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IMPORTANT NOTICE

The present membership of the Friends' Historical Society does not provide sufficient income to enable the Society to do its work as effectively as it desires.

Documents and articles of historical interest remain unpublished, and at least 50 more annual subscriptions are needed.

The Committee therefore appeals to members and others interested to:

- (1) Secure new subscribers.
- (2) Pay 10s. for the Journal to be sent as a gift to someone.
- (3) Pay a larger annual subscription than the present minimum of 10s.
- (4) Send a donation independent of the subscription.

The Society does important and valuable work, but it can only continue to do so if it is supplied with more funds.

Contributions should be sent to the Secretary, Friends House.

ISABEL ROSS,
President.

ALFRED B. SEARLE,
Chairman of Committee.

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Communications should be addressed to the Editor at
Friends House.

Presidential Address

The presidential address for 1951 has been arranged for Thursday, 4th October, at Friends House. That evening our President, Isabel Ross, author of *Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism*, will speak on "Some Byways of Quaker Research."

* * * *

THERE is a danger that historical reconstruction may be accepted by the reader for more than it is worth, for it is commonly the construction put by one writer upon surviving records of a past age. Reconstructions need to be reviewed from time to time to permit the reshaping which fuller knowledge perhaps calls for, and also, by some change of presentation, in order to bring out points of interest to a new generation, interest which their fathers would not have felt. Reconstructions very rarely give just weight to all the portions of evidence which have survived concerning certain events or movements, and more rarely still has all the necessary evidence come down to us from which to produce a complete view of an historical occasion.

It is best for present students and future readers to produce the evidence itself when such a course is possible so that we can make our own reconstructions and see for ourselves how our forebears faced their problems, so different and yet in some respects so like our own. It is for this

reason that we welcome an opportunity to reproduce contemporary records from the early period of the Society of Friends when such records are in a form lending themselves to reproduction.

The value of correspondence and personal records has long been recognized by historians, and the number of volumes published of records in such a form is clear sign of the value and acceptability of this form of historical evidence.

This evidence has value for the specialist which need not be emphasized, but the general reader too will find many things to interest him in the religious, social, political and personal situations which are brought to light by collections of letters. It is therefore with some satisfaction that we are able to continue publication of fairly full extracts from the collection of manuscripts known as the A. R. Barclay Manuscripts, publication of which was first mooted by the late Norman Penney sometime early in the first World War, when he proposed issuing a full transcript as supplements to this *Journal*. This did not prove possible, and publication was commenced in the *Journal* in 1930 and continued in the following years.¹ After the break due to the Second World War we are glad to resume publication, and hope to continue the series at about this rate till we have completed the 250 letters in the collection.

¹ See *Journal*, vols. xxvii, xxviii, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii.

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxxvii, p. 21.

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journal," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.

LXXII

THOMAS ALDAM to a Judge¹

To ye Judge of life & death.

Friend take heed of putting any man or woman to death for cattell or money, for by ye law of god they were to be sould for there thefte if they had not therewith to make restitution : . . . [A message of warning that laws and the administration of them should be according to the dictates of conscience. Overleaf is a message to the Judge and the Jury] From ye Lord which is ye Word of ye Lord as it came to mee.

I charge you in the Name of ye Lord god Almightye, who is ye Judge of heaven and earth ; who is my Judge & Lawgiver, who is not partiall in judgements, That you doe not cast ye pure Law of god beehinde your backe which is perfect ; & is accordinge to yt in ye conscience ; & sett not up a law in your owne inventinge & will which is not perfect but is contrary to ye perfect law of god which is accordinge to yt in the conscience & here I have discharged my conscience, & in obedience to ye command of ye Lord I have done my service, to warne you all. So ye Light in your conscience all speakes which shall eternallie wittnesse mee & condemne you all yt hate ye Light, & disobey itt. Servants you are to whome you doe obey. And now you are all to bee tryed & proved, & by your fruites you shall bee knowne. This is ye word of ye Lord unto you all, to everye one in particuler, Turne to ye Light in your consciences & it will lett you see

¹ Probably dated between 1652 and 1655, and addressed to John Parker, Baron of the Exchequer 1655-60.

what you hold, & where you are, & what you doe practise, & what is contrarie to ye perfect Law of god if it bee minded, which Law hath poure over him yt judgeth as hee yt is judged which Law respects noe mans person. The pure Light in the conscience condemnes ye pridd, softenes the haughtines & hardnes of heart in man, as it doth arise, & this is ye Light of Christ which enlightens everyone, yt comes into ye world.

From A prisoner of ye Lords in outward bondes, for wittnessinge ye truth, which I have received from god ye father of Lights.

T.A.

Coppies of these together was delivered both to ye Judge & Jurie of Life & death soe Called.

[7 or 8 words written across the strip, undeciphered.]

LXXIII

THOMAS ALDAM to GEORGE FOX. *Warmsworth*,
13.viii.1659.

G.F. To thee I have sent a Letter & thinges consented to by many Fre[nds] which mett at Scipton ye 5th day of ye 8 month, approved of by many who me[t], & thinges are written downe which are to bee done, as is declared.

I was not with them at Scipton present in bodie, another thinge ley upon mee to bee at Yorke at the meetinge appointed to bee at one Arther Ingrams house nere ye Minster at Yorke, uppon ye 9th day of this 8th month, where I was with William Dewsberry, G. Whitehead & Samuell Thornton, Christopher Halliday, & many frends which was com afarr of[f] to that meetinge, which was a verye large meetinge of Friends & other which came to heare. Wee had a fare threshinge day, o'th' top of ye Mountaines, which tumble downe apace.

W.D: G.W. & Sam: Thornton was ordered & I with them, & ye bode [body] of frends there, to passe from Judee Kayes house about ye 10th houre in the morninge through ye cittie to the Minster, & through it wee went, ye Preist beeinge talkinge, & ye people heareing him. I was ordered to goe & stand among [torn] ye rulers of darcnes, & ye preist who confest in his pulpitt of wood yt theyr Light within was a

corrupt Light & [*torn*] & that their Light within was darknes ; & he cryed much against a people yt bidd people take heed to a Light within, who sayd it was ye Light of Christ within them ; for such denied Christ, & ye Light without them. Soe I heard him, & after hee had done I was moved to turne in what hee had sayd & Judgment o'th' top of it, who had sayd their Light within was darkness, affirmed mee yt out of his owne mouth hee was Judged, who had sayd their Light within was corrupt Light, & naturall, soe yt ye Light of Christ which wee confest in us to bee spirituall pure & righteous they did denie, & were seene & Judged with yt which they did denie, which wee are wittnes of, to stand in judgment o th top of them whose Light were darknes as ye man yt was in ye pulpitt of wood sayd their Light within was darknes, & after spoke of a spirittuall Light without him, & a Christ, in whome hee sayd hee beeveled in. Soe yt after I had spoken ye thinges of yt lye of mee & bore my testimonie there in yt place, I passed to our Friends mett together, & did continue with them ; whither to did follow mee & a mightie assemblie of people. & many came to us after they had beene eatinge meate, to heare & see ; many rude wilde people, rude souldiers & others, & others verie sober which aboade with us to heare & see. & some cryed aloud ' Pull him downe yt speakes there ' ; which was Will: Deur [Dewsbury]: that was speakinge. Then it lighe of mee to goe out from ye meetinge place, out of ye dores ; amonghst ye rude multitude, rude souldiers & others, till ye raginge waves was driven back & a path I had thorow them, to reach ye witness of god in many ; which caused ye rageinge waves to cease. Uppon ye 10th day it lye uppon mee to goe to Robert Lilburne called Colonell, to lett him know what his rude souldiers did, some of them, in our meetinge ; & allsoe with ye Maior of Yorke I was, & lett him know what I had seene & heard done, by ye rude Multitude which followed such teachers as sayd their Light within was darkeness. Both Robert Lilburne & ye Maior soe called, did heare mee with moderation ye thinges I had to declare to them. M. Smith¹ is in prison at ye Owse Bridge in Yorke & hath beene about five weekes for speakinge to a preist in Yorke Minster. Sent into prison there by one Tompson ye Maior of Yorke in ye name of ye Keepers of ye Libertee of England, which hee

¹ Perhaps Mary Smith, d. 1689, who married Thomas Wayte.

causes to bee kept in bonds, who would haue sent for her out of prison, if I would haue sayd I would take her out of ye Cittie, but yt I did denie to doe, to make any covenant with death ; & left him to keepe her still in bonds, who will bee a torment to him. Ye 11th day I was at Doncaster Sessions, where ye Preist of Warmst¹ [*torn*] was who had gott a warrant of ye Justices to serve uppon mee, which was don by ye preist & ye constable, the c[l]arke, churchwarden & lawyer & other four wittnesses ye preist had gott thither to follow him, to prove mee a disturber of him. & they with some men called Justices sayd I was a common disturber of ye [*torn*] of England runinge to & fro. Soe yt standinge beefore them ye preist began to sweare to ye thinges hee accused mee of, & I did require justice yt I might haue libertee to answer for my selfe ; ye men sayd I should. I sayd it is written in this warrant yt I must bee brought beefore you to answer the premisses, heare mee speake what I heard this my accuser say in ye steeple house : I shall declare . . . & Judge with yt which is just in you whether my words was good words or evill words, to proue a disturbance. Hee sayd wee are a people who turne ye grace of god into wantoness, therefore are these horrid sectories lett loose uppon us as a greate judgment of god. I sayd, Yee who haue turned ye grace of god into wantones doe soe noe more. This was in ye forenoone spoken. As for ye words hee my accuser hath sworne to : yt I sayd, Hold thy peace ; they was not spoken by mee. But Tho: Rookby ye Preist cryed to mee, Sarra, Sarra hold your peace. Soe ye Justices were as silent & sayd Litle to it ; sayth ye Preist, I will passe by ye forenoone, & proue you disturbed mee the afternoone when I was late Riseinge. Sayd one of ye Justices, Then you was askinge Questions ; I sayd, Questions beeinge giuen out, answers are to bee giuen to them.

