and the imitation, John Marriott's serious turn of mind can be clearly seen in the poem *Retirement* that he composed at the age of 16:

> How sweet, with mind contemplative, to stray
> (Far from the scene where mirth intemperate reigns)
> What time slow twilight shades the face of day,
> And awful stillness rules the shadowy plains;
> Save where, with warbling note amidst the grove,
> Sweet Philomela tunes her evening song;
> While for her consort's loss, the woodland dove
> Complaining coos, the towering elms among.
> . . . . . .
> Tired of the world and pleasure's giddy sphere,
> Hither, with wandering steps, oft let me stray;
> Whilst true repentance prompts the swelling tear,
> And the still voice of truth directs my way.

On a Prospect of Quitting the Country, written when he was 18, is addressed to "Palemon", his blind cousin Richard Ecroyd, then living close at hand. The poet bemoans the fact that he has been

> Torn from the scenes his native taste approves,
> The haunted fountains and the sacred groves,
> The bowers he planted, and the muse he loves . . .

and he recalls the fields and bowers

> Where blithly passed my childhood's playful hours;
> And dear the spreading plane I used to climb,
> And on the waving branches rock sublime,
> Whose bark, wide-gashed in many a scar, still bears
> The rude memorials of my early years;

whilst bewailing the fact that he no more hears the voice of his beloved Palemon.

> I too, perhaps, like other country boys,
> Had fondly sighed for novelty and noise,
> And glad, renounced the fragrant, green retreat
> For the close counting-house and smoky street.

The next poem in the volume, *In Praise of a Country Life*, undated but probably belonging to his early years, continues in praise of rural life. In conventional lines he celebrates the calm delights of enamelled meads, enchanting rills, the concert sweet on every spray, the shepherd with a flute that can be enjoyed only "Far from the town's perpetual noise". Other rustic pieces follow, such as the *Ode to a*

Redbreast and the longer *Evening in Autumn*, written when he was 19. He here describes the goodly landscape that he views from a rocky summit and wishes that "soft Aspasia" might behold it too!

> How would her sweetly-serious eye enjoy
> This awful view—that eye, which nature's charms
> Disordered, wild and simple, more delight
> Than all the dazzling fopperies of art.

As he surveys the rural scene he is not unmindful of the labouring poor.

> Nor you, ye sons of opulence, disdain
> To admit the soft impression—O come forth,
> And, museful as you wander, learn to think
> On others' wants, and thinking, to be kind;
> Nor while elate you view your crowded fields,
> Profuse of grain, and count your coming wealth,
> Forget the poor, industrious cottager,
> Who, born to pain and sweat and lasting toil,
> To end not but with life, your wide domains
> Ploughs, sows, and reaps, but reaps not for himself!

The lot of the cottager was truly hard.

> Ah me! of small avail his utmost toil,
> And unremitting industry to her,
> His dearer half, and infant family,
> Now haply in some miserable hut
> With pale disease or hopeless want oppressed:
> Even now, methinks, I see the sole support
> That filled their breasts with peaceful confidence,
> And bade them think on winter undismayed,
> Their only cow, with fell distemper struck,
> Dead at their feet; lo! from the doleful sight,
> The sighing mother turns her swelling eye
> On her fond, playful offspring, clinging round,
> Heedless and smiling at the threats of want,
> Regardless of the future . . .
> . . . . . .
> Steal soft along the narrow-winding path
> That to the cottage leads, beneath whose thatch
> The afflicted pair their evening labours ply;
> He busied in the loom, though late arrived,
> Fatigued and languid, from the toilsome field;
> She near him turning slow the whizzing wheel,
> In mournful silence heartless and forlorn . . .

Also in his nineteenth year he produced his poem of sixty-seven four-line stanzas, *The Hermit's Apology*, his most sustained piece to date.

That he was familiar with English poetry is shown in his *Collins's Ode to Evening imitated*, a not-unworthy imitation of that well-known work. His knowledge of the classics is revealed in his *Translation of Horace's Twenty-Second Ode in Book the First*, also composed in early manhood.

The lines *To Maria, on Her Long Silence*, written when she was 20, were addressed to Mary Leaver junior. In them he bewails her long silence.

> How small a boon had gratified thy friend!
> In some lone, leisure hour, detached and free,
> A few, loose thoughts with careless frankness penned,
> Had been enough, forgetful maid, for me.

He wants nothing elaborate from her; a few, simple, heartfelt words would suffice.

> How much do nature's strokes unglossed by art
> Surpass the pompous period's studied swell!
> How much the unpolished transcripts of the heart
> The finished labours of the head excel!

But he is not going to plead for what is withheld.

He exchanged at least two Poetical Epistles with a literary acquaintance, which, couched in conventional terms, are printed in the little volume (pp. 96–118).

Like other Friends of his time he was acutely sensitive about slavery and wrote *Mialma; or, a Description of Some of the Miseries Resulting to the Inhabitants of Africa, from the traffick in men carried on by the Europeans*. It is an unfinished, narrative poem on the subject of slavery, and though rather pedestrian and at times trite, it shows some skill in versification.

The *Stanzas written during the Illness of a Near Relation* are addressed to Martha Ecroyd who is referred to as Amanda. The Phyllida mentioned later in the poem is Dorothy Leaver, who, states a footnote, "was removed by death a little time before." It is written in a pastoral strain.

> Ye shepherds, your ill-timed amusements forego,
> Those flower-woven garlands so sprightly unbind;
> Ill suit your diversions with tidings of wo,
> Ill suit with the fears that disquiet my mind.

Amanda is ill, and thus far medical science has been of no avail; indeed, the symptoms increase. The shepherds are urged to

. . . repair to yon rivulet's side,
And bind your sad brows with the pale willow-wreath;
There, lowly reclined, by the murmuring tide,
The melting effusions of elegy breathe.

The poet retires to a secluded retreat to reflect upon the sufferer and on Phyllida, now deceased.

Ah! shouldst thou, Amanda, too, leave us behind,
What strains could enliven, what vallies could cheer?
Where should I so constant an advocate find?
How could I the loss of thy friendship repair?

The melancholy strain is obvious here and in the stanzas that follow.

Ah! vain are our hopes of felicity here!
How quickly the prospects of youth are o'ercast!
But let not fresh prospects, fresh beauties insnare;
Be checked, my fond heart, and reflect on the past!

O think, ere thou give thine affection the rein,
O think, will these graces, so shining, endure?
Ah, must I not shortly relinquish, with pain,
The charms that at present so sweetly allure?

Afflictions, like favours, are bestowed upon man for his soul's development.

'Tis meet we refuse not the favours bestowed;
'Tis meet that affliction should also befall
To wake our desires for a happier abode.
. . . . . .
Though sorrows thrill deep the susceptible mind,
And greatly its portion of pleasures exceed;
The joys and the griefs are so closely conjoined,
What bosom that feels them could wish to be freed?

The *Stanzas to the Memory of the late Henry Ecroyd, of Edgend, in Lancashire*, are said by Mary Camm to admirably portray that patriarch's character.

Know you a man, who ne'er from virtue swerved,
By pleasure, interest, sophistry unmoved?

A man, with sense and science largely fraught,
Of manners courteous and of heart humane,
Whom never suppliant indigence besought,
Nor modest helplessness approached, in vain;

A man, though injured, placable and kind,
Studious each vengeful purpose to control;
Studious and skilled to harmonize and bind
In bonds of amity each jarring soul?

Such a man was Alcander (Henry Ecroyd). According to Quaker custom there will be no pealing of bells or funeral pomp, but his goodness will prompt genuine sorrow, and long will his memory be revered.

When fall the bad, when proud oppressors die,
No pealing bell can make the peasant mourn;
When drops the good, spontaneous is the sigh,
Spontaneous tears bedew his honoured urn.
. . . . . .
Long, long the stranger, as he passes by,
"There good Alcander dwelt" shall pausing say,
Survey the friendly dome with tearful eye,
With swelling breast pursue his weary way.

Farewell to the Muses. Verses written on recovering from a dangerous Illness, occasioned by a severe disappointment, and addressed to a near Relation was intended for Martha Ecroyd.

One simple effort more, and then farewell
The tuneful cadence and the measured strain;
Then sleep, for ever sleep, my vocal shell,
For thou hast sounded; I have sung in vain!

A few sad numbers more to grief belong;
Friendship's loved name should once more grace my lay,
And gratitude's, whose fondly-melting tongue
Still loves to mention what she cannot pay.

He still celebrates the sadness of being unable to be united with her, and records his gratitude for her care when he was sick.

When on the couch of sickness pale I lay,
Disease infectious threatening deaths around,
In vain, to fright my generous friend away,
Discretion reasoned, and contagion frowned.

Full many a night she watched that couch beside,
With eye as mournful, look as full of care,
As if my life to thousands health supplied,
As if my death would damp the general cheer.

Having wished his friend "peace, and calm, supernal joy" he feels that he can now bid farewell to the Muses.

In 1785, ten years before his marriage, he wrote *Philanthropy: an Ode*. A patriot, returning to his native land, sees in a vision the goddess of Philanthropy, who tells him why she was sent to earth.

When interest first, and discord dire
Usurped the mental throne,
From heaven's blest powers, the Almighty Sire
In pity sent me down;
But ah! in vain I fondly strive
To keep the sparks of love alive:
Pride, impatient of control,
More and more obdures the soul;
Avarice vile, my deadliest foe,
Daily finds her empire grow;
And Oh, I see with grief sincere,
Still foremost in her train Britannia's sons appear!

She directs his attention to the horrors of the African slave-trade and the way Britain seeks to maintain her pre-eminence in the East, where

Grim extortion rears his head;
Rape and murder swell the train;
Ravenous pillage sweeps the plain;
While close behind with tyrant scorn,
Fell famine taunting points at plenty's ransacked horn.

