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A Community of Quakers in seventeenth century County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne

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A Community of Quakers in seventeenth-century County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne

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Abstract

This study explores community relationships and religious divisions through an examination of the seventeenth-century Quaker community in County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. It places Quakerism within the context of wider society to show how the early Quaker community was a manifestation of the struggle between government, authority and religion in the seventeenth century. It focuses on who the first Quaker were in English society and in County Durham's society. It explores the processes and reasons for religious governmental organisation among the early Quakers through the experiences of the Quaker membership in Durham.

Chapter 1 discusses the historical context and research questions that frame this thesis. It establishes an understanding of the Society of Friends by examining the structure and character of the Quaker meeting system. Chapter 2 discusses the genealogy of the Quaker movement in Durham through the social and religious traditions in the region. It examines the history of radical Protestantism beginning in the 1560s to the rise of the Quakers in the 1650s. Chapter 3 analyses the beginnings of the Quaker movement in Durham and Newcastle in the 1650s by examining the experiences and reactions to the Quaker ministers. Additionally, it explores the beginning of community organisation in Durham in 1654 and 1659. Using quantitative data, Chapter 4 seeks to better understand who the individuals were that joined and maintained the Quaker meetings in the first decades of their establishment. Using my own database of occupations, hearth tax assessments and probate records this chapter explores the middling nature of Durham's Society of Friends. Chapter 5 analyses Durham's Quaker meetings after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, and the extent of civil and ecclesiastical persecution against Quakers in Durham. Chapter 6 explores Durham's Society of Friends throughout the seventeenth century to analyse the codification of belief and the acceptance of authority within the community. It highlights the significant similarities between Quaker communal attributes and those found in wider society. Lastly, it explores the how Durham's Quakers negotiated their lives between their moral obligations and social and economic responsibilities, and how regulation of these principles defined the Quaker meetings in Durham.

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Abbreviations

AA	Archaeologia Aeliana
BL	British Library
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic, edited by Mary Anne Everett Green
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
DRO	Durham County Record Office
DUSC	Durham University Special Collections (including Durham Cathedral Library)
EBBO	Early English Books Online
FHL	Friends House Library
JFHS	Journal of the Friends Historical Society
P&P	Past and Present
SS	Surtees Society
Swarth. Mss.	Swarthmore Manuscripts
Swarth. Trs.	Transcriptions of the Swarthmore Letters edited by Emily Jermym
TNA	The National Archives
TWA	Tyne and Wear Archives Services
VCH	Victoria County History

Conventions

Where possible, the quotations have not been altered from their original source, with the exception of some abbreviated words having been expanded for clarity. These expanded words have been designated in the text with brackets. The year is taken to be the 1 January, and dates have been adjusted as such. The transcriptions of the Quaker meeting records, used throughout the thesis, have maintained the Quaker dating style for referencing purposes. When necessary the year has been changed but the month and day have remained the same for referencing.

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Modern Map of North-east England
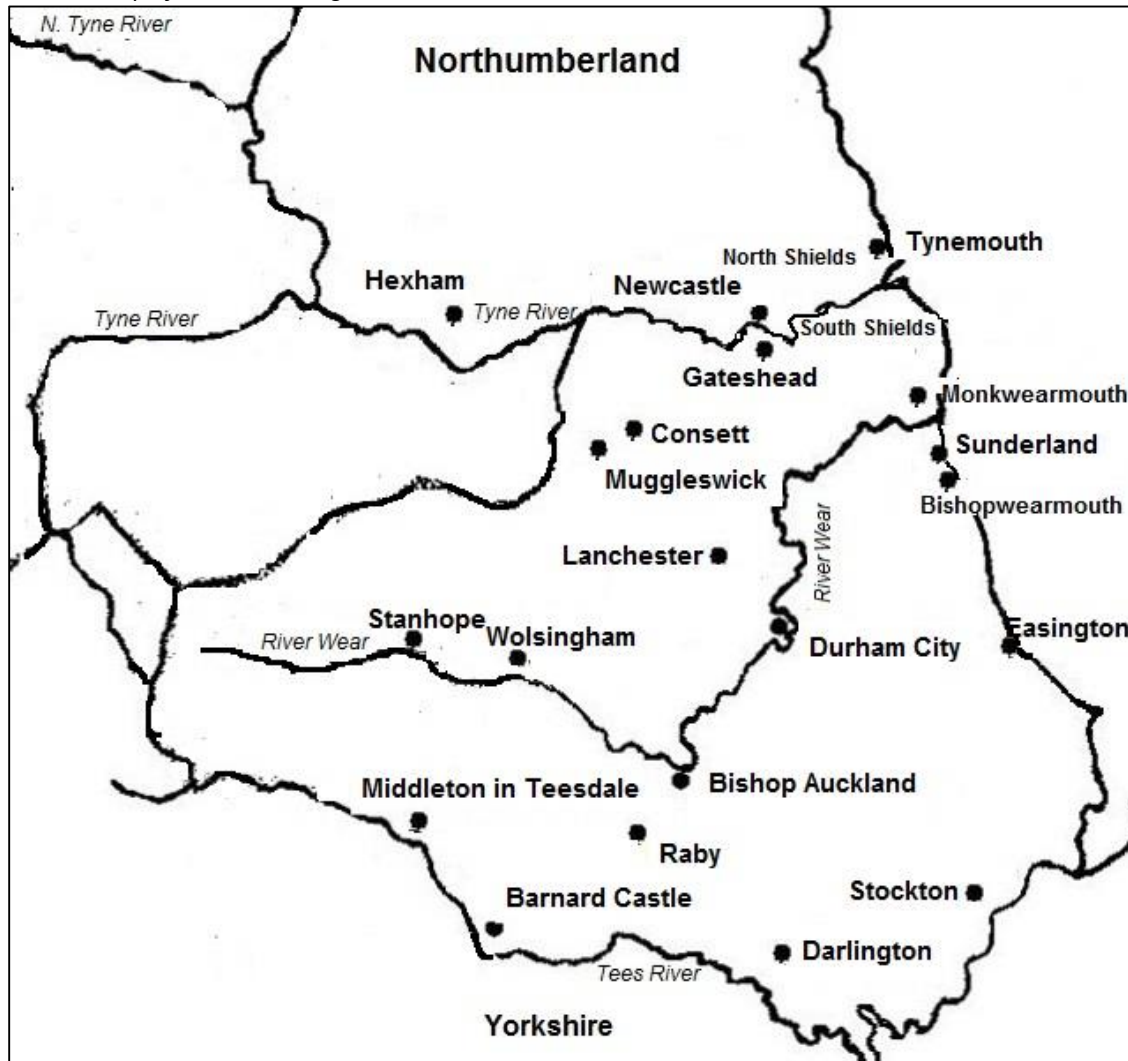
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c. 1675 Map of known Quaker residences in north-east England and where they fit into the Monthly Meeting System
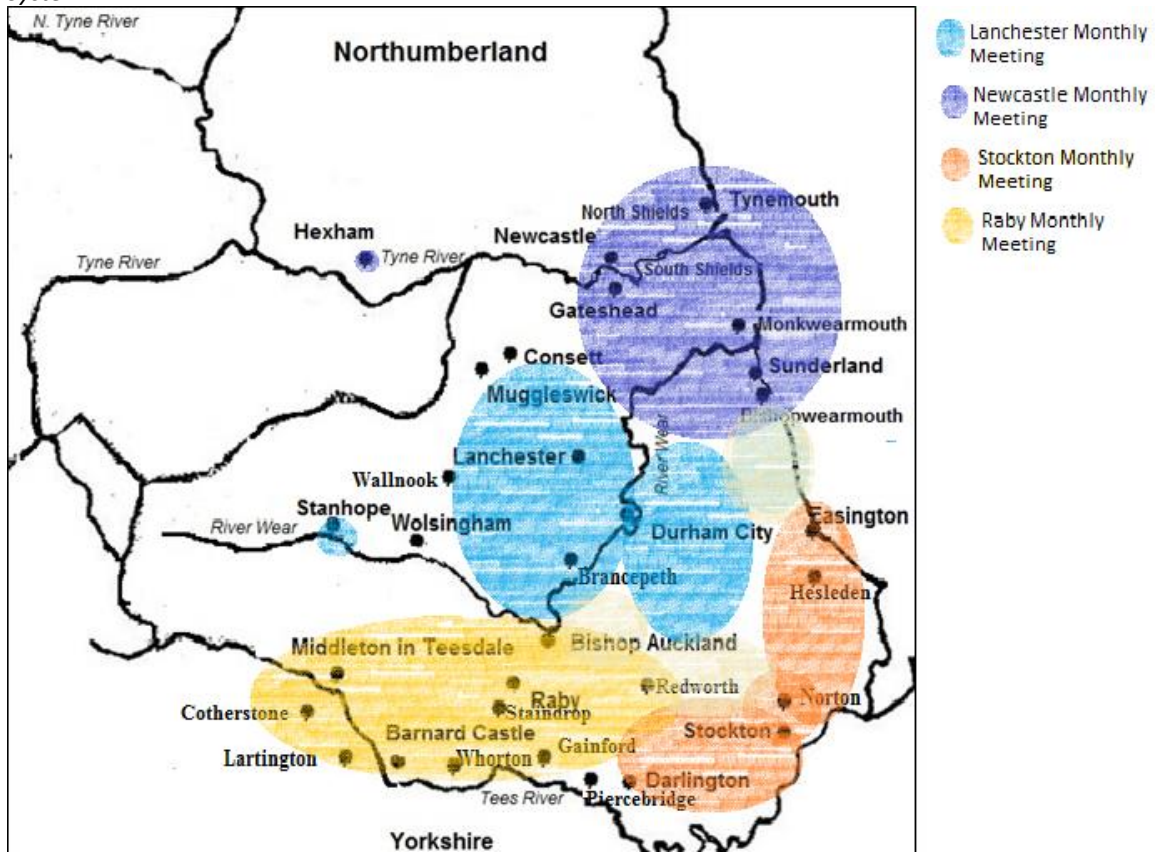
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Chapter 1: Introduction - A community of Quakers in Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, c. 1650-1730

The Society of Friends, better known as Quakers, Friends or simply the Society, are one of the most studied and historicised religious groups to emerge from the English Civil War period. Modern historians have frequently turned to the rise of radical religious groups as evidence of the social and political upheavals caused by the English Civil Wars. As one historian explained, the Civil Wars 'led to [a] series of radical groups that so preoccupied contemporaries and have so preoccupied recent historisns'.[1] When the Quaker movement emerged in the early 1650s, contemporaries described members as enthusiastic, disorderly and blasphemous.[2] Quakers, however, embraced the hatred against them. Members of the movement believed they were chosen by God, and were meant to spread the message of his words to the nation. As one prominent Quaker in Durham explained, members of the movement received a special status in the eyes of God. 'In the Northern Parts of this Nation [England], God hath raised and is raising up his own Seed of People above all others [they are hated] by all sorts of men…because their righteous Spirit of God that rules in them, as it will not comply or have fellowship with the wicked in their Pride, lusts, pleasures and unfruitful works of darkness'.[3] Within their fellowship Quakers were godly individuals, living through God's word, but outside of their religious association they were deemed a dangerous and disorderly organisation. This dual identity of the Quaker community prompted historians to place Quakerism within the realm of religious radicalism and on the fringes of

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[1]John Morrill, 'Introduction,' *Revolution and Restoration*, John Morrill (ed.), (London, 1992), p. 10. Also see, Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, (London, 1975); David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, *1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985).

[2] For contemporary and modern examples see, Richard Blome, *The Fanatick History*, (London, 1660), Thomson/E.1832[2]; Lord Saye and Sele, *Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest*, (Oxford, 1659), McAlpin Coll. / III 292; Thomas Weld, et al, *A False Jew: Or, A wonderfull Discovery of a Scot,* (Newcastle, 1653), Thomason / E.724[6]; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 231-258; Bill Stevenson, 'The Social integration of post-Restoration dissenters,' *The World of Rural Dissenters,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), p. 368-369; Richard Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism*, (Harvard, 1969), Chapter 1.

[3] Anthony Pearson, *To the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England*, (London, 1653), Thomason/E.714[10].

English society. They have been viewed as an increasingly distinct and isolated organisation within their localities.[4]

Approaching the study of Quakerism through such black and white perceptions has limited historical interpretations on the sociological development of the Society's community, and especially its relationship with the wider social sphere of the seventeenth century. Quakerism was a movement of community-minded individuals, negotiating their lives within and outside of the religious society. This thesis focuses on the process of negotiation in a regional Quaker community. It examines the individual meetings that became a part of the Durham Quarterly Meeting in the latter half of the seventeenth century. This regional Quaker organisation was located in County Durham, Newcastle and along the Durham-North Yorkshire border, and when the organisational development of this Quaker community is studied through its regional relationships and with the national organisation of the movement, a microcosm of seventeenth-century society is revealed within Durham's Society of Friends.

To understand the social aspect of the early Quaker movement, the Society as a religious movement needs an initial evaluation. Quakers in the 1650s believed they were fighting the Lamb's War, a term taken from Revelations 17:14: 'They will wage war against the Lamb, but the Lamb will triumph over them because he is Lord of lords and King of kings—and with him will be his called, chosen and faithful followers'. The War was a struggle to conquer evil through the Spirit of Christ called the inward light, the natural light, the light within or the inner light. Quakers fought the Lamb's War by antagonising and condemning any who did not accept the power of the natural light and in particular, its ability to directly communicate God's messages to the person. The inner light was a remnant of God's creation, a piece of him found within every individual across the world, no matter their race or creed. Many theologians of the period agreed that everyone had a degree of the natural light, but it was not

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[4] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 231-258; Richard Allen, 'An alternative community in North-East England: Quakers, morals and popular culture in the long eighteenth century,' *Creating and consuming culture in North-East England, 1660-1830*, Helen Berry and J. Gregory (eds.), (Ashgate, 2004), pp. 98-199.

regarded as a direct connection to God, or a means to achieving salvation as the Quaker believed.[5] For

Quakers the light negated the need for scriptural revelations, and therefore, the Puritan emphasis on

biblical study. Atonement was no longer necessary, and instead, the light was the potential means of

salvation.[6]

The Lamb's War was used to spread the Quaker message until the Restoration in 1660, when

the War was scaled back to promote the peaceable side of the movement. Yet during the 1650s,

Quakers interrupted church services, preached God's message in open and public places (often on busy

market days) and they went naked through the streets to signify that the innocent state of Adam and

Eve before the Fall could be reached if the light within was followed.[7] Furthermore, the Lamb's War

required Quakers to adopt distinctive forms of plain and levelling language, gestures and dress to signify

their inner spiritual state through outward signs. Quakers spoke with the informal 'thee' and 'thou'; they

recognised the days of the week and months of the year as remnants of paganism, using numbers to

designate the date; and simplicity and plainness was emphasised in all aspects of life, including dress

and household goods. (Although, as Chapter 4 will discuss, plainness was not always strictly enforced).

Societal custom also required doffing one's cap as a sign of respect, but Quakers refused, not as a sign of

disrespect, but to emphasise that all men were equal in society and in the eyes of God. These simplistic

and levelling behaviours became distinctive identifiers when Quakers were interacting in wider society.

For those who accepted the light their outwardly appearances and actions, defined by plainness

and simplicity, symbolised their inward success in reaching a state of innocence. Described as the

Quaker bodily-style, their outward actions related to their experience of 'spiritual rebirth and the path

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[5] Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 15-16; Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, (Oxford, 1946)*,* pp. 5-7, 20-30, 42-44.
[6] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, p. 1 and Chapter 4; Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 16.
[7] Kenneth Carroll, 'Early Quakers and Going Naked as a Sign,' *Quaker History* (1978), p. 77; Ruth M. Pitman, 'Quaker Symbolism and Ritual: Communication of Meaning in Quaker Practices,' *Quaker Religious Thought,* 50, 1 (1980), pp. 20-35.

to heavenly perfection which then opened before them'.[8] The message Quakers wished to bestow on non-Quakers was straight forward; if the inner light was accepted and followed, then prelapsarian innocence could be achieved. Quaker leader George Fox explained that members of the movement needed to show to all non-Quakers 'Constancy, Faithfulness and Life, which is Everlasting'. By doing this members would 'bring many to Amendment: For both Life, Actions, Words & Conversation' that will 'preach…to the unrighteous world'.[9] Quakerism was an internal religious experience and a lived religious experience, to be shared with non-Quakers known as the world's people.

Through outward actions, Quakers displayed to the world the religious state that could be achieved if the inner light was accepted and followed. Not all members actively sought to spread the Quaker message, and few Quakers preached in public places, went naked through the streets or interrupted ministers' sermons. Yet for thos who did, the actions and behaviours they displayed, in the name of the Lamb's War, became defining features of movement's radical profile. Yet Quakers were not unique in their rejection of societal norms, with other Civil War sectarians such as the Levellers, Baptists and the Fifth Monarchists, holding similar religious and social views and exhibiting comparable behaviours to the Quakers.[10] Hill noted that anti-Quaker hostility was rooted in perceptions of disorder and fears of further revolution among the sectarian groups.[11] These fears did not abate after 1660, and anti-Quaker sentiment continued to be rooted in the struggle for order and control over the nation.[12]

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[8] Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and early Quaker Culture,* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 2-3; Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 44; *A history of private Life: Passions of the Renaissance,* Roger Chartier (ed.) (Harvard, 1989), pp. 170, 46.

[9] George Fox, *A Line of Righteousness Stretched Forth*, (London, 1674), Wing / F1857, p. 8; Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, p. 160.

[10] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* chapter 10; Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A study of Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism*, (London, 1972), pp. 25-42.

[11] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, Chapter 10; H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings,' *Quaker History*, 76, 2 (Fall, 1987), p. 88.

[12] *Order and Disorder in early modern England,* Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.), (Cambridge, 1985); Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 93; Saye and Sele, *Folly and Madness Made Manifest*), p. 7; Richard Blome, *Fanatick History*.

The most prominent example of Quaker radicalism, used continuously by anti-Quaker polemicists in the seventeenth century, was James Nayler's imitation of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in Bristol (1656). Nayler's actions highlighted the extremes some members took to prove their inward religious state through outward expression. Nayler was tried before Parliament for blasphemy and sentenced to public punishment in London and Bristol.[13] His trial and punishment was a public spectacle, and Nayler's actions were used by anti-Quaker pamphleteers and authorities to emphasise the dangerous and disorderly nature of Quakerism.[14] Nayler underscored the radical and individualistic behaviours that many leaders of Quakerism sought to curb throughout the Society's history. Using print, Quaker leaders responded to the Nayler situation by presenting the Society of Friends 'as a unified and coherent body of saints,' an issue that will be covered throughout the following Chapters. Quaker defences of Nayler drew on his case 'to argue for the cohesion, and true suffering, of the movement'.[15] His performance was the moment when Quaker leaders re-evaluated the enthusiastic, individualistic and outward nature of the religious movement, and instead sought a more united religious movement through an organisational church system.

This thesis explores the sociological progression of the Quakers' religious community and organisation by focusing on a single English Quaker community in County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. In particular, the first generation of Quakers have been researched to understand their role in the development and organisation of the religious community in this region. The Quaker community in Durham has been under-appreciated and under-studied, particularly after the Restoration in 1660. Geoffrey Nuttall noted that Quakers in Durham did not require further study after 1659 because they

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[13] Kate Peters, *The Print culture of the early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005, p. 238.

[14] See, Leo Damrosch, *The sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the puritan crackdown on the free spirit,* (Cambridge, 1996); William G. Bittle, *James Nayler, 1618-1660: The Quaker Indicted by Parliament*, (York Sessions, 1986); Erin Bell, 'Eighteenth century Quakers and the rehabilitation of James Nayler, seventeenth-century radical,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57, 7 (July, 2008); Peters, *Print Culture*, Chapter 8.

[15] Peters, *Print Culture*, p. 246; For instances of persecution against Quakers see Chapter 3 and a discussion of Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson's *The Cry of the Oppressed,* (London, 1656).

simply 'withered away' when persecution began in the 1660s.[16] However, Erin Bell's PhD thesis on

gender relationships within Durham's Quaker meetings refuted this assertion, and found that the post-

Restoration Friends continued to maintain a steady membership throughout the century.[17] In the

decade since Bell's discovery of a thriving Society in 2003, subsequent studies have neglected to shed

further light on the development of Durham and Newcastle's Society of Friends in the seventeenth

century.

This study aims to highlight the correlation between the north-east's unprecedented economic

growth, social restructuring and religious evangelicalism in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

and the Quaker community's organisational development from 1653 onwards. In particular, it

recognises that generations of regional influences contributed to individuals' decision to join the

movement. The role of religious perceptions of the northern English peoples after introduction of a

protestant Bishop of Durham in 1561, and the impact of evangelical preaching in spreading Protestant

and Puritan theology throughout the parishes will be discussed in relation to Quaker development and

ideology (Chapter 2). With an understanding of the region's religious traditions, Quaker ministering and

the development of their meetings in Durham from 1653 can be discussed within the context of County

Durham's society before and during the Commonwealth. Who developed the Quaker meetings, and the

wider reactions to the new religious movement can be explored (Chapter 3). Furthermore, questions of

the Society of Friends' social and geographical profile in Durham are discussed, including the movement

of early Quaker ministers and the location of the permanent meetings. Knowing the social and

geographical profile of the first generation of Quakers also allows for additional questions to be

answered, such as the individual influences that helped to shape the Quaker community in Durham and

Newcastle (Chapter 4). With Quaker meetings firmly established and members identified within their

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[16] Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and the rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal,* (June, 1944), p. 97.

[17] Erin Bell, 'Discipline and Manhood in the Society of Friends: A study with particular reference to Durham, c. 1656-1750,' (PhD thesis, York University, 2003).

local communities, the role of religious persecution, church government, regional and national meeting organisation, the codification of moral and religious beliefs and education are evaluated and questioned as agents in the creation of the religious community (Chapters 5 and 6). Throughout the thesis, Quakers are not regarded as a separate entity in English society, but rather, emphasis is placed on Quakerism as a microcosm of the larger seventeenth-century struggle between community, religion and authority.

This thesis begins with an examination of the social, economic and religious landscape of the region starting with the instalment of Durham's first Puritan Bishop, James Pilkington, in 1561. Chapter 2 lays the foundations for understanding Quaker convincement to the inner light and conversion to the movement in the 1650s. A cursory examination of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century dissemination of religious beliefs in Durham and Newcastle has been undertaken through an examination of the Protestant and Puritan congregations scattered across parishes in the region. Chapter 3 discusses the correlation between the Protestant communities in the 1630s and 1640s and the ministering routes and locations of Quaker meetings in the 1650s. It examines the beginnings of Quaker ministering across the region. The print disputations between religious authorities in Newcastle and the Quaker minister James Nayler are used to examine the reactions of local authorities to the new religious organisation in the region. The significance of convincement to the inner light and the full religious conversion experience is evaluated and discussed through the experience of prominent local Quaker Anthony Pearson. Geoffrey Nuttall's observation that Quakerism did not survive the Restoration is reassessed by tracing how members formed the beginnings of a religious and social community in the 1650s that became the foundations for the post-Restoration Society of Friends in County Durham.

Chapter 4 answers the question of who joined the early Society of Friends. The social profile of the first Quakers is defined through individual occupational listings, hearth tax entries and probate records. Furthermore, the Chapter seeks to expand beyond the typical historical social status studies by exploring the relationship between geographical location, occupations, and cultural attributes within the

monthly meetings. This assessment lays the foundations for Chapter 6 by discussing the implications of geography and work on the enforcement of moral principles within the Quaker monthly meetings. Chapter 5 explores the struggle between Quakerism as an individualistic religious experience and a communal religious organisation. Using civil court records, ecclesiastical records and Quaker persecution accounts, it evaluates the role of persecution in the development of the Society. The impact of wider sociological influences on the community and church government are assessed within the Society of Friends in Durham and Newcastle, and compared to the national development of movement in the 1670s. With the establishment of a nationwide meeting system in the 1670s, Chapter 6 seeks to understand the methods and reasons for Quakers to accept the Society's governmental system, despite the individualistic nature of Quaker theology. It assesses how Durham and Newcastle's Society of Friends codified and enforced their religious and social principles through the meeting system. Personal interactions between members and their monthly meetings are assessed, and an understanding of how Quakers negotiated their religious and secular lives is evaluated. Each of these chapters comes together to reveal a religious organisation seeking to build a moral community, while simultaneously negotiating with the immorality of the world around them.

Since the beginning of their religious movement in the early 1650s, Quakers placed enormous value on their ability to write, collect and disseminate information to fellow Quakers across the British Isles and further abroad. Their methodical collecting of letters in the 1650s, propensity towards print publications in the 1650s and 1660s, and their meticulous record system of meeting minutes, advices, epistles and narratives from the latter half of the seventeenth century onwards has culminated in a trove of historical records for historians and scholars to study.[18] The impression of distinctiveness in seventeenth-century Quaker social mores, print culture, ministering and governmental system has sparked a curiosity in the sect for generations. However for decades, Quaker history has been hampered

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[18] For Quaker print culture in the 1650s see, Peters, *Print Culture and the early Quakers*.

by an 'ecumenicist plot,' in which Quakers studying Quakerism frequently sanitised the history of

movement. Quakers and Quakerism were inadvertently made to appear idiosyncratic in their beliefs and

social standards, an identity they have held for decades.[19]

The seventeenth-century Quakers were the first to write and preserve their religious history

through a hagiographic study of the Society's prominent members. In 1682, the Durham Quarterly

Meeting requested that the monthly meetings in Durham record the first Quaker ministers who

preached "the truth" to Durham's population in the 1650s.[20] These ministers became known as the

Valiant Sixty or First Publishers of Truth, two names that signify the level of reverence given to early

ministering Friends. The study of the first generation of Quakers in the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries did not change much from their seventeenth-century counterparts. Quakers continued to be

studied by individuals of the same faith, and as Larry Ingle noted, the first generation of Quakers were

continuously identified as 'within the safe and sane world of acceptable Christianity'.[21] Ecumenicists

viewed the early Society of Friends as a peaceful, isolated and yet a suffering religious group in

England.[22] Aspects of persecution were undoubtedly true. This was evident in parliamentary acts aimed

at combating the presence of individuals refusing to conform to the Church of England (discussed in

Chapter 5). Contemporaries regarded Quakers' theological beliefs and socially disruptive behaviours as

radical and disorderly. Alexandra Walsham commented that in the post-Reformation period individuals

'who wilfully defied and departed from the faith in which they had been baptised' were viewed as a risk

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[19] H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent historiography of Quaker beginnings,' p. 82.
[20] DRO, SF/DU/QM1/1, (2nd 11th mo. 1682).
[21] Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism,' p. 82.
[22] Some examples include, Joseph Besse, *A Collection of Sufferings of the People Called Quakers,* (London, 1753), digitised on The Quaker Digital History, Earlham School of Religion, [http://dqc.esr.earlham.edu:8080]; William Sewell, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers*, 2 vols., (London, 1712); John W. Steel, *A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends "In Scorn Called Quakers" in Newcastle and Gateshead, 1653-1898,* (Newcastle, 1899); John W. Steel, *Early Friends in the North*, (London, 1905); Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, 3 vols., (London, 1806); *The First Publishers of Truth,* Norman Penney (ed.), (London, 1907); Hugh Barbour, *The Quaker in Puritan England*, (Yale Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 207-233; Alan Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends,' *JFHS*, 48, (1957); William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, (London, 1912); Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, (London, 1919).

to the 'society in which they resided'.[23] As Chapter 5 will discuss, there was no shortage of fear

mongering and disparaging rhetoric against Quakers and other non-conformists in the post-Restoration

period, but these attitudes found in print literature and among authorities were not wholly reflected at

the parish level. As Bill Stevenson has demonstrated in Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire, Quakers

were generally integrated within their local communities. They held local government offices and non-

Quakers can be found attending Quaker weddings.[24] By sanitizing early Quaker history, members'

interactions and the local Quaker community's placement within English society have been distorted by

historians of the sect.

       Quakers were living in English society, and their religious community fits much more neatly into

the social norms of the period than historians have previously acknowledged.[25] Quaker associations

within the wider social and economic world have been lost in a myriad of examples of how Quakers

developed and enforced their religious organisational system to form, what appeared to be, an isolated

and alternative community.[26] This study evaluates perceptions of Quakerism as a restrictive community

by reflecting on the development of early Quakerism in Durham. The aim is to achieve a total historical

view of the Quaker community in Durham and Newcastle by recognising that Quakers were not a unique

or insular community, but rather they were replicating societal norms within their own religious

organisation. They were part of wider English society and undergoing the same experiences as their non-

Quaker neighbours.[27] Quakers in the region did not convert to the movement in 1653 simply in a wave

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[23] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700,* (Manchester, 2006), p. 41.

[24] Bill Stevenson, 'The social integration of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' *The World of rural Dissenters,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 360-387.

[25] Christopher Hill notes that Quakers and wider society underwent the same experiences in, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries*, (New York, 1985), p. 27. For aspects of seventeenth-century English Society and community see, Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*, (London, 1982), Chapter 2.

[26] Richard Allen has put forward the most recent acknowledgment of an alternative Quaker community in, 'An alternative community in North-East England: Quakers, morals and popular culture in the long eighteenth century,' *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830: 1660-1830*, Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), (Ashgate, 2004); Also see, Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 3.

[27] Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat*, p. 27; Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism,' pp. 85, 94.

of enthusiasm. Rather, I aim to show that there were underlying sociological factors that formed for several decades prior to members' conversion (Chapter 2). These factors influenced not only individual converts to the new religion, but also the geographical location of where the meetings took root. Unlike many previous local and regional studies on the Quaker movement's organisational development, including studies by Vann, Reay, Bell and Allen, this study incorporates the social, religious and economic history of Durham and Newcastle from 1561 onwards.[28] Ingle commented that individuals 'do not fragment and divide their lives into separate realms'.[29] Therefore, a holistic evaluation of the world Quakers were living in, and inescapably participating in, is necessary to truly understand the religious community of the Society of Friends. Such an evaluation aims to demonstrate that Quakers in County Durham were not simply defined by their religious association; rather, their community was intertwined with seventeenth-century society, culture and economics.