Question I asked him, By what hee see a servant of god from him yt served him not, & where his witnes was ; & who those horrid sectories was ; did hee call ye present powre which was one with justice & true judgment a sect, or horrid sectories which hee spoke of in ye forenoone. Ye Preist sayd would thou haue mee to call ye Parliment sectories, I doe not call thee a Sectorie. Come sayd one of

¹ Thomas Rookby, d. 1680, rector of Warmsworth 1634-80(Venn : *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

ye Justices, Mr. Rookeby bringe your wittnesses & lett us heare what they can say. I sayd, I require justice of you & yt ye witnesses of ye Preist may not stand together, least ye witnesses gather words from him, for they are pore men & hee rules ouer them, & lett ye wittnesses bee examined one by one asvnder one from another, & let it bee written downe for here is many of them, & lett their testimonie bee taken & yee shall see they will speake contrary one to another, & if they doe not yee shall say I am a lyinge spirit. Soe they went to examination, & ye wittnesses was confounded and ran on in generall words, the lawyer sayinge I spoke two words for one yt ye minister spoke in ye church & made a disturbance ; I sayd, What was my words which they [*torn*] spoke truth and lye not. There was one of ye Justices sayd, what was ye words hee spoke. But ye lawyer sayd hee could not say what words I spoke. Other two was examined, what was ye words I spoke, but could not say what words I spoke yt they might bee seene whether they was good words or evill words. Soe ye Justices gave over examination of ye wittnesses ; & ye hirelinge fled with his followers. & one Claton called a Justice sayd, Tho you are proued a disturber of Ministers, but Mester Rookby is willing to forgive you this falt if yt you would disturbe him noe more, butt if you disturbe him againe, yow must bee sent to Yorke Gaole or become bound to good beehaviour. I sayd John Claton, I am bounde all readie by yt which is stronger then hand-writings, & I am here, doe with mee what you have powre to doe ; But they sayd, Tho[mas] goe your way from amonghst us, & soe they seperate mee out of their company, out of ye hall where they satt, mee & my wife with me.

The Preist doth yet boast hee hath gotten another warrant for to take mee if yt I come to disturbe him againe, who is to bee tryed : what powre hee stands in. It ley uppon mee yt I should try his spirit, & ye magistrates spirits ; for I felt yt Act of 6 months prisonment, or payment of five pounds to bee leyd uppon him which disturbed a minister to bee a bond over ye [*torn*] which I was to breake thorow which ye preists red in steeplehouses . . . It was soe with mee yt I did speake to him & ye people what my god gave mee to speake, in ye forenoone, when hee was in his sermon as it is called & in his time of catticizinge in ye afternoone of one first day about 3 weeks agoe.

Deare G.F. & E.B. [George Fox and Edward Burrough] my dearely beeloveds in ye Lorde, take into your consideration ye thinges written downe in yt Power which came to mee & W. Dew[sbury] at Yorke & lett mee have an answer, how ye large wisdome of god in you doth approve of ye particuler thinges to bee done, & what it disabroves of, yt in one mynde wee may meete. Send back to mee with as much speed as you can, what you see to bee approved of or disaproved of with ye truth, for ye papers are spreadinge abroad.

My deare love salutes thee G.ff. & E.B. & remember my deare love to Gerrod [Gerrard Roberts], Tho. Curtis & his wife & Friends at London. Let mee know how it is with you in the South & frends. E.B. write unto mee as ye Lord thee doth move, & how it is with G.F. in whome my life is refreshed, & how it is with J.N. since hee hath beene with G.F. Pray for mee my dearely beeloveds, yt I may bee kept faithfull in my place, for my tr[i]alls is greate here in my owne Contry & my person is contemptible to many. Lawyers & preists cryes against mee openly, I am not worthy to live vppon ye Earth, who would not have mee to come amonghst them some tymes, other some tymes hailes mee beefore them whose day of torment is come a day of woe & miserie now when their horrible filthye deeds are bringeinge to light which they would not haue seene nor have wittnessed against. Farewell: George Watkinson is out of prison who was prisoner at Leeds for speakinge to a preist there in ye steeple house

Tho Aldam

Written at Warmsworth ye 13th of ye 8th Month 59

I am jealous of An[thony] Pear[son] least hee should kicke at ye righteous judgment in members of ye Church called persons wch I honor as fathers in ye authoritie sett up by god, G.F. in ye Paper wch came from Scipton. I feele a buffettinge in yt which would not have persons sett up as is said, which I am jealous of with a godlie jealoussie, least, yt spirit of righteousnes in persons which goes against ye spirit of darknes in persons which is trampled uppon which is buffettinge who seemes in words to denie lordship where ye old witt would order, & sett vp persons which would not come vnder ye judgment of ye members of ye Church which in loue judgment are & stand against yt which would bee & is in ye libertee of ye fleshe. I am not for settinge up ye

person of man as a man, but ye trueth in ye man I honor
 which keep him out of yt libertee which ye lust of ye flesh
 leads into. T.A.

LXXIV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. *Appleby*,
 5 January 1652[1653]

Deare

Sister in the liveinge & eternall treuth in which all the
 saynts ar united and become one in that which is peuare :
 the bowels of love presents it self to the and all thy family
 and all the saynts which ar begoten of that imortall sede
 which shall last for ever & ever ; oh its the greate love of the
 father that he should think me worthy to sufer for his treuth,
 & at present I find it the greatest liberty that ever I enjoyed,
 and many weake ones are much strenthned by our bouldnesse,
 and all the prest heareabouts are so Stifiling & sending all the
 Cuntrey abrod for witnesses agaynst us, and we are mad to
 write much, and sends abrod heare which vexes them
 horably that they seke by all means to prove any thing
 agaynst us. They sent to Newcastell to have us any way
 disposed of, but the lord will doe with them & us what ever
 he will. As for my Brother James,¹ their is no question but
 he will be Cleared, for their weare many freinds that heard
 all the discorse, so after he was apprehended some other
 freinds with my selfe was moved to goe alonge with him, till
 we cam at a markett towne ; and[] the[y] caryed him
 in ; but we could not be permitted. Upon that all the towne
 came out, whear some other freinds spok to the people and I
 was constrayned to speak with great power, & was kept safe
 in the bosom of love, though the people raged much, and we
 weare so hurried that they wear all gone but my selfe ; at
 last comes 4 prests & seeth the people diligent to hearken me
 in the towne strete, consulted and ran back to the Justis
 which was in the high prests house of that towne, with many
 other proud sonns of Beliall & all the prests in the contrey :
 so they comaunded me to goe in. I was not fre. At last
 they sent to compell me and sought an acasation any way
 but could find non, but the Justis comanded my hat ; I

¹ Compare the account in James Nayler's *Works*, I-16; Besse: *Sufferings*
 (1753), II, 3-6.

said I must not doe it ; at last a man taks it of my head & threw it in the fire, so for a litle space I was silent : & reseved many upbrayding words : at last I spoke to the high prest and I asked him if ever he knew any minester of Xt preach for mony or persecute, & the man was spechles : at last Burton sayd I spoke euell of the law because I testified agaynst all the prests that they weare hireling, & so he sayd I must enter bond to apear at the sesions : O I sayd, for what, & refused and at last I sayd to the Justise & prests that I se a greate deale of tirany and persecution in there actions : & herevpon the Justise caled all the people to witness that I sayd the law was tiriny and opreson, & sayd I was guilty of treson : herevpon I sayd take hed what thou dost I speak of thy actons & not of the law, but how euer they wear all Enimies to me that was cleare that they will proue any thing what they will vpon the giuing out of Burtons word : all people witnessd what euer he sayd : but how Euer it doth not trouble me at all . . . Farwell and if the lord be pleased to set me at liberty I will se thee eare long for thou art pretious in my thoughts, and thy word hath not a litle refreshed me thou mentions Prest Lampett I loue him as a man : but I abominat his practise & many of his prenciples leads into the Chambers of Death and quite above the Crose . . . the power of the lord kep the & all with the for euer and euer ;

Apelby 5th January 1652

Thy deare brother in the felowship of the Gospell

Francis Howgill

[addressed] for the hands of my Deare freinde Margrett
Fell att Swarthmore thease with trust

[endorsed] From F. H. to M. F. 1652 apelbe presen
read over

LXXV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL

My owne bowals I canot chuse but write a line or two to the my deare hart ; my hearte runest out to the in that eternall union which is hid from all the world, and to all the saynts abundantly ; & I have swet felowshipe with them & the rest of the chosen ones every wheare, and as the pewel