She ends with the words

But now adieu, I haste to know
If yet one breast remains,
Which like my G * * * 's the exalted glow,
The zeal humane retains.

There are one or two more poetical pieces that need not detain us long. *The Falling Leaf, Addressed to a Friend*, describes in conventional language, not quite devoid of interest, the onset of winter amidst woods and evergreens that withstand the keenest blasts and whose every leaf "presents a useful lesson". In the piece *On War* he describes an untutored youth carried away by the impulsive strains of poetry glorifying war. Why, he asks, "Should poesy disclaim the man divine?" Can any man, in these enlightened times, turn his back on the precepts of the Prince of Peace? He calls upon poetry to check the tendency to war.

Come then, sweet poesy, be thou the first,
With all thy skill, to check the inhuman thirst;
Much guilt thou hast to expiate, many a line
Unhallowed, offered at oppression's shrine:
Exalt thy prospects, be what heaven designed
Thou shouldest be—sweet instructress of mankind;
Such as thou wast when Israel's tuneful king
To heights unrivalled raised thy heaven-ward wing . . .

The short poem *On Sorrow* amply illustrates the melancholy that seems to have been his to the end, but it is not without a tinge of resignation.

> Though checked by time the storm may feebler grow
> Which tossed erewhile the turbid stream of wo;
> Sorrows there are, which, though they seem to sleep,
> Till life's last sigh their wonted channel keep,
> Still fresh they flow from many a latent wound,
> More calm indeed, but not the less profound.

There is a short piece on *The Vanity of Expecting that Happiness will Result from Superior Acquirements, or Worldly Honours*. These latter, held in such esteem in youth,

> . . . cannot now support;
> The hour of anguish asks more potent balm
> Than love of aught below can e'er supply . . .

There immediately follows a short poem on *Fruit of the Spirit*.

> Fruit of the spirit—yes, thou art divine,
> No mortal finger can thy birth-place show,
> To schools a stranger, nor thy smiles benign,
> Do courts or senates e'er pretend to know;
>
> Yet hast thou, piteous of the race of men,
> Descended oft from thy celestial home,
> And o'er the languid looks of grief and pain,
> Diffused the sweetness that survives the tomb.
>
> Thou wast with Isaac when the herdsmen rude
> Strove for the fountain with his faithful train,
> Again he digged, the outrage was renewed;
> He named it Sitnah and removed again.

The last to be preserved are some *Verses Written after recovering from a Dangerous Illness*. The poet still feels the attraction of worldly matters.

> Strong are the ties which still my mind entwine,
> And counteract the work of love divine.
> The world, the world its glittering baits prepares,
> Its friendships proffers, and obtrudes its cares;
> Still would intemperate fancy wildly stray,
> Spite of the secret check, the secret ray;
> Weak to withstand, and yet afraid to yield,
> I neither keep, nor wholly quit, the field.

He asks God to teach him to dread all guidance but his.

> Come "with the swiftness of the mountain roe",
> And strength, proportioned to my wants, bestow:
> .....
> O! in my soul, that ardent thirst renew,
> Which nought can satiate but celestial dew . . .

Whether John Marriott's "Muse" deserted him, or whether, like Amelia Opie, who bade "Farewell to Music" on becoming a Quaker, he too turned his back on his art, we shall perhaps never know; but at least we have a brief memorial of a life not unworthy of recall.

EDWIN H. ALTON

Historical research for university degrees in the United Kingdom. List no. 32. Part II—Theses in progress 1971. (University of London Institute of Historical Research, May 1971.)

Included are the following (not previously noted):

1097. Quakers in Essex, 1653–1689. K. E. Freeland. (Dr. K. Roy.) London M.Phil.

1578. An edition of the Greer letters in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. J. W. McConaghy. (Prof. Beckett.) Belfast M.A.

1837. The Lancasterian schools system. G. C. Barnsby. (Prof. Beales.) London M.Phil.

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List of doctoral dissertations in history in progress in the United States, May 1967–May 1970. Compiled by John T. Appleby. American Historical Association, Washington, D.C. 1970.

Included are the following, besides a good many works on the early history of Pennsylvania, for which enquirers must be referred to the *List*.

The Biblical Exegesis of Gerrard Winstanley: The Making of a Socialist. George M. Juretic, Northern Illinois. 449

The Politics of Conscription in Britain, 1914–1916. Gerald H. S. Jordan. California, Irvine. 1080

The Introduction of Conscription in England, April 1939. Peter J. Dennis, Duke. 1081

Quaker Political Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania: Structure, Ideology, and Practice. Joel D. Meyerson, Harvard. 1940

The Shippen Family in the Eighteenth Century: A Generational Study of an Elite Family of Pennsylvania. Randolph S. Klein, Rutgers. 1941

Socioeconomic Background of Non-Pacifist Quakers during the American Revolution. Kenneth A. Radbill, Arizona. 2037

Philadelphia Quakers and the Coming of the American Revolution. Jean M. Stauffer, Lehigh. 3045

Scientific Research in Progress in British Universities and Colleges, 1969–1970. Volume III: Social Sciences. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970.)

The following items are included:

University of Wales: University College, Cardiff
Department of Economics
C. Baber and D. Barry, "Quaker entrepreneurship in S. Wales, 1750–1850"

Wolverhampton Polytechnic
Department of General Studies
J. D. Hunter, "Society of Friends in Birmingham, 1815–1918"

University of Wales: University College, Swansea
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
J. Cam, "The Society of Friends"

Birmingham University
School of Education, History and Philosophy Division
Professor K. Charlton, "Life of James Cropper, 1774–1840, Liverpool Quaker merchant and philanthropist"

The 1970–1971 edition includes the following item:

University of Sheffield, Department of Economic History
D. A. Williams, "History of the chocolate industry, with special reference to Fry's of Bristol" (for Ph.D.)

DAVID J. HALL

* * *

Dissertation Abstracts International. A—The humanities and social sciences (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106), December 1970, vol. 31, no. 6, includes abstracts of (p. 3016–A) "Christian understandings of the legislator and his responsibility in puritan Massachusetts Bay (1630–1700) and Quaker Pennsylvania (1680–1750)", by Edwin Vance Davis, Ph.D., Drew University, 1970 (382 pages, Microfilm $4.90, Xerox $17.35), and of (p. 3026–A), "The Quakers as type of the spirit-centered community: a Roman Catholic View", by William P. Roberts, S.J., Ph.D., Marquette University, 1968 (195 pages, Microfilm $4.00, Xerox $8.80).

Dissertation Abstracts International. A—The humanities and social sciences (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106), October 1970, vol. 31, no. 4, includes (p. 1717–A) an abstract of "The Philadelphia Quakers in the industrial age, 1865–1920", by Philip Schuyler Benjamin, Ph.D., Columbia University, 1967 (436 pages, Microfilm $5.55, Xerox $19.80).

Reports on Archives

The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *List of accessions to repositories in 1970* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1971. 70p), reports the following additions to the manuscript collections in various institutions which may interest workers on Quaker history:

Bodleian Library (Department of Western Manuscripts), Oxford, OX1 3BG.

Single letters and small groups: John Bright.

Brotherton Library, The University, Leeds, LS2 9JT.

Rawlinson Charles Ford of Bentham: 2 personal and household account books, 1900–1963.

Westmorland Record Office, County Hall, Kendal.

Society of Friends: Strickland Monthly Meeting, records [1652]–1967.

Durham County Record Office, County Hall, Durham.

Pease of Darlington (addnl.): diaries, corres., etc., (unlisted), 1824–1909.

London Lead Co., deeds, corres., plans, etc., Teesdale and Weardale, 1593–1943.

Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford, CM1 1LX.

W. and H. Marriage and Sons Ltd., millers, Chelmsford, ledgers and cash books, 1900–1958.

Glamorgan Record Office, County Hall, Cardiff, CF1 3NE.

Society of Friends: South Wales Monthly Meeting, 1910–1946.

Hertfordshire Record Office, County Hall, Hertford.

Literary MSS., etc., of R.L. Hine.

Lancashire Record Office, Sessions House, Lancaster Road, Preston, PR1 2RE.

Society of Friends: Bolton: Marsden Monthly Meeting (addnl.), records 1761–1967; minutes of Preparative Meetings of Edgworth and Bolton 1776–1956, Todmorden 1835–1870, Radcliffe 1933–1964, Marsden 1875–1952.

Leeds City Library, Archives Department, Sheepscar Library, Chapeltown Road, Leeds, LS7 3AP.

Society of Friends: Carr House Estate, Todmorden, 1755–1947.

Ford Ayrton & Co., silk spinners, Bentham, from 1871.

London University Library, Senate House, Malet St., London, WC1E 7HU.

Society of Friends, 6 items, 1769–1844 (MS. 779).

Plymouth Public Libraries, Archives Department, Central Library, Drake Circus, Plymouth, PL4 8AL, Devon.

William Cookworthy's notebook of medicines, n.d.

Society of Friends: deeds of Meeting House, Modbury, 1737–1854.

Royal Botanic Gardens Library, Kew, Richmond, Surrey.

J. G. Baker: fern MSS.; J. G. Baker and C. H. Wright, fern MSS., *c.* 1892–1905.

Sheffield City Libraries, Central Library, Sheffield, S1 1XZ.

Mrs. Eliza Payne of Newhill in Wath: Quaker family corres., 1756–1800.

Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, County Hall, Ipswich, IP4 2JS, Suffolk.

Sir Rickman Godlee, surgeon, and Lady (Juliet) Godlee (*née* Seebohm), corres., papers, diaries of Lady Godlee, 1880–*c.* 1943.