The regional influences that contributed to the rise and development of Quakerism is frequently disregarded in assessments of Quakerism in the British Isles. While nineteenth-century antiquarians produced local histories of the first Quakers in their regions, these studies were often written by a member of the Society, and were narrowly focused on recounting the narrative of local meetings. John W. Steel's two accounts of Durham and Newcastle Quakerism list prominent members, meeting locations, dates of meetinghouse deeds and sufferings of the first members. Analysis of the Quaker community is rare, and citation of his sources is non-existent. Historical accounts such as Steel's were the leading source for Quaker history until the publication of William C. Braithwaite's *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912) and his *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1919).[30] These historical narratives are still regarded as significant sources for any scholar of Quakerism. Using the collection of early Quaker letters held among the Swarthmore Collection, as well as local meeting minutes and the Book of Quaker

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[28] See, Richard Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism,* (Harvard, 1969); Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution,* (New York, 1985); Bell, 'Discipline and Manhood'; Allen, 'An Alternative Society'.

[29] Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism,' p. 83.

[30] Steel, *A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends;* Steel, *Early Friends in the North*.

Sufferings, Braithwaite's narrative spans the earliest years of Quakerism, and works through the history of the Society until the close of the eighteenth century. Both *Beginnings* and *Second Period* are invaluable resources to anyone studying Quaker history. However, such a mammoth undertaking meant there were inevitable shortcomings in the analysis. Braithwaite neglected the influence of prominent local Quakers by evaluating the Society of Friends through a top-down approach in his research. He focused on significant events and prominent Quaker leaders, such as George Fox and William Penn, to trace the Society's institutional development over a century and a half. Rather than recognising the importance of the regional Society of Friends in their development as a religious organisation, the national Quaker movement was used by Braithwaite to represent the whole of Quakers in the country in detriment to the role of local members in their own history.

By the middle of the twentieth-century shortfalls in Braithwaite's history were identified, questioned and analysed. New interpretations of the Quakers' origins and their religious organisational development were reassessed in more regionalised accounts. German Marxist, Edvard Bernstein was the first to evaluate the Quakers from the view of the rank and file members with the aim of identifying an underlying class consciousness that attracted individuals to Quakerism.[31] His work was continued by Hugh Barbour and Barry Reay who reconsidered Quaker religiosity in conjunction with earlier Puritan ideology of Calvinism and the predestined elect.[32] Quakers replaced Calvinism and predestination with a belief in the inner light and its power to attain salvation if listened to.[33] By adhering to the inner light, Quakers negated the Calvinist belief in election and biblical guidance. The light was their guide and nothing else, therefore sermons and Biblical study was deemed unnecessary. Quakerism was a reaction against the tribulations of predestination in a world where millenarianism was continuously preached

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[31] Eduard Bernstein, *Cromwell & Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution*, H.J. Stenning (trans.), (New York, 1966).
[32] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*; Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution.*
[33] George Fox, *Christ's Light the only antidote to overcome and expel the poison of Satans greatest temptations,* (London, 1662), Wing/F1761.

and anticipated.[34] Historians placed the movement within the realm of extreme Puritanism. Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between the Calvinist definition of puritanism and Quakerism, to propose that Quakers were not strictly speaking Puritans themselves.[35]

By placing Quakerism at the radical end of Puritanism, historians raised further questions on the descent of religious dissenters, including that notion that a tradition of nonconformity can be traced throughout the centuries among individual families or within localities. Influenced by Christopher Hill and Margaret Spufford's work on the genealogy of religious dissent, Nesta Evans determined that a correlation could be found between Lollardy in the fifteenth century and nonconformity among families in the Chiltern Hundreds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using surname data from the Upperside of Buckinghamshire's Quaker meeting, a comparison was made with known Lollard surnames in the same region. This led Evans to conclude that 'heterodoxy descended in the family in the Chilterns are now demonstrably true. Radical dissent was a family affair'.[36] However, without evidence of individual ideas of religiosity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, the study does not provide a convincing argument of dissent as a 'family affair'. This concern was raised by Patrick Collinson, but he added that the problem of religiosity could be remedied by filling the gap of religious dispositions between the Elizabethan Settlement to the eve of the Civil Wars through the study of court records and religious disputes.[37] Chapter 2 of this study partially examines Collinson's theory by examining pre-Civil War religious disputes and evangelical ministering in Durham. Previously unexplored by historians of Durham Quakerism, the role of protestant evangelicalism in the aftermath of the

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[34] Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, Chapter 2; Hill, *The World turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-98.

[35] Melvin B. Endy Jr., 'Puritanism and Quakerism,' *Quaker Theology*, 1 (1999), pp. 11-12; Endy, 'The interpretation of Quakerism: Rufus Jones and his Critics,' *Quaker History,* 70, 1 (Spring, 1981), pp. 3-21; Donald F. Durnbaugh, 'Baptists and Quakers – Left Wing Puritans?,' *Quaker History,* 62, 2 (Autumn, 1973), pp. 67-82; Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 3.

[36] Christopher Hill, 'From Lollards to Levellers,' *Rebels and Their Causes: Essays in Honour of A.L. Morton,* Maurice Cornforth, (1978), pp. 49-64; Nesta Evans, 'The descent of dissenters in the Chiltern Hundreds,' *The world of rural dissenters,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 288-308; Adrian Davies also finds a correlation of earlier dissent and Quakers in the seventeenth-century, *The Quakers in English Society*, Chapter 10.

[37] Patrick Collinson, 'Critical Conclusion,' *The World of Rural Dissenters*, pp. 394-395;

Northern Rising in 1569 and popular religious belief in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are used to trace a tradition of religious belief and dissent in Durham.

With the Lollardy movement never taking hold in north-east England, comparisons to earlier studies on genealogical lines of dissent cannot be made. However, Catholicism was the primary religious dissenting group in Durham and Northumberland after the Reformation, and direct links can be found between the backlash against Catholic nonconformity, a desire to instil Protestant (and in places Puritan ideology), and the development of later religious groups such as Baptists and Quakers. Chapter 2 begins in 1561 with the instalment of a radical Protestant, James Pilkington, as Bishop of Durham. Upon arriving in his new placement, Pilkington noted that the greatest hindrance to the spread of Protestantism in the Bishopric was a continuation of Catholic beliefs and irreligiousness among the populace.[38] Additionally, Pilkington noted an insufficient ministering clergy in the region, who were described as deficient in their ministerial duties and/or holding pluralistic livings.[39] The persistence of Catholic dissent in the region precipitated a campaign of placing godly ministers into the 'dark corners' of the Bishopric.[40] The Act of Uniformity and Supremacy led to clerical deprivation in the 1559, as did the ecclesiastical Visitations in 1561. These deprivations allowed Pilkington to appoint sympathetic clergy to Durham's parishes. Like many of his contemporaries, Pilkington believed that embedding godly clergy into the parishes would educate the laity and combat irreligiousness, but his vision of a Protestant Durham proved difficult to achieve. [41] Accounts of a deprived and irreligious northern England continued into the seventeenth

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[38] 'A collection of original letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council 1564 with Returns of the justices of the Peace and Others within their respective dioceses Classified according to their religious convictions,' *Camden Miscellany*, (M. Bateson (ed.), ix (London, 1895); Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 64.
[39] *History of Newcastle upon Tyne,* Richard Welford (ed.), II (London, 1885), p. 402; Siiri Tenno, 'Deviance in an Elizabethan diocese,' (MA thesis, Durham University, 2009), p. 15.
[40] Chapter 2; Christopher Hill, 'Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land,' *Change and Continuity in 17th century England*, (London, 1974); Freeman, 'The Parish Ministry in the Diocese of Durham,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1979), p. 15.
[41] Dewey D. Wallace, 'George Gifford, Puritan Propaganda and Popular Religion in Elizabethan England,' *The Sixteenth-century Journal* (1978), pp. 49; Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation,* (Pearson, 2009), p. 277.

century.[42] However, Pilkington's agenda of establishing a Protestant tradition through sermons,

education and a learned preaching ministry in the barren and remote parishes of the Bishopric marks

the beginning of a dissenting line that can be traced through the parishes over the next ninety years.[43]

Caution, however, is taken when calculating the effectiveness of sermons and education on

popular religious belief in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.[44] Alec Ryrie reminds us that 'we might

wish to know what the religion of the "average" English person was, but no such person existed'.[45]

Sources relating to belief rarely derived from individual parishioners. Instead, we are left with atypical

accounts from contemporary ministers, bishops and gentry on the religious state of Durham's parishes.

Chapters 2 and 3 also reflect on efforts to expand the protestant identity, and the contradicting

accounts of northern England as religiously backwards. Ralph Sadler commented in 1569 that the

northern people were 'ignorant, superstitious and blinded with "olde popish doctrine"'.[46] This opinion

did not change over the centuries. Newcastle curate, Henry Bourne, noted that the common people of

north-east England in the late seventeenth and early eighteen centuries held opinions that were 'almost

all superstitious, being generally ether the Produce of Heathenism; or the Inventions of indolent *Monks*,

who having nothing else to do'.[47]

Instances, however, can be found to counter contemporary deprivation rhetoric and the

historical notion that determining popular religion is unattainable. The village of Muggleswick, near

modern day Consett, County Durham, did not fit the description of a deprived religious community. The

influence of their itinerant puritan minister, Anthony Lapthorne can be recognised when parishioners

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[42] For example see, *Memoirs of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd,* J.A. Manning (ed.), (London, 1841), pp. 135-136.

[43] Mervyn James, *Family Lineage and Civil Society: A study of society, politics and mentality in the Durham region, 1550-1640,* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 52-63; 108-146.

[44] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* (London, 1971), Chapter 3; Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation,* p. 283.

[45] Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, p. 283.

[46] *Memoirs of Bernard Gilpin,* Rev. Charles Collingwood (ed.), (London, 1884), p. 150.

[47] Henry Bourne, Antiqutates vulgares: or, the antiquities of the common people. Giving an account of several of their opinions and ceremonies, (Newcastle, 1725), p. xii, accessed http://name.umdl.umich.edu/004875177.0001.000.

rebelled against their vicar for not fulfilling their religious expectations in 1642.[48] A long list of complaints was published and presented to the House of Commons with the aim of removing their current vicar and receiving a minister more suited to their religious needs.[49] In this instance, the effect of ministerial and educational efforts can be discerned on popular religious identity. Religious identity can be detected through the establishment of dissenting groups in the 1630s, 1640s and 1650s. Parishes across Durham and Newcastle with a history of puritan ministering, educational institutions and connections to major travelling routes were the most likely to develop dissenting religious organisations. Chapter 2 and 3 will discuss these connections to highlight the communities and religious traditions that Quakers in Durham and Newcastle emerged from.

Before the formal set-up of the meetings system in Durham and across England can be considered, the social origins of the first members needs to be assessed to better place them within the society and economy of north-east England. Chapter 3 looks more closely at Quaker occupations from 1653 to 1720, and their relationship to the north-east's economic growth. A database of 276 Quakers with identifiable occupations has been complied, and through it, the importance of the coal industry becomes vividly apparent; with many members involved in sea trade, sales and the manufacturing of glass and salt in the coastal urban regions. This is in contrast to Quakers living further inland who were employed in agriculture or artisanal trades in market towns such as Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland. Adrian Davies noted that in order to truly understand the Quaker movement, and the predominance of one social group over another, social origin studies are a significant factor 'in considering the sect's relationship with the world and its evolution over its first seventy years'.[50]

Davies's thinking was by no means revolutionary in the study of Quakerism. Historians have frequently sought to understand the social appeal of the religious movement by studying the

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[48] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, pp. 130-131.
[49] *A most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick,* (1642), Thomason / 669.f.4[69]; See Chapter 2, *Image 2.1* for the petition to the House of Commons.
[50] Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 140.

demographics of the first Quakers. Using contemporary accounts of seventeenth-century Quakers,

Christopher Hill accepted Ephraim Pagitt's 1654 description of England's Quakers as 'the dregs of the

common people'.[51] Other historians analysed the percentage of occupations to determine status. Using

mainly Quaker marriage registers from several northern counties (excluding Durham), W.A. Cole

determined in 1957 that English Quakers were drawn from artisans and husbandmen, they were the

'urban and rural *petite bourgeoisie'*.[52] Twelve years later, Richard Vann produced his own study on

Quaker social origins. Vann broadened his source material and limited his geographical location to

Norfolk and Buckinghamshire. He agreed with Cole that members of the Society were poor agricultural

workers and were part of the lower sorts, but this low status was only after a period of decline in the

late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Ultimately, Vann determined that the first Quakers

were not part of the lower sorts, but were from the ranks of 'the middle to upper bourgeoisie,' and it

was only over generations that Friends 'social status declined'.[53] However, Vann's assertion that status

declined over a period of time has been difficult to substantiate due to his limited range of sources in

determining his findings.

Judith Hurwich contributed to the debate with her project on the nonconformist communities in

Warwickshire in 1970. Unlike Cole and Vann, Hurwich's sources included a larger number of non-Quaker

records, in particular the use of the 1662 hearth tax records as a designation of social status, and

focused more specifically on a single community of nonconformists. She found no decline in status, but

rather her research supported Cole's theory of a consistent group of individuals from the lower sorts.

Hurwich noted a nonexistence of gentry in Warwickshire and concluded that Quakers were divided

between the middle and lower sorts. She also based her assumption on Quakers as the poorest

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[51] C. Hill, *The World Turned upside Down,* Chapter 10; C. Hill, 'Puritans and "the dark corners of the Land,"' *Change and Continuity in 17thc. England*, (London, 1974), p. 40; E. Pagitt, *Heresiography*, 5, (1654), Thomason / E.282[5], p. 136.
[52] Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers,' p. 117.
[53] Richard T. Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum,' *P&P*, 43 (1969), pp. 78-79; Also see, Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism,* (Harvard, 1969), Chapter 2.

members of society in Warwickshire on high instances of non-payment in the hearth tax. [54] Yet, non-

payment simply designated low property value and not necessarily an individual's wealth.[55]

The question of social status did not end with Hurwich's study in 1970. W.G. Hoskins' ground-

breaking efforts to promote the study of local histories through all avenues of written and non-written

sources, led to further evaluations of regional Quaker communities.[56] Regionalised studies of the sect

were undertaken in more depth and detail with additional social histories completed. In the tradition of

Hoskins, Adrian Davies and Bill Stevenson undertook detailed Quaker county histories by using a variety

of Quaker and non-Quaker sources. In Essex, Adrian Davies found that Quakers were from the lower

sorts, with the exception of Colchester which mainly pulled members from middle class traders and

artisans. Members were also integrated into wider society through connections with family, neighbours

and the parish.[57] Stevenson found similar results in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, but came to

the crucial conclusion that the first Quakers cannot be designated into a single social group. 'They were

drawn from all major social and economic categories and subgroups, except for the *nobilitas major* and

the vagrant poor'. Just as Davies found Quakers working with their non-Quaker neighbours, Stevenson

also noted a high level of integration with non-Quakers in social and economic spheres.[58]

Despite the continued revision and detailed nature of their work, social origins studies raised

several significant issues in the study of Quaker history. First, the varied methodologies used to

determine Quaker social status led to inevitable inconsistencies. Cole and Vann used data confined to

records produced by the Society of Friends. Not only are these records incomplete, but they do not

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[54] Judith J. Hurwich, 'The Social origins of the Early Quakers,' *Past and Present*, 48 (1970), pp 158-161.
[55] Adrian Green, 'County Durham at the Restoration, A social and economic Case-Study,' *Durham Hearth Tax*, Adrian Green, Elizabeth Parkinson, Margaret Spufford (eds.), (London, 2006), p. lxx.
[56] W.G. Hoskins, *Local History in England,* (London, 1983), p. 14.
[57] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, Chapter 11, p. 69.
[58] Bill Stevenson,' The social and economic status of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' *The World of Rural Dissenters*, p. 333; 'The social integration of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' Ibid., pp. 360-387.

provide contextualisation of social status, particularly in the designation of yeomen and husbandmen.[59]

Without consulting further records, such as probate and the hearth tax entries, occupational

designation, relative wealth cannot be fully identified. Recognising the inconsistent use of records I have

made every effort to match probate (wills and inventories) and hearth tax entries to the 276 individual

Quakers with known occupations. Unfortunately, only 68 probate records could be identified, likely due

the Society's refusal to take an oath and thus enter into probate. This has meant that the majority of

probate records identified as Quakers often relate to members who died after the 1696 when Quakers

were given the right to affirm rather than swear an oath. While these 68 probate records may be few,

they are the largest compilation of Durham Quaker probates records to date, and are an invaluable

source for determining the relative wealth and status of some members of the Society (Chapter 4).

Only a handful of hearth tax entries could be linked to the 276 individuals in the occupations

database. In some towns and villages repetition of names made it impossible to positively identify a

Quaker from his or her neighbour, and for this reason they were not included in the assessment. Most

Quakers were identified for the database because they were the only individual with their name in their

parish. Often the conventicle reports from the 1670s onwards aided in identifying specific locations of

Quakers, which could be used to find them in the tax entries. Adrian Green has also found significant

under-recording of hearths and households in the surviving records, making it likely some individuals

were simply not recorded. This also raises the possibility that hearths were under-recorded to avoid the

tax, and therefore on their own these entries cannot be used to determine status.[60] This assessment of

Quakers and the hearth tax only includes members of the Society who were living in County Durham.

Adrian Green graciously supplied me with his database on the hearth tax in Durham, and when coupled

with the printed transcripts of the records in *Durham Hearth Tax,* 72 Quakers could be positively

identified. Records for Newcastle were equally as detailed, however the location of Quakers in

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[59] See Chapter 4 for further discussion on the pitfalls of the term 'yeoman'.
[60] Green, 'County Durham at the Restoration,' p. xxxi.

Newcastle was not. I was unable to positively identify where individuals were located in the parishes and for this reason Newcastle has been left out of this assessment. Cotherstone parish, which was part of the Durham Quarterly meeting, has also been excluded due to the same issues that arose among Newcastle's records. Despite these shortfalls, when occupations, probate and hearth tax information are combined a greater and more refined understanding of Quaker social status in Durham has been revealed.

Within the whole of Quaker history, a methodological issue arises around the attribution of one regional Quaker society to define the whole of Quakerism in the country. Historians of Quaker history have often used a regional study to define the whole of the Society of Friends in England.[61] Regional variations in economy and culture meant that converts to Quakerism experienced different influences in their counties.[62] A regional study of Quakerism needs to explain variations in 'experience and action'.[63] Yet, this point is rarely recognised in the aforementioned studies. Social and economic experiences were diverse; therefore, Quakers in one county can rarely be attributed to the whole of the Society in England. This study endeavours to break free of the traditional aim of Quaker histories to explain the whole of the movement. There is no denying that a nationwide Quaker organisation impacted regional communities, and these influences are noted and used throughout this thesis. Yet, finding a consensus in the history of the Society of Friends in England is not the intention here, but rather to understand the Quaker community in Durham and Newcastle.[64] Quakerism in this region only defines the Society in the north-east, but their regional experiences can help illuminate the development of a larger movement in England.

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[61] See, Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism*; W.A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers'; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*.

[62] See, R.A. Butlin, 'Regions in England and Wales, c. 1600-1914,' *A Historical Geography of England and Wales,* R.A. Dodgshon and R.A. Butlin (eds.), (London, 1990).

[63] Green and Pollard, 'Identifying Regions,' p. 5.

[64] John Higham, 'Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History,' *Journal of American History*, 61 (1974); R. Beeman, 'The New Social History and the Search for "Community" in Colonial America,' *American Quarterly*, 29 (1977),' pp. 422-442.

Focusing specifically on Durham and Newcastle's Society of Friends allows for an in-depth examination of the Quaker organisation and its formation by examining the 'authentic bonds of shared values and aspirations' that encompassed the real Quaker community.[65] Yet, to understand the Quaker community, the term 'community' must be defined by its early modern understanding. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard have noted an inherent difficulty in the historical understanding of community. The word for early modern historians has caused tensions 'between its past and current meanings,' but by approaching the study of communities through six parts – institutional arrangements and the role that structured it; the people who did/did not participate in it; the acts and artefacts which defined it; the geographical places in which it was located; the time it was perpetuated; the rhetoric it legitimated, represented and used to turn into ideology – it is possible to reconstruct an early modern community.[66] Quakers produced communal boundaries between themselves and the non-Quaker community to promote a 'symbolic production' of unity and collectively among the membership.[67] However, membership in one community does not preclude membership in another, and the boundaries Quakers enforced did not keep them from participating in the local, regional and national communities. As Shepard and Withington determined, 'community was something done as an expression of collective identity by groups of people'. They added that 'one community – and a person's attachment to it – did not preclude the simultaneous existence of others'.[68]

To understand how Durham's Society of Friends defined their religious group as a community, they have been examined through their local meetings. As Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky commented, examining religious identities locally allows for their communities to be situated 'within

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[65] Higham, 'Hanging Together,' pp. 5-28; Beeman, 'The New Social History and the Search for "Community,"' p. 425.

[66] *Communities in early modern England, Networks, place, rhetoric,* Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), (Manchester, 2000), pp. 1, 4, 12.

[67] Ibid., p. 8; Anthony Cohen, 'Of symbols and boundaries, or, Does Ertie's greatcoat hold the key?' *Symbolising boundaries,* (Manchester, 1986), p. 17; Andy Wood, 'The place of custom in plebeian political culture: England, 1550-1800,' *Social History,* 22 (1997), p. 279.

[68] Shepard and Withington, *Communities in early modern England*, p. 12.

broader cultural and mental frameworks'.[69] Records from the Quaker meetings in Durham and

Newcastle and the London Yearly Meetings were consulted to reveal a dynamic and disciplined religious

and social community that navigated through the temptations of the worldly, non-Quaker society, as

well as the convictions of their own religious community. The Quaker meeting records for Durham begin

in 1671, just as the wider Quaker movement was pressing for the formation of a nationwide Quaker

system, based on a hierarchy of meetings. The organisational hierarchy promoted a consensus among

the members in a process described by Max Weber as the routinisation of denominational belief.[70] Over

the course of the 1670s, Quaker meetings across the country adopted a 'quintessential bureaucratic'

system of particular, monthly and quarterly meetings that reported once a year to the meeting in

London.[71]

Separated into regions, Quaker meetings were the spiritual and secular guides for members of

the Society. The particular meetings were used for worship, and to manage local business between

members. They ensured members' maintained orderly behaviour, in line with the Society's principles,

and implemented disciplinary measures against those who strayed from the moral code. Meeting

minutes were kept for the particular meetings in Durham, but the seventeenth-century records have

scarcely survived, and thus have rarely been referred to in this study. The men's monthly meetings,

Darlington Women's Monthly Meeting and Durham Quarterly Meeting minutes, have survived in

significantly more detail. These records are used as a primary source of information to trace the

development of the community system. The meetings oversaw the welfare and discipline of members in

the region. Marriages, disorderly behaviour, certificates, removal from the Society and disputes

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[69] Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky, 'Introduction,' *Getting Along?: Religious identities and Confessional relations in early modern England-Essays in honour of professor WJ Sheils*, (Ashgate, 2013), p. 1.
[70] Max Weber, 'The Genesis and Transformation of Charismatic Authority,' *Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology,* 2 (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 1121-1157; Jane Calvert, '*Quaker Constitutionalism and the political thought of John Dickinson,* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 30.
[71] Ibid., p. 33; For a detailed discussion of the politics behind organisation see, Braithwaite, *Second Period,* Chapters 10-12.

between members were presented to these meetings and handled among the membership, topics that

will be discussed more closely in Chapter 6.

There are, however, some issues which require consideration when using these records. Details

are often missing from the minutes, with the issue and the outcome often the only details recorded.

When possible other sources such as court records, leases or probate materials have been used to verify

the details of some issues within the meeting. Yet for the most part, little or no additional details could

be found, and in many instances observations had to be surmised. The problem of retrospective

recording within the records provides a further concern. The birth, death and marriage records and the

sufferings records were both retrospectively recorded in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and

transcribed by Friends in the nineteenth century. Durham's Quarterly Meeting requested that members

provide information on the first Quakers in the region, including births, marriages, deaths, and

prosecutions by local authorities in the early years of the movement. The suffering records were

amassed in Joseph Besse's *Sufferings* (1753), and wherever possible court records have been used to

verify the arrests, fines and imprisonments.

Meeting minutes were not kept until the 1670s when the nationwide meeting system was

developed. For this reason Chapter 3's discussion of the movement's development utilises the

Swarthmore Manuscripts, located in the Friends House Library in London. This collection included letters

to, from, or about Durham and Newcastle Quakers, the local meetings or ministerial activities. These

letters have been used to trace the evolution of Durham's Quaker community from 1653 onwards. The

Swarthmore Letters are one of the few sources that contain information on the movement and work of

the Society's members in the 1650s. For this reason they have been frequently used by historians to

build a narrative of Quaker history in the first years of the movement. For this thesis the letters have

also been combined with the Portfolio Manuscript's collection of letters and print material, also found at

the Friends House Library. Using early pamphlet literature from Early English Books Online has provided

additional sources to reveal the organisation of the Quaker movement as a natural response to members' desire for community and order.

The seventeenth-century Durham Quarterly Meeting comprised all the Quaker meetings in County Durham, Newcastle and Allendale in Northumberland. Allendale was rarely mentioned in the meetings and appears to have governed itself outside of Durham's meeting system, and therefore, it has not been used in this assessment.[72] Newcastle, however, was an integral member of the Durham Quarterly Meeting; its monthly meeting consisting of the northern parts of County Durham's eastern coast, as well as North and South Shields, Gateshead and the town of Newcastle. While the town of Newcastle was not part of County Durham, its histories and influences cannot be separated in this study.

The monthly meetings consisted of representatives from the local particular meetings. Among the monthly meetings representatives, individuals were selected to attend the Durham Quarterly. The representatives were consistently the same, and were often individuals who best represented the Quaker way of life. These individuals were known as weighty Friends, and they had the power to oversee the direction of meetings and were considered to be 'ordinary people who would make their spiritual gifts known to the meeting by their peaceable conversation and orderly walking'.[73] As the Society struggled to create a unified community, weighty Friends became the authoritative enforcers over the secular and religious life of everyday Friends within the local meetings (Chapter 6). All members believed and lived through the light, but not all were weighty individuals with authority over meetings. Most members possessed a pliable spiritual relationship with the light, and were at risk of straying from God. A weighty Friend, however, was deemed to have an unwavering relationship to the light, giving him or her power and authority over the membership and meetings. Weighty Friends were 'heirs of the

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[72] DRO, SF/Du/QM/8/8/5 ii-iii, (3rd mo. 1866).
[73] Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism*, p. 40.

power and authority of the men's and women's meetings,' explained the Yearly Meeting.[74] These

individuals were consistently the most prominent members of the Society and acted as representatives

to the monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings.

The monthly meetings were intended to oversee the welfare and discipline of the Society's

members. In the north-east, the locations and names of the monthly meetings changed throughout the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but their regional representation remained relatively constant. All

of the meetings were located east of the Pennines, with the monthly meeting located in market towns.[75]

This was likely a reflection of the Quaker ministers' travelling from North Yorkshire and using the ports

along the eastern coast to spread the Quaker message in the region.[76] The records for the Newcastle

Monthly Meeting began in 1674 with the meeting overseeing business from the particular meetings in

Gateshead, Sunderland, North Shields and South Shields. The meeting was held in Gateshead for most

of the seventeenth-century until the building of a meeting house in Newcastle in 1698.[77] However,

despite its location in Gateshead to avoid persecution by the Newcastle authorities, the meeting has

been labelled as the Newcastle Monthly Meeting in the Tyne and Wear Archives. To avoid confusion in

the referencing, the meeting will be referred to as the Newcastle Monthly Meeting throughout the

thesis despite its location in Gateshead. In the Tees Valley, Shakerton (near Bishop Auckland), later

called the Raby Monthly Meeting in 1676, oversaw Quakers from Bishop Auckland, Barnard Castle, Raby,

Heighington, Lartington and Cotherstone (at the time part of North Yorkshire). Their meeting minutes

are the earliest records for Durham's Quakers, with the minute book beginning in 1671. Norton, also

called the Darlington and Stockton Monthly Meeting, began keeping their records in 1675, and included

Quakers living near Norton, Shotton, Darlington, Stockton and Yarm (North Yorkshire). Wallnook or

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[74] William Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism,* (York, 1979), p.348, taken from the *Christian and Brotherly Advices, Given forth from time to time By the Yearly Meetings in London* (1676).
[75] See Map of Quaker residences, p. 8.
[76] Chapter 3.
[77] John Steel gives a layout of the meetinghouse's location on Pilgrim Street in Newcastle in *A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends*, pp. 21-25.

Lanchester Monthly Meeting represented the particular meetings at Brancepeth, Wallnook, Derwentside (near modern day Consett), Shotton and Durham City and its vicinity.[78] *Map 1.1* identifies major towns and villages with a Quaker presence, and the location of these monthly meetings in 1680.

Map 1.1: The Monthly Meetings of Durham and Newcastle, c. 1680

O · Designates Monthly Meeting
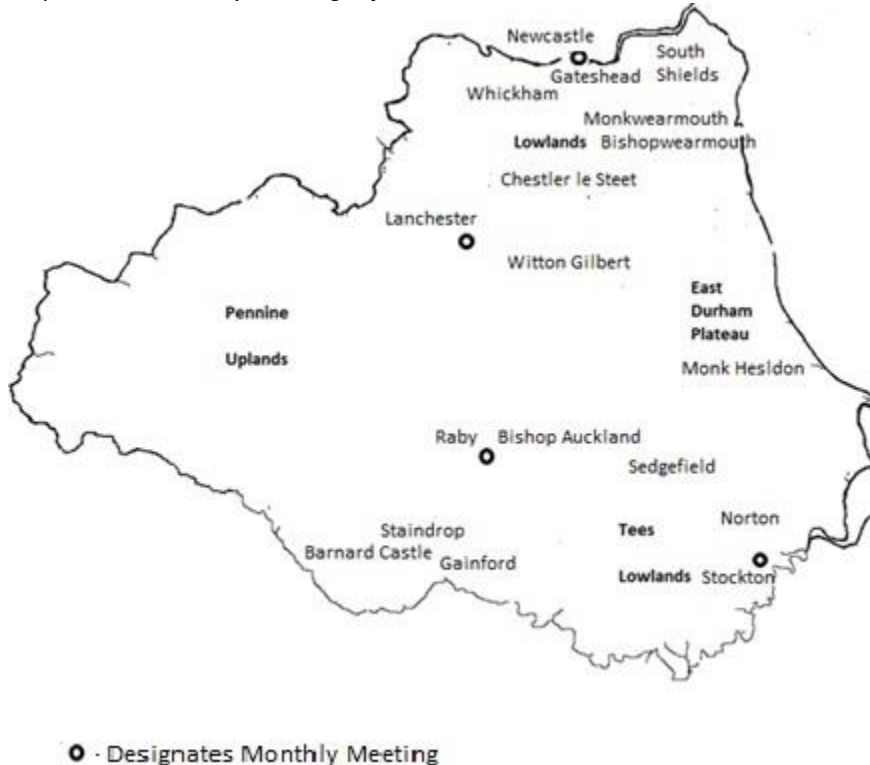
Few records have survived from the seventeenth-century Wallnook Monthly Meeting making it difficult to fully assess the meeting's development in that area of the county. However additional sources, such as the Quarter Sessions order book, conventicle reports, Quarterly Meeting birth, death and marriage registers, Durham's Book of Sufferings, Joseph Besse's printed account of Durham's sufferings (1753) and probate records, provide a glimpse of the members from Wallnook and their interactions in the regional community. Of the records that have survived, few studies have utilised Durham's meeting minutes to observe the growth, development and relationships of the community in close detail. Ruth Sansbury's *Beyond the Blew Stone* (1998) and Moira Rutherford's *Quakers in the City*

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[78] DRO, SF/Du/QM/8/8/5, ii-iii, (3rd mo. 1866).

of Durham (1997), utilised the meeting minutes for brief narratives on the early history of Quakers in the region. Erin Bell used Durham's minutes in her PhD thesis on gender in the early Society, and Richard Allen used selective examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Durham minutes to describe the region as an alternative Quaker community outside of English society.[79] The intention here is to analyse the meeting minutes in significantly more detail to illustrate the community relationships of Durham's Quakers within and outside of the Society.