[power] comes to arise Comunion is greater. My spirite was much refreshed by cominge over to Swarthmore to se the and thy litle ones so Caried on in the power of treuth. & in it I exedingely reioyse prayses to our deare father that hath visited us from on high and caused the light to shine out of thicke darknese & we which sat in the shadow of death he hath rayseed to be kings & prests unto God, glory to the lord God almighty. Sister I canot but aquente when I parted with George as I cam to oustan [Ulverston] I began to be sad : & when I cam at prest Lampats house I hovered but found no motion at all to goe in at the end of the towne, I was rideing to goe the lower way amongst the houses : but on a sudan I was moved to take the higher way, when I had riden a litle I se playnle I was brought that way to meete Will: Lampet & so we met at the litle gate that goes to the steple house, wheare we had a greate deale of discourse it would take much time to relate to the : at the first I tould him he was a persecutor of Ch[rist] he denied & sayd he witnessed Ch[rist] in him : I asked him how he cam and what way he cam to haue Ch[rist] in him, he sayd throug Death [I] asked hast thou pased through Death : he answered yea twenty yeare since. I sayd, but whear art thou now : Death reules the thy actons demonstrate playnely and I tould him playnly he was in captivity to his lusts : and what he knew was naturall. Then he upbrayded me with my leter, & I tould him it was treuth & what I wrote I was the same. Then I tould him he was an enemy to the Crose of Ch[rist], & then he playnly discovered himselfe : & sayd : I live vnder no Crose at all, to which I sayd I knew he did not, he sayd he was come to the Crowne, & this 4 years he was vnder no Crose, I sayd to him, Is all subdued thy will & all sin in the : he sayd by Ch[rist] he was compleat ; I tould him it was without & thearin [therein] he was deseved : and tould him playnly it was the Serpent that spoke those things, I was very fre to have spoken longer to him : but he would haue bene gone, he sayd I hop you will alow me the same liberty you have, that was that none should Speake agaynst his deseite ; I tould him playnly thear was no liberty to that nature he lived in : I tould him he was to be chayned up & all his philactaries puled of & his crowne he tould of must be taken from his head and all throwne to utter darknese. Much more discourse we had I

doe not now rem[em]ber : . . . I tould him he could owne George Fox in words in all things but not the power ; he sayd George held many swet things : but he caled me Devell Beast & Antechrist : & he sayd I canot owne that. I tould him if he had bene a minester of Ch[rist] he would have abode in his doctrine, but I tould him he did not : but I am weary of repeating thease things. Farewell my deare hart, and stand peuer & faythfull in the counsall of the Lord, and the eternall love of my god & thy god be with the and all thy famely & blese you. My deare wife hath her love remembered to the & all with the. All freinds heare ar well blesed be the lord. All the church salute the, farewell

Thine in the felowshipe of
ye gospell & in the fayth of
Jesus

Fra. Howgill

[addressed] For the hands of Margrtt Fell : at Swarthmore thease with Trust.

[endorsed] From F.H. to M.F. 1652 read over

LXXVI

FRANCIS HOWGILL and CHRISTOPHER ATKINSON
to MARGARET FELL

Dear

Sister in that etarnall loue which hath begoten us agayne in Christ Jesus vnto a liuely hope . . . deare sester I reioyse at the mercyfull dealinge of the lord with the at this time : and of thy growth & bouldnese and love in the trouth and in that thou art made wilinge to spend and be spent for the treuths sake thou shalt be rewarded double ; all we are well heare in preson, yett in fredome out of time in the will of our father their we abide ; wayteinge that his will may be done by us and in us ; the rage of this towne is much abated sence we cam hither so that frends treads upon all the enimies of the lord heare : heare came a younge man to us that came from our deare father Geo : and he sent this declaration to me, that I should send it to the : and that I should write to the that thou might gite thy husband to take it up to the prese : and he likewise desired that thou would send a Copey of it to his sister in Lestershire : but I know

not whear she liues, it may be thou knows : so my deare one doe thy diligence to answer his desire, and I haue sent the a copey of two leters which my deare bretheren Joh: Audland: & Ed: Burow sent to Geo: from Newcastell that theirby thou may know of pasiges theire ; I beleve the lord will send sume suplies that way : for I perseve the war is greate . . . we are reioysed to hear from the or them or any who dwell in the treuth farwell

Thy deare Brother In that which is
euerlasting and a prisoner of the
lord for, declaring agaynst
the kingdom of the deuill

Francis Howgill

Deare sister in the unity of that one spirite by which all the body is Joyned together to the head which is Christ . . . Oh how good was the lord to me in castinge me into this place, amongst his litle ones, in whome his love is mad manifest in drawinge them to himselfe : their faythfulnese doth dayly increase. & love & unity grows up in them : glory be to him for ever. Dear sister pray for us that we may be kept faythfull and the everlastinge god of power kep the : Miles HaleHead our felow presoner & the rest of friends remembers them to the. Salute me to thy children.

Thy Brother acording to his mesure in bonds for the treuths sake

Christ: Atkinson.¹

[endorsed by G.F.] from f hovgell to m ff read 1653

LXXVII

BRIDGET MARSHALL to GEORGE FOX

Dated in Barbadoes 13d of the 4 mo. called June 1682
Deare George Fox

The springs of life flowing fresh in my heart towards thee, I could not forbear to let thee know it, and in that spring of love and life my soule dearely salutes thee, and truly for severall dayes together hath my spirit felt thee livingly to bee very neare mee, and the love of god arising

¹ The whole of this second letter is crossed through with four vertical lines.

and continuing in my heart towards thee, who art indeed an Elder worthy of double honor, who hast labored in the word and doctrine, o that all would follow thy example, as thee followest Jesus, the Captaine of our saluation, who is entred into his rest, who is the author and finisher of our saluation. 25th of the 9th mo: 1681:

These few words were with mee at that time & I writ them downe, but would no longer withhold them from thee though they bee set downe in much brokennes. Yet I know thou canst read them in a spirit of much love and tendernes, & Lend a hand to helpe the weaker hands and feeble knees, that have mett with many hardships. My deare Love to Margret Rous & her family. Farewell

I am thy friend in that truth that is unvaluable & unchangeable

Bridget Marshall

[address] These Are for George Fox in London or
 elsewhere
 by Joseph Masey [? Wasey]
 [endorsed by G.F.] brigat Marshal at barbados to gf.
 1682.

LXXVIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL

Apellby 18 of this 5 mth 1665
 M.F.

Most dearly beloved in the Lord god everlasting from whome the issues of life springs forth to the reffreshing of the whole city of god. And to the makeing glad and joyfull the hartes off all the faythffull in the midst off all contradiction & gaynesaying, In the unity off the spirte & the bond of treue love and peace doe I dearly remember the, & salutte the by these few lines, being long since I heard ffrom the or wrott unto the. Butt In that I know thou arte sattisffed even as I am, that my love is not shortened nether to the nor the wholle flocke off Christ, for whose name sake and treuth we are companions in bonds & tribulation . . . Butt the hand of the Lord is liffted up & he pleads & will plead our cause with them who will nott that Christ should rulle in their harts nether suffer his members to haue a beeing on the earth, such

will the Lord rootte out off the earth, for his wrath is gone forth agaynst the men of this world, and his arme hath taken hould on vengeance to executte upon his advarsares, who hath hatted & despised all waring and reproffe & the same cup & mesure they have mesured to others they shall partake off, the Lord spare his people : for his name & treuths sake and shew mercy vnto his flocke in the midst off his judgment that itt may be maniffest gods anger is not agaynst us : but that we are the Lords . . . Heare is about 23 in bonds, some hath been in 7 mths, to monthese beyond their limited time, & the have made and [an] order for the Clarke off peace, for so much a man fees & so all is kept in bonds, that they canott proseed. & now they are troubled in them selves, so that they have bound their owne hands. Their is nether hear nor in Cumberland yett any conuicted ffor the last offence as they calle it. I am pretty well I blesse the Lord only stuffed up for want of ayre. & we have a Goaler a tirant. Not more but that I ame thy dear freind & brother in the suffering of Christ. Dearly remember my loue to all in bonds. Fra: Howgill.

I heard thy daughter Margrett was come downe unto whom remember me and the rest of thy children.

[address] For the hands of my dear Freind Margarett
Fell: these deliuer at the Castell att
Lancaster

[endorsed by G.F.] F h to m F 1665 rea over in
apelbe presen

LXXIX

JOSEPH COALE to FRANCIS HOWGILL. *Dublin,*
26.x.1660.

Very deare & truely lovely F.H.

The most deare love of my Soule flowes forth unto thee and in pure uprightnesse doe I dearely & kindly Salut thee . . . I gladly received thy morcell, it was as bread to ye hungry & thereby I was refreshed . . . Dear Francis I am well as ever because ye Lords presence is with me, and ye eternall Arme compaseth about & ye Lord showereth downe of his mercy & goodnesse as a mighty Raine, praises be fore ever unto his name : as to passages in this nation I supose

deare O.B. hath given thee an account, soe yt I need say
 litle but all is well & ye Lord is seting up his Kingdome
 while men are sleeping or blinded, & his decree is acomplish-
 ing & non shall withstand it. I am now with dear Edw[ard
 Burrough] & sometimes I am by my selfe doing what I can
 & hackeing at ye wales of babilon & in soe doing I find
 acceptance. I am in great hast, but am thine
 Dublin ye 26 10th mo 60 and noe greater then
 thy servant I desire to be
 for euer while I am J.C.