Society of Friends: records of Suffolk Quarterly Meeting and Woodbridge Monthly Meeting, 17–20c.

Warwickshire Record Office, Shire Hall, Warwick.

Shuckburgh (including): 58 original "Loyal Association" returns from Warwickshire villages following an attempt on life of William III, lists of Catholics and Quakers who refused to sign.

Worcestershire County Record Office, Shirehall, Worcester.

Society of Friends: minutes, accounts, registers, birth, marriage, death and burial notes, sufferings and other records of Society of Friends in Birmingham area, with reference to Worcestershire, 1623–1890 (microfilm); minutes, letters, accounts, deeds, receipts, birth and burial notes and other papers, Worcestershire and Shropshire Monthly Meeting, 1796–1968; signed minutes 1763–1840.

Recent Publications

Anti-Christ in Seventeenth-Century England: The Riddell Memorial Lectures, 41st Series, delivered at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne by Christopher Hill. Published for the University of Newcastle upon Tyne by Oxford University Press, 1971. £1.50. 201 pp.

This illuminating and erudite treatment of the "Antichrist Myth" (that is, the attempted identification of the Antichrist of John's Epistles and the Great Beast of Revelation with papacy, prelacy, and other bugbears) includes numerous references to contemporary Quaker writings, especially those of Burrough and Nayler.

Dr. Hill does not make any general distinction between the attitudes of Friends and other Puritan radicals, but it appears from his analysis that the latest interpretation, which regarded Antichrist as an invisible spirit rather than a particular person or institution, was the one that finally commended itself to Friends. He quotes from Nayler: "Antichrist is in every man until he be revealed by the light of Christ within."

Interest in Antichrist largely ceased after the Restoration. Dr. Hill's discussion of the reasons for this change of outlook forms a particularly interesting part of his book.

A.W.B.

Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1667–1686. Edited by Russell Mortimer. Bristol Record Society's Publications. Vol. XXVI. 1971. xxxiv, 260pp. £3.00. (Obtainable from Bristol Record Society, Department of History, The University, Bristol BS8 1RJ.)

Readers of the *Journal,* who have appreciated so greatly Russell Mortimer's long service as our Editor, will wish especially to congratulate him on the successful completion of another piece of editing. Only in two other cases has the whole of a Quaker Minute-Book covering a number of years been published *in extenso,* and it is a great pleasure now to have this beautifully-printed volume to add to the Minute Books of the Upperside of Buckinghamshire Monthly Meeting 1669–1690, and of Gainsborough Monthly Meeting 1669–1719.

Looking back, we can see clearly how crucial in the story of Quakerism was the "settlement" (or organized establishment) of the Monthly Meetings undertaken by George Fox in the middle 1660s. Without this it is difficult to see with any certainty in what form the Society could have survived the two decades of persecution and schism that followed. The "settlement" was primarily designed to

establish an effective, but acceptable, form of congregational responsibility for the actions of the individual members of the congregation. Consequently, what is recorded is in general a very different sort of business from what we should expect to find in the Minutes of a comparable body to-day. The question of formal membership of the Society had not yet arisen, and there were few property affairs to be discussed, so that two of the main items in a modern Monthly Meeting Agenda scarcely figure at all.

It is, however, remarkable how little record appears of any discussion in the Meeting on topics concerned with persecution or schism; although we know from other sources that sufferings in Bristol in this period were particularly heavy, and that the city was one of the chief battle-grounds of the Wilkinson-Story controversialists. No doubt, as Russell Mortimer suggests in his notes, much that was said was not recorded.

What does appear very clearly is the patient and detailed consideration given to questions of individual conduct, when doubts arose as to whether this was in accordance with the testimony of the Society. This applies particularly in the case of marriage proposals, decisions on which comprise at least a quarter of those recorded as taken. As Friends were steadfast in maintaining their practice of solemnizing marriages in their own manner, outside the Church of England machinery, it was considered essential that there should be no possible ground for criticism against the marriage or anything connected with it. It was only, therefore, after the most thorough investigation, often reported and debated in several successive Meetings, that the approval of the congregation to the marriage was given.

It is illuminating to trace the way in which what might appear to us to be an irksome discipline was in fact accepted by the Friends concerned, many of whom seemingly remained in full unity with the Meeting. The case of Isaac Partridge may be quoted as an instance. We first hear of him as being about to "joyne in marriage unto one of the world"; two Friends are appointed to admonish him, and he admits that such a marriage was at one time intended, but that the intention has been abandoned. A year and a half later he proposes marriage again, this time with a Friend, but though the union itself is quite unexceptionable, the Meeting is told that Isaac Partridge has sworn the Burgess oath on the occasion of his taking up his freedom of the City (as was required by the City regulations). The inability of Friends to take an oath in this connection resulted in great hardship to those who were thereby prevented from obtaining the fruits of their apprenticeships, and it is clear that their fellow-Quakers did not wish to penalize them too harshly if they yielded to temptation. In Isaac Partridge's case, however, it was decided that the taking of the oath constituted an obstacle to the Meeting being able to feel complete unity with him on his marriage, and approval of this was withheld pending "som farther testemony to arise from him to cleare the truth of that reproach". Four months later the approval was given.

Subsequently to this the record is clear against Isaac Partridge,

except that he may have been one of the Friends in the clothing-trade (he was a silk-weaver) specially summoned to hear an exhortation against encouraging "vanityes" in apparel. He is asked shortly afterwards to help keep in order the "rude" (i.e. disorderly) boys who sat at the back of the Meeting for Worship, and later he is appointed himself to serve on disciplinary committees in relation to other Friends. He is also recorded by Besse as having been a Sufferer. The interesting point is that he seems to have accepted being disciplined with a good grace, as part of the corporate exercise of the Meeting, which was the result that George Fox had hoped for and intended.

Many other similar biographies could be spelt out (with the help of the exemplary indexes) from this fascinating book.

A.W.B.

The William and Mary Quarterly for January 1970 (3rd series, vol. 27, no. 1) includes (pp. 68–89) "The social thought of James Logan", by Roy N. Lokken of the department of History, East Carolina University.

The number also includes an extensive bibliographical article, "American puritan studies in the 1960s", by Michael McGiffert of the University of Denver. This touches at one or two points on Quakerism.

Early Brethren and the Society of Friends. By Timothy C. F. Stunt. Christian Brethren Research Fellowship, 34 Tewkesbury Avenue, Pinner, Middx. 1970. Pp. 27. 25p.

"The striking feature of the Quaker genealogies is the constant intermarriage within their own community. The result was that almost any Quaker could call any other Quaker his cousin." So writes Timothy Stunt (p. 7), and this oversimplification contains an element of truth which Friends may miss, and which may explain the fear of religious separation, as of a truly family division within the Society, from the days of the Wilkinson-Story controversy in the seventeenth century right down to the gradual healing movements which both in this country and America are binding up the wounds inflicted by last century's separations.

Friends in the 1830s were so exercised with their difficulties in the "Beaconite controversy", that the part played in the early years of the Brethren movement by some who left Friends at that time (including such men as Richard Ball and S. P. Tregelles, and members of the Crewdson, Fox, Howard and Lloyd families) has been entirely forgotten.

It is a merit of this pamphlet that it brings this to notice in a readily available, well-documented and straightforward form. It is a useful addition to the study of early nineteenth century Quakerism.

R.S.M.

Scottish Printing

The following items are noted in *A list of books printed in Scotland before 1700*, by Harry G. Aldis. Printed, 1904. Photographically reprinted with additions, including entries for books published in 1700. (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 1970. £4.50.)

Numbers given at the end of each entry are those found in D. G. Wing's *Short-title catalogue*, 1641–1700. Reference has also been made to Joseph Smith's *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 2 vols., 1867, and Supplement, 1893, where an entry has been found.

Number

1516.3 E. (P.) A serious review of some principles of the Quakers. 1655. 4to. [A. Anderson: Edin.] [Copy in Leeds University Library. Photocopy in Friends House Library]

1517 Gilpin (John) The quakers shaken. 1655. 4to. Edin. [Wing G 772]

1528 Stalham (J.) Contradictions of the quakers. 1655. 4to. Edin. [Wing S 5184; Smith, *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, 1873, 407]

1709 Proclamation, 22 Jan. 1661. Against all meetings of quakers, anabaptists. s.sh. [Wing S 1308 = C 3212]

1792 Keith (Geo.) A salutation of dear and tender love. 1665. 4to. [Aberdeen, Forbes?] [Wing K 202; Smith ii.18]

1793 Keith (Geo.) Help in time of need. 1665. 4to. [Aberdeen, Forbes?] [Wing K 173; Smith ii.18]

1843 Keith (Geo.) Immediate revelation. 1668. 4to. [Aberdeen, Forbes?] [Wing K 175; Smith ii.18–19]

1891 Barclay (Robert) Truth cleared of calumnies. 1670. 4to. [Wing B 738; Smith i.173; Smith, *Bibl. Anti-Q.*, 292]

1904 Light manifesting darkness; or a dialogue . . . by [Wm. Mitchell]. 1670. 8vo. Aberdeen, Forbes, Yr. [Wing M 2293; cf. entry in Smith, *Bibl. Anti-Q.*, 292, for William Mitchell's *A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian* which was answered in Robert Barclay's *Truth cleared*, 1670, no. 1891 above]

1921.6 Brown (John) Quakerisme the path-way. 1671. Edinburgh, for J. Cairns. [Wing B 5032]

1923.4 A general epistle to Friends. [By George Keith] 1671. 4to. [Aberdeen?] [Wing K 171; Smith ii.19]

1924 Mitchell (W.) A sober answere to . . . Barclays late book [no. 1891]. 1671. 8vo. Aberdeen, Forbes. [Wing M 2294; Smith, *Bibl. Anti-Q.*, 292]