All of Durham's monthly meeting minutes from 1671 to 1720 have been examined and transcribed for this study. They reveal rich details of community life among the first two generations of Quakers. While some entries are vague and lack certain details of events, this does not diminish their value in interpreting the community's relationships within and outside of the Society. Their meeting minutes record a community desperately trying to ensure their membership adhered to the Society's principles through strict moral guidelines. Quakers were seeking to rebuild the community associations no longer open to them due to persecution and discrimination in their parish communities. The implementation of a disciplinary organisation within the Quaker meeting system has been frequently interpreted as an alternative community.[80] However, this thesis aims to re-examine this interpretation by freeing Quakerism from its radical mid-seventeenth century constraints by studying the community through a wider sociological experience. Using Quaker and non-Quaker sources, a reconstruction of the development of a Quaker culture in Durham and Newcastle delves into the world of Quaker morality,

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[79] Ruth Sansbury, *Beyond the Blew Stone: 300 Years of Quakers in Newcastle,* (Newcastle, 1998); M. Rutherford, *Quakers in the City of Durham, 1654-1858,* (Lanchester, 1997); Erin Bell, 'Discipline and Manhood in the Society of Friends: A study with particular reference to Durham, c. 1656-1750,' (PhD thesis, York University, 2003); Richard Allen, 'An alternative community in North-East England: Quakers, morals and popular culture in the long eighteenth century,' *Creating and consuming culture in North-East England*, Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), (Ashgate, 2004); Further thesis on the region include, S.A. Hall, *Anthony Pearson and Quakerism in Durham*, (MA thesis, Teeside Polytechnic, 1989); M.A. Trotter, *Of Sailing Ships, and Sealing Wax, and Ancient Quaker Meetings: The Religious Society of Friends in Sunderland 1653-1705*, (M.Phil. thesis, University of Sunderland, 1999).
[80] See for example, Richard Allen, An alternative community in North-East England: Quakers, morals and popular culture in the long eighteenth century'; Peter Collins, 'Discipline: The codification of Quakerism as orthopraxy, 1650-1738,' *History and Anthropology*, 13, 2 (2002).

discipline and authority in the meeting house. Individual Quaker narratives, found within the meeting minutes and letters, are used to reveal the relationship between the individual and their religious communities. The negotiation of members' social and economic associations with the non-Quaker community has also been examined to emphasise that Quakers were living within English society.

The meeting minutes reflect the Society's ability to navigate through religious and secular life. They acted as an organisational body, a communal institution and a religious association. Yet, within the meeting minutes the system's role as a disciplinary body stands out. Written within the minutes are detailed advices and epistles intended to instruct members on how to conduct themselves within the religious boundaries of the Society. Disorderly members were presented to the meeting and disciplined for their behaviour either through public censure or removal from the Society known as disownment. Marriages were approved or denied, and individuals who married outside of the Society or without permission were also censured or disowned. Additionally, disputes between members were brought to the meeting to be thrashed-out and arbitrated by weighty Friends. Throughout this thesis, the various roles of the meeting system are discussed, but one purpose of the meeting is clear, although rarely acknowledged it was intended to contain libertine and enforce unity within the community.[81]

The creation of this system did not occur without difficultly and dissention within the Society was common. Hugh Trevor-Roper described the general crisis of the seventeenth century as a struggle between the state, society and their relationship with religion, government and social order.[82] The Quaker church government debate mirrored this wider struggle with differing expectations between Quaker leaders and rank and file members across the country. Quakers such as John Perrot in 1661 and John Wilkinson and John Story in the 1670s, questioned the extent to which an organisational body

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[81] Jane Calvert notes this function of the meeting system in, *Quaker Constitutionalism.*

[82] Max Weber, 'The Genesis and Transformation of Charismatic Authority,' *Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology,* 2 (Berkeley, 1978); For a more recent account of the seventeenth-century crisis see, Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, (London, 2009), preface.

could have authority over Quakers throughout the country (Chapter 6).[83] This fundamental question was debated throughout 1660s and 1670s as unity and discipline were urged throughout the country's meetings. The inner light made Quakerism an inherently individualistic religious movement; God spoke directly to the individual through the light, and formal, man-made church government only hindered or misrepresented God's message. The creation of the monthly meeting system in 1667, and further formalisation of the system in the 1670s led to opposition from Wilkinson and Story. Because the Spirit was within everyone, they argued, Quakers did not need to meet for worship at the same time or place. Nor did members need to meet in groups in a church-like meeting. The inner light was the only authority needed, not a church government.[84]

Supporters of church government argued it was intended to support outward actions, and not dictate the inward religious state of the individual. In *The Anarchy of the Ranters* (1676), Robert Barclay argued that the inner light could work through a group. By 'meeting together, and giving a positive judgment… [We] will not import Tyranny…or an inconsistency with the universal privilege that all Christians have to be led by the Spirit'.[85] William Penn entered the argument for a government system through a more pragmatic approach. He explained that organisation was not a hindrance to the Spirit, but, instead, was nothing more than a practical step forward for the community.[86] Spiritually, church government and Quaker theology were incompatible, but socially and politically Penn's pragmatic approach of a nationwide organisational system was deemed necessary as leaders sought to keep the movement together and to gain religious toleration during and after the Restoration.[87]

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[83] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England,* p. 230; H. L. Ingle, *First among Friends: George Fox and the creation of Quakerism* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 202-207; Nigel Smith, 'John Perrot,' *DNB*.

[84] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England,* p. 230; Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism*, p. 28-32.

[85] Robert Barclay, *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines* (London, 1676), Wing / B718.

[86] William Penn, *The Select Works of William Penn in Five Volumes* (London, 1782), 4, p. 439; Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England,* p. 230.

[87] Ethyn Williams Kirby, 'The Quakers' efforts to secure civil and religious liberty, 1660-96,' *the Journal of Modern History,* 7, 4 (1935), pp. 401-421.

The organisation of the movement was explained by Hugh Barbour as taking shape in the 1670s when new leaders emerged with individuals such as George Whitehead, Ellis Hookes and William Penn using their talent in 'legal problems and practical administration,' to implement the new meeting system and gain respectability in society. The new leaders changed the rhetoric of toleration by appealing to the more socially agreeable conscience, rather than the inner light. The conscience was initially defined as an agent of the inner light; 'the Light and not conscience in itself was authoritative'.[88] Calls for toleration at the Restoration were done in the name of the Spirit, in the belief that non-Quakers could still find truth in the inner light. However, later in the decade the conscience and the Spirit were redefined to appeal to the wider social norms. Rather than seeking toleration for the Spirit, they mirrored similar appeals by nonconforming Anglicans, Presbyterians and Baptists by seeking freedom of conscience. The conscience allowed Quakers to seek toleration from 'a sensitive man *without* converting him to the light, for he could be touched by the sufferings of men with whom he had no intention of agreeing'.[89] This shift in rhetoric was the significant difference between Quakerism during the Lamb's War in the 1650s and Quakerism after the Restoration. In the 1650s, members wanted toleration and conversion, but after the Restoration Quakers like Penn and Barclay were content with the knowledge of their own salvation, and sought only toleration for the Society. The scaling back of the Society's radical rhetoric mirrored the general atmosphere of the mid to late seventeenth century, and the desire for a tolerant but orderly nation.[90]

The question of toleration and religious freedom was part of a wider social and political theme of the seventeenth century.[91] Yet an inability to achieve state sponsored toleration until 1689, meant the Society turned their focus to working within the system of persecution. Craig Horle compiled the

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[88] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp. 236.

[89] Ibid., pp. 240-241; Gary S. De Krey, 'The first Restoration crisis: conscience and coercion in London, 1667-73,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* (1993), pp. 565-580.

[90] See, Keith Wrightson's *English Society*.

[91] Craig W. Horle, *The Quakers and the English Legal System*, (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1988), Chapter 2; See De Krey, 'The first Restoration crisis,' p. 56 for detailed contemporary examples; Walsham, *Charitable Hatred,* p. 321.

legal tactics employed by Quakers in England to resist persecution, and ultimately concluded that legal

enforcement against Quakers 'was sporadic, varying from place to place and according to

circumstances'.[92] In Durham, Geoffrey Nuttall suggested high instances of persecution against Quakers

led to an end of the religious sect in Durham at the Restoration, but sources actually suggest that

Durham fits Horle's assessment of sporatic prosecution, with low numbers of Quaker prosecutions and a

steady Quaker membership in the region.[93] Chapter 5 discusses the legal prosecution of Durham's

Quakers from 1660 to 1689. Using the Quaker sufferings records found among Durham's Quarterly

Meeting minutes and in Besse's transcriptions of Durham's sufferings, instances of persecution for

religious belief have been assessed for Durham and Newcastle to understand the role of persecution in

the community's formation. However, the retrospective recording of these records requires the use of

non-Quaker sources to verify Quaker accounts and obtain a complete picture of nonconformist

prosecutions in Durham. Ecclesiastical Visitation records, Quarter Sessions order books and recently

discovered Quarter Session reports on conventicles have all been used to emphasise the relationship

between Quakers and local authorities. The use of legal prosecution for religious beliefs has also been

factored into the development of the local meetings to discuss the role of persecution in the cohesion of

Quakerism across the country (Chapters 5 and 6).

The Quaker organisational system attempted to redefine the Society in the latter half of the

century to appeal to the greater call for toleration. Quaker leaders argued that organisation was

necessary to promote unity and respectability, but was this a motivation for Durham's organisation? The

following Chapters reveal the incentives driving the acceptance of the nationwide meeting system

among the Society in Durham and Newcastle. Larry Ingle noted that individuals do not 'fragment and

divide their lives into separate realms but that they live in a world that is at once economic, political,

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[92] Horle, *Legal System*, pp. 255-256.
[93] Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and the rise Quakers in the Bishoprick,' p. 97.

social, and cultural, as well as religious'.[94] I hope to demonstrate that members of the Society of Friends in Durham and Newcastle were not separating their lives. Instead they were modifying wider societal norms to establish a culture that fit within the boundaries of their faith, while not alienating themselves from the wider community. The formation of the Quaker community was a representation of the power struggle between religion, authority and control over society in seventeenth-century England. It needs to be recognised that Quakers were members of a wider associational network through work, family and their neighbours. They were a part of English society, as well as part of a religious society

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[94] Ingle, 'Mysticism to Radicalism,' p. 83.

Chapter 2: The Social Genealogy of the Quaker Religious Tradition, 1561-1649

Introduction

'The north-east is at the far corner of the country, but it is separated by more than just miles'.

'"There is the wilderness of the Pennines to the west, the emptiness of the North York Moors to the

south, and to the north, the Scottish border... Sometimes the north-east [seems] more like an island

than a region"'.[1] Arguably, however, this modern depiction of north-east England oversimplifies the

historical characteristics of the region. Morgan and Rushton noted that the people of early modern

Durham, Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne had little in common except for the social structure

among the farming communities and similarities in local dialects. Nevertheless, historians and scholars

have frequently treated it as one region bound by the Diocese of Durham's connections to the land

through agriculture, industry and the relationship between the commons and the gentry.[2] By

designating an all-encompassing north-east region, a continuing line of thought, held for centuries, has

been reinforced to give the impression that the north-east was an isolated and foreign part of England.

Early modern contemporaries did not refer to the region as 'the north-east'. Instead, it was simply

referred to as the Bishopric when referring to Durham, and often with a separate designation for

Newcastle and Northumberland as "the North". Yet, there was a sense of a north-east England among

contemporaries that was based on 'a distinctive regional society with an established sense of its own

special identity'. The region's diversity was extensive with a vast geographical territory, with varying

economic circumstances, social mores and religious tendencies.[3]

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[1] Andy Beckett, 'The north-east of England: Britain's Detroit?,' The Guardian (10 May 2014); Beckett's quotes came from Harry Pearson, *The Far Corner: A mazy dribble through north-east football* (1994).

[2] Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton, *Rouges, Thieves and the Rule of Law: The Problem of Law Enforcement in north-east England, 1718-1800* (London, 1998), pp. 6-7.

[3] Keith Wrightson, 'Elements of Identity: the Remaking of the North-East, 1500-1700,' *Northumbria History & Identity*, R. Colls (ed.), (Chichester, 2007). Quoted in *Regional Identities in North-east England, 1300-2000*, Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard (eds.), (Boydell, 2007), p. 13.

Rather than regarding the north-east as a single all-encompassing region, the focus here is on the lived experiences of individuals in two areas – County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. These two areas were chosen because they encompassed the Quaker Quarterly meeting for Durham, and because throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries they were continuously undergoing a period of social and economic growth from Queen Elizabeth's reign onwards. This region was socially and economically transformed, according to Mervyn James, in what he described as a 'crucial turning point in the development' of the Durham region.[4] Following the Northern Rising and subsequent downfall of the northern Earls and minor gentry in 1569, drastic social and economic upheavals realigned community ties.

> [N]ot only the gentry, but society as a whole, was involved in this pattern of change; and particularly after 1570, when the speed at which the kaleidoscope revolved markedly increased. The years between the Rising of the North and the Civil War were characterised by economic and demographic growth, and by exceptionally rapid social transformation.[5]

Following this transformation communities were no longer bound together by feudal ties to their lord and land, but rather they were brought together through increasing instances of enclosure, economic growth sparked by the coal industry, social and political unrest and religious dissention across the region. These transformations in the late sixteenth century directly impacted the Quaker converts of the 1650s through continued economic growth and shifting societal influences in Durham and Newcastle.

H. Larry Ingle aptly acknowledged that 'one would expect that a Quaker historian,' or any historian or scholar, 'could be alert to the reality that people do not fragment and divide their lives into separate realms but that they live in the world that is at once economic, political, social, and cultural, as well as religious'. Ingle was referring to the current state that Quakers were living in and influencing their experiences and associations, but the long-term influences that led to that current state also need

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[4] Alex Brown, *Recession and Recovery in the Palatinate of Durham,* (forthcoming), p. 295; Thank you to Alex for allowing me to read an early copy of his monograph.
[5] Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A study of society, politics and mentality in the Durham region, 1550-1640*, (Oxford, 1974), p. 178.

considered. Despite this seemingly obvious means of evaluating the history of Quakerism, or any

historical association, there has been an absence in modern scholarship on the wider influences

contributing to the rise of Quakerism, let alone Quakers in specific regions.[6] Contributing to this

historical gap is the murky waters of evaluating religiosity and the genealogy of religious traditions.[7]

Rufus Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1923) traced the roots of Quakerism to mysticism in the early

Christian church. Jones' theory was heavily disputed by historians and scholars of Quaker history in the

twentieth century, with his assessment overstretching Quaker connections to the long term history of

continental mystism. Yet, his assessment did spark a re-evaluation of the Protestant origins of

Quakerism. Geoffrey Nuttall ultimately determined that Quakers were extreme Puritans, following a

religious tradition laid out by Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists.[8] This assessment has been

noted by Ingle as part of a sanitizing effort by Quaker historians, to make the early Quaker movement

appear less radical and within the fold of acceptable seventeenth-century religious organisations.[9] The

absence of Quaker theological origins studies prompted Melvin Endy to describe scholars of Quakerism

as 'providing a first generation pedigree for their own corner of a complex religious movement,' rather

than discovering the historical truths of the movement.[10]

This Chapter focuses on the social and religious genealogy of Protestantism in County Durham

and Newcastle, and how the region informed and influenced the first converts to Quakerism. Geoffrey

Nuttall assessed the influence of George Fox and the early Quaker ministers in County Durham (1944),

and suggested that Quakerism was nothing more than a passing fancy in the 1650s. It 'sprang up quickly

in the Bishoprick but had no depth of earth, so that, when affliction and persecution came…[it] withered

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[6] H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent historiography of Quaker beginnings,' *Quaker History*, 76, 2 (Fall, 1987), p. 83.
[7] See Nesta Evans, 'The descent of dissenters in the Chiltern Hundreds,' and Patrick Collinson, 'Critical Conclusions,' *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995).
[8] Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, (Oxford, 1946), pp. 13-14.
[9] Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism,' p. 82.
[10] Melvin Endy, 'The Interpretation of Quakerism: Rufus Jones and his Critics,' *Quaker History*, 70, 1 (Spring, 1981), p. 21.

away'.[11] His assessment provided only broad generalisations about the region's Quaker membership,

and the localities they were living in. Like many Quaker histories it lacked analysis of the movement and

regional understanding before 1653 and after 1660. Another historian of Quakerism, William C.

Braithwaite, also neglects the Quaker movement in Durham after the Restoration. His book, *The Second*

Period of Quakerism (1919) barely mentions Durham and Newcastle's Quakers, with only three

references to the region in over a 700 hundred page book.[12] The precedent set by these historians has

meant current scholars tend to dismiss the origins and history of Quakerism in County Durham and

Newcastle.[13]

Nuttall's observation of the Quakers in 1650s Durham, and his lack of assessment after 1660,

raises significant questions regarding the nature of the movement. First, why did the Quaker movement

in the 1650s give the appearance of having sprung up out of nowhere in the region? Secondly, why did

newly converted members supposedly defect after the Restoration? The latter question has been

answered in Erin Bell's recent study on gender within County Durham's Quaker meetings. She found

that Nuttall's portrayal of Quakers after 1660 was false, and rather than dying away with the start of the

Restoration, Quakers maintained a steady membership in County Durham.[14] The former question is

what this chapter explores. What were the underlining factors and influences that encouraged and

enticed people towards religious dissenting groups? From Newcastle upon Tyne, to Easington in the East

Durham plateau, Durham City in the Wear lowlands, Stockton in the Tees Valley lowlands, Derwentside

northern Durham and Barnard Castle in Teesdale, this chapter diverges from the general Quaker

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[11] Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism,' pp. 82-83; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'George Fox and the rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal* (June, 1944), p. 97.

[12] William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (William Sessions, 1979), pp. 12, 39, 50.

[13] Further examples include, Richard Greaves' series of studies on seventeenth-century British radicals in which he rarely pulls examples from north-east England; Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver us from evil: the radical underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford University Press, 1986); Greaves, Richard L., *Enemies under his feet, Radicals and nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990); Greaves, Richard L., *Secrets of the Kingdom: British radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford, 1992).

[14] See, Erin Bell, Discipline and Manhood in the Society of Friends: A Study with particular reference to Durham, c. 1650-1750,' (Univ. of York, PhD thesis, 2003), chapter 1.

histories to examine the religious environment of County Durham and Newcastle as the crucial context for a world in which all individuals, Quakers and non-Quakers, were influenced by and living in.

Using recent scholarship on the upheavals of the late sixteenth-century Durham, this chapter examines the possibility of an ideological descent beginning with Durham's first Puritan Bishop, James Pilkington through to the beginning of Quakerism in the region. Links between late sixteenth-century perceptions of religiosity, campaigns to spread Protestantism and Puritanism to the darkest corners of the north and an enduring tradition of dissent in the parishes that precipitated the Quaker movement will be first be highlighted. By widening the scope of historical analysis to the late sixteenth century, a broader assessment of the descent of exogenous experiences that influenced individuals joining the Quaker movement in the 1650s can be used to highlight that Quakerism in Durham was not spontaneous, but rather it was a progression of a long term tradition of religious individualism.

The Protestant Tradition in Durham

The continuity and discontinuity of Protestant theological beliefs in England, from the Lollards to the radical sects of the mid-seventeenth century have been explored by scholars to better understand the ideological origins of religious dissenters in the 1650s. In *The World of Rural Dissenters*, Nesta Evans explored religious continuity by tracing the 'descent of dissenters' through surname identification in the Chiltern Hundreds, Buckinghamshire. The study found 81 per cent of Lollard surnames reoccurred among later dissenting groups.[15] This led her to conclude that 'radical dissent was a family affair,' with generations of families participating in the Lollard movement, maintaining a Protestant ideology and later becoming post-Restoration dissenters.[16] Dissenting traditions were therefore passed down through the generations, ending with members' natural progression to sects, such as the Baptists and Quakers, in the mid-seventeenth century.

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[15] Evans, 'The descent of dissenters,' pp. 288-308; Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 130.
[16] Evans, 'The descent of dissenter,' p. 308.

Adrian Davies' research uncovered a similar continuity of dissent among Quakers in Essex. He found that parishes with connections to Lollardy, the Brownists and radical Puritans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were the locations where Quakerism was the strongest in the seventeenth century. However, unlike Evans he could not identify a connection between dissent and surnames. Rather, Davies concluded that over a century of radical traditions nourished dissenting thought and facilitated the transmission of the Quaker message to the population.[17] Yet, there are problems with this theory. Davies recognised that some parishes in Essex had little or no history of a radical tradition, but Quakers still had success in gaining converts in these places.[18] In County Durham, a study of this nature is not feasible to undertake. First, the region lacked a Lollard following, and thus, no direct line of Protestant dissent can be traced. Furthermore Evans' study in particular, raises methodological questions on the feasibility of identifying dissenting inclinations simply through matching surnames. It is difficult to prove that similarities in surnames equates to a shared religious experience. Patrick Collinson's 'critical conclusion' to *The World of Rural Dissenters* warns that surname identification and intergenerational aspects of dissent can be misleading. There is little evidence regarding an individual's religious inclination, especially a radical Protestant inclination, throughout the generations.[19] It was likely that the continued existence of surnames represents the stability of the community in the Chiltern Hundreds, rather than an individual tradition of dissenting ideology passed down through particular families. However, Collinson notes that further study into parish and court records could provide evidence of a continuing line of Protestant thought.[20]

Research into religious traditions raises important questions on the theological and historical lines of descent among dissenters. Many religious beliefs held by Lollards were principles encompassed into sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation philosophy, including rethinking the sanctity of religious

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[17] Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, pp. 131-133.
[18] Ibid., p. 131.
[19] Patrick Collinson, 'Critical Conclusion,' *The World of Rural Dissenters*, pp. 393-394.
[20] Ibid.

sites, emphasising the congregation and the simplification of religious worship. Furthermore, while Durham may not have had a tradition of Protestant radicalism before 1561, the region did have a history of Catholic dissent, and similarities in the community relationships between Catholic and Protestant dissenters can be found.[21] Furthermore, the presence of Catholicism in the Bishopric of Durham prompted the spread of Protestantism and Puritanism through an influx of Protestant ministers to the parishes, itinerant preachers and the establishment of grammar schools in the sixteenth century. Tracing belief through individuals or families is difficult, but it can be traced as a broader social movement. Quaker ideology, argues Collinson, can be regarded as undergoing a distilling process over the decades with new ideas periodically topping up the dissenting tradition.[22] Identifying individual familial lines of descent between Puritans and Quakers is not the intent here, but rather to define the religious atmosphere in which the Society of Friends grew from. Relating this to County Durham and Newcastle allows for greater insights into Quaker communal development on a local level, which will be explored in subsequent chapters.

Early ministering of the Society of Friends' message incorporated many aspects of what has been labelled a radical Puritan ideology. Described as 'elusive, impossible to define, label, or catalogue with crisp precision, quantitative data or scientific accuracy,'[23] 'puritanism' is a term that should be used loosely. The term referred to more than a response to disorder and was 'more than simply a means of enabling its adherents to integrate themselves into a different kind of community'.[24] What historians call or interpret as Puritanism can very often not be 'distinguished in the field from mere Protestantism,' noted Collinson. However, 'peculiarities in behaviour and ethos' can be recognized among some who

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[21] See, John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (London, 1975); W J Sheils, '"Getting on" and "Getting Along" in the Parish and Town: English Catholics and their Neighbours,' *Catholic Communities in Protestant States,* Benjamin Kaplan, *et al.* (eds.), (Manchester, 2009); *Getting Along? Religious Identities and confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in Honour of Professor WJ Sheils*, Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky (eds.), (Farnham, 2012).

[22] Ibid., p. 393.

[23] Ted LeRoy Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb's War: The Baptist- Quaker conflict in the seventeenth-century* (Oxford, 1997), p. 19.

[24] David Underdown, *Revel, riot and rebellion, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985), p. 41.

found Protestantism to be 'more than a formality'.[25] Adherence to a strict Calvinist ideology led the term

'puritan' to describe individuals emphasising their 'Calvinist heritage' in the Church of England. These

individuals sought reforms to church interiors, as well as more spiritual reforms that would 'elevate

preaching and scripture above the sacraments and rituals'. Furthermore, they stressed a Calvinist notion

that salvation was predestined by God, and only a minority of individuals were among the elect to be

saved.[26] As a religious movement Calvinist Puritans came together to respond to particular social and

personal needs, and through their community created a 'complex form of religious expression'.[27]

A tradition of a Puritan presence in Durham can be traced from 1561, with the instalment of

Bishop James Pilkington. Assessing his new diocese, Pilkington determined it was suffering from a

continuing Catholic influence due to prominent Catholic authorities in Newcastle, exiled Scottish priests

filling chronically empty parishes, large remote parishes and an insufficient Protestant ministry to

educate the laity.[28] A report of 1565 found that in the diocese of Durham, 'many parishes, especially in

Northumberland, the vicars have to serve from two to five chapels each, far from the parish churches,

which have no priests unless it be vagabond Scots'.[29] Pilkington quickly began a campaign of Protestant

reforms throughout Durham's parishes. The deprivation of religious and civil positions of authority in

1559, 1561 and 1564 and the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, allowed Pilkington and the Crown to

place sympathetic and enthusiastic Protestant ministers and authorities in Durham and Newcastle.[30]

Calvinist, William Whittingham was appointed as the new Dean of Durham in 1563, and it was during his

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[25] Patrick Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of popular Protestantism,' *Godly People, essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), p. 1.

[26] Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of popular Protestantism,' p. 1.

[27] Melvin B. Endy Jr., 'Puritanism and Quakerism,' *Quaker Theology*, 1 (1999), pp. 11-12.

[28] 'A Collection of original letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council 1564 with Returns of the Justices of the Peace and Others within their respective diocese Classified according to their religious convictions,' *Camden Miscellany*, M. Bateson (ed.), ix (London, 1895); quoted in Roger Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and Puritan Revolution*, (London, 1967), pp.. 64-66.

[29] *History of Newcastle upon Tyne,* Richard Welford (ed.), (London, 1885), vol. II, p. 402. (Welford did not record his sources).

[30] *Camden Miscellany*, M. Bateson (ed.), ix (London 1895), pp. 65, 67; For the political aspects of the Northern Rising see, Marcombe, 'A Rude and Heady People,' pp.117-145.

tenure that a radical overhaul of the Cathedral's furnishings was undertaken to create a more austere

setting. Holy water stones were removed and placed in the Dean's kitchen, and pre-dissolution tombs

with images were broken up or recycled for other building projects.[31]

Further zealous Protestants were appointed to positions of power by Pilkington, including

Marian exile Robert Swift, who was appointed as Pilkington's Spiritual Chancellor and rector of

Sedgefield in 1561. Another Protestant exile, Thomas Calverley, was made Temporal Chancellor in

1570.[32] Through a system of nepotism and favouritism, Pilkington also used his position as the only

Puritan English bishop holding *jura regalia* to 'pursue a semi-independent policy,' to create his own

'sphere of influence in the diocese'.[33] His brother John was given the second stall in the Cathedral, and

another brother Leonard was installed in the seventh Prebendary stall and was appointed rector of the

wealthy parish of Middleton-in-Teesdale.[34] Prominent secular individuals also undertook a similar

system of patronage. The Protestant Bowes and Middleton families near Barnard Castle promoted a

Protestant education within the chapelry at Barnard Castle and the Vicarage of Gainford through the

appointments of radical leaning ministers.[35] Furthermore, a series of radically disposed Protestant

bishops following Pilkington, including Matthew Hutton (1589-1595) and Tobias Matthew (1595-1606),

'ensured that the diocese of Durham was kept on a strictly reformed path' for over fifty years.[36]

The sixteenth-century Puritan reforms in Durham's churches were noted by Pilkington when he

commented that the 'poor papists weep to see our churches so bare'. There was nothing left 'in them to

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[31] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 58; *The Rites of Durham*, SS, Rev. Canon Fowler (ed.), 107 (Durham, 1902), pp. 60-61, 81-82.

[32] C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, (1938), p. 302.

[33] Jane Freeman, 'The Distribution and Use of Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Diocese of Durham, 1558-1640,' *The Last Principality,* p. 152; Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1558-1603' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1973), p. 72.

[34] Freeman, 'Distribution and Use of Ecclesiastical Patronage,' p. 163.

[35] Marcombe, 'A Rude and Heady People,' p. 139.