[address] for deare F.H. These
 [endorsed by G.F.] Joseph Cole 1660

TWO recent Pendle Hill pamphlets, numbers 56 and 57, have
 come to hand. They are: *Toward Pacifism*, an account of a
 personal pilgrimage through the modern world of war, by a young
 Swede, Gunnar Sundberg; and *Atomic Peace* by the late Dr. Harold
 C. Goddard of Swarthmore College, with a memoir by Margaret
 Goddard Holt.

Dr. Geoffrey F. Nuttall has presented his article on *The Worcester-
 shire Association: its membership*, offprinted from the new *Journal of
 Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 197-206. Dr. Nuttall
 mentions a dispute by Richard Farnsworth and Thomas Goodaire at
 Bewdley on 21st February, 1654. Some of the items in the con-
 troversy which followed were the subject of Dr. Nuttall's *Biblio-
 graphical Note* in our last issue.

To the January, 1951, issue of *The Congregational Quarterly*
 (Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 18-28) Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall contributes an
 enlightening article on "Law and Liberty in Puritanism." Here we
 are shown Quakerism in its historical setting. By the middle years
 of the seventeenth century there was within Puritanism a reaction
 from formalism and a demand for greater freedom—"Labour to
 know your Christian liberty" wrote Walter Cradock the minister at
 Llanvaches in 1648. The Quaker movement reflected that demand,
 and yet avoided the excess of the Ranters. These chose a "gospel-
 freedom" much akin to licence by rejecting outright the law and the
 prophets in the Old, rather than accepting their moral teaching as a
 prelude to the fresh revelation of the New Testament.

Reviews of Thomas E. Drake's *Quakers and slavery in America*
 (by Frederick B. Tolles), and of Janet Whitney's new edition of
 John Woolman's *Journal* (by Henry J. Cadbury), appear in *The
 William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series, vol. 8, No. 2), April, 1951.

Quakerism in Friedrichstadt

THIS subject was presented in the *Journal* for 1947 (xxxix, 49-53) by Anna Corder. She based her summary on the Friedrichstadt minute books in the Library at Friends House. I have never seen these books but if they are, as I suppose, in Dutch script they would be of little meaning to me. William I. Hull had included Friedrichstadt in his monumental study of Dutch Quakerism, since the city and the Quaker community on the Eider were prevailingly Dutch. Dr. Hull's study was subsequently reworked for publication in monographs: but he died before the monograph on Western Germany could be prepared and published. His original summary on Friedrichstadt and on a few of the members there survives in manuscript at Swarthmore College. His sources were the information in meeting records and personal correspondence and in the accounts of those who visited the city. A brief chapter on Friedrichstadt was included by Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (1929, pp. 102-105), and quite recently Anna Corder has retold the story in *Friends Intelligencer* for Fifth Month 12, 1951.

The purpose of the present notice is to call attention to some material already in print which should be consulted and included before a definitive account is undertaken. It apparently was not known to any of the three writers that I have mentioned.

1. In 1905 Dr. Peter Thomsen, a church historian and teacher at Dresden, published a transcript or summary of some documents that he had received from his grandfather of the same name (1807-87).¹ The manuscript, which had lost some leaves, contained a copy of sundry Quaker records in Latin or Dutch which were printed verbatim. The record of births and deaths is arranged by families. This list is so fundamental that it may well be presented again

¹ "Die Quäkergemeinde in Friedrichstadt" in *Schriften des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, II. Reihe, III. Band. 4. Heft (Kiel, 1905), 435-465.

here. Many details in the list are omitted and no effort has been made to regularize spelling.

- I. Jacob Jacobs (d. 1677).
- II. Abram Jans (d. 1679) m. 1668 Martje (d. 1674).
- III. Jacob Giesberts (d. 1691).
- IV. Jacob Cornelissen (d. 1679) m. 1679 Janneke Andreis (d. 1680).
- V. Hans Brunss m. 1675 Catharina Dreyerin.
- VI. Hendrick Siemens (d. 1679).
- VII. Paul Pauls m. 1678 Mary Teyler (d. 1697), (widow of I.).
- VIII. Willem Pauls (d. 1708).
- IX. Siemon Warner of London, m. 1694 Anna Jacobs (daughter of III).
- X. Grietje Harlops.
- XI. Goske Detleffs m. Liesbet Jacobs.
- XII. Michel Wittenbergs.
- XIII. Philip Philips de Veer from Danzig (d. 1713) m. 1692 Maria Paulsen (d. 1725).
- XIV. Jan Haegen (d. 1712) m. 1697 Grietje Hendricks (daughter of VI).
- XV. Jeronymus Hagen (d. 1713) m. 1699 Giertje Hendricks (daughter of VI).
- XVI. Giesbert Outerloo (d. 1727) m. 1701 Eliesbet Dell of Uxbridge, England.
- XVII. Jan Siemens' son Jacob Jans.
- XVIII. Cornels de Veer.
- XIX. Christoffer Volckmann m. 1715 Margret Hinners.
- XX. Jan van Kamp m. 1705 Judith, daughter of Christian Mahl.
- XXI. Eggert Folckmann (d. 1708) m. 1707 Elsche Berents (daughter of XXII).
- XXII. Berent Classen (d. 1716) m. Liesbet Berens (d. 1722).
- XXIII. Jürgen Dieckmann, from Bremen.
- XXIV. Lieder Dalderp, from Bremen (d. 1713) m. 1705 Seyke, daughter of Willem Jans.
- XXV. Henrick Stacklet, from near Lübeck (d. 1715).

Included, beside the usual data, are various other matters, like marriage certificates with names of witnesses. Other documents follow, some Quaker and some from the

officials evidently in connection with the persecution of Friends. Records of the slow reduction of the Quaker group by death, defection or emigration are given.

The learned Dr. Thomsen supplied notes to this truncated document identifying some of the persons who are otherwise known in church history and he compiled from various sources an investigation of the history of the group. An excursus listed the bibliography known to him on German Quakerism in general. In an appendix he copied from Fox's *Journal* the account of his visit to Friedrichstadt, and his letter about persecution of Quakers there to the Duke of Holstein.

2. The following year the same author published some supplementary material,¹ this time from governmental sources. These include: a list of references to the Quakers from the Police records in an alphabetically arranged analysis for the first century of the city's history in a manuscript in the University Library at Kiel. The extracts under Quakerism are given in order from 1673-1728.

There are also printed in full various complaints against the Quakers by the local clergy or citizens addressed to the Duke of Holstein or to the King of Denmark. They date from 1673 to 1708 and came from the Royal Prussian State Archives in Schleswig or the Archives of the General Superintendency of Holstein. In the local Royal Library, Professor Thomsen found a printed Order of banishment against sectaries and fanatics dated in 1711, which he believed was also directed against the Quakers. Some additional bibliographical references were given.

3. In 1919 Dr. Harry Schmidt in the second part of his publication of the selection of the Police Protocols of Friedrichstadt, printed under the rubric Quaker (Quäcker) the same collection of extracts which is mentioned under 2.² He had access to alternative manuscripts and provides an improved text.

¹ "Nochmals die Quäkergemeinde in Friedrichstadt," *loc. cit.*, IV. Band, 1. Heft (Kiel, 1906), 49-60.

² *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (published by Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte, vol. VII. (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 80-82. Cf. VI, pp. 298, 313.

Combining these materials with the Quaker sources will provide a fascinating task. Of great importance is the list of Quaker families given in summary above. The first two persons named (I and II) are the authors of a controversial Dutch pamphlet in reply to L. Hendricks Eppenhof.¹ Simeon Warner (IX) took his wife back to London, where they lived in St. Magdalen's Parish, Bermondsey, Southwark. The London and Middlesex Friends records supply the birth dates and names of their numerous children. A few of the other names (III, XIII, XVI) reappear in the accounts of English visitors to the city, and also Jacob Hagen (father of XIV and XV). Wouter Outerloo (father of XVI) and Hendrick Simons (VI) are mentioned in Friends' records in connection with the building of the meeting house. When in 1715 Thomas Story refers to the seven widows among the Friends there whose husbands had died in an epidemic some time before, one can pretty well identify them from the necrology of these records, as also the marriage that he mentions (XIX). Non-Quaker features of his and Fox's accounts of visits, like the latter's mention of the statue of Rantzau and of the Jews he met in Friedrichstadt, can be identified from such local sources.

Though these details are all to be worked out, the resulting picture will not prove very different from what our Quaker historians have suggested. Dr. Schmidt, already mentioned, who had access to all these materials, sums up the Quaker story in a popular booklet for the tercentenary of the city's founding as follows :

All their good sides do, however, not protect them from the zeal of the Lutheran clergy. Frederick Fabricius, reputedly a mild man, pastor of the local Lutheran community, did everything to drive them away from Friedrichstadt where they had been residents for many years, as the church records show. But let us have him speak for himself. In the Lutheran Church minutes of 1673 Fabricius has made the following entry : " Soon after that, in the month of August, the ' Quäcker ' began to conduct themselves so arrogantly in this place that they made a woman perform (or appear) to demonstrate disrespect to the holy office of ministry. She, in

¹ Joseph Smith, *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, 1873, p. 168.

the presence of people flocking to her, preached publicly before all nations of this town and in that way attracted some people. But since the pastor of the Lutheran community learned of this, he travelled to the court on August 4 with a petition listing these fitting measures . . . receiving thereupon immediately an order to the mayor and council to remove without delay the Quakers and their followers. . .” Duke Christian Albrecht decreed at once to the magistrate that the Quakers had to leave the city. The police records of the 8th report the receiving of the order. On the 13th the magistrate presents a petition on behalf of the Quakers for extending the date. The Duke yields and permits the Quakers to stay on for the winter season. But even then the order expelling them was not executed. For in 1678 it is said that they have built and dedicated a church in Friedrichstadt, and in 1680 they are accused of “having given offence.” In 1695, at the Convocation at the Court for Duke Frederick IV, successor of Christian Albrecht, they promised their loyalty in writing to the Duke. In 1706 they received, like the Jews, the permission to practice their religion freely. In 1728 they transferred the property of the meeting house to the London community which had loaned them the money for the buying of the house. The last mention of the Quakers in literary sources occurs in 1770. Without doubt they owe their continued residence to the Remonstrant magistrate who again and again intervened and delayed the matter.¹

HENRY J. CADBURY

¹ Harry Schmidt, *Bilder aus der Geschichte der Stadt Friedrichstadt a.d. Eider*, Friedrichstadt, 1921, pp. 28 f.