1937.5 Barclay (Robert) A seasonable warning. 1672. 4to. [Aberdeen] [Wing B 734; Smith i.174]

1938 Barclay (Robert) William Michel unmasqued. 1672. 4to. [Aberdeen, Forbes?] [Wing B 742; Smith i.174]

2063 Quakerism canvassed: Robin Barclay baffled . . . by Al. Shirreff [and others]. 1675. With additional leaf, pp. 135–6. [Edinburgh, A. Anderson] [Wing Q 9; Smith, *Bibl. Anti-Q.*, 395–6]

2064.5 Skene (Alex.) The independencie of the students remonstrance. 1675. s.sh. [Aberdeen, Forbes] [Wing S 3934]

2069 True and faithful accompt of . . . a dispute betwixt some students of divinity . . . and . . . quakers; held in Aberdene . . . (Apl. 14). 1676. 8vo. London [Aberd., Forbes, Yr?]. [Smith ii.178, 578]

2071 Barclay (Ro.) & Geo. Keith: Quakerism confirmed. 1676. 4to. [Aberd., Forbes?] [Wing B 733; Smith i.178, ii.21, 578]

2101 Keith (G.) The way cast up . . . answere to a Postscript. 1677. 8vo. [Aberd., Forbes?] [Wing K 233; Smith ii.21 "printed in Holland"]

2114.7 Barclay (Robert) An apology for the true Christian divinity. 1678. 4to. [Aberdeen, Forbes, Yr.] [Wing B 720; Smith i.179–80]

2116 Brown (Jo.) Quakerisme the pathway to paganisme. 1678. 4to. [Rotterdam?] for J. Cairns. [Wing B 5003; Smith, *Bibl. Anti-Q.*, 89]

2179 Toldervy (John) The foot out of the snare. 1679. 8vo. Glasgow, Sanders. [See 3714 below]

2360 Some queries touching excommunication. 1682. 4to. [Aberd., Forbes] [Wing C 6648, author given as John Cowie; *Jnl. F.H.S.*, 6, p. 108]

2561 Memorialls for the . . . Royall-Burghs . . . by Alex. Skene. 1685. 8vo. [Aberd., Forbes] [Wing S 3935]

2818 Sermon . . . in the Park . . . at Southwark . . . by a sister . . . from Scotland. 1688. 8vo. Edinburgh, J. Reid. [Smith, *Supplement* 12; for the London, 1687 edition see Smith i.44]

3714 Toldervy (John) The foot out of the snare . . . quakers . . . 1697. 8vo. Glasgow, Sanders. [Wing T 1768] [See 2179 above]

4031 Sandilands (Robert) Some queries. 1700. 4to. Forbes, Aberdeen. [Wing S 663; Smith ii.536]

Notes and Queries

William Allen, F.R.S.

The friendship of William Allen, Robert Barclay (1751–1830) and others for John Norton the Cherokee Indian adopted into the Mohawk tribe, is noticed in the Champlain Society's publication, vol. 46, *The Journal of Major Norton, 1816*, edited from the Alnwick manuscript by Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman (1970).

Wilson Armistead

Christine Bolt's *Victorian attitudes to race* (*Studies in social history*, Routledge, 1971, £3.00) covers many aspects of the subject. There is an appendix "Some notes on Abolitionist attitudes to race" which mentions the work of Wilson Armistead, the Leeds Friend who was the author of a number of remarkable books on the Negro, anticipating twentieth-century scholarship and seeking to prove that Africans had long contributed to the civilization and progress of the world. (p. 228)

David Barclay (d. 1768)

David Barclay traded as a linen draper at 108 Cheapside in the City of London; he married as his second wife Priscilla Freame, daughter of John Freame, banker, of Lombard Street: their son John later became a partner in the Freame Bank, and eventually gave his name to the Bank.

After the Great Fire of 1666 it had become customary for the King of England during the first year of his reign to view the Lord Mayor's Procession from the first floor balcony of 108 Cheapside, and this continued after it had come into the possession of a Quaker family.

In 1761, David Barclay entertained George III and Queen Charlotte with other members of the Royal family.

One hundred years later in 1861 the premises were pulled down, and among the lots sold was the wainscoting from the first floor room, described in an advertisement in *The Times*, June 10, 1861: "A fine old oak panelling of a large dining room with chimney-piece and cornice to correspond, elaborately carved in fruit and foliage, in excellent preservation, 750 feet superficial, from 107 and 108 Cheapside, immediately opposite Bow Church."

This lot was purchased by Mr Morris Jones who used it to cover the walls of his dining room at Gungrog near Welshpool. Barclay's Bank has recently purchased this panelling and used it to line the walls of their Board Room at the headquarters of the Bank in Lombard Street, London.

George W. Edwards

Thomas Bradford, Carpenter

Thomas Bradford, carpenter, of Bristol (Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 195), shipped iron, nails and lead, on the *Society* of Bristol, May 2, 1682, and he doubtless sailed in that ship to Pennsylvania. A note in *Publications of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania*, no. 1, p. 43 gives further information.

John Bright

The Sir Isaac Holden (Sir Isaac Holden, 1st bart., 1807–1897, *D.N.B.*) collection of business and family papers, *c.* 1840–1897, in the University of Bradford Library, includes letters from John Bright in 1867 (Bundle numbered 5), and August 1868 (Envelope 53).

The Library has issued a brief inventory of the contents of the collection, April 1971.

As would be expected, John Bright (along with other Friends) appears prominently in P. F. Clarke's *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1971)—the "New Liberalism" of the title filling the forty years up to the 1914 War.

Cananuel Britton

One Kendall Britain has 2 cwt. wrought iron, and 7 cwt. nails loaded on the ship *Society* of Bristol (Thomas Jordan, master) on May 2, 1682, for Pennsylvania. A note to the entry in *Publications of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania*, no. 1, p. 43, states that he was probably Canawell Britton who had died intestate by February 27, 1682/3; see *Chester Court Records* (Philadelphia, 1910), 25, 56, 68, 140. This information supplements that given concerning him in Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 195.

Richard Champion (1743–1791)

Richard Champion's *Comparative Reflections on the . . . State of Great Britain*, 1787, has come into the possession of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, in the shape of a copy annotated for a new edition which never appeared. *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4, p. 368 (August 1971) suggests that the time may be ripe for the publication of a new edition, particularly as many of the letters reflect on conditions at the time of the American Revolution.

Clarks of Street

Bancroft Clark of Street, writes in amendment of the note which appeared on p. 226 in our last issue, that the firm's history was edited by L. H. Barber and published in 1951, and that William Clark's invention should be dated in the 1860s.

William Collins

In "A Northampton Joke, *c.* 1900" which concerns Sir Henry Randall and his home at Monk's Park on the east side of Northampton town, a little to the north of the Wellingborough Road, it is mentioned that the house ("a dignified 'Regency' structure") "was built *c.* 1835, by William Collins, a prosperous draper in Northampton who was also a Quaker". (*Northamptonshire past and present*, vol. 4, no. 6, 1971/2, p. 378.)

Henry Combly (d. 1684)

The appearance of George E. McCracken's *Welcome claimants*, 1970 (Welcome Society of Pennsylvania, Publications 2) prompts a correction to the note on Henry Combly in the Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 197. The date of death of Henry Combly (Comly) should be 1684 and not as given. Henry Combly died in Bucks County, Penna., and was buried at Middletown, May 14, 1684 (will, dated April 26, 1684,

Bucks County Wills, Register of Wills Office, Court House, Doylestown, Pa., A–1: 8).

Henry Combly's widow, Joan, married Joseph English (d. October 10, 1686) April 26, 1685, Middletown Monthly Meeting; she was buried at Middletown, December 20, 1689.

It may be noticed that there is no Bristol burial record for John Combly, son of Henry and Judith, b. October 14, 1661; he did not go to Pennsylvania. No Bristol birth register entry has come to light for Henry (1674–1727), son of Henry and Joan, who went across the Atlantic with his parents and who had eleven children and more than 70 grandchildren.

William Dargan (1799–1867)

Victoria Travels: journeys of Queen Victoria between 1830 and 1900, with extracts from her journal, by David Duff (London, Frederick Muller, 1970. £5) is an opportunity for a wealth of illustrations, including many photographs taken about the time.

At the end of August 1853 the royal family visited the Dublin exhibition, mounted two years after the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851 with the aim of assisting Irish industry. They stayed at the Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park and visited the exhibition each morning of their stay. One afternoon they drove to Mount Annville, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Dargan. William Dargan, the Irish railway promoter, had been a moving spirit behind the exhibition, and he had guaranteed £100,000 to cover the cost of the erection of the exhibition building. "The Queen offered Mr. Dargan a baronetcy, but he and his wife were Quakers, and declined, being satisfied with the success of their efforts. When Mrs. Dargan was asked by a friend why her husband had turned down the honour, she replied that "the fount of all true honour is within oneself" (p. 146).

Robert Day, Tailor

"The seventeenth-century token issuers of Gravesend and Milton-next-Gravesend", by Ernest W. Tilley (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 85 for 1970, pp. 149–74) mentions a halfpenny token of Robert Day a Gravesend tailor (G295). It had the obverse of a pair of scissors. Robert Day lived in a small house in West-street. He was a Quaker, and "with a relative, Thomas Day, was imprisoned in Maidstone jail for . . . not swearing" (p. 164). (Besse, *Sufferings*, i.290 places the imprisonment at January 1660/61.)

Ezekiel Dickinson (1711–1788)

"Bowood, Friday, August 31, 1781", Jeremy Bentham to Jeremiah Bentham, letter no. 405 in *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 3, edited by Ian R. Christie (Athlone Press, 1971), includes the following passage:

"Oh yes: on Friday we had a Mr. Dickinson, a rich old Quaker in the neighbourhood, who called here and drank tea."