[36] Newton, 'The Impact of Reformation on North-east England: A preliminary survey,' *Northern History,* 45, 1 (2008), p. 42.

make curtsy unto, neither saints nor yet their old little god'.[37] The survival of several churchwarden

accounts in the parish of Pittington provides evidence of reforms to the parish church's interior in 1588

by Vicar Robert Murray. The accounts record that 2*s. 6d*. was given to individuals who aided in the

movement of the font. They were also given a further payment of 6*d*. to provide them with bread and

drink. [38] The movement of the font in Pittington does not necessarily indicate that reforms to the

church's interiors also implied reforms in belief by the clergy, churchwardens or laity.[39] Nevertheless,

the act of compliance in moving the font provides some evidence of a willingness to conform to

Protestant innovations, at least by a few individuals in need of a few shillings and food.

Reforms could also go too far and cause unrest and dissention among parishioners and fellow

clergymen. The Rector of Stanhope, for instance, was deprived of his living in 1567 for being overly

critical of the Church and having too radical a protestant point-of-view.[40] In Sedgefield, Rector Robert

Swift's removal of the communion table and stalls from the choir of the church and into the nave led to

opposition among his parishioners. In 1568, a Catholic, Brian Hedlam, interrupted services in

Sedgefield's church, and refused to remove his hat in protest of the reforms. A year later the parish

church also became a centre of revivalism during the 1569 rebellion. Several prominent individuals

restored the altars, holy water stones and burned the Protestant service books on the parish green.[41]

Even in Barnard Castle, the influence of local Protestant gentry could not quell dissention over reforms.

When the minister, Thomas Clark, did not use the sign of the cross at baptism, and reportedly denied

communion to certain parishioners in 1626, the churchwardens locked themselves inside the church for

twenty-seven hours to keep Clark from holding service. To appease the parishioners Clark was

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[37] James Pilkington, *The Works of James Pilkington*, 35 (University Press, 1842) , p. 129.

[38] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Pittington and Other Parishes in the Diocese of Durham from A. D. 1580 to 1700*, James Barmby (ed.), S.S., LXXXIV (1888),p. 27; Newton, 'Impact of Reformation,' p. 43.

[39] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional religion in England, 1400-1580,* (Yale, 1992), p.481.

[40] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 63.

[41] *Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts at Durham*, James Raine (ed.) *S.S,* (1845), pp. 118-120.

eventually relocated to a parish in Berwick where his reforms were more welcome due to the growing

influence of Scottish Presbyterian John Knox.[42]

Parishioners in Durham were further impacted by the continuously changing nature of

ideological leanings within the English church, including the changing definition of Puritanism and the

rise of Arminianism in the early seventeenth century. The definition of a 'Puritan' broadened to

encompass several differing religious reform movements and political interest groups, seeking reform

and toleration within the Church of England.[43] Termed by modern scholars as 'the hotter sort of

Protestants' these Puritan reformers worked within the religious establishment to evoke change. At the

Hampton Court Conference in 1603, church representatives laid out the specific changes Puritans were

seeking within the Church of England. Improvements included, correcting Prayer to resemble the Bible,

thus making it 'correct according to the Word'. They also sought an introduction of discipline according

to the Bible to grant the parish clergy and lay elders the power of excommunication.[44] Furthermore, the

meeting requested an end to:

> The use of the surplice, cope, cross in baptism, kneeling at communion…, imposition of hands in
> confirmation, ring in marriage, and sundry other offensive ceremonies in our Church, is not
> indifferent but simply unlawful in the public worship and divine service of God.[45]

Delegates of the Conference signified their support and unity with the Church by clearly stating that

they favoured episcopacy and were not seeking the abolition of church government. The 'advices' stated

they did 'not *expressly* desire the removal of bishops'.[46]

Early seventeenth-century Puritans were attempting to work within the English church, but

despite insistence of Church support from 1604 onwards, Puritan sentiment evolved towards separation

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[42] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p, 83; Marcombe, 'A Rude and Heady People,' pp. 139-140; Newton, 'Impact of Reformation,' p. 44.

[43] Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700,* (Manchester, 2001), p. 64.

[44] Ibid., p. 112; Patrick Collinson, 'The Jacobean Religious Settlement: the Hampton court conference,' *Before the Civil War,* H. Tomlinson (ed.), (London, 1983), pp. 27-51.

[45] Historical Manuscripts Commission Beaulieu, pp. 33-4, quoted from Tyacke, *Aspects of Puritanism,* p. 112.

[46] Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, p. 112.

and independency. Radical Puritans openly sought an end to the Book of Common Prayer and episcopal

government were frequently deprived of their clerical livings. These deprivations furthered political

motivations for the creation of a separate godly church in England. Movement towards a politically

motivated agenda fractured religious consensus among Puritans, giving rise to a radical Puritan

ideology.[47] The Puritan sentiment for reform was further radicalised by a growing support of

Arminianism and a return of ceremonialism within the Church of England.

In 1617, newly appointed Bishop of Durham, Richard Neile became the first advocate of

Arminian changes in Durham. Neile was an opponent of Calvinism and early advocate of Arminianism,

and like his sixteenth-century predecessor Bishop Pilkington, he used a combination of patronage and

nepotism to realign loyalties and create an anti-Calvinist faction in Durham.[48] The Durham Arminian

faction clashed with Puritan clergy and laity throughout Durham and Newcastle in the 1620s, 1630s and

1640s. Neile filled lay and clerical administrative vacancies with men he could rely on to advance his

religious and political agenda. To achieve this, Neile was particularly fortunate. All but three of the

Cathedral prebends fell vacant, allowing him to appoint senior clergy sympathetic towards his Arminian

beliefs.[49] A few power positions opened during his episcopate, allowing him to entice supporters to the

region. The death of Durham's archdeacon William Morton in 1620, allowed Neile to place supporter

Gabriel Clarke in the post. Further supporters were placed in wealthy parishes in Norton, Washington,

Elwick, Houghton-le-Spring and Newcastle.[50] Neile also generated support from among civil authorities

by fostering co-operation between local elites and the Bishopric. He coaxed local gentlemen into taking

unwanted civil offices, and sided with the local gentry who wished to establish parliamentary

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[47] David R. Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660,' *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (eds.) (Cambridge, 2008), p. 241; G. Huehns, *Antinomianism in English History: With special reference to the period 1640-1660*, (London, 1951).

[48] Michael Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in County Durham, 1617-1642,' *The Last Principality*, p. 203.

[49] Jane Freeman, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage in Durham,' p. 166.

[50] Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' p. 205; Freeman, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage in Durham,' pp. 166-167.

representation for Durham.[51] With support throughout the Bishopric, Neile set out to introduce a more

ceremonialist style of worship, and reverse many of the reforms to church interiors undertaken by the

sixteenth century Bishops and deans in Durham. However, many clergy and laity in the diocese

recognised the new religious policy as a threat to the fifty years of Protestant reforms undertaken in the

parishes. Some Calvinist Episcopalians in the Bishopric accepted and even propounded the innovations,

others stayed in the church to fight from within, but radical Calvinists asserted their 'doctrinal

distinctiveness,' often by choosing open nonconformity to the changes.[52] Complaints by parishioners

were also common, their views often disseminated down from the ministering clergy. An examination of

the complaints against, and by, parish clergy in the thirty years prior to the rise of Quakerism provides

evidence of a laity with clear expectations for religious worship, and a degree of a personal religious

ideology in some of Durham's parishes.

Efforts to curb the impact of Arminianism in the parishes became a fight for 'the true religion'.[53]

Durham prebendary, Peter Smart, preached an anti-Arminian sermon in Durham Cathedral on 27 July

1628. In the sermon he expounded the Puritan fight against the new reforms, and attacked Neile and his

followers for enforcing 'many [ceremonies that] are tolerable; a few necessary; most are ridiculous, and

some abominable'. The ceremonies he particularly abhorred was the Arminian ceremonies added to the

administration of the Eucharist, the style of music used during services, the replacement of the

communion table with an altar and the wearing of copes at morning services and after the sermon.[54] 'If

religion consisted in the performance of superstitious vanities,' commented Smart, then 'ceremonial

folleries, apish toyes, and popish trinkets, we had never more religion then now'.[55]

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[51] A.J. Fletcher, 'Factionalism in town and countryside: The significance of Puritanism and Arminiansim,' *Studies in Church History*, D. Baker (ed.), 16 (1979), pp. 297-298; Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' p. 209.
[52] Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' *The Last Principality,* David Marcombe (ed.), p. 205.
[53] Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*, (London, 2009), p. 18.
[54] P. Smart, *The Vanitie & Downe-Fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies,* (Edinburgh, 1628), STC (2nd ed.) / 22640.7; Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society,' pp. 207-208.
[55] P. Smart, *The Vanitie & Downe-Fall*.

Like Smart, others in the Bishopric used the pulpit to fight Neile and his reforms. The rector of

Houghton-le-Spring, Robert Hutton, preached a sermon which negatively reflected 'on the King, the

Bishop, the Church and its ceremonies'.[56] In 1626, the curate of Darlington asserted that using the sign

of the cross in baptisms was 'papistical'. He also stated that standing during the Gospel readings and

bowing at the name of Jesus was superstitious. Reported to the High Commission, he was forced to

apologise for his remarks.[57] When an Arminian lecturer and vicar were appointed in Newcastle, Puritan

minister Robert Jenison participated in illegal prayer meetings to curb the impact of Arminian teachings

in the town.[58] In Barnard Castle's parish church, parishioner Damaris Sayer assaulted Gabriel and Jane

Wharton in 1637 for accepting the ceremonialist reform of bowing at the name of Jesus during church

services. She claimed that Wharton would not have bowed had their old preacher been there. She then

proceeded to kick and tread 'upon Gabriel's legs as also rushing upon Janet Wharton his wife violently in

the church'.[59] This incident suggests a split between acceptance of the ceremonialist measures and

outright rejection. In Sunderland, the establishment of a dissenting congregation in Monkwearmouth

was prompted by the appointment of new curate, Francis Burgoyne, who supported Arminian changes

to the parish church in Bishopwearmouth.[60] Such clashes with the clerical establishment provide

evidence of individual religious sentiment among parishioners and clergy in the years leading to the rise

of Quakerism. Furthermore, they give an indication of the Protestant influences and traditions that were

disseminated among the first converts of the Quaker movement in the region.

Throughout the country disgruntled laity produced petitions against their ministers and the

Arminian reforms in their parishes. One historian estimated that one in ten parishes in the country

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[56] Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' p. 205. Tillbrooks noted that the content is from an eighteenth century description and may be a misrepresentation of the King's role in the spread of Arminian and Laudian reforms.

[57] Ibid., p. 205.

[58] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 87.

[59] DUSC, DCD/D/SJB/4 (1637), Barnard Castle.

[60] TNA, SP16/447 f.50; *CSPD,* (4 March 1639-1640), p. 515; Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' p. 204.

presented petitions in 1641.[61] In Muggleswick, near Consett in County Durham, 59 parishioners drew-up

a petition to parliament in 1642. They complained their parish was lacking a suitable minister to deliver

regular sermons, and that they 'have beene destitute of a preaching Minister; yea ever since any of us

that now are breathing were borne, to our soules great griefe and dreadfull hazard of destruction'.

Additionally, they presented the destitution of ten to twelve parishes adjoining them. '[N]either is it our

case alone but also ten, yea or twelve Parishes all adjoying are in like manner void of the meanses of

salvation, whose case and condition is deepely to be deplore'.[62] They explained that Muggleswick had

been sent two ministers in the 1630s, one who had a scandalous background, and a second who refused

to preach and locked the church doors to keep anyone else from attempting to deliver a sermon. Their

current vicar, they explained, was still not worthy to minister to them. He was described as 'the most

debased among the sons of men' and he 'will nether preach himself, nor yet permit others'.[63] Their

complaints were delivered on behalf of the congregation to Parliament by the mayor and leader of the

Presbyterian movement in Sunderland, George Lilburne (*Figure 2.1*). Muggleswick's vicar was charged

with delinquency and called to appear before the Commons, and the parishioners in Muggleswick were

provided with a lecturer to offer 'the preaching he would not give himself'.[64]
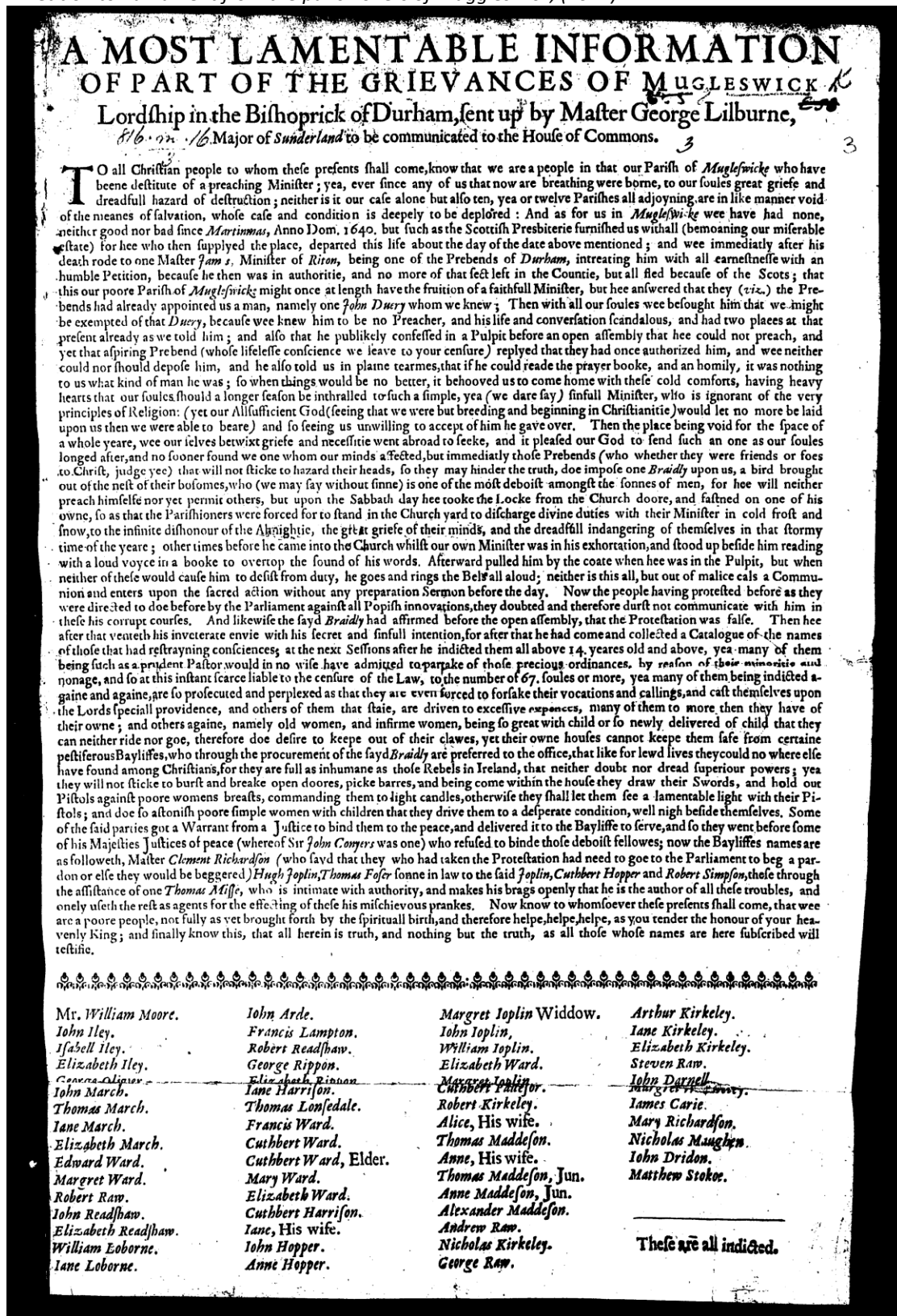
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[61] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 30.
[62] *A Most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick Lordship in the Bishoprick of Durham* (1642).
[63] Ibid.; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 67.
[64] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society,* pp. 132-133; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 68.

Figure 2.1: Petition to Parliament from the parishioners of Muggleswick, (1642)

A MOST LAMENTABLE INFORMATION
OF PART OF THE GRIEVANCES OF Muggleswick
Lordſhip in the Biſhoprick of Durham, ſent up by Maſter George Lilburne, Major of *Sunderland* to be communicated to the Houſe of Commons.

TO all Chriſtian people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, know that we are a people in that our Pariſh of *Muglefwicke* who have beene deſtitute of a preaching Miniſter; yea, ever ſince any of us that now are breathing were borne, to our ſoules great griefe and dreadfull hazard of deſtruction; neither is it our caſe alone but alſo ten, yea or twelve Pariſhes all adjoyning are in like manner void of the meanes of ſalvation, whoſe caſe and condition is deeply to be deplored: And as for us in *Muglefwicke* wee have had none, neither good nor bad ſince *Martinmas*, Anno Dom. 1640. but ſuch as the Scottiſh Presbiterie furniſhed us withall (bemoaning our miſerable eſtate) for hee who then ſupplyed the place, departed this life about the day of the date above mentioned; and wee immediatly after his death rode to one Maſter *Jam s*, Miniſter of *Riton*, being one of the Prebends of *Durham*, intreating him with all earneſtneſſe with an humble Petition, becauſe he then was in authoritie, and no more of that ſect left in the Countie, but all fled becauſe of the Scots; that this our poore Pariſh of *Muglefwick* might once at length have the fruition of a faithfull Miniſter, but hee anſwered that they (*viz.*) the Prebends had already appointed us a man, namely one *John Duery* whom we knew; Then with all our ſoules wee beſought him that we might be exempted of that *Duery*, becauſe wee knew him to be no Preacher, and his life and converſation ſcandalous, and had two places at that preſent already as we told him; and alſo that he publikely confeſſed in a Pulpit before an open aſſembly that hee could not preach, and yet that aſpiring Prebend (whoſe lifeleſſe conſcience we leave to your conſcience) replyed that they had once authorized him, and wee neither could nor ſhould depoſe him, and he alſo told us in plaine tearmes, that if he could reade the prayer booke, and an homily, it was nothing to us what kind of man he was; ſo when things would be no better, it behooved us to come home with theſe cold comforts, having heavy hearts that our ſoules ſhould a longer ſeaſon be inthralled to ſuch a ſimple, yea (we dare ſay) ſinfull Miniſter, who is ignorant of the very principles of Religion: (yet our Allſufficient God (ſeeing that we were but breeding and beginning in Chriſtianitie) would let no more be laid upon us then we were able to beare) and ſo ſeeing us unwilling to accept of him he gave over. Then the place being void for the ſpace of a whole yeare, wee our ſelves betwixt griefe and neceſſitie went abroad to ſeeke, and it pleaſed our God to ſend ſuch an one as our ſoules longed after, and no ſooner found we one whom our minds affected, but immediatly thoſe Prebends (who whether they were friends or foes to Chriſt, judge yee) that will not ſticke to hazard their heads, ſo they may hinder the truth, doe impoſe one *Braidly* upon us, a bird brought out of the neſt of their boſomes, who (we may ſay without ſinne) is one of the moſt deboiſt amongſt the ſonnes of men, for hee will neither preach himſelfe nor yet permit others, but upon the Sabbath day hee tooke the Locke from the Church doore, and faſtned on one of his owne, ſo as that the Pariſhioners were forced for to ſtand in the Church yard to diſcharge divine duties with their Miniſter in cold froſt and ſnow, to the infinite diſhonour of the Almightie, the great griefe of their minds, and the dreadfull indangering of themſelves in that ſtormy time of the yeare; other times before he came into the Church whilſt our own Miniſter was in his exhortation, and ſtood up beſide him reading with a loud voyce in a booke to overtop the ſound of his words. Afterward pulled him by the coate when hee was in the Pulpit, but when neither of theſe would cauſe him to deſiſt from duty, he goes and rings the Bels all aloud; neither is this all, but out of malice cals a Communion and enters upon the ſacred action without any preparation Sermon before the day. Now the people having proteſted before as they were directed to doe before by the Parliament againſt all Popiſh innovations, they doubted and therefore durſt not communicate with him in theſe his corrupt courſes. And likewiſe the ſayd *Braidly* had affirmed before the open aſſembly, that the Proteſtation was falſe. Then hee after that venteth his inveterate envie with his ſecret and ſinfull intention, for after that he had come and collected a Catalogue of the names of thoſe that had reſtrayning conſciences; at the next Seſſions after he indicted them all above 14. yeares old and above, yea many of them being ſuch as a prudent Paſtor would in no wiſe have admitted to partake of thoſe precious ordinances, by reaſon of their minoritie and nonage, and ſo at this inſtant ſcarce liable to the cenſure of the Law, to the number of 67. ſoules or more, yea many of them being indicted againe and againe, are ſo proſecuted and perplexed as that they are even forced to forſake their vocations and callings, and caſt themſelves upon the Lords ſpeciall providence, and others of them that ſtaie, are driven to exceſſive expences, many of them to more then they have of their owne; and others againe, namely old women, and infirme women, being ſo great with child or ſo newly delivered of child that they can neither ride nor goe, therefore doe deſire to keepe out of their clawes, yet their owne houſes cannot keepe them ſafe from certaine peſtiferous Bayliffes, who through the procurement of the ſayd *Braidly* are preferred to the office, that like for lewd lives they could no where elſe have found among Chriſtians, for they are full as inhumane as thoſe Rebels in Ireland, that neither doubt nor dread ſuperiour powers; yea they will not ſticke to burſt and breake open doores, picke barres, and being come within the houſe they draw their Swords, and hold out Piſtols againſt poore womens breaſts, commanding them to light candles, otherwiſe they ſhall let them ſee a lamentable light with their Piſtols; and doe ſo aſtoniſh poore ſimple women with children that they drive them to a deſperate condition, well nigh beſide themſelves. Some of the ſaid parties got a Warrant from a Juſtice to bind them to the peace, and delivered it to the Bayliffe to ſerve, and ſo they went before ſome of his Majeſties Juſtices of peace (whereof Sir *John Conyers* was one) who refuſed to binde thoſe deboiſt fellowes; now the Bayliffes names are as followeth, Maſter *Clement Richardſon* (who ſayd that they who had taken the Proteſtation had need to goe to the Parliament to beg a pardon or elſe they would be beggered) *Hugh Joplin*, *Thomas Foſer* ſonne in law to the ſaid *Joplin*, *Cuthbert Hopper* and *Robert Simpſon*, theſe through the aſſiſtance of one *Thomas Miſſe*, who is intimate with authority, and makes his brags openly that he is the author of all theſe troubles, and onely uſeth the reſt as agents for the effecting of theſe his miſchievous prankes. Now know to whomſoever theſe preſents ſhall come, that wee are a poore people, not fully as yet brought forth by the ſpirituall birth, and therefore helpe, helpe, helpe, as you tender the honour of your heavenly King; and finally know this, that all herein is truth, and nothing but the truth, as all thoſe whoſe names are here ſubſcribed will teſtifie.

Mr. *William Moore*.	*John Arde*.	*Margret Ioplin* Widdow.	*Arthur Kirkeley*.
John Iley.	*Francis Lampton*.	*John Ioplin*,	*Iane Kirkeley*.
Iſabell Iley.	*Robert Readſhaw*.	*William Ioplin*.	*Elizabeth Kirkeley*.
Elizabeth Iley.	*George Rippon*.	*Elizabeth Ward*.	*Steven Raw*.
George Olivier	*Elizabeth Rippon*	*Margret Ioplin*	*John Darnell*
John March.	*Iane Harriſon*.	*Cuthbert Paxtor*.	*Margret Livity*.
Thomas March.	*Thomas Lonſedale*.	*Robert Kirkeley*.	*Iames Carie*.
Iane March.	*Francis Ward*.	*Alice*, His wife.	*Mary Richardſon*.
Elizabeth March.	*Cuthbert Ward*.	*Thomas Maddeſon*.	*Nicholas Maughen*.
Edward Ward.	*Cuthbert Ward*, Elder.	*Anne*, His wife.	*John Dridon*.
Margret Ward.	*Mary Ward*.	*Thomas Maddeſon*, Jun.	*Matthew Stokoe*.
Robert Raw.	*Elizabeth Ward*.	*Anne Maddeſon*, Jun.	
John Readſhaw.	*Cuthbert Harriſon*.	*Alexander Maddeſon*.	
Elizabeth Readſhaw.	*Iane*, His wife.	*Andrew Raw*.	
William Loborne.	*John Hopper*.	*Nicholas Kirkeley*.	**Theſe are all indicted.**
Iane Loborne.	*Anne Hopper*.	*George Raw*.	

Other parishes were not as patient with their ministers. The parishioners in Bishopwearmouth in

Sunderland rebelled against their parish rector, Francis Burgoyne, for his adherence to Arminian reforms

in church services. Led by Sunderland's mayor, George Lilburne, disgruntled members of the parish

developed a neighbouring church across the River Wear at Monkwearmouth in 1640. The rector of

Whitburn, Thomas Triplet, acted as Archbishop Laud's eyes and hears in the region, and he informed

Laud on the movements of Puritans and Presbyterians in Durham and Newcastle. Triplet, described the

new church at Monkwearmouth as a 'pestilent nest of Puritans hatched, but in corporations, where they

swarm and bread like hornets in [a dead] horse's head'.[65]

The Arminian clashes with the clergy and laity, throughout the Bishopric, provide evidence of

individuals and congregations with clear expectations for religious worship and a degree of a personal

religious ideology. The ceremonialist innovations, introduced by the Durham Arminian clergy in the

parishes, made the lines of distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable worship clearer. The

Reformation message, described by Michael Braddick as 'a rejection of the power of individual believers,

or of the church acting on their behalf, to affect God's judgement about who should be saved and who

should be damned,' was in full force by the 1640s in Durham.[66] Individuals not only distinguished

themselves as Protestant, but they could define their understanding of Protestantism through

internalised beliefs. Muggleswick's parishioners expressly stated that without a moral guide their souls

were in 'dreadfull hazard of destruction'.[67] Their petition sought the only suitable guide they knew of, a

regular and moral preaching minister. The same was true in Sunderland. George Lilburne was leading a

congregation of individuals seeking their own means to salvation, which they did not believe their

current parish church was providing them. It was within this tradition of free thinking Protestantism,

encouraged by education and itinerant ministers that the Quaker membership formed in the 1650s. The

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[65] TNA, SP16/447 f.50; *CSPD* (4 March 1639-40), p. 515.
[66] Michael Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire* (London, 2008), p. 6.
[67] *A Most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick Lordship in the Bishoprick of Durham.*

arrival of Quakerism in 1653, offered individuals a new moral guide, one in which a congregation was

not reliant on a minister, but rather on themselves. The implication of the light within meant individuals

were no longer reliant on a minister for guidance, but rather they could turn to their inner guide for

salvation. It was no coincidence that in the 1650s, both Muggleswick and Sunderland were two of the

more receptive areas to the Quaker ministers, and developed active Quaker communities in the latter

half of the century.

Education, Puritanism and Quaker beginnings

The foundations of Puritanism in Durham correlate to perceived notions of religious deprivation

in post-Reformation northern England. The Council of the North noted in 1568 that Durham and other

northern counties were not knowingly disobeying the Queen by not conforming to the English church,

but were woefully lacking in ministers to teach the laity.

> Perceiving that in many churches there have been no sermons for years past, and that in most
> parts the pastors are unable to teach their flock, and that the backwardness in causes of religion
> proceeds rather from ignorance than stubbornness or wilful disobedience.[68]

In 1628, Sir Benjamin Rudyard was less forgiving in his analysis when he compared the deprived religious

life of the northern peoples to New World Native Americans. He explained 'that there were places in

England which were scarce in Christendom where God was little better known than amongst the

Indians, I exampled it in the utmost skirts of the North where the Prayers of the common people are

more like spells and Charms than devotions'.[69]

Perceptions such as Rudyard's and the Council's bolstered efforts to increase Protestant

education in parishes lacking a regular ministering clergy. In Durham, with the exception of a select few

parishes with wealthy livings attached, rarely was there a consistent supply of ministers. Even in a

wealthier parish like Houghton-le-Spring the sheer size of the parish was unmanageable for one

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[68] TNA, SP15/14 f.88; *CSPD,* Addenda, (1566-1579), pp. 64-65; Hill, 'Dark Corners,' p. 5.
[69] J.A. Manning, ed., *Memoirs of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd* (London, 1841), pp. 135-6.

minister. When Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of the North, was made rector of Houghton in 1557, he found it 'extending six or seven miles east and west, and seven or eight miles north and south'. It had sixteen villages and an estimated population of 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants.[70] High instances of absenteeism and few preaching clergymen gives further credence to the religious deprivation accounts of post-Reformation Durham. These earlier accounts of parishioners deprived of religious ministering, support later complaints in places like Muggleswick in 1641, when they stated that their parish, and numerous adjoining parishes, were without a preaching minister for over a generation.[71] In an effort to counter the deprived state of the region's pulpits, a Protestant education was provided by a successive number of itinerant ministers and through guilds or wealthy individuals sponsoring lectureships to poorly endowed parishes. While grammar schools were also established to provide children with a godly education. These efforts throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries provided the foundations for the region's Protestant tradition in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Apostle of the North, Bernard Gilpin, regularly ministered to the remote parishes of northern England. Gilpin believed that creating a learned society was achieved through sermons and education, and through these efforts Protestantism would advance among the populace. He privately tutored pupils in his parish at Houghton-le-Spring in 1570, and in 1574, he aided in the establishment of a school at the former Keiper Hospital at Durham. In his bequest for the Keiper Grammar School in Durham, he requested that literacy be a primary focus of the school because 'whatsoever is given to godly grammar school, it is given to the maintenance of Christ's holy gospel'.[72] Further institutions for the propagating of godly education to children were undertaken in Darlington (1563), Heighington

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[70] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 66; Gilpin, *Memoir*, p. 101.
[71] *A Most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick Lordship in the Bishoprick of Durham.*
[72] B.N. Wilson, 'The Changes of the Reformation Period in Durham and Northumberland,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1935), p. 141; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 63.