Additions to the Library

THE library has recently received by gift from Bevan Neave of Sydney, New South Wales, Sydney Parkinson's *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*, 1784,¹ a royal quarto volume handsomely illustrated with a portrait of Parkinson, maps of the two hemispheres and twenty-seven other plates.

Sydney Parkinson, son of Joel Parkinson, brewer, of Edinburgh, was draughtsman for the natural history collections under Sir Joseph Banks on Cook's first voyage round the world. He died of dysentery at Batavia, 26th January, 1771, on the homeward voyage.² The *Journal* was first published in 1773 by the author's brother Stanfield,³ anticipating Dr. John Hawkesworth's official *Account*,⁴ and after the issue of a few copies publication was stopped by a Chancery injunction on the grounds of infringement of Hawkesworth's rights and of material belonging to Sir Joseph Banks. The work contained a bitterly abusive preface directed against Banks, whom Stanfield Parkinson accused of retaining documents, drawings and specimens which he maintained should have come to him after Sydney's death. Dr. John Fothergill, who had attempted to act as mediator in the quarrel, was also rewarded with a share in the editor's abuse. After Stanfield Parkinson had died insane in St. Luke's Hospital, London, Dr. Fothergill bought up the remaining copies of the edition, with the intention of reissuing them with a preface of his own, setting down the true facts of the case. However, Dr. Fothergill died shortly afterwards at the end of 1780, and the new edition was put out by Dr. John Coakley Lettsom in 1784, with Dr. Fothergill's *Explanatory Remarks*, and a résumé of other voyages added. From this edition of 1784 a French translation was made and published at Paris in 1797.

Amy E. Wallis recently gave another eighteenth century topographical work, Thomas Jeffery's *American Atlas* (1776), with its fine map of Pennsylvania at the close of the colonial period.

¹ See Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends Books*, ii, p. 260.

² Not recorded in the London or Scottish registers at Friends House.

³ Stanfield Parkinson, upholsterer, of Little Pulteney Street, Golden Square, member of Westminster M.M., d. 3rd February, 1776.

⁴ Three vols. Quarto. 1773.

John Bright and the "State of the Society" in 1851

THROUGH the kindness of J. E. Hodgkin of Darlington the Library has received the gift of a letter from John Bright to John Pease of Darlington. The letter is in answer to the latter's gift of a tract *A few Thoughts on the serious character of the objects of a Yearly Meeting*, by Samuel Tuke (1851), and gives fully John Bright's views on the questions which were then agitating the Society.

Developments in the Society at this period, and John Bright's attitude to them, are discussed in *The Quakers, their Story and Message* by A. Neave Brayshaw (1938 edition, pp. 284-7). In John Bright's *Journal* we find, under date 25th May, 1851:¹

During this week attended a few sittings of the Yearly Meeting. Dissatisfied as usual at the determination of leading Friends to resist any changes or any fair consideration of the "State of Society." Spoke on Tithe question and on the constitution and usurpations of the Meeting for Sufferings.

From the text of the letter it appears probable that in one of the Yearly Meeting sessions John Bright had expressed his dissatisfactions and this led John Pease² to send him the tract mentioned in the opening paragraph.

Rochdale
12 mo. 26. 51.

My dear Friend,

At the close of the last Yearly Meeting thou kindly sent me a short tract being "a few thoughts on the serious character of the objects of a Yearly Meeting" etc. I did not write to thee in reply, hoping long before this to have an opportunity of some conversation with thee on the subject, and now the whole matter is so long past that perhaps I am wrong in adverting to it at all.

¹ Quoted from J. T. Mills: *John Bright and the Quakers*, II, p. 7.

² John Pease (1797-1868) of East Mount, Darlington, was a distinguished Friend. He was acknowledged as a Minister at the age of 25. There are records of his visits to Rochdale in 1835, 1846, 1849 and 1862—but not in 1851. On the occasion of his earliest noted visit in 1835 John Bright accompanied him as guide to Manchester. Mills, *op. cit.*, I, p. 329.

With regard to the Tract, I may say that I do not in any way dispute its propositions,—they appear to me to point out, not incorrectly, the conditions under which an assembly of the members of a religious society should endeavour to undertake the duties of its office. It is impossible for me, or for any one, to pretend that the business of our Yearly Meeting might be well conducted with an absence of the religious spirit, and of a sense of individual responsibility among its members. I am for all this as much as any man ; not that I have attained to it, but I wish it to exist. But it appears to me that this is not the question to which I presume thy sending the tract was in some sort directed. I had made observations in the Yearly Meeting somewhat unusual, and out of the routine of the discussions common in that assembly, and I expect that thou and many others thought that I was severe, if not positively incorrect, in my judgment. Now I am free to confess my opinion that there are grievous errors, not in the *principles*, that is, the *religious* principles of our sect, but rather in its polity, and in its organisation ; and further, that these errors, or some of them, are discoverable by an honest and intelligent mind, even without any special and evident enlightenment of the nature to which the Tract refers. For example, it cannot require anything in the shape of direct influence from God to decide whether the appointment of *Elder* should be for life, or for a limited period, subject to revision. The truth of the question is on the face of it, and nothing but long practice could have induced any person to defend the present system as theoretically better than the substitute proposed. There was nothing like an argument brought forward against the change advocated by Edw¹ Ashworth—but friends spoke of their " feelings " with regard to it,—assuming a direction from a source against which there could be no appeal, and occupying precisely the same position that has been taken up by the majority of the Meeting, or of those who speak and act, on every occasion when any change has been first proposed. How often have the " feelings " of *Friends* been pleaded in defence of their refusal to pay lay-tithes ? and yet now they may be paid ; and by and bye, as any one may see who attended the Conference last year, there will be no Testimony borne against paying the rent-charge by a

¹ John Ashworth is intended.

refusal to pay them. Take the Tomb stone question ; how many hundreds of excellent and well meaning men have *felt* a positive horror at the idea of *Friends* ever permitting the erection of tombstones, and yet the Yearly Meeting has permitted it.

The question of Tythes, and the question of Tombstones are matters for consideration and discussion ; but to solve them merely by what Friends " feel ", is to subjugate the reason, and the domain of fact and experience, to a delusion ; and, it may be, to subject the course of the Society to the guidance not unfrequently of the feeblest heads in it. Take again the question of the powers of the Meeting for Sufferings,—that body ventured to reprove, by a general minute, somebody who had written a pamphlet. Is it pretended that the Meeting for Sufferings has any authority to advise the Yearly Meeting on any such matter ? I appealed to its constitution, and to its objects, as declared expressly in the minutes in the " Rules of Discipline," and shewed conclusively that it was not constituted for any such purpose, and that it was entirely out of its province. And what was the answer ? The minute was not adopted and sent to the Quarterly Meetings it is true, for it was too bad for that ; but one friend rose after another to say that he " felt " what a valuable body the Meeting for Sufferings was, and doubtless it was thought most heterodox to breathe a whisper of complaint against so venerable an institution. Now whether the Meeting for Sufferings was right or wrong in what they did ;—whether it had gone beyond its province or not, and whether writing a pamphlet was good or bad, surely were matters determinable by any man of common intelligence and common good intentions ? To determine this, no more required any special direction or enlightenment of the mind, than it does to determine on a judicious clause in an Act of Parliament ; and to *pretend that it does*, in my judgment, is only to prostrate and enfeeble the very faculties which are given us for our guidance in such matters. A religious and Christian man will hope and endeavour always to have his powers, whether of mind or body, subject to religious influence and control ; but he is not to place his reason, and his experience, and judgment, in abeyance, under the notion that something will influence his " feelings " and guide him aright.

I should like to see a little more plain common sense in the Yearly Meeting, and less of sentiment. We see a Society, which, we are told many times at all our annual assemblies, was specially raised up to teach certain great truths, and the value of which we are taught to estimate most highly, gradually drying up—becoming enfeebled and decrepid, and threatening even to become extinct ; and yet not an effort is made to discover any acting cause of mischief. If the subject is mentioned in the Yearly Meeting it is met by exhortations to " greater faithfulness ", which is generally supposed to mean a more strict observance of what are called our " *minor* testimonies ", as if the term *minor* could be properly used of anything which Christianity requires ; but no one dares to look the subject in the face, and to ask or to say why a Body with sublime principles, with great personal liberty of thought, and with a commendable practice before the world, finds itself dwindling into nothing, at a time when religion has more friends than ever before in this country. It may be right to send a member of the body to all the Courts of Europe on an Anti-Slavery mission, or to spend a whole sitting in considering the circumstances of an Indian village in the interior of America, but surely a Body of men, accustomed to reason, would not quietly witness the gradual but apparently certain extinction of the Society which it represents, without enquiring what was the malady, and if there was a cure ? And yet this is precisely what our Yearly Meeting does. It spends its strength on trifles, while the real questions which demand its consideration are passed away from, as not worth dealing with, or as too difficult and dangerous to be touched. Prayer is good, but the answer to prayer, so far as any practicable result goes, depends often on our own exertions, and it is no part of the intention of Providence to save a Society that neglects the commonest rules of self preservation.