Although the editor of the *Correspondence* has not identified Mr. Dickinson, he is doubtless Ezekiel Dickinson, son of Caleb and Sarah Dickinson of Monks, parish of Corsham, born 28.v.1711, died 21.v.1788 (age given as 77) at Bowden Hill, near Lacock, and buried in the family vault at Pickwick. (See

Jnl. F.H.S., vol. 50, no. 3, p. 155.)

Ezekiel and Caleb Dickinson also figure in the letter book of an attorney in the Jamaica trade between March 1762 and 1763, which has been acquired recently by the manuscripts department of the Guildhall Library, London (reported by C. R. H. Cooper, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 4, no. 4, October 1971, p. 334).

Fox of Wellington

The woollen industry of south-west England, by Kenneth G. Ponting (Bath, Adams & Dart, 1971. £5.25) in the Origins of Industry series, includes a note (p. 175) on the mills of the Fox family at Wellington. The author says: "The industrial buildings of this long-established and famous firm are a little outside the town at Tonedale. Not as important architecturally speaking as their literary documentary material."

"Mr. Fox, from Cornwall"

Edward Long Fox is brought to mind in the following passage in *Boswell in extremes, 1776-1778* (Edited by Charles Weis and Frederick Pottle, Heinemann, 1971. £7), p. 186. Boswell was travelling northwards to Edinburgh. He set out from Newcastle upon Tyne in the diligence on Saturday, September, 27 1777, "with an elderly female Quaker . . . At Kelso in place of the female Quaker there came in Mr. Fox, a young Quaker student of physic from Cornwall."

We may hazard a guess that the traveller who entered the chaise at Kelso was Edward Long Fox, M.D.(Edin.), L.R.C.P. (1761-1835), "the colourful quaker physician to the Bristol infirmary and sire of a long line of 'mad-doctors' who sent the York Retreat its first matron." The quoted words come from R. Hunter and I. Macalpine, *Three hundred years of psychiatry*, 1963, p. 631, and the reference to the matron is to Katharine Allen, who in 1806 married George Jepson (1743–1836) superintendent at the Retreat (see W. K. & E. M. Sessions, *The Tukes of York*, 1971, p. 66).

If the guess is correct, then Edward Long Fox, second son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Hingston) Fox of Falmouth, may have been going north to begin his studies at Edinburgh. He matriculated at Edinburgh in 1779, and graduated M.D. on June 24, 1784 (with dissertation de Voce Humanâ) [see J. Smith, *Descriptive catalogue of Friends' books*, 1867, i.644]. William Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2nd ed., 1878, ii.376–377, records that he was admitted an extra-licentiate of the College of Physicians, June 26, 1787. Before that time, April 3, 1786, Dr. Fox had been elected a physician at the Bristol Infirmary, a post which he held until 1816 (see also A. B. Beavan, *Bristol lists*, 1899, p. 257). He died at Brislington House in June 1835, aged 74.

Another possible candidate for the seat in Boswell's diligence is indicated in Munk's *Roll*, ii.390, in the person of Joseph Fox, M.D., born in Cornwall, educated as an apothecary, who went to Edinburgh and studied for some time, and on February 1, 1783 became a doctor of medicine in the University of St. Andrews. He settled in London; admitted L.R.C.P. September 30, 1788;

physician to the London hospital 1789–1800; retired to Falmouth; died at Plymouth February 25, 1832, aged 73.

KATHARINE BRUCE GLASIER

The Enthusiasts: a biography of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier, by Laurence Thompson (Victor Gollancz, 1971. £3) gives documentary evidence to fill out the history of the Labour movement around the turn of the century and up to the twenties.

Katharine Bruce Glasier died a Friend in 1950.

JOHN GRISCOM, LL.D.

"Humanitarianism in the pre-industrial city: the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1817–1823", by Raymond A. Mohl, assistant professor of history in Florida Atlantic University (*Journal of American history*, vol. 57, no. 3, December 1970, pp. 576–99) pays some attention to the work of Thomas Eddy (b. Philadelphia, 1758) and John Griscom (b. New Jersey, 1774, and settled in New York as Friends' schoolmaster in 1807) two Friends who were instrumental in establishing and guiding the work of a pioneer society aiming to ameliorate poverty and poor social conditions in New York.

WILLIAM HENDERSON

"New light on Smollett and the Annesley cause", by Lillian de la Torre (*Review of English studies*, New series, vol. 22, no. 87, 1971, pp. 274–81) brings to notice again William Henderson "the treacherous Quaker", whose name appears in the 1740s in connection with the claimant to the Annesley peerage.

William Henderson "of Ireland" visited Scottish meetings in company with Thomas Grier, 1713 (*Journal F.H.S.*, xii (1915), 175). In Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, 1867, I.932, he is distinguished with an asterisk to indicate those individuals who at some time were disunited from the Society, and not known to have returned.

DENNIS HOLLISTER

Dennis Hollister is mentioned in an article by Tai Liu, assistant professor of history, University of Delaware, U.S.A., in the *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, vol. 22, no. 3, July 1971, pp. 223–36, entitled "The calling of the Barebones Parliament reconsidered". The author essays to establish the allegiance of this man who became one of the founders of Bristol Quakerism by reference to the Broadmead (spelled *Broadmeat*) *Records*. Alexander Jaffray is also mentioned.

The same review of the *Journal* includes a sage review of *Victorian Quakers*, by Elizabeth Isichei (Oxford University Press. £3.25).

PHILIP JAMES

Philip James, cooper, of Bristol, and later of Pennsylvania (Bristol Record Society's publications, vol. 26, p. 205) is mentioned as loading goods for America on the ship *Bristol Factor* (Roger Drew, master), July 26, 1682 (*Publications of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania*, no. 1, p. 95). Some details of his career in Pennsylvania are given in the volume.

JOSEPH LANCASTER

An interesting chapter on "Religion and the Churches" in

George Rudé's *Hanoverian London: 1714–1808*, the first published volume of Weidenfeld and Nicolson's projected eight-volume *History of London* (1971. £3.50) closes with a couple of pages on the charity school movement, and notes the establishment of the first of the Lancasterian schools in London in 1798—"The Bible was still obligatory, but the catechism dropped out of the curriculum. In James Mill's phrase, they were 'schools for all, not for Churchmen only', it was quite a big step forward."

William and Emma Noble

The work of William and Emma Noble at Maes yr haf in the 1920s is mentioned in Drusilla Scott's engrossing biography of her father entitled *A. D. Lindsay* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1971. £4.20).

Evan Oliver

The publication of *Passengers and Ships prior to 1684*, the first of the Publications of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania (edited by Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr.), 1970, brings to notice a gap in records of removals among Friends which presents difficulties to searchers wishing to trace the movements of members between meetings.

On p. 14 of the book we read: "A note in the early records of the Philadelphia Meeting reads, 'Evan Oliver ROCF [received on certificate from] Bristol Monthly Meeting, dated 1682–6–26', that is, August 26." The author notes that Evan Oliver and his family came from Radnorshire, and so the certificate should have come from Wales, and goes on to say that the certificate must have been a temporary one, granted because the emigrants had to live in Bristol until their ship was ready to sail (the ship, the *Bristol Factor*, arrived in the Delaware in the last week of October 1682). See also note 104 on pp. 55–56 with a reference to A. C. Myers, *Quaker arrivals*, 5.

Not mentioned, however, is the fact that August 26 was not a regular meeting day, that Bristol Monthly (*recte* Two-weeks) Meeting did not record any delegation of powers to grant removal certificates to emigrants, and that the Meeting has no record of Evan Oliver and his party. It is true, of course, that Friends emigrated without certificates and that records of the granting of certificates are incomplete.

Mary (Langford) Oliver

"Planters and merchants: the Oliver family of Antigua and London, 1716–1784", by Richard B. Sheridan (*Business History*, vol. 13, no. 2, July 1970, pp. 104–113) has a note that "In 1724, Richard Oliver IV married Mary, elder daughter of Jonas Langford, a well-to-do Quaker planter of Antigua."

Sir Alfred Pease

J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, in his "Yorkshireman's Notebook" (a weekly miscellany on country topics) in *The Wetherby, Tadcaster & Boston Spa News*, Friday, October 15, 1971, mentions the plain country speech of "thee and thou" meaning no disrespect. He describes a manuscript containing memories of early Quakers in Yorkshire which the late Sir Alfred Pease gave him many years ago. The manuscript has a lot to say about Friends' forms of address.

John Philley

At the risk of boring readers, I venture to bring forward yet another contemporary notice of John Philley's sojourn in Turkey! Cf. my previous notes, *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 62–63; vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 131–134.

The account, which does not name the Quaker, though his identity need cause us no worry, appears in Bernard Randolph's: *The present state of the islands in the Archipelago*, Oxford, 1687, pp. 68–69: "In the year 1665 a Quaker who lived in Dover, was perswaded to come to Constantinople to convert the Grand Signior; those who set him on the design, perswading him, that he should have the gift of Tongues: but he was disappointed in that, and all other his expectations, and without seeing the Grand Signor, or Vizier, by the Right Honorable the Earl of Winchelsea's order, was shipt aboard the ship Sun, and sent for Legorn. I have since seen him in Kent, *he being now of another perswasion*." [The italics are mine.]

While most of the information repeats that found in the accounts of Frampton and Winchilsea, we are here presented with a suggestion that Philley left Friends after his return to England. If he did, I should like to know of corroborating evidence.