(1601) and Wolsingham (1612).[73] The schools in Newcastle (established 1525), Houghton and

Heighington were open to all children in the parish, regardless of social status.[74] At Heighington, the

grammar school explained that its mission was to,

> be free for the children of all & every the Inhabitants & residents within the said parishe of
> Heighington & for all other children born within the said parish or mainteyned & kept at the
> charge of anie Inhabitant within the said parishe.[75]

There were practical motives for providing an education to the region's children. 'English boroughs

[regarded] a flourishing school as a sound investment in status which, in turn, helped to produce

concentrations of literate people'.[76]

Creating a literate society was not the only goal. Proficient Protestant ministers and

schoolmasters were also needed to provide sermons and catechising to ensure the establishment of a

Protestant ideology among the populace. In November 1593, Dean Toby Matthew expressed his views

on the credentials needed when appointing a schoolmaster to Durham. '[F]irst and principally

because…an unlearned schoolemaister cannot make a learned scholar; there it is ordered that the

schoolemaister shal be furnished with both in the Greake and Latin tongues, fully able to discharge his

duty'. Furthermore, the new schoolmaster must establish the true religion in his pupils through lessons

and catechism, and therefore, must be 'a zealous and sound professor of true religion abhorring all

papistrie'.[77] Elizabeth Jenison made the stipulation in her will that the schoolmaster of Heighington

grammar school (which she aided in founding) must be 'an honest, discrete & learned schoole master to

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[73] *Endowed Charities, Administrative County of Durham, and County Boroughs of Gateshead and Sunderland,* I
(Great Britain Charity commission, 1904), p. 192; Diana Newton, 'Clergy and Laity in the Diocese of Durham,' p. 49;
VCH, 'Durham,' pp. 368, 393-399.
[74] Newton, 'Clergy and Laity in the Diocese of Durham,' p. 50.
[75] Ibid; E. Mackenzie and M. Ross, *An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County Palatine of
Durham,* 2 (Newcastle, 1834), pp. 138, 167.
[76] Newton, 'Clergy and Laity in the Diocese of Durham,' p. 50.
[77] Ibid., p. 49; *VCH of Durham*, W. Page (ed.), 1 (1905), p. 377.

keepe a schoole & teache & instruct children in grammers, humanity & other goldy & virtuous learning'.[78]

The education of the laity was essential if they were to lead godly and moral lives. The founding of grammar schools throughout Durham's parishes introduced individuals to Protestant reforms, and it provided them with the opportunity and tools for finding salvation. Jeremiah Dyke explained in *The Worthy Communicant* (1636) the importance of education in reaching a moral state and possibly salvation. Individuals, he noted, 'must be first full of knowledge that will be full of goodnesse'. Ignorance in religion was not to be pitied or indulged, but viewed with scorn.[79] If an individual was ignorant they could not 'say that they are in the covenant of grace'.[80] Yet, salvation did not simply come from education. Along with educating children, parishes required an educated minister and regularly delivered sermons to reinforce Protestant teachings. Throughout the 1560s, Bernard Gilpin preached across Durham, as well as further afield in Redesdale and Tynedale.[81] From 1550 to 1553, Scottish Presbyterian John Knox was a minister at St. Nicholas Church in Newcastle, and regularly undertook itinerant ministering in the region.[82] Zealous Puritan Anthony Lapthorne arrived in the Durham diocese in 1635, when Bishop Morton gave him the cure of Ovingham in Northumberland which had been without a minister for forty years.[83] Lapthorne's work, however, was not restricted to Ovingham, and in 1639, he was cited by the Durham High Commission for preaching outside of his parish and against the ceremonies of the church.[84] Lapthorne's seventeenth-century ministry provided sermons to parishes throughout Hexhamshire, Derwentdale and along the Durham/Northumberland border. It was likely his

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[78] Newton, 'Clergy and Laity in the Diocese of Durham,' p. 50.

[79] Quoted in Ryrie, *Being Protestant,* p. 263.

[80] Jeremiah Dyke, *A worthy communicant. Or A treatise, shewing the due order of receiving the sacrament of the Lords Supper*, (1636), pp. 99, 105, 111; Quoted in Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 262.

[81] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 57; *Memoirs of Bernard Gilpin* p. 51.

[82] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 83-85; Howell, 'Puritanism in Newcastle before the summoning of the Long Parliament, *A.A.,* 4, xli (1963), PP. 138-138; J. Know, *A Godly letter unto the faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick,* (1553), p. 8.

[83] Kenneth Fincham, 'Anthony Lapthorne,' *DNB* (2008).

[84] *The Acts of the High Commission Court within the diocese of Durham*, S.S., W.H.D. Longstaffe, (ed.) 34 (1858), pp. 190–92.

charismatic preaching in Muggleswick that convinced parishioners to petition parliament for a minister more suited to their religious needs.[85]

Trading connections with London, the continent and Scotland also bolstered the spread of Presbyterianism and evangelical Protestantism to pockets of the region, but with the outbreak of the First Bishop's War in 1639, these economic and religious connections also roused fears of collusion between Newcastle authorities and the Scottish Covenanters.[86] In 1639, it was reported that Scottish Presbyterians regularly used Newcastle's port as an entry point to begin their ministering. In a letter to Secretary of State Thomas Windebank in January 1640, one observer summed up the fears of Newcastle's involvement with the Scottish and the spread of Presbyterianism. He noted that Scottish ministers in Newcastle were 'preaching strange doctrine, inveighing against the bishops, and praying for the good cause of the Scottish Covenanters'.[87] Fears of Scottish support were furthered when Presbyterian George Lilburne led the establishment of a separatist congregation at Monkwearmouth (Sunderland) under the ministry of his father-in-law.[88] Thomas Triplet, vicar of Whitburn, warned Archbishop Laud in 1640 that George Lilburne and the Sunderland Presbyterians were a 'dangerous *boutefeus* that are in these parts'.[89] Triplet's comment came at the same time that Puritans in Newcastle were under investigation by the Crown for involvement with the Scottish Covenanters.[90] The Crown's authorities uncovered a system of private meetings, not dissimilar to the meetings Quakers would develop just over ten years later. Assembling privately, three Puritan meetings were discovered in Newcastle, and all were held in the homes of private individuals, including the Mayor of the town,

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[85] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p. 105; 'Lapthorne,' *DNB*; *A most lamentable information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick*.

[86] Richard Welford, *Men of Mark, Twixt Tyne and Tweed* (London, 1895), p. 281; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 118-124; See the movement of dissenters see, Margret Spufford, 'The importance of religion,' *The World of Rural Dissenters,* Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), p. 57.

[87] TNA, SP16/410 f. 171; *CSPD* (30 January 1639), p. 383; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p.99.

[88] Dumble, 'The Durham Lilburnes and the English Revolution,' p. 229.

[89] TNA, SP16/444 f.63; *CSPD* (Feb. 4, 1640), p. 426; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p. 84.

[90] TNA*,* SP 16/443 f.57; *CSPD* (Jan. 30 1640), p. 401; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p. 101-106.

Robert Bewick.[91] The members of these meetings often met after regular church services, allowing them to argue that their meetings were for further reflection and education, rather than for worship.[92] Further Puritan meetings were discovered across Durham, including in Barnard Castle at the house of George Stoddart, where the meeting was reportedly attended by future regicide and religious radical Sir Henry Vane the Younger of nearby Raby Castle.

The clandestine meetings represented the interconnectedness of Durham's social and religious systems. Ministers from the Newcastle Protestant evangelical establishment attended and preached at alternative religious meetings across the county.[93] The investigation concluded that there was 'a chain of contact extending to the Borders and to the Covenanters in Scotland'. Newcastle had increasingly grown into a centre for Puritanism and Presbyterianism in the region by 1640, and its influence was extending across the Tyne River and into County Durham, a growth that had not gone unnoticed by the Crown. The start of the Bishop's War heightened fears of the north-east's connections to the Scots. In reaction, the Crown's authorities deprived two of the region's most prominent Puritans in an effort to curb their influence and any connections to the Scottish Covenanters. Newcastle ministers William Morton left in 1639, and Robert Jenison was removed in 1640 over suspicions of disloyalty brought by the High Commission.[94]

The Second Bishops' War in 1640 had an even larger impact on Newcastle and Durham with the arrival of Scottish soldiers. Durham and especially Newcastle were placed in the middle of the 1640s struggle for political and religious authority. Politically, Roger Howell found that Newcastle gave the appearance of a Royalist stronghold during the Wars, but in actuality their politics was more neutral. Authorities in Newcastle were 'prepared to drift with events' in order to maintain their economic

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[91] TNA, SP16/442 f. 73; *CSPD*, (Jan. 17 1639-40), p. 342.
[92] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 101-106.
[93] *Acts of the High Commission Court,* p. 193; *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes*, p. 31; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 345.
[94] TNA, SP16/415 f.15; SP16/428 f.153; *CSPD,* (21 March 1638-9), pp. 592; (Sept. 15 1639), p. 498; William J. Sheils, 'Robert Jenison,' *DNB,* (2004).

dominance in the region. The town was garrisoned for the King, but it was also willing to come to terms

with Parliament who recognised the 'most pressing danger to their commercial activity was the

continuation of conflict'.[95] Newcastle's politics may have been willing to follow the tide, but religion in

the town maintained a radical presence, with a new phase of religiosity commencing in the middle of

the 1640s.[96] The Civil Wars encouraged the spread of Puritanism in the parishes through the deprivation

of Arminian clergy. Michael Braddick noted that Quakers in the 1650s 'did a lot to plant dissent in

provincial life'. Yet, several years before the rise of Quakerism dissent was a national problem

particularly in 1645 and 1646. Dissent in the country stemmed from Parliamentary army, and their lack

of religious discipline among the ranks.[97] With Durham and Newcastle positioned between the Scottish,

Royalist and Parliamentarian armies, the initial seedbeds of dissent that Quakerism emerged from were

sown in the 1640s.

Across Durham and Newcastle religious communities were established in the 1640s through the

appointment of new ministers. Parliament provided religious provisions for the appointment of godly

ministers across Durham, Newcastle and Northumberland in August and September 1644. Four

provisions of £150 per annum were allotted to Durham City to fill parish vacancies there. Two more

ministers were sent to Newcastle by the House of Commons. Yet, these few provisions were still not

enough to fill the extensive vacancies.[98] In 1645, the need for a preaching ministry in Durham and

Northumberland was again recognised with three ministers sent to preach at Durham Cathedral, one

was sent to Barnard Castle and six were split between Newcastle, Alnwick, Berwick, Ovingham, Belford

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[95] Roger Howell, 'The Structure of Urban Politics in the English Civil War,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* 11. 2 (1979), p. 117.
[96] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 118.
[97] Ibid., pp. 345-347.
[98] *Commons Journal*, 3, pp. 597, 644-645; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p. 219.

and Caram.[99] Among the new clergy was the previously deprived Newcastle minister Robert Jenison.

Others appointed during this period became zealous anti-Quaker opponents in the 1650s, including

Presbyterian Cuthbert Sydenham, who vigorously opposed John Lilburne and the Levellers and later

Quaker James Nayler, and Independent William Durant.[100] In 1646, Presbyterian Richard Prideaux also

joined the cohort of Newcastle ministers, and became another member of the anti-Quaker movement in

1653.[101] Along with the placement of ministers, a separatist Baptist congregation also formed during the

Parliamentary army's quartering of troops in Newcastle in 1647. Introduced to the town through the

influence of Col. Paul Hobson, the Baptist church was maintained through the leadership of Thomas

Gower. By 1649, the congregation was permanently established and was tolerated by the town's

authorities, with services held in the chapel of St Thomas on the Tyne Bridge.[102]

Despite the town's toleration of the Newcastle Baptist community and varying degrees of

Puritanism, Independency and Presbyterianism in the 1640s, religious and lay authorities were less

inclined to welcome the Quaker movement to the region in 1653. Quaker George Whitehead described

how Newcastle authorities rounded-up individuals holding Quaker meetings and marched them out of

the town's jurisdiction.[103] Quaker James Nayler's ministerial work in the region caused such concern

among the recently appointed Newcastle ministers, Welde, Cole, Prideaux, Hammond and Durant that

they produced a series of publications denouncing the religious beliefs of the sect.[104] In contrast, in the

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[99]*Lords Journals*, 8, p. 411, accessed June 2013 [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/]; *Commons Journal*, 7, pp. 560, 600, accessed June 2013 [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/]; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution,* p. 22.
[100] See Chapter 3 for the dispute between the Newcastle ministers and James Nayler in 1653.
[101] Ibid., p. 226; *Pharisee under Monkish Holiness* (London, 1654), Wing / C5045; Thomas Welde, William Cole, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond and William Durant, *A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers* (Gateside, 1654), Wing / W1268; Also see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the anti-Quaker disputation with Quaker minister James Nayler.
[102] Howell, 'Conflict and Controversy in the early Baptist movement in Northumberland,' *AA*, 5, 14 (1986), pp. 83-85; Richard Greaves, 'Col. Paul Hobson,' *DNB* (2004).
[103] George Whitehead to John Dove, account of the first meetings in Gateshead and Newcastle, quoted from John William Steel, *A historical Sketch of the Society of Friends* (London, 1899), pp. 5-6; Chapter 3.
[104] Thomas Welde, William Cole, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond and William Durant, *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness;* James Nayler, *An Answer to the Booke called The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish*

adjoining parish of Gateshead, just south of Newcastle and the River Tyne, the election of a delinquent

preacher to fill the vacant parish, who did not fall in line with the theological rigors found among the

Newcastle clergy, made it the ideal Quaker meeting place.[105] Gateshead's position outside the

jurisdictional boundaries of Newcastle, made it a more hospitable location for Quakers in Newcastle and

the surrounding parishes.[106]

Dissenting and vociferous congregations were found in parishes across the Bishopric in the

1640s. Congregations in Newcastle, Sunderland, Barnard Castle, Darlington, and Muggleswick openly

expressed their expectations for religious worship to their ministers. With the exception of the

Monkwearmouth congregation Sunderland and a Baptist congregation in Newcastle, the parishioners''

positions were not necessarily sectarian or separatists, but they were working within their parish to

develop the type of religious experience they wanted.[107] The recorded disputes with parish ministers

identify many of the laity in Durham and Newcastle as Protestant conformists with a tolerance for

religious zeal.[108] Yet, how an individual internalised their religious belief remains unclear. All parishes

that have been identified as a specific Protestant group were labelled based upon well-known

individuals in the parishes. George Lilburne's tendency towards Presbyterianism coupled with his

prominent position of authority in Sunderland led to the Monkwearmouth congregation's association

with the Presbyterian movement. In Newcastle, the arrival of Robert Jenison in 1620, and further

Puritan, Presbyterian and Independent ministers in the 1640s and 1650s gave the town the appearance

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Holinesse (London, 1654), Thomason / E.738[16]; Thomas Weld, Richard Prideaux, et al., *A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers*; James Nayler, *A Discovery of the man of Sin* (London, 1654), Thomason / E.735[2]; Chapter 3.

[105] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 228; Howell suggests that the Newcastle minister was anti-Puritan Elizason Gilbert who is listed in the Gateshead Vestry Book on 8 May 1647.

[106] See Chapter 3; For an explanation for why the Quaker meeting is called the Newcastle Monthly Meeting but they met in Gateshead see Chapter 1.

[107] The Baptist congregation in Newcastle will be discussed in Chapter 3. Their congregation was certainly separate to the other ministries in the town, but they were working in conjunction with the town's ministers and lay authorities; Howell, 'Conflict and Controversy in the early Baptist movement in Northumberland: Thomas Tillam, Paul Hobson, and the False Jew of Hexham,' *AA*, 5, XIV (1986), pp. 81-98

[108] Heal, The Reformation in Britain and Ireland, p. 484.

of a radical Protestant stronghold.[109] Yet with the arrival of the Quakers in the 1653, and the appearance

of an instantaneous development of their meetings, it becomes clear that the influences of these

congregations was not one of strict religious adherence but rather of individualism and independent

religious thought. The first generation of Quaker converts derived from this tradition of dissent and

individualism, a tradition that encouraged the laity to openly seek their religious requirements. It was no

coincidence that Quaker ministers focused on areas not deprived of religious enlightenment, as

previously suggested by Hill, but rather they focused on parishes where the laity were open to

questioning the means to salvation, especially in a social and religious atmosphere that espoused

millenarian beliefs.[110] Parishes across the Bishopric were given the foundations of Protestant belief, but

by the middle of the seventeenth-century a continuous lack of permanent ministering clergy meant

individuals were still seeking religious guidance. It was this lack of religious leadership that made the

individualistic message of Quakerism an attractive alternative to the parish church. In Newcastle,

Sunderland, Barnard Castle, Stockton and Derwent, Quaker ministers found individuals willing to listen

and accept the Quaker message of the light. Yet, to understand an individual's leap from a predestined

Calvinist theology to the internal salvation of the inner light in Quakerism the theological progression of

Quakerism needs to be explored in more detail.

Quakers as Puritans

David Como commented that many sectarian forms of religion 'were assimilated under the

rubric of 'radical Puritanism'.[111] Another historian has noted that the extreme individualism among

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[109] Chapter 3 will discuss the Independent and Puritan ministers in more detail through an examination of their print disputation with James Nayler in 1653; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 70-71; 85-87.

[110] Hill, 'Dark Corners,' p. 40; Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, *A study in seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London, 1972), chapter 2.

[111] David R. Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660,' *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (eds.) (Cambridge, 2008), p. 241.

many religious sectarians has led historians to label them as '"Left-wing Puritan sects"'.[112] Placing radical

religious groups along the spectrum of English Puritanism has led religious sectarians of the mid-

seventeenth century to be classified as a furthering degree of the radical Puritan tradition. Edmund

Morgan noted that 'the most hotly contested religious differences have often been differences of

degree: the shift from orthodoxy to heresy may be no more than a shift of emphases'.[113] However, given

the differences in theological belief, especially the Quaker rejection of Calvinism, can Quakerism still be

considered part of the Puritan theological spectrum? Some scholars have argued that a move from

orthodox Calvinist theology means the Quaker movement can no longer be considered a part of the

Puritan tradition. Recently, Melvin Endy argued that beliefs found among the Civil War and

Commonwealth sects, placed them, including the Quakers, outside the spectrum of Puritanism. The

Quaker belief in private communication with God through a personal internal light, was the differing

degree that shifted Quakers into the heretical category of religious belief, and outside the realm of

Puritanism.[114]

Nevertheless, in the second half of the twentieth century historians gradually broadened the

definition of a 'Puritan,' to fit sectarian religious beliefs under the umbrella of the Puritan religious

tradition, whether they theologically belonged there or not. Larry Ingle described this process, and the

placement of Quakers within Puritanism, as a kind of 'ecumenicist plot,' undertaken by Quaker

historians. They toned down the revolutionary elements of the movement and sought to 'sanitize

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[112] Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c. 1558-1660,' p. 241; G. Huehns, *Antinomianism in English History: With special reference to the period 1640-1660* (London, 1951).

[113] Edmund Morgan, *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* (New York, 1967), p. 11; Endy, 'Puritanism, Spiritualism and Quakerism,' p. 13.

[114] Endy, 'Puritanism, Spiritualism and Quakerism,' pp. 1-13; Endy, 'The interpretation of Quakerism: Rufus Jones and his Critics,' *Quaker History*, 70, 1 (Spring, 1981), pp. 3-21; H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings,' *Quaker History*, 76, 2 (Fall, 1987), pp. 79-94; Donald F. Durnbaugh, 'Baptists and Quakers – Left Wing Puritans?,' *Quaker History*, 62, 2 (Autumn, 1973), pp. 67-82.

Quakerism and place it within the safe and sane world of acceptable Christianity'.[115] Yet, when

Quakerism is stacked against Puritan theology a divergence in religious beliefs placed the Quaker

movement outside the realm of Puritanism. In particular, the Puritan adherence to a strict Calvinist

theology, and the belief that a minority of predestined individuals have been elected as saved, was

rejected by Quakers in the 1650s. Quakers instead promoted universal salvation through an inner moral

guide known as the inner light.[116] James Nayler described the Quaker belief in salvation in 1653. 'The

Kingdom of God is within you,' he explained. 'And the way to the Kingdom within you, and the light that

guides into the way and keeps in the way is within'.[117]

The Quaker rejection of Calvinism led to reformed views on 'election, revelation through

Scripture, justification by imputation, [and] original sin'. Additionally, the belief that worship and

sermons consisted of the 'Word expounded from Scripture and the sacraments,' was denied by the early

Quakers.[118] These differing theological viewpoints meant members of the Society of Friends cannot be

regarded strictly as Puritans. Geoffrey Nuttall noted that there was something genuinely contrary to

Puritan belief and Quakerism, but he was hesitant to state definitively that Quakers were not a part of

the left-wing Puritan spectrum.[119] Endy, however, has acknowledged that Quakers do not fit the Puritan

profile, but rather each falls into two separate religious groups, linked, perhaps, as distant cousins. This

led him to conclude that if Quakers were Puritans 'in the proper sense, then I'm a monkey's uncle'.[120]

Quakers did not adhere to Calvinism, and thus cannot be strictly defined as Puritan. Nevertheless, a

continuity of religious experience between Puritans and Quakers cannot be ignored. The organisation of

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[115] H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to radicalism,' pp. 82, 84; Ingle was particular referring to Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, (London, 1912); Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (York, 1919); Hugh Barbour, *The Quarters in Puritan England* (Yale, 1964).

[116] Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of popular Protestantism,' p. 1.

[117] James Nayler, *The Power of the glory of the Lord shining out of the north* (London, 1653), Thomason / E.711[2], p. 1; Quoted in, Peters, *Print Culture*, p. 156.

[118] Endy, 'Puritanism, Spiritualism and Quakerism,' p. 11.

[119] Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 13, 151; Also see, Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1957).

[120] Ibid., pp. 8, 13.

Quaker ministers and meetings near or at established Puritan, Presbyterian or Baptists congregations in the north-east was not a coincidence, and Quaker leaders used a commonality in experience and religious outlook as tools for conversion.[121]

The Society of Friends' religious tradition was neither a manifestation of extreme Puritanism nor were they a non-Puritan group; rather, they were part of a wider religious kinship group, sharing a similar social and cultural framework to Puritans. As one historian noted, personal experience of the divine should be 'filtered through the realities that marked English society of the time'.[122] During the Interregnum the desire for Protestant godliness in the nation, such as regulating worship, curbing vices such as drunkenness and indebtedness, bridged cultural differences between radical Protestants and Quakers.[123] Such similarities led Sir Henry Vane the Younger and Oliver Cromwell to regard radical sectarians in the 1640s and 1650s as part of a collective social and religious kinship network.[124] They shared similar religious and cultural beliefs, but their understanding of salvation was substantially different. Yet, while Vane and Cromwell could tolerate the Quakers, more orthodox Puritans found Quaker views and their ministering tactics to be heretical and socially dangerous. Kate Peters found that the two major strands of Quaker belief in the 1650s, millenarianism and the inner light, 'w[ere] fundamentally at odds with the tenets' of a national church. Early Quakerism was ill-defined, and 'in a state of doctrinal and organisational flux'. The fear of the social and political implications of Quaker beliefs on English society led Puritan ministers to demonstrate their religious objections through pamphleteering.[125] The print disputations between Quakers and their opponents provide an indication

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[121] Lewis Ray, Rambo, *Understanding religious conversion* (Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 11-17.

[122] Ingle,' From mysticism to radicalism,' p. 85.

[123] Bernard Capp, *England's Cultrue Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), p. 13.

[124] Barbour*, The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp. 28-29; David Parnham, 'The Nurturing of Righteousness: Sir Henry Vane on Freedom and Discipline,' *The Journal of British Studies* 42, 01 (2003), p. 4.

[125] Peters, *Print Culture,* pp. 156, 177; Chapter 3 discusses print disputations through a debate between Quakers and ministers in Newcastle.

of contemporary views on Quakers, and members of the Quaker movement were outside the boundary

of acceptable religious practice.

The historical framework that proposed a Puritan-Quaker network of religious belief, hinged on

the belief of an internal Spirit within each individual. Before the evolution of the Quaker movement,

Puritans developed a type of understanding in an internal light that 'linked the Spirit with direct

"leanings."' These leanings were interpreted as a 'specific impulse to act or speak'.[126] When preaching in

Durham and Northumberland, Puritan itinerant minister Anthony Lapthorne emphasised the necessity

of internalising the Word of God from within the hearer.[127] However, unlike Quakers, hearing the Word

from within did not guarantee salvation. Puritans across the religious spectrum generally agreed, all

men were born with a degree of natural light, left-over from the creation, but this light did not

guarantee or provide a path towards salvation.[128] To obtain salvation the workings of the Spirit needed

to be drawn from careful study of the Bible, a scripturalist notion that Quakers vehemently rejected. For

Friends, the inner light negated the need to study scripture because the light was God's word, and the

only guidance needed for obtaining salvation.[129]

Like Puritans, Friends recognised the significance of the Holy Spirit in salvation, but the degree

to which the Spirit could provide salvation was the dividing line between the two points of view.

Quakers regarded the inherent natural light to be the saving power for all individuals. '[T]his light it is in

every one, waiting in it to receive Christ'.[130]Quaker leader George Fox's *To all that would know the way*

to the Kingdome of Satan (1654), outlined the benefits of accepting the inner light.

> Christ hath enlightened thee withal, thou brings thy works to the light, that thy deeds may be
> proved that they are wrought in God; and he that walks in the light, there is no occasion of

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[126] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, p. 26.
[127] James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, p. 195.
[128] Davies, pp. 15-16; Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, pp. 5-7, 20-30, 42-44, 161-162; The presence of a natural light will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 through the debate between James Nayler and several Newcastle ministers.
[129] See, George Fox, *To all that would know the way to the Kingdome, of Satan Whether they be in forms, without forms, or got above all forms*, (1654), Thomason / E.732[8].
[130] Fox, *To all that would know the way to the Kingdome,* p. 6.

> stumbling in him, it teacheth righteousness and holiness, it will keep thee from lying, and not let thee lye, and keep thee in tenderness of conscience towards God and man, and never let thee swear, it will check thee if thou drift; the light will not let thee take Gods name in vain, it will let thee see if thou dost, thou must not go unpunished; And will never let thee follow drunkenness, nor vain company...[131]

The acceptance of the light overcame the uncertainty and fear of being among the select number of predestined individuals. Furthermore, with the rise of millenarian hopes and fears in the 1640s, the light within relieved individuals of fears of election at the impending second coming. It was this rise of millenarianism and a fear of salvation that encouraged the spread of Quakerism throughout the country.[132] With the return of Christ not only prophesied, but expected in the millennium, individuals were naturally drawn to a godly path that would guarantee them perfection and salvation.

By accepting the inner light early Quakers argued that biblical study for the purpose of receiving revelations, ministers, sermons and church services were no longer necessary to hear and interpret God's Word. Instead, his Word came directly from within each individual willing to listen. George Fox explained in his *Way to the Kingdome* that 'the Gospel is free to every creature' because everyone was born with the light they have ability to discern God's message. The Gospel, whether through sermons or the physical book, should 'not be bought and sold for money: Oh shameless men, that tell people the letter is the word, and buy and sell it for money, which is but a declaration of the word, and the grace is free'.[133] The denial of the Bible as a source of authority challenged traditional church worship and hierarchy. In the early years of the movement, Quaker proselytisers argued acceptance and submission to the light within negated the need for religious institutions, ministers and doctrines, because it was

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[131] Ibid., p. 1

[132] Geoffrey Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints, 1640-1660* (Cardiff, 1957), pp. 46, 70-71; Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 35, 97; Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men, A Study in seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London, 1972), Chapter 2.

[133] Fox, *To all that would know the way to the Kingdome,* pp. 12-13.

the inner Holy Spirit they were obedient to.[134] One Quaker minister, Richard Hubberthorn, explained the

purpose of Scripture in religious worship. He argued that Puritans 'numbered thy self amongst those

whom Christ commanded to search the Scriptures...and in that Scripture thou may read thy condition

and the rest of the priests with thee'. By denying the light within an individual would not hear 'his voice

at any time nor seen his shape, and ye have not his word abiding in you'.[135] For Quakers, without an

acceptance and adherence to the light within an individual could not truly know God or find salvation.

Despite the Quakers' anti-Calvinist and anti-Clerical positions, there was a noticeable lack of

originality in the early Quaker religious message, proving a demonstration of how Protestant theological

traditions evolved among religious groups.[136] Quakers reinterpreted salvific potential to mean an

acceptance of Christ through embracing an inner light found within each individual. Like Quakers,

General Baptists rejected the Calvinist ideology of a select number of predestined individuals, and

instead preached a doctrine of a general and universal grace for anyone who believed in Christ. The

Quaker belief in the inner light as the primary interpreter of faith was similar to the Familitst's belief in

prelapsairan innocence by which 'only the spirit of God within the believer can properly understand the

Scripture'.[137] Religious groups in the mid-seventeenth century shared numerous intersecting religious

beliefs on salvation and an individual's connection to God. The theological connections between

Quakers in the 1650s and their dissenting predecessors and contemporaries were not coincidental.

Many early Quaker leaders had some connections or experience with varying religious ideologies prior

to their conversion. James Nayler was an Independent during his time in the Parliamentary Army, John

Lilburne was a Leveller and Gerrard Winstanley was a Digger, but despite their varied religious

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[134] Mary Cochran Grimes, 'Saving Grace among Puritans and Quakers: A Study of 17th and 18th century conversion experiences,' *Quaker History*, 72, 1 (Spring, 1983), p.5; Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, pp. 15-16; Nuttal, *Holy Spirit*, pp. 5-7, 20-30, 42-44, 161-162.

[135] Richard Hubberthorn, *The Innocency of the righteous seed of God cleared from all slanderous tongues and false accusers* (1655), Thomason / E.845[4], pp. 4-5.

[136] For examples see Geoffrey Nuttall's *The Holy Spirit in Puritan faith and experience* (Oxford, 1946).

[137] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

backgrounds each found a commonality of belief among the early Quakers.[138] Based on theological

beliefs, the first Quakers were not Puritan, but they did have a shared kinship found in a continuity of

religious, social and economic experiences. Recognising the similarities in experience between religious

dissenters and the rest of society reminds us that Quakers were not just the movement but individual

people actively contributing and interacting in the wider community.

Conclusion

In 1580, one observer noted that in northern England 'heapes of our people' abandoned

'popery,' but continued to remain in 'an utter ignorance of the truth'. [139] In the seventeenth century, this

assessment changed very little when Benjamin Rudyard compared northern England to the non-

Christian Native Americans of North America.[140] These perceptions of northern England were certainly

over exaggerated generalisations, but they also had some truth behind them. Finding ministers to fill

Durham's parishes was still a problem, and those ministers in the region often catered to several

parishes. In April 1647, *The Moderate Intelligencer* noted the problem of providing regular sermons in

the parishes, and it especially noted a fear that parishes were electing delinquent ministers simply to

have a name attached to vacant parishes. It was probably no coincidence that a month later

Gateshead's minister was recorded in their parish record book as delinquent.[141] There were remote

parishes with a continuous lack of ministering and religious education, but in Durham many laity in the

parishes benefited from a campaign of reforms in education and ministering. The first generation of

Quakers in County Durham and Newcastle descended from a century's long tradition of religious reform

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[138] William G. Bittle, *James Nayler* (York, 1986), pp. 6-7; Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and early Quaker Culture*, (Manchester, 2011), p. 19.