I don't speak or write of these things without pain,—I think of them often and often with anxiety. I have a family who are to grow up in connexion with our religious society, and I need not tell thee that in connexion with their future, this subject has an aspect of great importance.

Friends are peculiarly unfortunate if from any cause they leave the Society—their training in it has done much to make it almost impossible for them to join any other Body,

and I can well suppose that to be unconnected with any religious association is no small calamity.

I should wish to see a Society growing in numbers, and in strength ; requiring nothing of its members not clearly required by the New Testament ; teaching them nothing as children, which they cannot defend as men ; having a polity and an organization which should include in its action all who are willing to aid in its work ; and rejecting such things as have no warrant in Scripture, and which unavoidably tend to shut out the world not only from joining with it, but even from an investigation of its tenets.

This is not the time to point out what changes are necessary, nor do I assume to be qualified to indicate them. But what I maintain is, that the Society is failing ; that heads, if not hearts, are wanting to run it ; that we are buried in a crust of near 200 years growth, and that if anybody suggests any departure from ancient practices, or even recommends an investigation into the actual results of some of our practices, he is concluded not to be under the influence which should preside in our meetings, and is met with a statement of what are the " feelings " of certain friends, and with exhortations " not to let in the reasoner."

I say nothing here of changes, with this one exception. So long as facts and reasons shall go for nothing, there can be no hope for us. When questions concerning or affecting the condition of the Society are looked at in a practical spirit, and when it is admitted that common sense, and experience are of some value in a Yearly Meeting then the Society will be in a condition fairly to examine its own position.

There is no revelation to be expected that will shake the prejudices of men long wedded to what exists ; but if a spirit of enquiry is encouraged and permitted without being frowned upon, we may hope that by and bye the Society will examine with an impartial mind, into the causes of its decay. It may be that we are destined to extinction, but if it be so, let it not be said that we refused to believe in our danger, and rejected all examination into the malady which destroyed us.

Forgive me for writing all this, and don't for a moment think of replying to it. I would not send it, if I thought it would involve thee or myself in a correspondence on these

subjects. I know I have subjected myself to no little unpleasant observation in consequence of what I have said on some occasions. Under the circumstances this must be expected. I have spoken honestly if not always wisely, and as thou, with the kindest motives I am sure, sent me a tract touching somewhat on these subjects, I have made my reply to thee, the opportunity for stating what I think and feel, perhaps more at length than is necessary, but I hope not more than thou wilt excuse.

I am affectionately Thy friend
John Bright

To

John Pease
Darlington.

I *mo* 27.52. I wrote this letter a month ago—but delayed sending it, doubting whether I should say anything on the subject to which it refers. I have concluded to send it, rather than merely to acknowledge thy kindness in sending me the Tract.

JB.

Some Notes on Early Dictionary References to Quakers

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON in his *Dictionary*, published first in two folio volumes in 1755 chose to ignore the terms *Quaker* and *Quakerism* or we might have headed this article with some designation culled from the wit of the most famous of English lexicographers. That the wit would not have been spared to save Friends' feelings we may suppose—but that would have been all in the English tradition until well into the eighteenth century—as a little investigation will show.

Before the time of the Commonwealth there had been few English dictionaries. Those of Robert Cawdrey, John Bullokar and Henry Cockeram are the ones which spring to mind—and they were mostly confined to the “hard” words—those not in general use, those derived from other languages and those with specialized meanings. At a period when the English language was rapidly developing and assimilating words from foreign, and particularly the classical, languages at an astonishing rate, these “hard” word lists were necessary, but as dictionaries they are incomplete, they avoid the common words—and the difficulties of definition which common words always present. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the “hard” word lists continued alongside the growing list of general dictionaries. It is therefore not surprising that not all the word lists calling themselves dictionaries issued during the period contain mention of Quakers or Quakerism.

Those who watch the development of language note the time-lag that occurs between the acceptance of a term (perhaps as slang, perhaps a technical term) in conversation and its admittance into the dictionary—the canon of good usage. We look, therefore, some years after Gervase Bennett first gave the nickname “Quakers” at Derby in 1650 before expecting appearance in print.

Edward Phillips, nephew of John Milton and educated at Oxford, first issued his *New World of English Words* in 1658. Of this work (lifted in large part from the earlier *Glossographia* of Thomas Blount the Roman Catholic), I have seen the 4th edition, published in 1678. His definition sets the tone for many future compilers :

Quakers, a modern Sect of Religious *Enthusiasm*, who took that denomination at first from their strange gestures, and quaking fits, which come upon them in thair publick Assemblies.

Here is an echo of Gervase Bennett's jibe at Fox and the tales—true, false, or exaggerated—of the ways in which some Friends were influenced at meetings during the early years of the Quaker movement. We shall see that this aspect of the received definition was never to die out during our period, although it gradually became pushed well into the background.

Elisha Coles, "schoolmaster, and teacher of the [English] tongue to foreigners," author of a treatise on shorthand, published a dictionary in 1676. His definitions seem largely based on Edward Phillips' *New World*, but much shorter, as our extract shows :

Quakers, friends, a sort of modern enthusiasts.¹

Although this definition is so short as to be practically unintelligible, it is interesting as the first acceptance of "Friends."

In 1702, J.K. (probably John Kersey, of whom more later) issued *A New English dictionary : or, a compleat collection of the most proper and significant words, and terms . . . commonly used in the language. With a continued short and clear exposition. The whole digested into alphabetical order ; and chiefly design'd for the benefit of young scholars, tradesmen, artificers, foreigners, and the female sex, who would learn to spell truly.* Branching from the earlier spelling-books this compilation marks an advance towards the general dictionaries of modern times. The definitions are short, but marked by common-sense. In the 3rd edition (1731) we read :

*Quakerism, the Opinions or Tenets of
The Quakers, Modern Sectaries first so called from their
quaking Fits and strange Gestures.*

The resemblance to the information given by Edward Phillips is striking—although paraphrased and condensed.

Cocker's English dictionary appeared in 1704. It was supposedly compiled by Edward Cocker "the late famous practioner in writing and arithmetick" (d. 1676), and revised by John Hawkins (d. 1692), but more probably was simply the protégé of a group of London booksellers. It was revised for a second edition in 1715, and a third edition (apparently unchanged) came out in 1724. The short account of the Quakers in this last edition was probably taken from some other source. It seems to refer in part to the Keithian controversies of the 1690's, and quotes the second of the two Declarations required for the certification of Friends under the Toleration Act of 1689 (the first Declaration being one of allegiance to the Crown).

Quakers, a Party or Sect in Religion, who first appeared in *England* about 1652. So called, because at first they were taken with Tremblings, Shakings, and Quakings of the whole Body, which they attributed to the Operation of the Holy Spirit, but that Symptom ceased long since. They assert Perfection in this Life ; That the Light within, or the natural Conscience, is the Rule of Life and Practice ; That no Man ought to take an Oath ; That human Learning is no Qualification for the Ministry ; That they ought not to say *You*, but *Thee* and *Thou* in Conversation (which is indeed more Grammatical) ; That they ought not to put off their Hats to any one. They were formerly very plain in their Habits, but that Humour is much abated, especially among their Women, who

¹ *An English Dictionary . . .* By E. Coles. 1696 edition. The wording is unchanged in the editions of 1713 and 1732.

wear the richest Silks, and the Men the finest Cloth, Hats, and Perriwigs. One that was one of their own Party has charg'd them, That they do not own Jesus Christ, who was Crucified at *Jerusalem*, to be the Son of God, but that they Spiritualize and Allegorize his Death and Satisfaction ; though the Profession they make in order to secure the Liberty of their Meetings, runs thus :

I, A.B. profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore. And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration.

Three years later, in 1707, another dictionary appeared under the title : *Glossographia Anglicana Nova*. The anonymous compiler acknowledged his debt to other lexicographers, and the description of Friends bears all the marks of being lifted from some much earlier work. The wording is unchanged in the second edition of 1719.

Quakers, a Sect of Christians appearing first in the North of *England* about the Year 1650 ; They say that the Holy Spirit enjoyns them to use *Thee* and *Thou*, or the Plain Language ; and that *Quaking* (from whence their Name) is sometimes used by the Power of God, and justify their Extravagant Emotions from Texts of Scripture ; They suppose new Revelations still continued, and that their Ministers may thus supernaturally be enlightened up to the Degree of Prophecy and Vision ; They suffer Women to speak in their Assemblies, &c.

John Kersey comes into the picture again in the following year with his comprehensive but abridged general dictionary, *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708). His definitions¹ take us right back to Edward Phillips and Elisha Coles, but we now find the noun "Quakerism" firmly established in the language.

Quakerism, the Doctrine or Opinion of the Quakers.

Quakers, a modern Sect of Enthusiasts who took Name at first from their strange Gestures and quaking fits.