William Ashford Kelly,
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Edinburgh, EH10 4NJ

The Arrainment of Christendom, 1664, by John Philly (Wing P 2127) is printed in facsimile from one of the three copies at Friends House Library, as no. 293 of the series on English linguistics, 1500–1800 (Scolar Press, Menston, 1971).

The volume receives a place in Dr. Alston's series because it was printed in a semi-phonetic spelling, in an edition of about 1,000 copies produced in Holland.

Henry Richardson Procter, F.R.S.

Notebooks of experiments in tanning, lecture notes, and cognate material (*c.* 1898–1918) made by Henry Richardson Procter (1848–1927) professor and head of the Department of Leather Industries in the University of Leeds (1891–1913) have recently been transferred within the University from the Procter Department of Food and Leather Science (as the Department has in recent years become) to the Brotherton Library, where they have been allotted Manuscript numbers 285, 290–292. H. R. Procter was born at Lowlights Tannery, North Shields, son of John R. Procter (for whom see *Records of a Quaker family*, by Anne Ogden Boyce, 1889), and went to Bootham School. See *Who was who*.

Among the papers in Leeds University MS. 290 is a letter from Joseph Clark & Sons tanners, curriers & leather merchants, Low Fishergate & 11 St. Sepulchre Gate, Doncaster, concerning their hides and methods of tanning, addressed to J. R. Procter & Son, July 27, 1876. MS. 290 records H. R. Procter's experiments in tanning at Lowlights, June 1877 to October 1887.

Mary Sewell (1797–1884)

"A Victorian Quaker writer—Mary Sewell", by A. G. Newell, of Liverpool University Library, appeared in *The Witness* (Pickering & Inglis), March 1971,

pp. 85–87. It recalls the literary work—poems and tracts—of Mary (Wright) Sewell, wife of Isaac Sewell, and mother of Anna Sewell (1820–1878) the author of *Black Beauty*, the autobiography of a horse. Isaac Sewell remained a Friend, but his wife left the Society and is indicated with the asterisk of "some time . . . disunited" in Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1867.

Thomas Story

"In the journal of the life of Thomas Story, a Quaker, under the year 1739, there is probably one of the earliest literary references of any importance to Methodism: 'We called at Lowther Hall to pay our regard to Lord Lonsdale . . . we had agreeable conversation on divers Subjects; and a People of late appearing in this Nation, to which the name of Methodists is given'." (*Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 9, p. 141.)

The above incident is recalled in David Frederick Clarke: "Benjamin Ingham, 1712–1772, with special reference to his relations with the churches (Anglican, Methodist, Moravian and Glassite) of his time", unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1971.

Isaac Thompson (b. 1703)

"A philosophic war: an episode in eighteenth-century scientific lecturing in north-east England", by F. J. G. Robinson (*Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, vol. 2, 1970, pp. 101–108) deals with the lecturing activities in Newcastle and the Durham county area of Isaac Thompson, "born in Lancashire of Quaker parents in 1703".

Thomas Weld (1595–1661)

Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, vol. 48 (1970), pp. 303–332, includes an article "Thomas Weld of Gateshead; the return of a New England Puritan", by Roger Howell. It brings to mind Thomas Weld's arguments with Friends in the 1650s. The author says Weld's dispute with the Quakers did not prosper him as much as his controversies with the Baptists, "in part because he faced a more formidable antagonist in James Nayler, in part because the Quaker community struck more permanent roots, aided in this by the patronage of Sir Arthur Hesilrige's crony and secretary, Anthony Pearson" (pp. 326ff). Weld was appointed in 1657 one of the first visitors of the newly-founded Durham College.

Walt Whitman

"The Quaker influence on Walt Whitman", by Lawrence Templin, of Bluffton College, an article in *American Literature*, vol. 42, no. 2 (May 1970), pp. 165–180, aims to summarize the facts of Whitman's relationship to Quakerism (among factors influencing Whitman he recognized the inspiration that his family received from Elias Hicks) and the light it sheds on Whitman's work as a creative artist.

Adult Education

In the course of an article entitled: "The sociology of adult eucation in Britain and America", by Donald Garside (*Memoirs and proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, vol. 113, 1970–1971, pp. 44–58), mention is made of

the work of the adult schools after the 1870 Education Act had made dealing with the problem of illiteracy unnecessary. This was the time of "the leadership of the 'Chocolate Quaker' families of Rowntree, Cadbury and Fry", and the developments at Woodbrooke, Fircroft and Scarborough early in this century.

Ampleforth

Local Population Studies magazine and newsletter, no. 3 (Autumn 1969) contains (p. 53) a letter from the Vicar of Ampleforth commenting on the social history of the village as a squire-less village. He notes, "In the seventeenth century, Quakers, who were not acceptable on many estates, found refuge here, and there was quite a sizeable settlement of them, complete with their own meeting house . . . For the same reasons, Roman Catholics . . . found a refuge here too . . ."

In the previous issue (No. 2, Spring 1969, p. 10) "News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure", mentions the work of Dr. Eversley and Professor Vann on family reconstitution forms for Quaker families.

Banbury

A Victorian M.P. and his constituents: the correspondence of H.W. Tancred, 1841–1859. Edited by B. S. Trinder (Banbury Historical Society, vol. 8, 1969. £1.80) has some notice of three Friends, James Cadbury the temperance advocate, John Padbury, tailor, and Mrs. Bigg, wife of William Bigg, hatter, prominent liberal and partner in the *Banbury Guardian*. Tancred wrote to his Banbury agent: "Pray do something to satisfy Mrs. Bigg. I never in my life heard of a Dorcas society; but . . . the name of Mrs. Bigg as a patroness is a guarantee to me that all is right."

It is noted that Joseph Ashby Gillett (1795–1853), the Quaker banker who was usually reckoned a Conservative, gave £100 like the leading Liberals (and Tancred himself) to the British Schools Society, which the editor deems "the most important of the outwardly non-political organizations in which the Banbury Liberals came together" (p. xxi).

Birmingham

In Bryan Little's *Birmingham Buildings: the architectural story of a midland city* (David & Charles: Newton Abbot, 1971. £3.50) there is a brief column on the architectural work of Thomas Rickman (1776–1844), particularly in the Birmingham district.

This well produced and fascinating book includes notices of work at Bournville and many illustrations.

Bromyard

Bromyard: a local history. Edited by Joseph G. Hillaby and Edna G. Pearson (Bromyard and District Local History Society. 1970. £1.25). This volume has a photograph of the former Friends' Meeting House (eighteenth century), and a useful 4-page summary of the history of Friends in the market town from 1668 until the present century. Deborah Waller, the author of this account, acknowledges assistance from Mrs. E. S. Whiting of Leominster, and quotes from Herefordshire Q.M. records at Worcester and Hereford county

record offices, and Leominster M.M. minutes.

CHESHIRE

The Buildings of England: Cheshire, by Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard (Penguin Books, 1971. £2.25) includes mentions of Friends' Meeting Houses at Antrobus (1726), Heswall (Telegraph Road, 1961–1962, by Dewi Prys Thomas and Gerald R. Beech), and Wilmslow (1830), and a brief note of the existence of a Quaker burial ground at Eaton, near Congleton.

COALBROOKDALE

"A description of Coalbrookdale in 1801", by B. S. Trinder (*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, vol. 58, pt. 3, 1970, pp. 244–258) includes among other passages a description of the view from "Sunniside, a very pleasant Seat belonging to the family of the Darby's the proprietors of the works . . . The garden is laid out with taste and ingenuity . . . at the bottom of which is a Meeting house belonging to the people called Quakers, the proprietors of the works & some of the inhabitants being members of that society" (p. 253).

In the same issue of the *Transactions* is an account by J. D. Nichol of the parliamentary history of the borough of Wenlock in the half century up to the Reform Bill of 1832. The Quaker ironmasters of Coalbrookdale supported the Forester family (Whig) during most of the period; they played an active part in local politics during the reform agitation of the late 1820s. In 1832 they brought forward an independent radical candidate in the person of Matthew Bridges, a Bristol attorney pledged to vote by ballot, triennial parliaments and repeal of the Corn Laws. Bridges was defeated in a lively election and the iron masters were again unsuccessful in their last attempt to return a candidate in 1835 (pp. 221, 224, 233).

D.N.B.

The Dictionary of National Biography, 1951–1960. Edited by E. T. Williams and Helen M. Palmer. With an index covering the years 1901–1960 in one alphabetical series. (Oxford University Press, 1971.)

Notables included are Bishops Barnes (Birmingham) and Bell (Chichester), Ernest Bevin (mentioning the "Quaker Adult School" of his Bristol years), H. N. Brailsford, Patrick Alfred Buxton, medical entomologist, Sara Margery Fry (by Thomas Hodgkin), Tom Goodey (nematologist, and clerk of Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting), Henry Wilson Harris (of *The Spectator*), the diplomat Sir Reginald Hervey Hoare, and Viscount Templewood (Sir Samuel John Gurney Hoare), Laurence Housman (by Roger Fulford), George Barker Jeffery, A. D. Lindsay (Lindsay of Birker), Gilbert Murray, Francis Wall Oliver (palaeobotanist and ecologist, son of Daniel Oliver, F.R.S., and educated at Kendal and Bootham schools), Edward Reynolds Pease (of the Fabian Society), Sir George Lionel Pepler (town planner, educated at Bootham, and first married (1903) to Edith Amy (d. 1942) daughter of Alfred E. Bobbett of Bristol), Arthur Cecil Pigou (economist, in the Friends' Ambulance Unit in the 1914 war), Lewis Fry Richardson,

Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (by Lord Simey), George Tomlinson (Labour Minister of Education, a Methodist and a conscientious objector in 1916), Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan, 3rd baronet, of Wallington, and Geoffrey Winthrop Young (mountaineer, and member of the F.A.U.).