[139] Thomas Cartwright, *A generall confession of sinnes to be made at the exercise of fasting*, (1580), *Elizabethan Nonconformists Texts,* Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (eds.), i (1957), p. 114, quoted from, Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, pp. 200- 202; Further examples of religious deprivation in Hill, 'Dark Corners,' pp. 3-11.

[140] *Memoirs of Sir Benjamin Rudyard*, J.A. Manning (ed.), (London, 1841), pp. 135-6.

[141] *The Moderate Intelligencer*, 108 (1-8 April 1647), Thomason, 61:e.383[22]; Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 228.

and Protestant evangelicalism. When the first Quaker ministers arrived in Durham they were not

converting religiously destitute individuals, but rather religiously informed individuals searching for a

way to salvation.

The intention in this evaluation has not been to suggest that all Quakers in England descended

from the same social and religious influences, but rather to highlight the long term factors that impacted

individuals in a single region. The Quaker movement in Durham benefited from a longstanding

Protestant tradition in proselytising and education, and with further research into Durham's court

records and parish registers in the 1630, 1640s and 1650s, it is likely that even more evidence can be

found on the genealogy of religious traditions among the laity.

In the next chapter, an examination of Quaker ministering in the early 1650s, and the

development of the Quaker organisation in Durham and Newcastle from 1653 to 1659 will be explored.

The experiences of individual converts and the wider reaction to Quakerism in the region will continue

to highlight that Quakerism was not spontaneously accepted, but rather the movement was a

progression in a long tradition of religious evangelicalism.

Chapter 3: 'The Chymericall Notion of those giddy tymes': Early Quaker ministering and Durham's development of a Quaker community, 1653-1659[1]

Introduction

Describing Quakerism in Durham, Geoffrey Nuttall asserted that the movement in the 1650s 'sprang up quickly in the Bishoprick but had no depth of earth and when persecution and affliction came, it withered away'.[2] This chapter will contest this assumption of rapid enthusiasm in the 1650s that quickly waned after the end of religious freedom in 1659. Nuttall, like many of his contemporary Quaker historians, fell into the trap of believing the seventeenth-century destitution literature in which individuals in Northern England were described as backwards and irreligious.[3] If contemporary assessments of the North as religiously destitute are believed, then the rise of Quaker meetings in Durham and Newcastle in 1653 certainly does give the appearance of a quick acceptance to a radical protestant religion. However as Chapter 1 and 2 have already discussed, the religious and economic landscape of Durham and Newcastle was vibrant and undergoing a dramatic transformation in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Remnants of Catholic belief and practice were unremitting and continuing to evolve in pockets of Durham society, but the growing economic significance of the region accentuated a call for protestant religious reform through education and evangelical ministering. By 1653, Durham and Newcastle were hardly destitute of religiosity or Protestant belief and worship in the parishes. As the last chapter showed, by the 1640s there were pockets of Presbyterians, Puritans and Independents across the region, and Quaker ministers found receptive audiences near parishes with these influences.

This chapter explores the rise of the Quaker movement in Durham and Newcastle in the 1650s. The movement of evangelical Quaker ministers into Durham from Yorkshire, and the influence of local

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[1] TNA, SP29/49/27; *CSPD,* (Jan. 9 1662), (Jan. 16 1662), pp. 239; 244.

[2] Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and Quakerism in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal* (June, 1944), p. 97.

[3] Ibid.; Chapter 2; Richard Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1969); Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (Yale, 1964).

individuals, such as prominent local figure and Quaker convert Anthony Pearson, will be discussed.

Reactions to the growing movement by religious authorities will be explored, and the significance

between convincement of the inner light and the full conversion experience will be discussed in relation

to the formation of community in Durham and Newcastle and throughout the country. As the meetings

developed over the course of the 1650s members formed a religious and social community based on the

fundamental precepts of the parish; this construction of community became the foundations for the

post-Restoration Society of Friends in County Durham and Newcastle from 1660 onwards.

"Enthusiastic" Quakers and ministering in north-east England

The importance of charisma cannot be underestimated in the dissemination of Quaker ideology

in the late 1640s and early 1650s.[4] Douglas Barnes used the seventeenth-century Quaker leaders as

examples in his 1978 case study on charismatic religious leadership. He found that a shared

characteristic of religious leaders, in any century, was their ability to create order out of chaos in the

minds of their audience.[5] Quaker evangelists were able to convert large groups of individuals through

powerful religious rhetoric and by appealing to personal experiences.[6] The disorder and upheavals of

the Civil Wars and their impact on individuals became ministering tools to engage with their listeners.

Furthermore, the Quaker message appealed to peopels' curiosity with ministers preached an

innovatative outlook to an already known Christian belief.[7] The charismatic elements of the Quaker

movement have frequently been attributed to Quaker ministers known as the First Publishers of Truth

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[4] See, Douglas F. Barnes, 'Charisma and religious leadership: An historical analysis,' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* 17, 1 (March, 1978).
[5] Ibid., p. 12.
[6] Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester, 2011), p. 37.
[7] Later in this chapter the belief in the Inner light will be discussed in more detail through the publication *The Perfect Pharisee;* Barnes, 'Charisma and religious leadership,' p. 3.

or the Valiant Sixty.[8] These individuals were Quaker writers and ministers. They were often prominent individuals within the Quaker movement, and helped to foster a nationwide Quaker movement. Among these charismatic individuals was George Fox, who was believed to be the first proponent of Quakerism in England.

Fox was born in the village of Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire in July 1624. He noted in his *Journal* that from eleven years old he 'knew pureness and righteousness' and upheld purity in his own life. However, he noticed that others did not maintain such a godly livelihood, and instead chose to live 'in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation'.[9] As he grew-up, Fox noticed the hypocrisy of belief found among his friends and family, and in September 1643, the voice of God command him to break off 'all family or fellowship with young and old'.[10] Fox's religious crisis began as a search for righteousness and purity in inward and outward belief. He expected individuals not only to profess and believe in the word of God, but also to show their belief in everyday life. For the next four years, he travelled the Midland counties in search of this spiritual truth. During this period of searching he came to the conclusion that the natural light that many Puritans believed was a means of interpreting scripture, was actually 'superior to any other means of ascertaining the true desire of God'.[11] The internal light was a direct link with God, a discovery that fuelled Fox's desire to convince others that God's truths and salvation can be determined if the light within was accepted and followed.[12] In 1647, he travelled among Seeker and Baptist communities in the East Midlands and successfully convinced some of their number of the power of the light within.

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[8] See, Elfrida Vipont, *George Fox And The Valiant Sixty* (Quaker Press, 1997); Frank C. Huntington, Jr., 'Quakerism during the commonwealth: The Experience of the Light,' *Quaker History*, 71, 2 (Fall, 1982), pp. 69-88.
[9] George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox,* Norman Penney (ed.), (New York, 2007), pp. 1-2.
[10] Fox, *Journal,* pp. 2-3; Lewis R. Rambo, 'Charisma and Conversion,' *Pastoral Psychology*, 31, 2 (Winter, 1982), p. 97; William G. Bittle, *James Nayler 1618-1660. The Quaker Indicted by Parliament* (York, 1996), p. 7.
[11] Hugh Barbour*, The Quakers in Puritan England* (Yale, 1964), pp. 28-29.
[12] Fox, *Journal,* p. 6.

Despite a growing number of followers, Fox believed he was under continued internal and external temptation, forcing him to travel throughout Nottinghamshire and his home county of Leicestershire in search of further spiritual understandings.[13] In October 1650, he was charged with blasphemy for publicly preaching direct revelations from God. Found guilty, he was imprisoned at Derby goal until October 1651.[14] Imprisonment did not deter Fox from spreading the religious message, and once released he turned his ministering attentions to Yorkshire. Two possible reasons may have influenced Fox's move northwards. First, while in Derby prison Fox recalled in his *Journal* his devout Puritan family's attempts to persuade him to end his blasphemous preaching and return home. Fox recalled that once released from prison he refused his parent's pleas, and ties were cut between him and his family.[15] Leaving the Midlands may have been a means of distancing himself from his family and individuals hostile towards his message. However, as a retrospective account, Fox's *Journal* cannot be used as a completely reliable source. His *Journal* was published four years after his death in 1694, and was heavily edited and added to by the editors as a testimony to Fox's leadership in the early Quaker movement. The writing and publication of the *Journal* was intended to create continuity in the history of the religious group,[16] and for this reason a more reliable possibility for Fox's move north can be found among the Swarthmore letters.

While in Derby prison, Fox was contacting dissenting religious communities throughout Yorkshire, including Doncaster, Warmsworth and Tickhill.[17] His success converting Seekers and Baptists in the Midlands may have given him valuable connections to these communities in the North; thus providing likely locations for his next ministering efforts. In Yorkshire, Fox preached at Doncaster, Balby and Wakefield, and as he travelled he met and converted several men who would become prominent

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[13] William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1919), pp. 28-29.
[14] Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 56-55.
[15] Ibid., pp. 58; Fox, *Journal*, pp. 79.
[16] *The Journal of George Fox,* John L. Nichalls (ed.), (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 536, 581, 594.
[17] Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* pp. 58; 'Farnsworth to Fox,' Swarth. Mss., 3.53 (1653).

Quaker proselytizers and writers in the 1650s, including Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler.[18] From Yorkshire, Fox moved towards the north-west of England, preaching the salvation of the inner light and persuading the newly converted to spread the message as well. In 1652, he visited Swarthmore Hall in Lancashire, a refuge for travelling protestant ministers, and persuaded Margaret Fell, the wife of a local judge, to support the Quaker movement.[19] Her conversion transformed Swarthmore Hall into the movement's headquarters, with Fell as the administrator and overseer of the movement. Itinerant Quaker ministers wrote to Fell about their preaching efforts in the country, the reception they received in the towns and villages and the establishment of meetings. The legacy of these letters survives through the Swarthmore manuscript collection.[20]

Following Fox's initial visit to Yorkshire, supporters of the new movement began systematically evangelising in parishes throughout northern England; with the exception of County Durham and Northumberland which were left relatively untouched by travelling ministers. Letters collected at Swarthmore Hall before 1653 provide little indication of Durham or Northumberland as locations for possible conversion efforts.[21] The reason for this neglect remains unclear, but despite the lack of a conversion agenda the Quaker message did not go unheard in Durham or Newcastle. One study has suggested that the county's coastal trade introduced individuals to the movement through trading routes in ports such as Newcastle, Shields and Sunderland.[22] Throughout the country, port towns acted as newsagents with traders and merchants gathering information orally or in print from across the continent, London and along the coasts of England and Scotland.[23] When traders arrived in towns such

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[18] Bittle, *James Nayler,* p. 8; Both will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[19] Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 13-14; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 98-101

[20] Kate Peters, *The Print Culture of the Early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 60; The manuscript collection is located at the Friends House library in London.

[21] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England,* pp. 42-49.

[22] Marjorie Ann Trotter, 'Of Sailing Ships, and Sealing Wax, And ancient Quaker Meetings: The Religious Society of Friends in Sunderland 1653-1705,' (University of Sunderland MPhil, 1999) pp. 158-160.

[23] Ian Atherton, 'The Itch grown a disease: manuscript transmission of news in the seventeenth-century,' *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, Joad Raymond (ed.), (London, 1999), pp. 39-40.

as Newcastle, Sunderland or Tynemouth news from across the country was disseminated to the wider population.[24]

Dissemination through in-land trading routes would also have occurred. Vann suggested that commercial ties 'were often converted into channels of evangelism,' and as individuals made trips for business 'they were exposed to new ideas'.[25] Trade and community relationships between North Yorkshire and County Durham likely contributed to the spread of Quakerism in Durham prior to 1653; with the county border as a porous boundary between individuals in North Yorkshire and southern Durham. Political and jurisdictional boundaries defined the differences between the towns and villages along the border, but similarities through an agricultural society with shared trading connections, meant people moved fluidly between the regions.[26] Richard Robinson of Countersett, North Yorkshire converted to Quakerism in 1652, and soon after began a campaign of ministering throughout Durham and North Yorkshire. He preached at major market towns such as Barnard Castle, Bishop Auckland, Darlington, Stockton, Yarm, Thirsk and Northallerton.[27] The selection of these towns indicates Robinson's familiarity with the region, as well the people living there. Barnard Castle was an important market centre in Teesdale, Bishop Auckland was not only a market town, but also an episcopal centre, with the Bishop of Durham's palace located near the town's centre. Both Stockton and Yarm maintained costal trading connections along the east coast and with London. Where Robinson preached in the towns is unknown (churchyard, market, ect.), but like many of his Quaker counterparts, it was likely he spoke on market days, when the towns would have been busiest.[28]

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[24] See*, The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe,* Brenden Dooley (ed.), (Farnham, 2010).

[25] Vann, *The Society Development of English Quakerism*, pp. 13, 67-70; Margaret Spufford, 'The Importance of Religion,' *The World of Rural Dissenters,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), p. 57.

[26] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly necessities: Economic lives in Early Modern Britain*, (Yale, 2002), pp. 96-98; *Regional Identities in north-east England, 1300-2000,* Adrian Green and A.J. Pollard (eds.), (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 6-13.

[27] David S. Hall, *Richard Robinson*, (York, 1994) p. xv.

[28]See, Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a sign,"' *Quaker History*, 67, 2 (Autumn, 1978), pp. 69-87.

The heretical implications of the inner light doctrine, and the enthusiastic, often disruptive nature of Quaker ministering in the 1650s, produced various reactions among communities. Word of mouth of this new religious movement spread as people travelled to and from the market towns. As Bernard Capp has shown, gossip was 'ubiquitous in early modern England'. It 'played a key role in moulding local public opinion' and in the politics of the parish.[29] News of preaching in a public place or the interruption of church services (as many Quakers did) would have been exchanged 'in the street, alehouse, or market, at church, working in the fields or sheltering from the rain, even at deathbeds and funerals'.[30] Gossip and rumours would have helped disseminate the Quaker's message and make it known to communities where Quaker ministers had yet to establish a permanent presence.

A pre-established ideological base can also be inferred from the speed in which the first Quaker meetings were established in Durham in the 1650s. A letter by James Nayler in 1653 described the first organised Quaker meetings in southern Durham as large and open to the message; but whether these individuals were already convinced of a light within and the Quaker message prior to their attendance at Nayler's meetings, or were simply curious onlookers, remains unclear.[31] Nayler's letter describing the early meetings was short but significant. Written in 1653, he reported to George Fox on the willingness of the people in northern England to hear the message of the inner light, and the conversion of individual people. At Barnard Castle where a radical Protestant presence had been established since the early part of the century, Nayler found 'a great Meetinge of people, & greate desires to heare,' but also 'not a word of opposition did I heare' from the people. In the same letter Nayler reported that with his success in Barnard Castle, he 'was moved to goe over Stainemore,' a village less than 20 miles from

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[29] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), p. 272; Steve Hindle, 'The shaming of Margaret Knowsley: gossip, gender and the experience of authority in early modern England,' *Continuity and Change*, 9, 3 (December, 1994), pp. 3-4.

[30] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p. 272; For examples of Quaker evangelical methods in England see, Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* chapters 6-8; Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp.40-52.

[31] Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 111-114.

Barnard Castle in Westmorland.[32] Like many early Quaker ministers, Nayler wrote to Margret Fell,

George Fox and other Quaker leaders to describe their reception in the towns and villages they were

ministering.

The Quaker message was not always received kindly, and Quaker ministers did not shy away

from expressing instances of abuse or persecution in an attempt to unify the movement through

common instances of suffering for religious belief.[33] Persecution against Quakers was an amalgamating

force, and presumably, any negative reaction to his ministering in Durham would have been recorded by

Nayler as evidence of suffering for his religious convictions, but Nayler only mentions how receptive his

audiences in Durham were. As Chapter 2 discussed, Barnard Castle's parishioners had clear and

expressed expectations for religious worship in the 1630s, with parishioners fighting amongst each other

over the outward practice of religious services.[34] Some opposition to Nayler and other Quaker ministers

would have been expected, yet none exists in his letter to Fox. Nayler may have been trying to attract

more ministers to Durham, and therefore under-reported instances of abuse, but is equally likely that he

encountered an open and willing audience in Barnard Castle. The influence of the protestant Bowes

family and the itinerant preaching of Anthony Lapthorne in the first half of the seventeenth century

created a community open to the message of the inner light.

Nayler's optimistic view of the people in Durham may also have been prompted by the

conversion of prominent Durham resident, Anthony Pearson. The significance of Pearson's conversion to

the movement prompted a note to George Fox by Thomas Taylor in 1653. Writing from Richmond,

Taylor explained to Fox that 'Pearson the justice who was on the bench at the first trial of James Nayler

[was] convinced of the Truth. He dwells not far from this place'.[35] Nayler's ministering in Durham

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[32] Swarth. Trs., 'Nayler to Fox,' 2, (1653), p. 841.
[33] Peters, *Print Culture*, p. 40.
[34] Chapter 2, p. 13; DUSC, DCD/D/SJB/4, (1637), Barnard Castle.
[35] FHL, 'T. Taylor to G. ff.' Port 31/123 (18 May 1652); Pearson and his conversion will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

coincided with Pearson's conversion to Quakerism. Following his release from Appleby prison, Nayler

wrote to Fox of 'goinge downe the dailes & towards the Bishopricke'.[36] In 1653, Nayler also wrote of a

meeting held at Ramshaw Hall, Pearson's residence, in which 'divers came, who was high in wisdom, but

ye power of my father keeps all under, who is Blessed for ever'. The message of the movement, he

concluded, 'will cause a shatter in peoples minds in these parts, some much desire to see the[e]'. In a

postscript added to the letter, Nayler explained that the meeting,

> came three from about Durham one John Simkle who had knowne thee & I see how he had lost
> his Condi[tion], & did lay him open, & the witness did arise in him to owne it, & he desires much
> to have me come to his house, & I believe will be brought to waite to be recovered, he hath his
> love remembered.[37]

Nayler's reports of a willing people and many conversions were intentionally optimistic in order to show

the region's Quaker meetings could sustain themselves without him actively preaching in the region.

Nayler appeared to be contemplating leaving the county. This letter gives an indication of Fox's role as a

leading member of the movement. Nayler writes to Fox saying that at the moment God wished him to

stay. 'I dare not make my way till my father please, soe my desires are stayed in his will'. He requests

that Fox keep in touch with him and 'if thou goe away let me heare from thee as often as thou canst'.[38]

Nayler appears to have been seeking not only God's counsel, but also Fox's, on whether to continue his

ministering in Durham and move on in the country. Fox's answer has not survived, but a dispute with

the Newcastle clergy (discussed in detail later in this Chapter) and the conversion of Anthony Pearson,

appears to have kept Nayler in the region to continue his ministerial work.

Anthony Pearson's conversion, rather than divine providence, was the intervening factor

keeping Nayler in Durham for the remainder of 1653. Again writing to Fox, he indicates several letters

sent from 'Collo: Benson & also a coppie of a letter that I have sent to Justice Pearson...I should goe to

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[36] Swarth. Mss., 'Naylor to G. Fox,' 2.839, (1652).
[37] Swarth. Trs., 'Nayler to Fox,' 2, (1653), p. 841.
[38] Swarth. Trs., 'Nayler to Fox,' 2, (1653), p. 841.

Justice Pearsons house shortly'.[39] The letters indicated that Pearson was struggling with his new found

religion, and this kept Nayler in Durham to help Pearson through his conversion experience.[40] Staying in

Durham allowed Nayler to expand his ministering efforts across the region. Before visiting Pearson near

Auckland, Nayler decided to 'goe towards Barney Castle [Barnard Castle]'.[41] Here he found meetings at

'divers places' with many people coming from 'very farr, the fire is much kindled in these parts'. Later in

1653, Nayler travelled with Person towards 'ye sea coasts' in eastern Durham. Here they 'had great

meetings almost every day, ye people in these parts are high in notions, but many are brought to knowe

ye truth'.[42] During this period of ministering Nayler heard of 'six sheets' written by the Newcastle

ministers against the Quaker movement. The tract prompted him 'to write some thinge in answer'.[43]

Nayler's reply to the Newcastle clergy provoked a five pamphlet disputation on the religious beliefs of

the Quakers. The next section will explore two disputations, one with the Baptist congregation at

Hexham and the second the dispute between Nayler and the Newcastle clergy. These disputations

highlight local authority's reaction to the Quaker movement and the wider fears of disorder in society.

The Religious Disputations in Newcastle – 'The False Jew' and 'The Perfect Pharisee'

The 'six sheets,' Nayler referred to in his letter to Fox was *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish*

Holiness (1653), a tract co-written by Newcastle ministers, Thomas Weld, Richard Prideaux, Samuel

Hammond, William Durrant and William Cole. The tract was the second publication by the Newcastle

Presbyterian and Independent clergy in 1653, written in reaction to the sectarian and millenarian threat

to their parishioners. The first pamphlet was a critique of Hexham's Baptist congregation. In particular, it

criticised the leadership of the congregation's minister, Thomas Tillam, and his entanglement in a popish

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[39] Swarth. Trs., 'Naylor to Fox, 2, (1652/3), pp. 87-88.
[40] See, 'Anthony Pearson and Durham Quakerism,' in this Chapter for a further discussion of Pearson's conversion experience.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Swarth. Mss., 'Nayler to M. Fell,' 2.869, (1653).
[43] Ibid.

plot discovered in Newcastle. The Anabaptist movement had gained popularity in Newcastle through

the Parliamentary regiments assigned there in the 1640s. A permanent congregation formed under

Thomas Gower by the end of the 1640s, and despite a Presbyterian and Independent faction of

ministers in the Newcastle churches, Gower's congregation met freely with a level of acceptance in the

community. Baptist services were held in the chapel of St. Thomas on the Tyne Bridge with no recorded

opposition by the local clergy.[44]

Tillam's congregation at Hexham formed in 1652 through the sponsorship of the London Baptist

churches, and within seven months of his arrival eleven men and five women were reportedly baptised

into the congregation.[45] Writing to the London church, Tillam's congregation praised his work in

Hexham. Similar to the congregations at Muggleswick and Sunderland, Hexham's Baptist community

explained their religiously destitute state before Tilliam's arrival.[46] They explained, they were not an

organised religious people, but with his help 'we (through the grace whereby we stand), become the

people of God'. Tillam was a minister 'whome we love in the truth, and very highly esteem for his work's

sake, [he] hath been eminently instrumental in carrying on the Lord's work amongst us'.[47] Support for

Tillam, however, remained solely within his congregation. Religious authorities in Newcastle criticised

Tillam on doctrinal teachings, in particular the laying-on-of-hands after baptism to signify church

membership, Saturday-Sabbath, evangelical ministering and clerical maintenance.[48] Tillam's promotion

of these teachings in Hexham prompted concern by Gower's Baptist congregation in Newcastle, as well

as the Presbyterian and Independent ministers in the town.[49] His relationship with the Newcastle

religious establishment was further complicated by the arrival of Thomas Ramsay, a Scottish Catholic

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[44] Roger Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 253.

[45] B.R. White, 'The Organisation of the Particular Baptists, 1644-1660,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 17, 2 (October, 1966), pp. 214-215.

[46] Chapter 2, *Figure 2.1.*

[47] Howell, *Newcastle and the Puritan Revolution,* pp. 249-254; quoted from *The Records of the Church of Christ,* B. Underhill, (ed.), (London, 1854), pp. 292-293, 304.

[48] David S. Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism in seventeenth-century England* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 33, 37-38.

[49] White, 'The Organisation of the Particular Baptists, p. 215.

posing as a Jewish Rabbi, allegedly sent by Rome to sow discord among the Baptists in northern England. Acting as Rabbi Joseph ben Israel, Ramsay convinced Tillam that he wished to convert to the Baptist faith. Using this association between Ramsey and Tillam, the Newcastle clergy used this opportunity to denounce Tillam's religious agenda in *The Converted Jew* (1653). While the title suggests that Thomas Ramsay was the main topic of the publication, in actuality, Ramsey's plot was secondary and Tillam was the primary subject of their attack. The pamphlet outlines, in vague details, how authorities uncovered the plot; including Ramsay's poor disguise as a Jewish Rabbi and several letters from his parents that revealed his true identity. Furthermore, it includes the testimony of Ramsay, given directly to the ministers, who admitted his actions in full.[50] Yet, the discussion on how the plot was discovered and the actions of those in contact with Ramsay once he arrived in Newcastle, leads to questions over the credibility of the entire plot. Deputy Governor of Newcastle, Col. Paul Hobson was named as an individual specifically sought out by Ramsay (then acting as ben Israel) when he arrived in Newcastle. It was also recorded that Hobson recommended Ramsay to Tillam's congregation for conversion purposes. Yet Hobson's connections and contact with Ramsay go unquestioned. A second individual, Ann Horsely, was also not implicated in the plot, despite Ramsay using her surname as his initial alias, and staying with her when he first arrived in Newcastle.

The timing of the plot raises further questions of its authenticity. The possibility and detection of Catholic plots in England was not a new phenomenon in the Commonwealth period, with stories of Catholic subversion among sectarian groups spreading across the country in pamphlets, broadsides and the government's propagandist newspaper *Mercurius Politicus*.[51] Furthermore, the millenarian aspects of the plot cannot go unnoticed. Instances of false Jewish conversions were not unusual occurrences

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[50] Thomas Weld, *The Converted Jew: or the Stubstance of the Declaration and Concession which was made in the Publique Meeting House at Hexham* (14th of the 5th day 1653), Thomason/E.724 [6].
[51] For examples of popish plots in early 17th century England and during the Interregnum see, Ian Y. Thackray, 'Zion Undermined: The Protestant belief in a Popish Plot during the English Interregnum,' *History Workshop,* 18 (Autumn, 1984).

with recordings found throughout Europe.[52] In the *Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes,* the Durham alderman noted the False Jew of Hexham was 'such another ridiculous folly' used by the Anabaptists in Northumberland to 'raise the reputation of their persuasion'.[53] Tillam, along with many seventeenth-century millenarians, believed the conversion of the Jewish people would usher in the second coming of Christ.[54] In 1651, Tillam's *The Two Witnesses* explained that the 'New Jerusalem' was 'daily expected to be manifested in Power'. The 'wonderful work of the Jews Conversion' was a step when 'the Jews shall be thus wonderfully converted, even then and not before, shall this King of Glory take to himself his great power and Reign'.[55] For Tillam, the conversion of ben Israel was a natural progression to the second coming, and because it occurred in his congregation he could use Ramsey as proof in his doctrinal dispute with the Newcastle Baptist congregation; hence his eagerness to spread the message of ben Israel's conversion.

Ramsay's story does not appear incidental, and was unearthed at a spectacularly opportune time for authorities in Newcastle. Not only did the plot remove Tillam from the region shortly after the incident (he left his congregation in 1655), but it also coincided with the arrival of Quaker minsters and the establishment of the first Quaker meetings in Durham. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the incident was a fabrication, a propagandist move devised by the Newcastle clergy to remove Tillam and warn parishioners against the influence of ever increasing enthusiastic religious movements. There are few surviving records on what happened to Ramsay. Following the incident in Hexham he was arrested and interrogated by a committee appointed by the council of state. Henry Denne commented that Ramsay's plot in Hexham was never fully investigated, and therefore, he was never brought to trial or

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[52] See, Thomas Humfrey, *A true Narrative…of Shalome Ben Shalomoh* (London, 1699), Wing (2nd ed.) / H3718; Thomas Warmstry, *The Baptized Turk* (London, 1658), Wing / W880; Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism,* p. 46.
[53] Ambrose Barnes, *Memoirs,* W.H.D. Longstaffe (ed.), *Surtees Society*, 50 (1866), pp. 17, 149.
[54] Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London, 1972), pp. 190-191; Katz, *Sabbath and Sectarianism,* p.46.
[55] Thomas Tillam, *The Two Witnesses* (London, 1651), Wing (2nd ed.) / T1168, pp. A3-A4, 92, 130-131.

imprisoned.[56] This would explain why Thomas Ramsay's name appeared throughout the 1650s linked to different Catholic plots in the country. He reportedly planed a 'piece of Jesuitical trickery' whilst in prison at an unknown date, and William Prynne found Ramsay active in Cambridge in 1659.[57] The continued cropping-up of a scheming Jesuit named Thomas Ramsay in the towns and villages throughout England in the 1650s suggests it may have been a multiple-use-name, not attributed to any one man, but used when sectarian influence and sedition was feared by authorities. This would explain Ramsay's timely appearance when Tillam's congregation was growing and Nayler's travelling ministry was beginning to take root. Nonetheless, Ramsay's story represented wider fears among Newcastle's religious authorities over the encroachment of enthusiastic religious groups, such as Tillam's brand of Anabaptism and the Quakers.

When the plot was discovered and Tillam exposed, the Baptist congregation remained in Hexham after Tillam's departure in 1655, albeit in disarray. The embarrassment and loss of credibility after the plot was felt by both Tillam and his congregation, and the spread of the Baptist faith in Durham, Newcastle and Northumberland was slowed by the incident. The previous section noted that prior to 1653, letters by Quaker ministers gave little indication of Durham's place in their ministering efforts; however, it is not a coincidence that Quaker ministers targeted Durham after the fall of the Hexham's congregation. Free of the embarrassment of the plot, Quaker ministers, such as James Nayler, quickly gained adherents in Durham and Newcastle. Coupled with the conversion of local authority Anthony Pearson and an increasing number of Quaker meetings, the religious authorities in Newcastle published a reactionary pamphlet. *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness* denounced the Quaker movement and the religious truths they were spreading in the region.

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[56]J. Nicholls, O*riginal Letters and Papers of State, Addressed to Oliver Cromwell* (1743), p. 81; Thackray, 'Zion Underminded,' p. 36; Henry Denne, *The Quaker no papist* (Lonodn, 1659), Thomason / E.1000[13], p. 19.
[57] William Prynne, *A True and Perfect Narrative* (London, 1659), Wing / P4113, p. 44.