This definition is repeated almost word for word in the successive editions of the most popular pre-Johnsonian dictionary *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, by Nathan Bailey :

QUAKERISM, the Doctrine or Opinion of the Quakers.

QUAKERS, a modern Sect, who took their name first from their strange Gestures and quaking Fits.

Nathan Bailey was compiler of at least three dictionaries. He appears to have been a Seventh-day Baptist, and kept a boarding school at Stepney where he died in 1742. The first edition of *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* appeared in 1721 and the thirtieth in 1802. In 1727, however, another work, apparently intended to supplement the first, came out : *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, volume 2*. In this work Bailey wanders further than even Cocker from the first purpose of a dictionary and

¹ Unchanged in the 2nd edition, 1715.

gives much miscellaneous information, as the following extract shows :¹

QUAK'ER . . . a professor of Quakerism.

QUAK'ERS [a sect so denominated from those quaking motions and gestures, they appeared in at their meeting or assemblies for devotion] they appeared in *England* about the year 1650 ; some of their particular tenets are,

1. That they are required by the holy spirit to use *Thee* and *Thou*, or the plain language.

2. That quivering and quaking are now sometimes used by the power of God, and justify these extravagant motions from the scripture.

3. They believe new revelations still to be continued, and that their ministers may thus be enlightened up to the degree of prophesy and vision.

4. They own a distinction in the Godhead, an essential quality between Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; but except against the word person, as too gross to express it.

5. They believe extraordinary commission or special manifestations of God to his children, in the highest degree of immediate revelations.

6. And from hence they infer that by virtue of this privilege, their ministers receive the gospel in the same manner as *Paul did, not of Man, but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ*.

7. They say that those who are not infallible are not in the spirit, and by consequence no ministers, and that every true member of the true church has certainty and infallibility of judgment, and knows the infallibility of the truth he professes ; yet they do not lodge this infallibility in any private person, nor in their whole church ; but that this infallible spirit, privately or particularly works in the hearts of men ; and that those who improve their talent, have the same rule of the holy spirit to read and understand the scriptures, that the apostles and prophets had when they wrote.

8. They deny that the holy scriptures are the only object (i.e. rule) of faith, or that the letter of the scripture (or written word) is the sword of the spirit.

9. They assert that the light within is the rule for every person to walk by, and that God speaks to men now in the same immediate manner, and as he did to the holy apostles and prophets.

10. They affirm that the lives of the saints are not at all sinful, and that it is the doctrine of devils to preach that men shall have sin and be in a warfare as long as they are on earth.

11. Quakers administer neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper, and disown the institution of both sacraments.

12. They likewise hold swearing unlawful.

13. They acknowledge that the civil magistrate is ordained

¹ Quotation from the 3rd edition, 1737.

of God to punish with the sword ; but say that it is not lawful for any of their party to make use of it.

14. They declare against paying of tithes, calling it an Antichristian yoke of bondage.

Nathan Bailey in this long entry gives the reader some idea of the specifically Quaker testimonies, which none of the previous compilers had succeeded in doing. For his third dictionary *Dictionarium Britannicum : Or a more Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary than any Extant* (1730, and 1736) Bailey goes back to his first work, and we find :

QUA'KERISM . . . the principles or tenets of quakers.

QUA'KERS, a modern sect, who first got their name from their gestures and quaking fits.

Close on the heels of Nathan Bailey came Thomas Dyche and William Pardon's *A New General English Dictionary* (1735). This was intended "for the Information of the Unlearned," those without knowledge of foreign languages, schools where the only language taught was English, and "the fair Sex." Here then we find a simple (if wordy) extract for the nouns Quaker, and Quakerism, and may imagine the extent of a simple eighteenth century Englishman's knowledge about the "people called Quakers."

QUAKER (S.) one that shakes or shivers with cold, fear, or some other agitation of the mind, from whence a large sect of Christians are so called, especially in *England*, and the dominions thereof, that at their first appearing about the year 1650, seemed to be agitated by some supernatural power, and acted and behaved as if possessed, pretending to the immediate and extraordinary inspiration of God's holy Spirit, that external ordinances are abolished, and that no sacraments are necessary, but that in every action the Spirit of God guides the faithful, and inspires them with the true knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, &c.

QUAKERISM (S.) the principles or tenets of the people called Quakers.

Dyche and Pardon's *Dictionary* went through nearly a score of editions before the close of the eighteenth century. It is the last of the encyclopaedic type of dictionary issued before the appearance of Samuel Johnson's great folios which I have found.

"J. Sparrow, Gent." in his *New English dictionary, containing a compleat collection of useful English words* (1739)¹ seems to have gone back to Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* for his short definitions :

QUAKERISM, the Doctrine or Opinion of the Quakers.

QUAKERS, a modern Sect, who were so called from their quaking Fits.

¹ De Witt T. Starnes and Gertrude E. Noyes, in their book *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604-1755* (Chapel Hill, 1946), state that this dictionary is identical with three others published anonymously (1737), and over the names of B. N. Defoe (1735) and James Manlove (1741).

Benjamin Martin, ploughboy, teacher, inventor and writer, set out to construct a dictionary on scientific principles, without any encyclopaedic features. For all Martin's theories, his definitions of Quakerism and Quakers are not noticeably different from those of his predecessors (indeed, they seem to come almost word for word from Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum*). *Lingua Britannica Reformata* was published in two editions, in 1749 and 1754. The definitions given read :

QUA'KERISM, the principles, or tenets of the quakers.

QUA'KERS, a modern sect, who first got their name from their quaking, or trembling fits, in the exercise of their religion.

Thus we come to 1754, the year before the publication of Johnson's dictionary, and a convenient resting-place from which to look back on the changes in definition and description of Friends in the dictionaries of the past hundred years—and forward (perhaps through the eye of Daniel Fenning, whose *Royal English Dictionary*, second edition 1763, reads) :

QUAKERS, S. [so called from the extraordinary agitations they were under when moved, as they say by the spirit] a religious sect that arose during the interregnum, and founded by George Fox. Their particular tenets are built on Scripture misunderstood, and consist in believing that every person is at present inspired in the same manner as the Apostles ; hence they reject a standing ministry, and hold, that no one is authorised to preach, unless immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost ; they reject the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper as outwardly administered ; hold oaths on any occasion unlawful ; are extremely plain in their apparel, as well as in their language ; look on payment of tythes as inconsistent with the gospel, and are remarkably simple, and in general just in their dealings.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER

Notes and Queries

WILLIAM PENN STOPS THE PRESS
A NOTE in the Winter, 1951, issue of the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 94-9, tells the story of the discovery of a copy in the original state of a leaf (signature B2) in Penn's *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (London, Benjamin Clark, 1681). The Harvard copy of this pamphlet lacks pp. 3-4 (signature B1) but has two states of pp. 5-6 (signature B2). The usual, corrected, state has catchword "And" on p. 5; the original cancelled leaf has the catchword "that" on p. 5. In the conditions laid down for the prospective settlers there are variations in the text, showing that William Penn, besides making some alterations for the sake of clarity, toned down a strong passage condemning harsh treatment of indentured servants after their period of service in the colonies had expired. The wording was altered (as James E. Walsh, the author, points out) to avoid antagonising the wealthy merchants and landowners whom Penn wished to interest in his colony.

JONATHAN SWIFT AND FRIENDS' AFFIRMATION

THE appearance of Dean Swift's *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* in the edition of his works in course of publication by Basil Blackwell of Oxford has brought to our notice the comments he made on the occasion of Friends' unsuccessful application to Parliament in 1712 for a renewal of the Affirmation.

The *History* is basically an

apology for the High Church party. Swift was one of the most active literary supporters of the party during the period of its political power at the close of Queen Anne's reign.

The Affirmation Act of 1696 (7 & 8 Will. III. cap 34) had been renewed in 1702 (13 & 14 Will. III. cap 4) for a further period, and it was due to expire at the end of the Parliamentary session in 1715. As the time drew near, Friends considered whether to apply for a renewal of the Act, and this was eventually agreed to, although a large body of Friends was dissatisfied with the current form of words.

In the passage which follows Dean Swift tells the rest of the story. True to its Tory High Church traditions, the Commons rejected Friends' petition (9th February, 1712). Friends then applied to the Lords where the Whigs still held a slender majority. Their Lordships were more obliging—doubtless fearing the loss of votes if the scruples of any of their nonconformist supporters should prevent them voting at elections. The Lords ordered a bill to be prepared (6th May, 1712), passed it through all its stages in five days (30th May-3rd June) and sent it down to the Commons. The Lower House refused the bill even a first reading (6th June) by a vote of 168 against 57.

The passage is reproduced in full from the first printed edition of 1758 (pp. 248-51).

"The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first

founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years grown into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all* ; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign, to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level ; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity : however, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance, and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued. These people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of Commons for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up ; upon this they applied themselves to the Lords, who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

“ And indeed, it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the

legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world ; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest of mankind who live under civil government : but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church ; and I am fully convinced, that if a sect of sceptick philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege ; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called Scepticks, should have been accepted instead of an oath in the usual form ; so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.”

SOCINIANISM

Socinianism in Seventeenth century England ; by H. John McLachlan, tutor and librarian of Manchester College, Oxford (Oxford University Press), is a contribution to the study of developments in seventeenth century religious life which will interest many besides Unitarians. There is an account of the controversy which followed the publication of William Penn's youthful *Sandy Foundation Shaken* (1668), and other Friends make an appearance in the course of this scholarly work.