Dover

"The Divine Durant: a seventeenth century Independent", by Madeline V. Jones, an article in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 73, for 1968, tells (p. 201) how John Durant (1620–1689) "hastened to Dover in 1656 to sustain the Independent congregation there in the face of a powerful Quaker movement in the town, and to remind them of the essential tenet of their belief, that Christ did not die for all 'but only for those elect ones'."

Grange-over-Sands

W. E. Swale: *Grange-over-Sands: the story of a gentle township* (Grange-over-Sands, 1969. 50p), page 78, contains the following:

"The nearest Friends Meeting House is that in Cartmel, built in 1859; but it seems that a Quaker chapel was put up in Grange at the back of Prospect House. It was built by a Quaker, J. H. Midgley, who had converted Burners' Close into a hotel, around 1883."

Hampton Court Grape Vine

The rebuilding of the Vine House at Hampton Court Palace in the autumn of 1969 evoked some interesting correspondence in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*.

It was in 1720 that the Black Hamburg vine was first brought to England by John Warner and grown by him in his garden at Rotherhithe in south east London. In 1758 John Warner gave a cutting of his vine to Sir Charles Raymond at "Valentines" near Ilford. Ten years later Sir Charles Raymond gave a cutting of his vine to Capability Brown, who planted it at Hampton Court Palace where it still flourishes. John Warner was a prominent member of Horsly-down Monthly Meeting.

George W. Edwards

Law Reform

Parliament and Conscience, by Peter G. Richards, professor of British government at the University of Southampton (Allen & Unwin, 1970. £2.75) gives an account of moves for the reform of British laws in the fields of capital punishment, homosexuality, abortion, censorship, divorce and other fields. Mainly concentrated on events in and out of Parliament in the last decade, the book also includes some historical material, and notes the activity of John Bright against capital punishment more than a century ago.

Leeds

R. G. Wilson's study of the merchant community in Leeds 1700–1830, has been published under the title *Gentlemen Merchants* (Manchester University Press, 1971. £3.60). The author remarks that he had been unable to see the minutes of the "Leeds and Brighouse Meeting", but Friends will remember from a previous note (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. 50, pp. 258–259, 1964) on Dr. Wilson's work that he mentions the Elams. The bibliography includes Dr. A. T. Gary's

thesis on "The political and economic relations of English and American Quakers, 1750–1785" (Oxford D.Phil., 1935).

Middlesex

The Victoria History of *Middlesex*, vol. 4, edited by J. S. Cockburn and T. F. T. Baker (Oxford University Press, 1971) includes various notices of Friends in Edgware, Longford (Harmondsworth parish), Pinner (Harrow), Ruislip and Uxbridge. The account of Friends in Uxbridge has material supplied by Celia Trott, and there is an illustration of Uxbridge meeting house (1818). Richard Taverner (vicar of Hillingdon) and his dispute with Friends at West Drayton in 1658 is mentioned, and there is also a note about a Quaker school at Mill Hill (p. 164).

Missions

In the *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, edited by Stephen Neill, Gerald H. Anderson, John Goodwin (Lutterworth Press, 1970. £3.50) there is a brief survey by Blanche Shaffer of the organizations set up by Friends in the mission field.

Mountmellick School

The Irish flowerers, by Elizabeth Boyle (Ulster Folk Museum and Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Belfast, 1971. £2.50) includes a note (p. 12) "when the Society of Friends opened Mountmellick school in Queen's County, in 1786, they arranged for the girls to earn money for their textbooks by taking in needlework".

For the famine period, the author makes use of evidence produced in the *Transactions of the Society of Friends Central Relief Committee during the famine in Ireland, 1846–1847*, concerning conditions among the makers of lace. The Relief Committee helped to support one lace manufactory and gave £500 to a Belfast association promoting needlework schools in Connacht famine areas.

Naturalists

A short history of the libraries and list of MSS. and original drawings in the British Museum (Natural History), by Frederick C. Sawyer (Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History), Historical: vol. 4, no. 2, 1971), includes notice of drawings and manuscripts by John Gilbert Baker, the Bartrams, Peter Collinson, Richard Beck, J. H. Gurney, Sydney Parkinson, Edward Robson, Henry Seebohm and others.

New-England Judged

The impact of George Bishop's *New-England Judged* (1661) in publicizing the anti-Quaker measures taken by the Massachusetts government and bringing about a change of face in the colony is mentioned in T. H. Breen's *The character of the good ruler: a study of puritan political ideas in New England, 1630–1730* (Yale University Press, 1970).

The author recalls that "the Quakers refused to accept their banishment, returning to Boston as fast as they were sent away. More out of frustration than fanaticism the Puritan authorities finally executed several of them. John Hull, the colonial mint master and a deputy, described the incident in his diary: 'These three persons had the sentence of death pronounced against them

by the General Court . . . and well they deserved it. Most of the godly have cause to rejoice, and bless the Lord that strengthens our magistrates and deputies to bear witness against such blasphemers'." (p. 92).

Northamptonshire

Entries under the word Quakers in the index to *The letters of Daniel Eaton to the third Earl of Cardigan, 1725–1732*. Edited by Joan Wake and Deborah Champion Webster (Northamptonshire Record Society. Publications. 24) 1971, lead to a letter of 1725 in which an un-named Friend is named, who "has always been a very great friend to [his apprentice, the son of the widowed housekeeper at Deene Hall] but since he is a Quaker and a creditor, he may perhaps, if he could get mony into his hands, pay himself in full, tho' he pays the others but in part. He is a man of very good substance & promises very fair". It is not difficult to see that Lord Cardigan's land agent did not entirely trust the Quaker.

Nottingham

Duncan Gray's *Nottingham: settlement to city* (1953) was republished in 1969 by S. R. Publishers Ltd., East Ardsley. The author notices the imprisonment of George Fox in the town, and the consequent conversion of John Reckless the mayor to Quakerism. In the eighteenth century Friends had a meeting house in Spaniel Row, and the nineteenth saw them concerned in the dispute over payment of church rates.

Poets of Ireland

The Poets of Ireland: a biographical and bibliographical dictionary of Irish writers of English verse, by D. J. O'Donoghue (Dublin, Hodges, Figgis; reprinted 1970 by Johnson Reprint Co.) brings to notice the following: Mary Birkett; Gershon Boate; Edward Clibborn, M.R.I.A.; M. E. Dudley; Lydia Jane Fisher; Sarah D. Greer; Thomas Hancock (1783–1849); Joseph Humphreys; Douglas Hyde; Mary Leadbeater; John F. McArdle ("Mr. Quips was a Quaker"); Thomas Makin (an early settler in Pennsylvania); Joseph John Murphy; A. Neale; Sophia S. Pim; Abigail Roberts; William Robinson; members of the Shackleton family; John Todhunter; George Webb; Richard Davis Webb; Thomas Wilkinson (of Yanwath, Cumberland).

Popular Beliefs

Religion and the decline of magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, by Keith Thomas (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971) is a massive book, well-presented and a valuable contribution to a subject which cuts across many fields of study.

Friends appear in this work many times. Meeting houses, Friends' attitude to oaths, to miracles and the workings of divine providence against persecutors, to prophesying and to the practice of astrology, are all dealt with. One may sometimes suspect the reliability of the sources quoted; for instance the ascription to "a Quaker" in p. 598 seems to rest on a questionable endorsement on a document in the Domestic State Papers.

Among other Quaker names

appearing in the index we note those of Solomon Eccles, George Fox, James Nayler, John Raunce and Susanna Pearson.

Population

"Family size and fertility control in eighteenth-century America: a study of Quaker families", by Robert V. Wells (*Population studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, March 1971, pp. 73–82) deals with 276 Quaker families in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It finds that the fertility rates of the Quakers studied were considerably lower than those found in the general American population at the same time.

Quaker Lead Company

Industrial archaeology of the Peak District, by Helen Harris (David & Charles, £3.15. 1971) includes a brief notice on p. 49 when dealing with the smelting process:

"The cupola is said to have been introduced into Derbyshire from Wales by a company of Quakers in about 1747 when the first one was constructed at Kelstedge, Ashover, by the London Lead Company."

Reading, Berks.

Reading, a biography, by Alan Wykes (Macmillan, 1970. £2.75) includes a couple of pages concerning Friends in the town during the reign of Charles II, and gives a stirring paragraph to Sir William Armorer, equerry to the king, and persecutor of the Quakers (p. 106).

Religious Geography

The Geography of Religion in England, by John D. Gay (Duckworth, 1971. £3.95), has a good map section showing the distribution of various major denominations at different periods. There is a page of information on the Society of Friends, not all of it trustworthy —for instance, "The great success of Fry's and Cadbury's established Bristol as an important Quaker centre." There is a table (p. 226) of percentages of total Quaker membership for England in 1967.

Rhode Island Friends

Accusations of Toryism were levelled against Friends in Rhode Island when they refused to take up any other stand than neutrality in the War of Independence.

A Quaker petition of 1788 against the paper money system then in operation in the colony enabled opposition to it to crystallize, so that it was abandoned within a year.

Rhode Island had prohibited the slave trade in 1786, and prominent Friends in the colony were unenthusiastic for the federal Constitution of 1787 when it provided for the continuance of slavery (and toleration of the slave trade until 1808).

The above are among points covered in Irwin H. Polishook, *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774–1795* (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1969).

Sandy Foundation

The Journal of Giles Moore. Edited by Ruth Bird (Sussex Record Society, Lewes. Publication vol. 68. 1971) prints the accounts of Giles Moore (1617–1679) rector of Horsted Keynes. Here (p. 191) we find that on April 20, 1669 he purchased "Pens Sandy foundation, &

Dr Owens Answere—2s. od." No other identifiable work concerning Friends is noted.