The Perfect Pharisee draws from an earlier publication by John Gilpin, *The Quakers shaken* (1653).[58] The tract outlines the positions and considerations of Quaker practice based on the writings of Quaker ministers, including George Fox, James Nayler and Richard Farnsworth. Accounts given by individual Quakers in printed tracts were extracted, and the falsities of Quaker worship and belief exposed; in particular the presence of an inward light and the ability to directly connect with God, and the practice of quaking during worship. Position 11 in the tract approaches the true meaning and notion of an internal light. Acknowledging a continuity of religious tradition, the ministers yield to the existence of an inner dwelling light, placed within man after the fall, but they deny its ability to save all individuals by giving the example of a non-Christian 'Indian'.

> By their constant expressions both in speaking and writing, and by their calling off from all outward teaching: it is evident that by this light, they mean the principles within, left in the spirit of every man since the fall, the same light which an Indian hath, which never heard of Christ by any outward discovery.[59]

The Newcastle ministers believed Quakers misrepresented the true nature and meaning of the inner light. They recognise its existence but not as a means of universal salvation. They explained 'that this natural light which an Indian that never heard of Christ may have, cannot bring to salvation'.[60] They implored the reader to consider that 'lamentable effects will flow from this Doctrine,' especially on an individual's soul. Giving the light within too much substantiation led men to be 'under the [unavoidable] chains of Satan, who leads them captive at his will'. [61] The minister's objections to the new movement had both theological and social concerns for their readers. The final warning to the reader correlated the hazards of enthusiastic religious beliefs and social disorder in the country. The ministers warned the

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[58] Thomas Welde, William Cole, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond and William Durant, *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness* (London, 1654), Wing / C5045; John Gilpin, *The Quakers Shaken* (London, 1653), Wing / G769.
[59] *The Perfect Pharisee,* p. 18.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., p. 19.

readers to beware of the Quaker ministers in their mists. They were 'grievous Wolves entring in upon you, not sparing, but endeavoring to make havock of the flock'.[62]

Soon after the publishing of *The Perfect Pharisee*, Nayler responded in *An Answer to the Booke called the Perfect Pharisee* (1654). He detailed the falsities of the accusations against Quakers. Answering the 11th position, 'that every man in the world hath a light within him sufficient to guide him to salvation, without the helpe of any outward light or discovery,' Nayler replied,

> Jesus Christ is the only light, and there is none besides him to gide to salvation, and that he is the light of the whole work[e]d, and was given of the Father for that end, is plaine in the whole Scriptures: The Prophets prophesied of him…he should be given for a light, even to the Gentiles. John Baptist beares witness, That he was not that light, but came to beare witnesse to it; and that was the true light that lightneth every one, that commeth into the world.[63]

Nayler used his reply as a means of defence, and as a comprehensive explanation of the theological positions of the Quakers. *An Answer to the Perfect Pharisee* was not as detailed as the ministers' outlined positions against Quaker beliefs. From the substance of the tract, he appeared to be reciting a template for the Quaker ministry, used in similar encounters across the country. As Kate Peters has noted, there was a tradition of publishing very simple tracts to be used on as basic attacks on ministers and their doctrines.[64] Nayler's answer was a straightforward, point-by-point attack. It was plain and riddled with Biblical quotations to support the Quaker position, but it lacked the detailed fervour found in *The Perfect Pharisee*.

The disputation between the Newcastle ministers and Nayler continued throughout 1654. Following Nayler's reply the five ministers published *A Further Discovery of the Generation of men called Quakers* (1654). The argument of the pamphlet did not change from *The Perfect Pharisee,* but it was

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[62] Ibid., p. 51.

[63] James Nayler, *An Answer to the Booke called The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holinesse* (London, 1654), Thomason / E.735[2], p. 12.

[64] Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 166, 176; *England's long Reformation, 1500-1800*, Nicholas Tyack (ed.) (London, 1998), pp. 235-259.

expanded into a detailed ninety-five page attack. The pamphlet once again used the words and works of

the Quakers to tear their theological arguments to shreds.

> It shall be our worke in this ensuing reatise in following James Nayler in his Reply, to answer all such Scriptures as he impertinently and injuriously writs, and to cleare the truths of God from their being misapplied to his horrid Princples. By which, and other occasionall passages in this Booke, thou wilt find a more full and plane manifestation of these men and discovery of the mystery of inquiry working in them. Consider what thou Reades, and the Lord give these undertandings in all things.[65]

Nayler replied to *A Further Discovery* with *A Discovery of the Man of Sin* (1654). Rather than another

point-by-point rebuttal, Nayler's response was shorter compared to *A Further Discovery*, and gives a

sense of frustration with the Newcastle ministers. He attacks the spiritual shortcomings of the ministers

and, through their influence, the people of Newcastle. 'The thing that was seen in Newcastle,' he wrote,

is 'all his pillars to be dry, and his trees to be bare, and much nakedness, that they have not scarcely the

bark, but are as a wilderness where much winde and cold comes, where there must be much labour

before the ground be brought into order; for it's a stony ground, and there is much bryers and thorns

about her, and many trees have grown wilde long, and have searce earth to cover their roots'.[66] Nayler

employed the same language of destitution used by observers of northern religion in the late sixteenth

and early seventeenth centuries. Despite his opponent ministers being Presbyterians and Independents,

their refusal to accept the light within meant Weld, Cole, Durant, Prideaux and Hammond (and through

them, their congregants) were religiously destitute. Without the light within salvation and God could not

be truly known.[67]

Nayler's reply was the final pamphlet in the disputation, and after its publishing Nayler left for

London and did not resume ministering in Durham or Newcastle. Soon after Nayler's departure in spring

1654, efforts to establish a permanent Quaker meeting place in Newcastle also ended. George

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[65] Thomas Weld, Richard Prideaux, et al., *A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers* (Gateside, 1654), Wing / W1268, p. 4.
[66] James Nayler, *A Discovery of the man of Sin* (London, 1654), Thomason / E.738[16] , p. 51.
[67] George Fox, *To all that would know the way to the Kingdom* (London, 1654), Thomason / E.732[8] 8, p. 1.

Whitehead recalled members' attempt to hold a meeting in the town, only to be forcibly removed on the behest of the ministers.

> The Mayor of the town (influenced by the Priests), would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the Liberty of the Town, though in Gateside (being out of the Mayor's Liberty) our Friends had settled a meeting, at our beloved Friend, Ricahrd Ubank's house.[68]

By the end of 1654, Newcastle's ministers probably felt there was no need to reply to Nayler, they had won the battle. Nayler was no longer ministering in the region and the Quaker meeting that had been established in Newcastle moved outside of their jurisdiction.

The initial publishing of *The Perfect Pharisee* by the Newcastle ministers was prompted by the arrival of Nayler to Durham. The dissemination of religious knowledge through trading networks, word of mouth and travelling ministers such as Robinson, made it likely that Quakers and Quakerism were known in the region. The success in establishing Quaker meetings in Yorkshire and north-west England in the years prior to 1653, meant when itinerant ministers looked to Durham as the next region ripe for conversion, authorities were alerted to a further sectarian influence on their doorstep. Having just dealt with Tillam's Baptist congregation, *The Perfect Pharisees* was a pre-emptive attack on the group. Peters found that in the 1650s many publications against Quakers were written by individuals who had no direct contact with the sect except through print. This gave the impression of Quakerism as an organised, national phenomenon in the early 1650s.[69] However, among the Newcastle ministers, one contributor had prior experience with Quaker ministering when he was vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland. William Cole was curate of St. John's Parish Newcastle in 1653, and he appeared to have relayed his experiences with the sect to his colleagues in Newcastle.[70] Cole's influence in the writing of *The Perfect Pharisee* can be found in the numerous examples of Quaker preachers in Westmorland. Specifically the tract contains a familiarity with Nayler's ministering in Westmorland, as well as his trial

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[68] George Whitehead to John Dove, account of the first meetings in Gateshead and Newcastle, quoted from John William Steel, *A historical Sketch of the Society of Friends* (London, 1899), pp. 5-6

[69] Peters, *Print Culture,* p. 44.

[70] Peters, *Print Culture,* pp. 186-187.

at Appleby for blasphemy in early 1653, which Cole attended.[71] At times the authors identify particular Quaker meetings attended by Nayler. 'At a meeting with James Nayler,' one comment stated, 'a discourse was concerining perfections, Will: Baldwinson of Underbarrow in Wesmerland, proposed to the said Nayler, whether he believed that any could be as holy, just, and good, as God himself? To whom the said Nayler answered, That he did witness, that he himself was as holy just, and good as God.'[72] Following several more examples, the ministers began their argument by stating that 'these things we should not mention, but that Saints might be warned of such devilish Doctrines, the very smoak of the bottomless pit'.[73] These specific reports were denied, and in Nayler's reply he accused the Newcastle ministers of basing their accounts on indirect literary sources, including Quaker tracts, in lieu of their own experiences with the movement and the inner light.[74]

It is significant to recognise that the disputations in Newcastle were not simply regionalised events, but reflected wider concerns in 1650s society. Opponents of Quakerism published tracts as a warning to their parishioners on the misconceptions of religious doctrine arising from the enthusiastic theology of Quakerism. Quakers, however, engaged with their opponents to further the debate and 'encourage wider public engagement over the issues of the puritan ministry, which the Quakers perceived as [privileged, elitist and in] need of reform'. Quaker tracts were intended to encourage readers and audiences to question their ministers' teachings directly.[75] Pamphleteering was a form of communication between travelling Quaker ministers and their converts throughout the British Isles and across the Atlantic. Ministers could extract the arguments and positions in the publications to meet their own needs. Print, therefore, became a means of forming a community by helping the movement

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[71] Peters, *Print Culture*, pp. 186-187.
[72] *The Perfect Pharisee*, pp. 3-4.
[73] Ibid., p. 5.
[74] A.P.., a preface, in Nayler, *An Answer to the booke called the Perfect Pharisee* (London, 1654) Thomason / E.735[2]; Peters, *Print Culture*, pp. 188-190.
[75] Ibid., pp. 191-192.

establish what appeared to be a homogeneous organisation.[76] The printed works were not intended to be worshipped or revered as holy works, but they were intended as a conversion tool to enable 'Friends to soar to tens of thousands within a decade'.[77] Pamphlets were produced to arouse debate and convince individuals to question their personal religious identity. Yet, little evidence suggests that Durham's general public read the disputations as they were printed in the 1650s.[78] Quaker and clerical authorities in the country certainly read the tracts, as they were referred to in later publications, but as Chapter 6 will discuss, the publications had little influence in converting individuals to Quakerism, with many of Durham and Newcastle's conversion stories referencing direct contact with Quaker leaders as the catalyst for their conversion rather than print. Instead, the purpose of the Quaker print culture of the 1650s was for the edification of their opponents, rather than to incite conversion among the population. Leaders hoped that if religious and political authorities could be convinced of the religious truth of the inner light then the rest of the nation would follow as well.[79]

The Nayler/Newcastle disputation highlights the growth of Durham's Quaker movement in 1653 and 1654 and the fears surrounding their community. Compounding worries by authorities over the sect's advancement in the region was the conversion of Anthony Pearson in 1653. Pearson became an integral proponent of the Quaker movement in Durham and across England. To fully understand Durham's Quaker movement in the 1650s, Pearson's role in the religious community must be evaluated through his experience with Quakerism and his influence in the wider community.

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[76] Peters, *Print Culture,* p. 44.

[77] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 235-236; Barry Reay, 'Quakerism and Society,' *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, J.F. McGregor and B. Reay (eds.), (Oxford, 1984), pp. 141-64; Kate Peters, 'Patterns of Quaker Authorship, 1652-1656', *The Emergence of Quaker Writing: Dissenting Literature in Seventeenth-century England,* Thomas N. Corns and David Loewenstein (eds.), (1995), pp. 6-24.

[78] Later evidence shows that once the meeting system was established funds for the procurement of Quaker publications was in place through the local meetings. See, Peter, *Print Culture,* pp. 67-72.

[79] Peters, *Print Culture,* pp. 252-253.

Anthony Pearson and Durham Quakerism

Anthony Pearson's conversion to Quakerism highlights the early movement's desire to attract members with political contacts and regional influence. Little is known about Pearso prior to becoming a clerk to Sir Arthur Hesilrige in 1648. However, some insight into Pearson's personal influences can be gleamed through Hesilrige, who was a member of the Long Parliament for Leicestershire since 1630, Member of Parliament for Newcastle upon Tyne in 1654 and governor of Newcastle from December 1647.[80] Hesilrige attained connections to prominent Puritan leaders, including Lord Saye and Sele and John Pym, through his second marriage to Dorothy Grenville in 1634.[81] His agitation over Charles I's personal rule and Archbishop Laud's ceremonial innovations to the Church of England culminated in Hesilrige's financial backing of a colonial venture to Saybrook, New England. Furthermore, he openly opposed the collection of ship money in Leicestershire, and in 1635, Hesilrige and Laud disputed the payment of ecclesiastical fees, forcing Hesilrige to appear before the Court of High Commission on several occasions.[82] Hesilrige's opposition to Crown policies was noted by one contemporary as being religious in nature, and that religion was a primary reason for his dissatisfaction with the Crown.[83] During the Long Parliament, he allied with Pym and resident of Raby Castle in County Durham, Sir Henry Vane the younger, to oppose Charles I's government. In 1641, Hesilrige introduced a bill to exclude bishops from the House of Lords and abolish episcopacy in England. He was also among the five members of Parliament whom Charles I charged with treason and attempted to have arrested in the Commons' chamber in December 1641.[84]

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[80] Howell, *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution*, p. 194; Hugh R. Engstrom Jr., 'Sir Arthur Hesilrige: The Forgotten Knight of the Long Parliament, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal concerned with British Studies*, 8, 4 (Winter, 1976), pp. 320-332; *DNB*, 'Sir Arthur Hesilrige,' Christopher Durston.
[81] *DNB*, 'Sir Arthur Hesilrige'; Engstrom, 'The Forgotten Knight of the Long Parliament,' p. 321.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Engstrom, 'The Forgotten Knight of the Long Parliament,' p. 321.
[84] *DNB*, 'Hesilrige'.

During the Civil War, Hesilrige raised a troop of horses for Parliament, fought at Edgehill in October 1642 and by 1643 was second in command to Sir William Waller. Following Pym's death in 1643, he assumed leadership of the war party in parliament, and became governor of Newcastle in 1647.[85] Pearson was not employed by Hesilrige until 1648, when he was governor of Newcastle. In 1662, Pearson gave an account to the government on his service since 1648. In the report he recalled that in 1648, he was twenty years old and appointed as clerk to Hesilrige, and was soon after made judge at a court martial and a Justice of the Peace.[86] Pearson's personal connections to Sir Henry Vane the younger and Oliver Cromwell, which became integral to his involvement with the Quakers in the 1650s, as well as his quick appointment to official positions in northern England, suggest he had an established and trusted relationship with Hesilrige during his clerkship. One historian suggested that Pearson was in London throughout the political and religious crisis of the 1640s, possibly studying law; however, this cannot be substantiated since his name does not appear among the records of the Inns of Court.[87] Nevertheless, his education warranted him a position as Hesilrige's secretary. Soon after Hesilrige's appointment as governor of Newcastle in late 1647, Pearson travelled north and assumed several political positions including judge advocate of Newcastle, in charge of prosecuting officers and soldiers in the northern garrisons for lesser offences. He was also made the clerk and registrar of the Committee for Compounding, and in 1652, he was selected as a sequestration commissioner for County Durham by the Committee for Compounding. He served as a Justice of the Peace for Cumberland and Westmorland, and managed Hesilrige's estates obtained through sequestration, including the former bishop of

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[85] *DNB*, 'Hesilrige'.
[86] TNA*, SP 29/49 f.54; *CSPD,* (9 Jan. 1662), p. 239.
[87] *DNB*, 'Pearson, Anthony,'.

Durham's palace at Auckland and lands in Weardale.[88] Pearson also established a residence for himself

at Ramshaw Hall, six miles from Auckland Palace.

In January 1653, Pearson was in attendance at the Quarter Sessions trial of Quakers James

Nayler and Francis Howgill for blasphemy in Appleby. Describing Pearson's position on Quakers before

the trial, George Fox commented that he was 'a great persecutor of ffriends' until he heard Nayler's

testimony at the sessions and was converted to the true religion.[89] An account of Nayler's trial was

published by George Fox in which he indicated that Pearson was not a proponent of the Quaker

movement before or during the trial. Pearson was depicted in the publications as arguing with Nayler

over his refusal to remove his hat during his interrogation.[90] Fox's account reinforced the notion that

Nayler's charismatic testimony at the trial convinced Pearson of the inner light. A letter to George Fox

from Quaker Thomas Taylor recorded Pearson's conversion at the trial. 'Pearson the justice who was on

the bench at the bench at the first trial of James Nayler [was] convinced of the Truth'.[91] Quaker

historians have often cited Nayler's testimony at Appleby as Pearson's point of religious conversion.[92]

Yet significantly, Pearson does not note his exact point of conversion in any of his correspondence to

verify this assumption. Fellow Justice of the Peace and Quaker, Colonel Gervase Benson was with

Pearson at Appleby, and may have used the Sessions as a means of conversion. Furthermore, as a

political authority in northern England the Quaker movement would have been known to Pearson. Fox

even describes Pearson as a great prosecutor of Friends before his conversion, thus signifying Pearson's

prior familiarity with the movement. The Quarter Sessions at Appleby was most likely Pearson's first

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[88] Ibid.; A.E. Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson: an early Friend in the Bishoprick,' *JFHS*, 51 (1965-67), pp. 77-95; A.E. Wallis, 'The establishment of a monthly meeting in Durham and a note on Anthony Pearson,' *JFHS*, 48 (1957), pp. 119-122.

[89] *The Journal of George Fox*, N. Penney (ed.), 1, (1911), p. 108.

[90] Fox, *A faithful transcript of a petition contrived by some persons in Lancanshire, who call themselves ministers of the gospel, breathing out threatnings and slaughters against a peaceable & godly people there, by them nick-named Quakers* (London, 1653), Thomason/ 106:E.689[17].

[91] FHL, 'T. Taylor to G.F.,' Port 31/123.

[92] Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 111-113; James F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum: a chapter in the domestication of radical Puritanism,' *Church* History, 19, 4 (December, 1950), p. 249; Peters, *Print Culture*, p. 47 comments that Pearson may have first encountered Quaker ideas at Nayler's trial.

opportunity to interact individually with leading members of the early Quakers, and thus, the first

occasion to record his sympathies towards the movement. The notion of Nayler's testimony moving

Pearson to the point of conversion was probably conceived as a propaganda tactic, showing not only the

power of Quaker ministering, but also to record the conversion of a politically prominent new member

in an attempt to provide legitimacy to the movement.

The Swarthmore letters record Pearson's internal religious struggle as he worked through his

conversion experience and came to terms with power of the inner light and his conversion to

Quakerism. Commenting on his confused religious state, Pearson wrote to Quaker Edward Burrough

confessing,

> I have long professed to serve & worpp the true god, & as I thought (above many sects) attained
> to a high pitch in religion; but now alasse I find my worke will not abide ye fire, my notions
> weare swelling vanities without power of life...

Pearson's fight between his political obligations and his conflicting religious sentiments were reconciled

by a visit to Swarthmore Hall, and through conversations with non-Quaker Judge Fell, the husband of

Margaret Fell. In the same letter to Burrough, Pearson writes that he '[conversed] dayly' with him,' and

'Oh how gratious was the lord to me in carrieinge me to Judge ffells to see ye wonders of his power &

wisdom, a family walkeinge in ye feare of ye lord...loveinge only to god'.[93] Pearson's commitment to the

Quaker movement did not occur until this visit to Swarthmore Hall. Despite his admission to never

understanding 'what puritie & [perfection] meant' before his knowledge of the inner light, the letter

also describes a period of theological and personal crisis. He indicates a sense of shame over his former

religious beliefs, the continued internal and external temptations surrounding him, and his struggle to

redeem what he called his 'waisted' life.

> I was soe confounded all my knowledge & wisdome became folly my mouth made manifest &
> that lord discovered to be near that I ignorantly worrshiped, I could have talked of Christ in the
> saints the hope of glory, but it was a riddle to me, & truly deare friend I must have noe hope noe
> foundaiton left, any justification & assurance to & fro without a Pilot or rudder, as blinde dead &

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[93] Swarth. Trs., 'Pearson to Burrough', (undated but presumed 1653/4), pp. 109-110.

> helples as thou canst imagine I never felt … so strong & temptation soe prevaileing as now, I have a proud hard flinty heart that cannot be sencible of my misery, when I deeply consider how much [precious] time I have waisted & how unprofitably I have lived my spirit feeles a sodaine feare, but then I am still flying to my old refuges & there my thoughts are diverted, what it meanes to wale upon god I cannot apprehend & the confusions in any owne spirit, together wth the continuall tempattions from wthout are soe great I cannot understand nor [perceive] the smalll still voyce of the lord.[94]

The temptations surrounding Pearson were so great that he requested Burrough appeal to Fox or Nayler to visit and counsel him through his crisis.

> What thou told me of George ffox I found true when thou seeth him or James Naylor, they both know my condition better than my selfe, move them if neither of them be drawne this way to help me with their counsell by letter they are full of pitty & compassion & though I was their enimy they are my friends.[95]

Taylor's description of Pearson's spontaneous conversion from Nayler's testimony at Appleby was an over exaggeration, but the charismatic ability of Quaker ministers to convey their message to a wider audience drew Pearson to the organisation, yet not without a period of uncertainty.

The enigmatic evangelical ministering of men like Nayler, Fox and Benson individually drew converts to the movement. They had the 'special qualities to convey a sense of acceptance and affirmation to troubled outsiders, to motivate them to end their inner conflict and to convince them that joining the group is the means for doing so'.[96] This connection with the converter was clearly reflected in Pearson's call for aid from Nayler or Fox, and it helps explain Nayler's continued movement in Durham during 1653 and Fox's eventual visit to the region in 1654. In a letter to Margaret Fell, Nayler mentions the ministering efforts untaken by himself and Pearson in Durham. Together they travelled 'towards ye sea coasts, where we had great mettings almost every day,' and where 'ye people in these parts are high in notion, but many are brought to owne ye truth, & if they come but to mettings, are silent, ye worke is greate'.[97]

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Rambo, 'Charisma and Conversion,' p. 99.
[97] Swarth. Trs., 'James Nayler to M. Fell,' 2, (1653), p. 869.

The surviving letters to and from Pearson during his conversion suggest the minister's desire to foster Pearson into the movement to benefit from his political position and gain his contacts in the London political arena. At the height of his religious crisis Nayler met with Pearson and the two travelled throughout Durham and Yorkshire ministering and establishing meetings. In March 1654, an indication of a substantial Quaker membership can be found at a meeting held at Heighington near Darlington where Nayler, Pearson and local Durham Quakers 'apointed a general meetinge' to be heard 'on Easter Tuesday soe called'.[98] Travelling towards the east coast of Durham and Yorkshire, Nayler and Pearson held 'great meetings almost every day'. They encountered people they regarded as 'high in notions' but were eventually 'brought to knowe the truth'.[99] Pearson's conversion and ministering with Nayler mark the start of systematic evangelical ministering in Durham, and the beginning of documented Quaker meetings in the region.

As the movement grew in 1653 and 1654, Pearson's residence at Ramshaw Hall became an important link between travelling ministers in north-west England, Northumberland, County Durham and Yorkshire.[100] The Swarthmore letters record ministers writing of their stay at Ramshaw Hall prior to going north to Northumberland and Scotland.[101] In a letter to Edward Burrough, Pearson laid out a ministering route in Durham to encourage Fox to the county. If Fox were to visit, he should go 'towards the East side….When he comes…he could pass through them and take a circuit by Darnton (Darlington) and so to Norton, Shotton and round by Medomsley and Wolsingham to my house' (*Map 3.1*).[102] Pearson laid out a specific ministering route for Fox, which included towns and villages with known sectarian roots and a growing Quaker following. A visit by Fox would have reinforced a growing

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[98] Swarth. Mss., 'James Nayler to George Fox,' 3.10, (1654).
[99] Swarth. Mss.,'James Nayler to M. Fell,' 3. 192, (1654).
[100] Barbour, *The Quaker in Puritan England,* pp. 42-43; Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson,' pp. 84.
[101] Swarth. Mss., 'Thomas Rawlinson to M. Fell,' 3.15, (1654); Ann Audland, *Piety Promoted*, part iii, p. 200;
[102]Swath. Mss., 'Pearson to Burrough,' 3.35, (21 Feb. 1653).

fellowship in the movement, and provided a further opportunity to convince, and hopefully convert, individuals.

Map 3.1 – Modern *map of Durham showing the ministering route outlined by Anthony Pearson to George Fox*

Google Maps

In spring 1654, Fox travelled throughout Durham and commented on the large number individuals convinced of the inward light. During his visit with Pearson, Fox held a Quaker meeting at Ramshaw Hall where he performed a miracle by healing a sick woman.[103] He was moved from 'the Lord God to speak to' a woman brought to Ramshaw that could 'neither eat nor speak'. After speaking with the woman through the power of the inner light, Fox reported that she had recovered and was able to eat, speak and 'went away well'.[104] The performance of miracles, such as this one in Durham, was an effective conversion tool to highlight the power and transformative impact of the inner light on an individual's outward ability. Miracles, however, were a product of the 1650s. Fox's belief in miracles

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[103] See, George Fox, *George Fox's Book of Miracles,* Henry J. Cadbury (ed.), (Cambridge, 1948).
[104] Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson,'p. 84; Fox, *Journal,* Penney (ed.), pp. 92.

through the 'doctrine of celestial inhabitation,' in which the light within literally implied God's presence was toned down after the Restoration in 1660 by William Penn, who favoured of a more respectable understanding of the inner light. Penn's reformed Quaker belief regarded the inner light as an 'inward source of insight' and a religious and moral power, rather than a mystical, miracle performing power.[105]

Soon after the meeting at Ramshaw, Fox departed Durham, and the meetings continued to evolve. Pearson, along with several prominent members of the Durham meetings, set up the first Monthly Meeting in 1654, indicating a significant Quaker following in need of leadership.[106] The movement of Quaker ministers in the region also grew after Fox's visit. A letter from Nayler to Margaret Fell, sought to arrange with Fox an increase in the number of ministering Friends in Durham and Newcastle. With several Friends travelling to Berwick on the Northumberland Scottish border, Nayler asked if Fox can spare Francis Howgill or John Audland so they could travel to Durham and 'meete with [them] & and keepe [them] together, till they were established'.[107] 'Them,' referring to the newly established Durham meetings. This letter provides some indication of Nayler and Pearson's plans to scale back their ministering in Durham, but the new meetings were still in their infancy and not strong enough to sustain the membership without the presence of a Quaker leader. By the mid-1650s, thirteen prominent Quaker ministers had visited the region, including Thomas Holme, Edward Burrough and John Audland. The new ministers were working among Durham's local meetings to continue Nayler and Pearson's ministering in the county, as well as extending their scope to Northumberland and Scotland.[108]

With Durham and Northumberland in capable hands, and Pearson firmly committed to the movement, in summer 1654, he and Nayler went their separate ways. Pearson was sent to London with

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[105] Melvin, Endy, 'George Fox and William Penn: Their relationship and their roles within the Quaker movement,' *Quaker history,* 93, 1 (2004), p. 32; Chapter 6.

[106] See *Appendix 3.1*, for full transcript of the Monthly Meeting creation.

[107] *Letters &c., of early Friends,* Abram Rawlinson Barclay (ed.), (London, 1841), pp. 10-14.

[108] John Camm, *The Memory of the Righteous Revived being a brief collection of the books and written epistles of John Camm & John Audland* (London, 1689), Wing / C390, p. 68; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'George Fox and the Rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick,' pp. 96; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* pp. 114-115.

fellow Friend Francis Howgill to work on the relationship between Quakers and other London sectarian groups.[109] Early conversion attempts in London were difficult for ministers. Pearson complained that they met many people who were strong in their religious convictions and refused to accept the inner light. 'They are for the most part so high flown in wisdom and notions, that it is hard to reach them: nothing can enter till their wisdom be confounded; and if they be judged, then they rage, and their wrath is stirred up.[110] Pearson warned Fox that only dedicated and firmly convinced Friends should be sent to minister due to the strength of religious convictions in London. 'None might come to London, but those who are raised up into the life of Truth, who dwell in the living power of God, whose words may have authority: for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gainsay, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on'.[111]

Soon after writing this letter Pearson separated from ministering Friends in London, and arranged a meeting with Oliver Cromwell in an attempt to convince him of the Friends' message, and to seek an end to their persecution. In July, Pearson recalled his encounter with Cromwell in a letter to Fox. He told Cromwell that he 'was moved of ye lord to come to & shoewed him what great things ye lord had done in ye month w[hi]ch was goeing over England, & should passe over the wholl Earth.' He went on to tell Cromwell of the 'cruell p[er]secutions…acted in his name & by his authority'. Pearson explained that Cromwell needed to 'see how the guilt acted in his name & by his authority & let him see how the guilt fell upon his head'.[112] The Protector defended himself and justified the laws, but Pearson again challenged him.

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[109] Barclay, *Letters &c. of early Friends*, pp. 11-14; As with Seekers, Quakers took elements from the Ranters and incorporated it into their beliefs. Ranters believed the elect could not sin, in the superiority of the immediate experience of the Spirit, prophecy and visions. See, John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 112-113.

[110] Barclay, *Letters &c., of early Friends*, pp. 10-14.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Swarth. Trs., 'Pearson to Fox,' 3.34, (18 July 1654).

> I spoke to him of the ground of all law & justice, & let him see how the law of England stood, & how corrupt it was, & yt the guilt of all injustice would fall upon him,& then he grew weary & bad them tell me goe, & so they turned me out.[113]

Pearson recorded his first encounter with Cromwell as unsuccessful in convincing him of the Truth, or even in persuading him to lessen persecutions against the Friends. Reflecting on the meeting, he wrote that Cromwell was a man with 'not ye least signe of any honesty left in him'.[114]

There is no evidence of Cromwell's reaction to his meeting with Pearson,[115] and despite Pearson's belief that he was no longer an honest man, Pearson sought a second meeting with the Protector. In November 1654, Pearson met with Cromwell to appeal for the release of Quaker prisoners in York. He found this meeting to be much more successful, and obtained a discharge under the broad seal for the Quaker prisoners.[116] A final meeting came the following spring 1655 when Pearson and fellow Friends, John Aldam and Gervase Benson, presented a petition to Cromwell on behalf of all imprisoned Friends in England and Wales. This petition was the culmination of months of Pearson's work visiting imprisoned Friends throughout the country and advocating for their release.[117] From his meetings with Cromwell and work with persecuted Quakers, Pearson's time with the movement was becoming increasingly politicised from 1654 onwards. A month prior to presenting the petition to Cromwell, Pearson and Aldam met with the magistrates of Chester to protest the treatment of Friends.[118] When their meetings with the magistrates did not end prosecutions against Quakers, they arranged the meeting with Cromwell. According to Pearson, Benson and Aldam, Cromwell agreed to read the petition, but no further action was recorded.[119] Since the prosecution of Quakers did not cease,

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[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid..