MARRIAGES "OUT"

IN response to a letter in *The Friend*, 31. xii. 1943, p. 886, the Editor has collected at the Library at Friends House, a small file of confidential letters giving information about the operation of the discipline concerning marriages outside the Society—either with non-members, or with members, at a church or registry office—particularly in the period just preceding the alteration of the Yearly Meeting rules in 1860 to permit of the marriage of Friend and non-Friend at meeting.

Friends will remember that William Edward Forster was disowned after his marriage to Jane Arnold in 1850. In the same year John Bright records in his *Diary* (5. xii. 1850): "for the first time our Monthly Meeting has retained in membership a Friend who has married a person not a member." Practice evidently was far from uniform. There is an interesting record from the West of England of a Friend who was disowned for marriage according to the use of the Church of England in 1854, readmitted to the Society after the death of his wife in 1858, and retained in membership after marriage at a registry office a little over a year later.

In points such as this, family letters and recollections are likely to give a better picture of the variations of practice than the reticence of official minutes, and the Editor would be grateful for any further instances which may help to fill in the pattern showing the gradual change in discipline over the whole country. Within the last half-century much material which would throw light on the question has probably

disappeared, and this may well be one of the last opportunities of saving a representative sample of records of a discipline which agitated the Society for many years.

MUSICAL GEOGRAPHY LESSONS IN the January, 1951, issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 75, No. 1, pp. 76-90) is a series of "Biographical Notes on Jonathan Knight (1787-1858)" by Harold L. Dorwart. In the course of this study of a Pennsylvanian Friend who was in his life a practically self-taught mathematical thinker of no mean order, a civil engineer, a railway pioneer, a member of the state legislature, and a Congressman with a broad national outlook, Professor Dorwart prints an extract from a grand-daughter's letter or reminiscence, written in 1908 which illustrates Quaker family discipline in the Knight family, and the slow decline of the testimony against music.

In consequence of this testimony, Jonathan Knight's son, who was very fond of music, could not play in the house and kept his flute in a barrel in the barn, where his mother liked to listen to his playing. He also attended a "geography class" in the evenings at the schoolhouse where about fifty or more young people sang all their lessons while the teacher beat time; and "it was quite exciting."

Is more known of this interesting way out of a difficulty?

 QUAKERS AND PATENTS

HAS there ever been a Quaker testimony against taking out patents for inventions?

A letter concerning the Pennsylvanian Friend Jonathan

Knight, chief engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1830 to 1842, printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 75, No. 1, p. 88, states that "he never would take patents, for his principles in some way interfered."

It is noteworthy that the full reports issued during Knight's tenure of office in the early days of the Baltimore & Ohio did much to spread technical knowledge on the engineering and mechanical problems encountered in railway construction and operation, so that engineers everywhere were able to learn by their errors and profit with them in their discoveries.

Railway engineering is a special case, where the release of technical information of value to rivals would only in the rare cases of proximity of line influence the competition for traffic. It may be for this special reason that no claim for patents was made; or it may be from a sense that discoveries once made should be placed freely at the disposal of all.

Dr. Arthur Raistrick writes: "There is no specific testimony of which I know against patents, but the whole tenor of the Advices and of many early writings are against the retention of inventions for personal profit. In the case of the Darby group of ironmasters, to whom we owe our inventions—coke smelting of iron, raw coal conversion, the iron railway, the canal incline, etc.—

the only patent taken was Abraham Darby's first, for hollow pots, in 1707. For a hundred years and more after that, no others were taken. Richard Reynolds took no patents, although he and his partners, the Darbys, the Harfords, and many others introduced new methods in the tin-plate industry. Allen, Bevan and others in the chemical and pharmaceutical world refrained from patents, and both journals and letters state that they preferred humanity at large to have the benefit. Huntsman refused to patent his method of steel casting. In Bristol the Champion family were an exception, though they did not patent all their discoveries. I think a very strong list of fundamental discoveries by Friends, never patented by them, but sometimes by rivals and others, could be prepared. Fry refrained from patenting many of his methods in type-founding and soap-boiling. In metallurgy the same is true, Wright and the London Lead Company did not patent their inventions at any time.

A later generation after 1800 was more prone to patent.

I think I could make out a strong case for the view that Friends had a 'stop' against patents, and they followed this feeling on the whole, so faithfully that it never came to the necessity of an Advice on the matter."

Can any Friend produce more evidence?

Recent Publications

Quakers and Slavery in America. By Thomas E. Drake. (Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany. 51), New Haven, Yale University Press (London, Oxford University Press: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 24s.), 1950. Pp. viii, 245.

This workmanlike volume which surveys the American Quaker attitude to slavery from the beginnings until the Civil War is developed from the author's Yale doctoral dissertation. Dr. Drake is Associate Professor of American History at Haverford College, and Curator of the Quaker Collection there. He has produced a well-documented account in which we can trace the developing concern among Friends about slavery. Thomas E. Drake throws some fresh light on the pronouncements of George Fox and William Edmundson on the slavery issue. We follow sympathetically the unfolding Quaker "conscience" first against slave-trading and then against slave-holding from the mild beginnings of John Hepburn and Cadwalder Morgan—"voices crying in the wilderness"—followed by the gadfly tactics of Ralph Sandiford and Benjamin Lay, the family visiting of John Woolman, and the respectable committee work of the later eighteenth century. Under these varied influences Friends eventually ceased buying slaves, and then set free those they held.

By the time of the American Revolution, Friends had almost entirely freed themselves from the taint of slaveholding and were able to throw themselves into the general anti-slavery effort with enthusiasm and power. Friends could count the legal abolition of the African slave trade in 1807 as a great concrete success in which they had taken a leading part, and looked forward to a gradual dwindling away of slavery in the new century. As time wore on, this expected withering showed little sign of occurring, and the anti-slavery leaders embarked on more active radical policies with which the quiet testimonies of conservative Friends had little in common. Thomas E. Drake guides the reader skilfully through the confusion of nineteenth century American politics and touches on the divisions—town against country, merchants against farmers, Whigs against Radicals—which, with the overriding cleavage of North against South ushered in the Civil War.

The English reader will probably find most interest in the first half of the book, and there are many interesting points which cannot be touched on here. It is clear that John Woolman's success in his anti-slavery work was to some extent due to his coming at a propitious time, but the spirit in which the renunciation of slavery was carried through among Friends influenced the wider colonial sphere. For this Woolman and Benezet deserve much of the praise. It might almost be argued that it was in some measure due to the success of a reform achieved without alienating any large section of the population, that Pennsylvania in the late eighteenth century was the most integrated of the composite American communities, and could take the lead among the colonial states and become truly the Keystone State of the Union.

Administrative Tribunals at Work: a symposium edited by Robert S. W. Pollard. Stevens, 1950. 17s. 6d. (Studies in Public Administration, No. 3.)

Robert S. W. Pollard has edited an admirably clear and concise outline of the system and functioning of our administrative tribunals dealing with rents, labour controls, town and country planning, etc. The essays shed much light on the working of these. Of particular interest is the editor's own contribution on tribunals for conscientious objectors to military service.

IN the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 25, 1949, appeared an article entitled "Nonconformists in Leicestershire in 1669" by R. H. Evans. This study is based on the returns to the inquiry ordered by Archbishop Sheldon made by the Archdeacon of Leicester for all the parishes in his archdeaconry, and sent to Lincoln before being digested into common form for the whole country. The national returns from the Tenison MS. 639 at Lambeth Palace were printed and analysed by G. Lyon Turner in his *Original records of early nonconformity under persecution and indulgence*, 3 vols., 1911-14. These Leicester returns are now preserved in Lincoln Diocesan Record Office, and the record is reproduced in this article.

Here we meet with Clement Needham, captain in Hacker's regiment, who was present when Hacker met George Fox in 1654 [*Cambridge Journal*, I, 159], but the main information provided is of Friends' meetings. We note that the meetings were usually frequented by the "meaner sort," and were held at Lockington cum Hemington (at William Howett, butcher's house)¹; at Mountsorrel; at Whitwick (Edward Muckleton, husbandman's house)²; at Knighton (William Christian of Leicester the "teacher"); at Market Harborough ("About 20 of the meaner sort, they usually meet at ye dwelling houses of [] Goffe spinster & [] Mackerness Baker"); at Cosby ("once at one Bodicotts house"); at Thurlaston ("No Conventicle within this parish but neare thereunto there have been severall at certaine odd houses"); at Sileby (William Smith's house); at Syston (houses of John Whateffe and Matthew Whateffe—"Some silent meetings . . . Their speaker a woman whose name I know not"); at Wymeswold (Richard Frere, shoemaker's house); at Broughton Inferior (John Wilford, miller's house); at Claxton Longa (Edward Allum, husbandman's house); at Harby (Chr. Levis's house—"Wm. Smith a stranger, Eliz. Hooton a stranger, Leviston Patrick³ a stranger be their teachers"); and at Withcote (William Moneys' house—"Their Teachers Wm Munneys farmer, Wm Cant shephard").

¹ For William Howett, and for most of the other Friends mentioned, see Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, I, pp. 330-42.

² Other leading members were George Powers, husbandman, and George Power, wheelwright. Edward Muggleston the elder, of Swannington, had died in 1661.

³ Patrick Livingstone was taken from a meeting at Syston and committed to the county Bridewell for six months, 1668. Besse, *op. cit.*, 335.



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