Scotland

Sources for Scottish genealogy and family history, by D. J. Steel, assisted by the late Mrs. A. E. F. Steel (National Index of Parish Registers, vol. 12. Published for the Society of Genealogists by Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1970) includes a useful 7-page survey of Scottish Friends' history and records likely to be used in genealogical searches.

On p. 210 John Wigham suffers from an intrusive aitch which puts him wrong in the index.

A Shaken Quaker

The Yorkshire Dialect Society summer bulletin, no. 18, June 1971, pp. 12–13, contains the following anecdote contributed by Fred Brown:

"An old Quaker lady was telling how in the old days Friends used to go to meetings on horse-back, or on horse-drawn vehicles, if they came from any distance.

She told about one couple who usually rode to meetings in a high dog-cart, and on one occasion the horse shied and threw the pair out onto the road.

When they arrived at the meeting, bruised and shaken, and related their mishap, another old Quaker asked in the quaint vernacular, 'An' wer' ye much hurt?'

'Noa,' replied the trembling man, 'I favoured; I fell on my wife.'

With a twinkle in her eye, the old Quaker lady remarked that one never heard the word 'favoured' used in that way now-a-days."

Sheffield

Books printed by John Garnet, Sheffield's first known printer (Sheffield City Libraries, Local history leaflet no. 13, 1969), includes as item no. 5, a work of which no copy has been traced, and which is listed on the last page of *A new historical catechism*, by W.L., S.P., as "Shortly will be Publish'd", the following:

A Dialogue between a Pupiple [*sic*] and his Tutor, wherein is finally overthrown the Quakers pretences to Infalability [*sic*], Loyalty and Unity; and in fine, a Demonstrative Proof of Quakerism being worse than Atheism. Printed by John Garnet. 1737.

Sociology

Some of the material about Friends in *The London Heretics, 1870–1914*, by Warren Sylvester Smith (London 1967) has already appeared in *Quaker History*. The author describes the period as one of quietism for Friends. He thinks Rufus Jones "perhaps the greatest legacy (John Wilhelm) Rowntree left". London Yearly Meeting is called "the Quaker designation for the inclusive membership of all the smaller meetings in the London area". A quotation from Harriet Law, "The Christian Life", in *The Secular Chronicle* (X, 6., August 11, 1878, p. 65) may not be well known: "The Quakers, it is true, have tried to put into force a modified form of the oft-repeated injunction 'Resist not evil'; and by systematic contravention of another less authoritative command ('Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth') have managed to keep themselves

in existence; but they exist (like the smaller European nationalities) under the protection, and for the convenience of the more efficient members of the body politic, who act upon an entirely different principle" (pp. 238–239). The social involvement of Friends in his period is the author's main concern.

DAVID J. HALL

STAFFORDSHIRE

There is a substantial and informative account of Friends in Staffordshire in the chapter on "Protestant nonconformity" in the *Victoria County History: Stafford*, volume 3 (Oxford University Press, 1970. £10.50). The author (the Rev. R. Mansfield) acknowledges help from notes on Staffordshire Quakerism from Mr. D. G. Stuart, Department of Adult Education, Keele University.

SWARTHMOOR

The 1970 summer meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute was based on Lancaster, and *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 127 (1970) includes a brief account of Swarthmoor Friends' Meeting House by C. F. Stell (pp. 269–270) which the Institute visited on Tuesday, July 7, 1970.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore, by Frances Blanshard (Wesleyan University Press, 1970) tells the life story of the Rhodes Scholar (and later the influential American secretary for the Rhodes Trustees) who introduced ideas for university education which he had been exposed to during his time at Oxford into the American university field, and as its president brought the Quaker Swarthmore College into the front rank of liberal arts colleges. The book was written by Frances Blanshard, who shared Frank Aydelotte's work in serving for many years as Dean at the college; she herself receives a fitting tribute from Brand Blanshard, her husband, who edited and completed the work after her death in 1966.

TEMPERANCE

Drink and the Victorians: the temperance question in England, 1815–1872, by Brian Harrison (Faber, 1971. £5.50) is likely to stand as the definitive work on the subject for a long time.

The participation of Friends in the various (and sometimes conflicting) societies in the field is well covered. The first British anti-spirits society, requiring abstinence from spirits and moderation in other drinks, was founded at a Bible Society gathering in the Quaker meeting house at New Ross, co. Wexford, in 1829.

"The pillars of teetotalism in rural areas were . . . often eccentrics or Quakers who had little to lose by an additional eccentricity, and whose income could not be threatened by squires and parsons" (p. 149).

Friends produced 24 per cent of the teetotal leaders whose religious allegiance is known (p. 165).

Well before the rise in cocoa consumption in the 1840s, "Eighteenth-century Quakers were prominent for manufacturing beer, the eighteenth-century temperance drink; likewise nineteenth-century Quakers—Tuke, Mennell and Horniman—were prominent in distributing tea, the nineteenth-century temperance drink" (p. 302).

Toleration

"The Cromwellians could satisfy neither Quakers who wanted universal toleration, nor Presbyterians who pressed constantly for greater rigidity." The governments of the Interregnum were constantly beset with the difficulty (which proved itself an impossibility) of finding any firm middle ground on which the country could agree to be governed. David Underdown's *Pride's Purge: politics in the puritan revolution* (Clarendon Press, 1971. £4.75) sums up in this way one of the problems facing Whitehall in the period which saw the rise of Quakerism (p. 348).

The book goes searchingly into the political scene and gives much information (some in tabular form) concerning the political figures of the period. Names such as those of Jasper Batt, George Bishop, Dennis Hollister, Anthony Pearson and Morgan Watkins appear, together with names of representatives of families (like Pittard of Martock) found later among Friends of the areas concerned.

The author is not afraid to give his opinions. He concludes a paragraph concerning Anthony Pearson, with the remark: "The combination of high-flown Puritan zeal with a careful eye to the main chance was a common feature of the 1650s." Perhaps of other times, too.

Concerning the turbulent year of 1659, the author cites in evidence J. F. Maclear's article on "Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum" (*Church history*, xix, 1950, pp. 240–270).

Unemployment

"The voluntary occupational centre movement, 1932–1939", by Ralph H. C. Hayburn (*Journal of contemporary history*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1971, pp. 156–171) has mention of the pioneering efforts of the Friends at Maes-yr-Haf, Trealaw (1927) and at Brynmawr (1928) in the field of organizing and assisting self-help among the unemployed in the depression years.

The article gives a useful synopsis of the organization which sprang up from the beginning of these efforts, and the regional organizations spreading over the country—like the Tyneside Council of Social Service, and the Friends Unemployment Committee in west Cumberland (the only such bodies existing in 1932).

The author thinks that more might have been expected from the Church. Friends did a great deal. "There was never any collective response from the Church, however, nor, apart from the Quakers, from any one denomination."

The Victorians

Professor Owen Chadwick in *The Victorian Church, Part II* (London 1970) makes few specific references to Friends. The religious census of London published in George Cadbury's *Daily News* in 1902 and Seebohm Rowntree's religious census of York in 1901 are discussed.

David J. Hall

Welcome, 1682

The Welcome *Claimants, proved, disproved and doubtful, with an account of some of their descendants;* by George E. McCracken (Publications of the Welcome Society of Pennsylvania, no. 2. Baltimore, Genealogical Pub-

lishing Company, 1970. $22.00) is packed with information concerning the earliest settlers in Penn's province for whom a claim has been made that they sailed with Penn on the *Welcome*. Of the 304 claimants listed by the author, he rates 180 as disproved or mythical, and only 72 as proved or highly probable.

More than 100 pages are devoted to the family of William Penn. In a sentence closing the biographical notes about William Penn the Founder, the author says: "Before listing the children, I should like to remark that as the result of considerable study of the life and career of William Penn the Founder, I have reached the firm conclusion that he was the greatest single man who participated in the settlement of any of the colonies of North America."

A British editor might have assisted in sharpening some of the material (like verifying place-names quoted from documents) on this side of the water, but one cannot withhold admiration for the zeal and good sense which the editor displays throughout. But how ungallant of Professor McCracken to add a year to the age of Mary (Jones) Penn at her marriage.

The first volume of the Welcome Society's publications is entitled *Passengers and ships prior to 1684*, by W. L. Sheppard, Jr. (Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970, $14.50). Information from this volume concerning various emigrants appears elsewhere in these Notes under their names.

Wiltshire

Friends at Chiseldon, Goatacre (in Hilmarton parish), Swindon and Wootton Bassett are mentioned in the *Victoria County History: Wiltshire*, vol. 9 (Oxford University Press, 1970. £8.50).

Yealand Friends

"The historical demography of Warton parish before 1801", by R. Speake (*Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 122, 1970, pp. 43–65), contains material from seven scattered townships, including Yealand Conyers and Yealand Redmayne.

Friends of Yealand provide an untypical picture. Whereas most brides came from places less than twenty miles away, the marriages of Friends were mostly of strangers ("21 of their 26 marriages involved partners both of whom were from outside the parish area"). Friends registers "show a large proportion of wealthy merchant and middle-class families" (p. 52).

In round figures, Quaker registrations in the half-century periods 1655/1700, 1701/50, 1751/1800 provide 8, 9 and 2 per cent of the baptisms (births); 5, 6 and 4 per cent of the burials; and 12, 9 and 1 per cent of the marriages.

York

Catholic recusancy in the city of York, 1558–1791, by J. C. H. Aveling (Catholic Record Society publications: Monograph series, vol. 2), 1970, includes notices of documents which contain material relevant to Friends' history, such as the Archiepiscopal Visitation Book 1764 which lists by parishes the total number of families, and the number of non-conforming families, including the Quaker ones (pp. 275–276).

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