[115] Thank you to John Morrill for providing me with this information from his forthcoming edition of Cromwell's letters and speeches.

[116] Swarth. Trs., 'Pearson to M. Fell,' 1.216, (28 Nov. 1654).

[117]Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson: An early Friend in Bishoprick,' p. 86; John Camm also sent a letter to Cromwell around the same time regarding oaths, tithes and the persecution of Quakers. John Camm, *Some Particulars concerning the Law,* (1655), Thomason / E.740[9], EBBO.

[118]FHL, 'To the Magistrates of Chester,' Port. 33/155.

[119] Barclay, *Letters of Early Friends,* p. 28.

it can be assumed that Cromwell paid little heed to the petitions, and subsequently, Pearson and

Benson persisted in collecting information on the sufferings of Friends for refusing to pay tithes and take

oaths.[120] For the duration of 1655, Pearson and Benson recorded and published the sufferings of

Quakers in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Durham, Nottinghamshire, Gloucestershire,

Buckinghamshire, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire,

Middlesex, Kent and Leicestershire. Their work culminated in the publication *The Cry of the Oppressed*,

which listed the names of locations of Quakers suffering for their religious convictions in the country.[121]

By 1656, Pearson had formulated his own role within the Quaker movement. Using his

knowledge of the law, he appealed for religious toleration, and when this did not come to fruition he

travelled throughout the country to record religious persecutions and to persuade magistrates into a

policy of religious toleration. In Durham, his residence at Ramshaw acted as a central meeting place for

travelling ministers in northern England, opening the region to prominent Quaker minsters throughout

the decade. However, by the end of the 1650s Pearson began to distance himself from the movement.

One of his final encounters with Fox occurred sometime after October 1657, when Fox once again

visited Durham.[122] Similarly to his first visit to Durham, Fox stayed with Pearson at Ramshaw Hall, but

unlike his stay in 1654, Fox's interests were on the welfare of the county's membership and local

politics, rather than Pearson himself. Fox's interest in a new university in Durham preoccupied his time,

and in his *Journal*, Fox credits himself with ending the set-up of a college in Durham. Fox recalled, 'when

we had thus discoursed with a man [a London representative], he became very loving and tender; and,

after he had considered further of it, declined to set up his college'.[123] In actuality, the university at

Durham was already established when Fox arrived. Letters patent were issued in 1657, for the

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[120] Anthony Pearson and Gervase Benson, *The Cry of the Oppressed* (London, 1656), Thomason / E.893[4].
[121] *The Cry of the Oppressed,* pp. 1-40; This will be discussed in more detail later in this Chapter.
[122] Fox notes in his *Journal* that he travelled around Scotland, Newcastle and Durham after his appearance before the Scottish Council on 13 October 1657; *Journal,* Penney (ed.), pp. 156-164.
[123] Fox, *Journal*, Penney (ed.), pp. 165.

establishment of a university in Durham on the site of the Cathedral that had been dissolved in 1649,

and appointments were made to positions in the university to begin providing lessons. The university

disappeared when the Bishopric of Durham and Dean and Chapter were restored in 1660.[124] Fox's

recollection of personally dissolving Durham's university was simply a fabrication, and emphasises the

misrepresentations that can occur in retrospective accounts.

Using Pearson's political connections Fox also met with the aldermen of Newcastle to resolve

the issue of Quakers meeting in the town. Only two aldermen attended the meeting, including ardent

opponent of Quakerism, Thomas Ledgard. Ledgard's presence led Fox to ask, 'had they not called

Friends butterflies, and said we would not come into any great towns, and now we were come into their

town they would not hear us, though they had printed books against us; "Who are the butterflies

now"'?[125] The meeting did not persuade Newcastle's authorities that Quakerism was a non-subversive

religious movement, and Fox's less than unusual aggrandizing accounts in his journal, he recalled his

creation of a permanent Quaker meeting just outside of Newcastle. 'We got a little one [meeting]

among Friends and friendly people at Gateshead,' he explained.[126] Oddly, when George Whitehead

recalled the founding of a meeting in Gateshead, he did not mention Fox's role in its creation. James

Nayler's disputations with the Newcastle clerical establishment confirmed that authorities were hostile

to the movement from 1653 onwards, and along with Whitehead's account that Quakers were forcefully

removed from the town in 1654, makes it likely that the community in Gateshead was already

established before Fox's visit in 1657. Once again Fox's memory proves an unreliable source. His

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[124] David Pearson, 'Durham Cathedral Library from the Dissolution to the Restoration,' paper given at the Institute of English Studies, History of Libraries Research Seminar series, (2008), pp. 11-12.
[125] Ibid., pp. 164.
[126] Ibid.

meeting with Ledgard confirmed a continuing hostility in towards Quakers in Newcastle, but clearly

Gateshead meeting was already established when Fox arrived in 1657.[127]

In the same trip, Pearson's connections through Sir Arthur Hesilrige allowed him to arrange a

conference between religious radical and regicide, Sir Henry Vane the younger and George Fox at Raby

Castle. Fox described the meeting as unsuccessful, stating if Pearson had not been with him, he [Vane]

'would have put me out of his house as a mad man'.[128] Following Fox's departure from the region,

Pearson continued to support the movement. On the 24 June 1658, he and 42 Friends endorsed and

established a fund to support Quaker missionaries. In the same year, he and nineteen Friends submitted

a declaration to the Council of State seeking the release of 115 imprisoned co-religionists in England.[129]

In 1659, it appeared the sentiment against dissenting religions was changing when the Rump Parliament

formed a militia and allowed dissenting sectarians to join. Recognising an opportunity, Pearson

presented and prepared a petition against tithes to Parliament with 15,000 signatures from individuals

throughout the country in the hope of persuading MPs towards a more toleratant religious policy.[130] Yet

despite continuous work for the Quaker movement, by August 1659 Pearson began to realign himself

with the changing political situation, rather than the Quaker leadership. The General Meeting at Balby

declared in 1656 that members could serve the Commonwealth if needed, and recorded 'that if any be

called to serve the Commonwealth' they should do so. Thus in August, 1659, Pearson took an

appointment as militia commissioner, in charge of raising forces in the north during Booth's rebellion.[131]

However, not all Quaker leaders were supportive of members' involvement with the government.

Pearson's appointment prompted fellow Friend Francis Howgill's disapproval and separation from

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[127] George Whitehead to John Dove, account of the first meetings in Gateshead and Newcastle, quoted from John William Steel, *A historical Sketch of the Society of Friends*, (London, 1899), pp. 5-6
[128] Ibid., pp. 165.
[129] E*xtracts from the State Papers relating to Friends, 1654 to 1672,* Norman Penney (ed.), (London, 1913), p. 37.
[130] Barry Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659,' p. 193; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* pp. 458.
[131] Reay, 'The Quakers, 1659,' pp. 201; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 461.

Pearson.[132] Opposed to Quaker political participation, Howgill wrote to Edward Burrough expressing his sentiments against Pearson.[133]

> I was not with A.P. [Anthony Pearson] in these parts, lest it should be said in something I sought myself to be advanced in some public affairs, which hath been said by divers of me, although without ground or cause at all, and so I forbore, being altogether dead to those things. …Friends here are quiet, and meddles in none of these things.[134]

In a letter written a fortnight earlier, Burrough observed to Howgill that Pearson was hurt by 'getting into the world's spirit, which betrayed him'.[135] Despite the perception by fellow Quakers that Pearson was slowly distancing himself from the movement, he did not cease advocating for Friends. In October, he prepared and signed a letter on behalf of the Durham meetings to the General Meeting at Skipton. Due to his work in drafting the letter, he was selected by the Durham meetings to attend the General Meeting on the 5th of the 8th month 1659 to consult with Fox and other Friends on the direction and organisation of the movement.[136]

Pearson's attendance at the General Meeting was the last major task he undertook as a Quaker leader. In late 1659, Margaret Fell sensed him slipping away and back among the world's people (non-Quakers). She wrote to Pearson warning him to beware of the betrayer which lies near him.[137] This betrayer may have been Royalist Sir Philip Musgrave, but she does not make it clear. In December 1660, Musgrave reported on Pearson and his interactions with the Quaker movement to the government. The report stated at least a hundred Quakers met nightly at Ramshaw, and that Pearson received a substantial shipment of knives and daggers at the Hall.[138] A year later in December 1661, Pearson was arrested when he violated the King's proclamation banning cashiered soldiers from within 20 miles of London. He was interrogated by the principal Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nichollas and on 9 January

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[132] Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum,' p. 246; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 313.
[133] Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum,' p. 263; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 458.
[134] Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* pp. 463.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] TNA, SP29/45 f.112; *CSPD*, (Dec. 14, 1661), pp. 181; Richard Greaves, 'Anthony Pearson,' *DNB*.

1662, he retracted his Quaker beliefs. In his statement he renounced his religious excesses as 'the

Chymericall Notion of those giddy tymes,' and he claimed this change in heart occurred years earlier

through the influence of Royalist Sir William Darcy when it was 'neither seasonable nor serviceable to

discover it'.[139] He took the oath of allegiance, and to prove his sincerity, returned the sequestered

northern estates of the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Thomas Riddell. On 16 January 1662, he was released

from prison and returned to Durham a reformed member of the Church of England.[140] Over the next few

years, Pearson served as an advisor to the Restoration government, as an overseer of trade between

England and Scotland and as an undersheriff for Durham. His Commonwealth connections were used by

the Bishop of Durham to resolve a dispute between the bishop, John Cosin, and the Vane family over the

appropriation of Vane the younger's personal estate following his execution.[141] Pearson died on 22

January 1666, aged 39, possibly of plague, and was buried at St Mary-the-Less in Durham.[142] His obituary

was published in the *London Gazette*.

> Wednesday last was buried here Mr. Anthony Pearson, a man particularly noted in these parts
> for having passed heretofore through all the degrees of separation and phanaticism, in all of
> which he was ever observed as a principal leader; but having lived to see his error some time
> before his death, he himself, with his children and family, had received Episcopal confirmation,
> and did now at last upon his death-bed very solemnly confess his former errors, and the party
> that first seduced him into them, declaring that he now dyed a true son of the Church of
> England.[143]

   Pearson's legacy as a Quaker was tremulous. His apostasy from the movement was condemned

by members of the Society, and when the country's meetings were asked by the London Yearly Meeting

in the latter half of the century to recall the births, deaths and marriages of their early membership,

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[139] TNA, SP29/49/27; *CSPD,* (Jan. 9 1662), (Jan. 16 1662), pp. 239; 244; *DNB*, 'Pearson'; Sir William Darcy of Witton Castle, Durham was the Royalist High Sherriff of Durham in 1642. Pearson would have come in contact with Darcy when Pearson acted as sequestration commissioner. See, William Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 1 (1785), p.509.

[140] Wallis, 'Anthony Pearson: An early Friend in the Bishoprick,' pp. 93.

[141] DUSC, Cosin Letter Books, 2:55; 3:14; 3:16; 3:24.

[142] *The Letters of George Davenport, 1651-1677,* Brenda M. Pask and Margaret Harvey (eds.), *S.S.*, 215 (2011), p. 153.

[143] *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.: Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with other Papers Illustrative of his life and times*, Surtees Society vol. II, (Durham, 1872), pp. 316. *London Gazette,* no. 24 (Feb. 1 to Monday Feb. 5 1665).

Pearson was not included in the Durham register. Despite his contribution to the early Society, he was not an individual to be remembered or revered, and when conversion narratives were written for prominent first generation members, Pearson's struggle was never recalled.[144] However, through print he shaped a perpetual influence on the movement and its development as a community. Pearson's tracts on tithes, oaths and the legality of prosecutions against Quakers were printed and reprinted, some into the nineteenth century. His lasting contribution has largely been unseen, and instead, focus has been on his role in the County Durham Quaker community, but Pearson's impact on the wider Religious Society of Friends was substantially more significant than his regional contribution. The next section will look at the members in County Durham and Newcastle and the role they played in the formation of the Society. Rather than through the influence of a single figure, local members provided the leadership that maintained the Quaker community. It was prominent local Quakers, known as weighty Friends, who organising meetings, raised funds for members in need of financial assistance and undertook the supervision of members' orderly behaviour within the confines of the inner light.

Community organization before 1660

What is a "community," or more specifically, what was the Quaker community, and how did it form in the 1650s? The construction of Quaker religious cohesion has frequently been attributed to increasing intolerant attitudes towards religious dissenters from the Restoration onwards. Using evidence from Quaker publications and the Quaker Books of Sufferings, historians determined that Quakers relished in their religious sufferings, and used prosecution and persecution by the state as an underlying commonality to create a homogenous membership in the seventeenth century.[145] Looking at

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[144] Durham's conversion narratives will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[145] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp. 230-231; Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, pp. 81, 104-105; Barry Reay, 'Popular Hostility towards Quakers in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England,' *Social History,* v, (1980), pp. 394-396; John Miller, '"A Suffering People": English Quakers and their Neighbours c. 1650-1700,' *Past and Present,* 188 (August, 2005), p. 73.

the years 1660 to 1688, Craig Horle revised this perception of Quaker persecution, declaring that Quaker

historians had a tendency to perpetuate an unfounded image of Quakers happily suffering hardships by

local authorities. Instead, he found the use of penal laws against Quakers was sporadic, often because

Quakers developed a legal tradition to fight against laws designed specifically to prosecute religious

dissenters. The Quaker desire to collect instances of suffering was a form of activism, used to confront

civil and ecclesiastical authorities and press for toleration.[146]

Yet the enthusiastic ministering techniques of the Quakers, the inherent misbehaviour used in

the Lamb's War and general fears of religious and social disorder in communities, meant the issue of

persecution was not solely a post-Restoration policy. Quakers in the 1650s often gave authorities

genuine reasons to dislike them. Barry Reay contends that we cannot 'underestimate the outrage that

was provoked by the Quakers' through their actions and religious beliefs.[147] By the middle of the 1650s,

imprisonments, fines and abuse led Quaker leaders to seek a policy of religious toleration. To highlight

the abuse against them, lists of individual members persecuted for their religious beliefs were collected

and published. Durham's Anthony Pearson, along with fellow Friend Gervase Benson, advocated against

prosecution for the non-payment of tithes and for religious toleration by authorities. Their early efforts

to collect and publish the prosecutions of Quakers in 1655 acted as a focal point for the movement, and

provided a sense of commonality among members several years before the Restoration, and the

institution of the penal laws in the 1660s and 1670s.[148]

Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson documented members of the Quaker movement charged

with refusing to take oaths and pay tithes. Their work culmulated in a precursor to the Quaker Book of

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[146] Craig Horle, *The Quakers and the English legal System, 1660-1688,* (Philadelphia, 1988), preface; Instances of persecution will be further discussed in Chapter 4.
[147] Reay, 'Popular Hostility,' p. 389.
[148] Laws now considered part of the Clarendon Code including the Act against Quakers and the Conventicle Acts will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Sufferings in a co-authored tract, *The Cry of the Oppressed* (1656) (*Figure 3.1*).[149] Laid out by counties,

and in some instances parishes, detailed information can be found on individual Quakers in England,

including their offence, the value of their fine and the value of the goods taken for distress. The tract

was intended to highlight the unfair and targeted persecution of Quakers in England, but simultaneously

it promoted a sense of community among the membership. A Quaker in Durham reading or hearing the

names of fellow members prosecuted for oath refusal and non-payment of tithes in Lancashire,

Nottinghamshire and Gloucestershire provided a relatable commonality of experience amongst the

movement's members. It let members know that they were not alone in their sufferings for religious

belief.

Figure 3.1*: Extract from The Cry of the Oppressed, 1656*
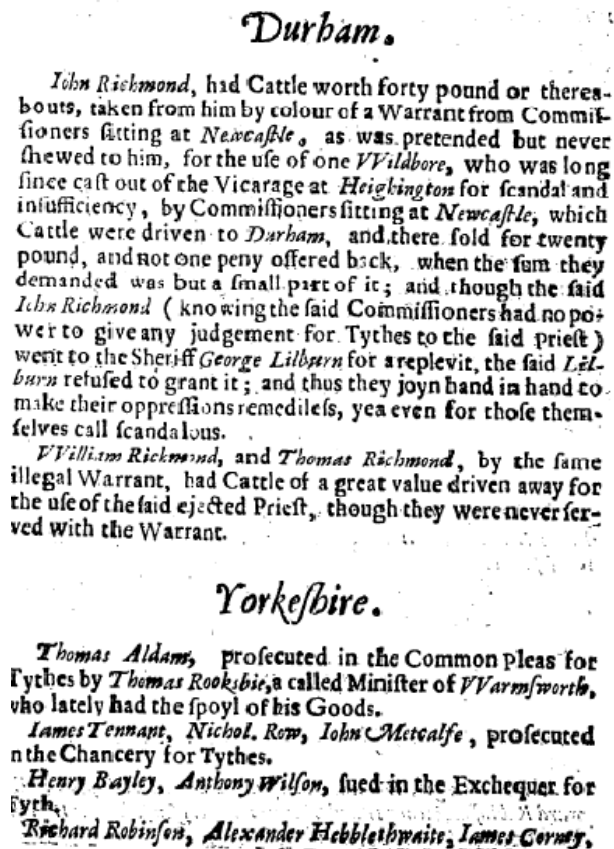
Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson, The Cry of the Oppressed, (London, 1656), p. 25

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[149] Swarth. Mss., 'Benson to M. Fell,' 4.162 (1 August 1655).

It needs to be remembered, however, that prosecution against Quakers and other dissenters was not a single unifying force among Quakers locally or nationally; if it had been, then presumably many more religious sects of the 1640s and 1650s would have survived Interregnum. The Quaker movement survived the seventeenth century because it was involved a series of mediated relationships between individuals in the Quaker community and wider society;[150] without which, the movement would not have formed into the Society of Friends. Tracts like *The Cry of the Oppressed* were published and distributed to Quaker meetings at a significant juncture in the movement's development towards a single organised religious community. In general, a community is not solely based on shared values or common understanding, but rather 'members…are engaged in the same argument…in which alternative strategies, misunderstandings, conflicting goals and values are thrashed out'.[151] For the Quaker movement, the year 1656 marked the turning point in the formation of the sect. By this date, meetings were established throughout the nation, including in Wales, north-west England, London and throughout Durham and Newcastle. Rosemary Moore has highlighted the movement's leadership in the 1650s with Fox acting as the organiser, Margaret Fell as the administrator, James Nayler as the publicist and Richard Farnsworth as an evangelist of their works.[152] As the previous section of this Chapter suggested, Anthony Pearson's letters to Burrough in the early months of his conversion highlighted the leadership structure of a movement already in place in 1653. Thus by 1656, questions on how to govern and organise Quaker meetings in the country arose among leaders. Members were divided over the direction of the movement, and in particular, over the extent Quakerism was an organised religion, or

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[150] Keith Wrightson, 'The politics of the parish,' Griffiths *et al*. (eds.), *Experience of authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), p. 12; Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, 'Introduction,' *Communities in early modern England*, Shepard and Withington (eds.), (Manchester, 2000), p. 6.

[151] David Sabean, *Power in the blood: popular culture and village discourse in early modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 27; Shepard and Withington, 'Introduction,' p.6.

[152] Rosemary Moore, *The Light in the Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 35.

an individual religious experience that did not need to be connected to a larger religious establishment.[153]

The fundamental dispute came down to the degree to which the inner light created an individualistic religious experience. Proponents of church government argued that the truths from the inward light were given progressively, and were not revealed all at once or even to the same individual; therefore the inner light needed to be interpreted collectively to determine the whole of God's message.[154] Implementing a church system would ensure the validity and collection of revelations to better understand God. Opponents believed church organisation was a step back in the evolution of their newly discovered religious thought. Church government would only force people back to earthly ways the Quaker movement initially shed. Only an individual could interpret God's law through the light within them; a religious governmental system represented a man-made creation that could misinterpret God's message.[155]

Those in favour of religious organisation and a central authority cited James Nayler's behaviour in Bristol as further justification for religious standards and behavioural discipline. In 1656, Nayler symbolically imitated Christ's entry into Jerusalem in Bristol,[156] the consequences of which changed the nature of the Quaker movement throughout the country. His procession was intended to visually elucidate the inner light, by showing that Christ was within everyone. It was an overly dramatic display for the advocating of the outward nature of the inner light, and expressing the second coming of Christ.[157] Nayler's behaviour led to his arrest and trial before Parliament for blasphemy. Observing the trial and reporting to George Fox, Anthony Pearson recognised the importance of Nayler's platform

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[153] See Chapter 6 for a further discussion of Quaker development and individualism.

[154] Robert Barclay, *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines* (1676), Wing/B718.

[155] William Rogers, *The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostates & Innovator* (1680), Wing / R1858; Jane Calvert gives an overview of the Quaker church government dispute in *Quaker Constitutionalism and the political thought of John Dickinson* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 28-32.

[156] For interpretations of Nayler in Quaker history see, Erin Bell, 'Eighteenth century Quakers and the rehabilitation of James Nayler, seventeenth-century Radical,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 57, 7 (July, 2008).

[157] Leo Damrosch, *The sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the puritan crackdown on the free spirit* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 163-176.

before Parliament (even if it was a trial), especially his ability to speak from the light within.[158] He recorded that Nayler, 'testifyed before the highest Cort in the nation, that god himselfe is come down, to dwell with the sons of men'. 'Great is the wisdom of the lord, whoe can turne all things to his own praise'.[159] Nayler was able to speak openly, to members of Parliament, on the authority of the inner light, and for Pearson this represented a possible opportunity for conversion, or at the very least, an understanding of their religious experiences, that could be exploited to argue for toleration. Despite Pearson's optimism, leading members attempted to disassociate themselves from enthusiastic religious outbursts often associated with Quakerism prior to 1656. Nayler's actions ultimately became a defining factor in saving the movement from disappearing at the Restoration.[160] The aftermath of Bristol forced the question of discipline and organisation upon members by emphasising that unchecked individuals could descend into extreme levels of enthusiasm. After Nayler's trial the fervent behaviour of the Lamb's War declined significantly, with 'going naked as a sign' and other public displays of 'signs and wonders' dramatically decreasing over the course of 1656, 1657, and 1658.[161]

Kate Peters has found that throughout the 1650s, Quaker publications had a flair for political polemic, and comments on the Nayler affair were no different. Quaker tracts on the issue censured Parliament for accusing Nayler of blasphemy without actually defining it; they also deemed the proceedings against him illegitimate, due to questions regarding the judicial procedures.[162] Each Quaker publication presented a single, unified stance on Nayler. They brushed aside his behaviour to focus on Nayler's interpretation of Quaker religious beliefs, particularly the nature of the inner light.[163] The tracts were coordinated and published by the Quaker leadership as an early modern form of damage control;

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[158] Peter, *Print Culture*, p. 240.
[159] Swarth. Mss., 'Pearson to Friends,' 3.78, (Nov. 18 1656).
[160] Bittle, *James Nayler,* pp. 172-174.
[161] Kenneth Carrol, 'Early Quakers and Going Naked,' *Quaker History*, 67 (Autumn, 1978), pp. 81, 84.
[162] Peters, *Print Culture*, p. 241.
[163] Ibid., pp. 241-246; Robert Rich, *Copies of some few of the papers given to the House of Parliament* (London, 1657), Thomason / E.896[13]; James Nayler, *A true narrative of the examination, tryall, and sufferings of James Nayler* (London, 1657), Thomason / E.899[6]; Edward Burroughs, preface to Richard Hubberthorn, *The cause of stumbling removed* (London, 1657), Thomason / E.929[5].

to keep members from descending down the same route and Nayler, and to minimize further

persecutions against Quakers in the country. Quaker letters circulating in 1657 called for similar

coordination in the publication and distribution of all future tracts to avoid further incidents. Discipline

in printing ultimately was 'an integral element of the discipline and organisation of the movement'.[164]

Commenting on Nayler, Edward Burrough likened his behaviour to a test from God. It was 'an occasion

to try them, and to prove them, and thereby are they tried and proved, and the more settled rather

than confounded'.[165]

From 1657 onwards, Quaker leaders sought to settle, as Burrough described, the radical

elements of the movement through the regulation of publications and the creation of a religious

organisation to ensure the movement's integrity was maintained. Significantly however, several years

before the Nayler affair, members of the movement in Durham had set up a monthly meeting to enforce

unity and to create a sense of stability within a community seeking order in society. In 1654, sixteen

Durham Quakers came together to produce a document requiring Durham Quakers to meet 'every first

seventh day of every moneth, beginning upon the first seventh day of the 3 moneth, & to declare what

there [was] to be considered on by Friends there met, & as freedom & necessity is seene soe to

minister' (*Appendix 1*).[166] The purpose of the meeting was to provide spiritual and financial support to

members of their meetings. According to the document, poorer members of the movement were no

longer receiving help from their parish and poor individuals prosecuted for adhering to Quaker

principles were in danger of leaving the movement in order to find financial respite. 'Wee being brought

to feele & see the estate & conditons of the Church in these parts, & the danger yt many may lye in,

because of the oppressors, & thereby the enemy of the soule may come to have advantage over us'.[167]

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[164] Peters, *Print Culture,* p. 250.

[165] Edward Burroughs, 'Preface,' in Richard Hubberthorne, *The cause of stumbling removed* (1657), Wing/L722.

[166] Swarth, Mss., 'To [George Fox] on the setting up of the Durham meeting,' 2.17 (1653); The full transcript for the setting up of the meeting can be found in *Appendix 1.*

[167] Ibid.

Durham's creation of a monthly meeting was not unique in the early 1650s. George Fox

recorded in 1653 that Quakers in Cumberland 'desired that they might have a Monthly Meeting to look

after the poor and to see that all walked according to the Truth'.[168] A minimal organisation of Quaker

meetings was discernible early in the movement, but significantly Cumberland and Durham's meetings

were organised and maintained by prominent local members, rather than as part of a national effort to

establish a unified meeting system. For Durham's meeting, Anthony Pearson was the only member of

national significance whose name appears on the document. All other individuals in the meeting were

based regionally, and were concerned with the maintenance of their local Quaker community, rather

than the wider movement in the country. Over time, this mentality of the regionalised movement in

Durham shifted towards the idea of Quakerism as an interconnected, countrywide religious

organisation. But the foundations of this mentality did not begin with Nayler's Bristol debacle. Attempts

to manipulate and create a positive public perception, especially through print, can be found before

Nayler's arrest, in August 1656. Sunderland Quaker Lancelot Wardell wrote to Margret Fell seeking her

advice on the publication of a pamphlet in Durham. Several members were being held in Durham gaol,

and Quakers Anthony Pearson and John Langstaffe spoke with the prisoners who wished to publish their

sufferings. However, Pearson and Langstaffe determined the publication 'would butt stir up more strife

in the minds of those whom it concerned and that it were better to suffer quietly then to publish that to

bring shame & content to the [prisoners] as such'. Wardell, however, felt it should be published. 'For I

doe believe it might bee serviceable,' he explained to Fell. He asked to 'heare from thee if thou have

freedome concerning it' (the paper).[169]

This obscure letter in the Swarthmore Manuscripts provides significant insight into the

beginnings of the Quaker community. First, the letter demonstrates a concern with how Durham's

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[168]*Letters &c., of early Friends*, Abram Rawlinson Barclay (ed.), (London 1841)*, p. 312; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 143.
[169] Swarth. Mss., 'Lancelot Wardell to Margaret Fell,' 3.277, (18th of 5th month 1656).

Quakers interacted and were perceived by non-members. Rosemary Moore may have designated James

Nayler as the publicist of the movement, but Pearson and Langstaffe's objection to the publication

highlights the mindfulness of local members towards their perception in society. Furthermore, when

Wardell could not convince Pearson and Langstaffe on the usefulness of the tract he directly appealed

to Fell, signifying an organisational chain of command with Fell acting as the final voice on the matter.

Finally the letter implies the notion of a larger Quaker organisation, in which local Quakers sought advice

and guidance from the greater Quaker community.

Support for a unified religious movement grew amongst Quakers from 1656 onwards. The

number of Durham-style monthly meetings increased throughout the country, with many providing

funds for ministers and offering financial assistance to persecuted members in their localities.[170] Further

indication of the leadership's desire for uniformity came following George Fox's release from prison in

Launceston in 1656. Three General Meetings were organised in Hampshire and Exeter, and in November

1656 a meeting of Northern Quakers, including members from Durham, was held in Balby, Yorkshire.

The meeting produced *The Epistle from the Elders at Balby* (1656), to guide Quakers on the assembly of

meetings, the standard expectations for members and disciplinary actions that could be implemented

against those violating Quaker principles. The *Epistle* begins by establishing regular particular meetings

in the North. 'That the particular meetings by all the children of Light, be duly kept and observed, where

they be already settled, every first-day of the week; except they be moved to other places'. It also

outlined the regulation of member's behaviour within and outside the meeting and the collection and

distribution of funds for the poor.[171] The document marks the beginning of a bureaucratic organization

in which regional Quaker meetings came together to work for the greater community. Balby marks the

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[170] Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Society History* (London, 1950), pp. 4-6.

[171] *The Epistle from the Elders at Balby* (1656), Rosemary Moore's transcription, accessed from www.qhpress.org/texts/balby.html; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 311-316.

start of a long transformation from a movement based on individual and regional religious identities

towards a unified Religious Society of Friends.

Durham's meetings in the wider Quaker community

Significantly, the paper produced at Balby did not refer to the creation of monthly meetings,

instead it left church organization in the hands of local members. Between 1656 and 1659 the move

towards organising a Quaker church government continued to evolve through a series of papers and

epistles produced by local and regional meetings across the country. In 1657, Fox gave directions for all

meetings to keep copies of their member's sufferings so they could be presented to judges on the circuit

courts and to the Protector as pleas for toleration.[172] In 1659, Quakers in Kent, Sussex, Surrey and

Hampshire produced an epistle for their meetings on the collection of funds and the regulation of

marriages, burials and walking an orderly path.[173] A similar epistle was replicated by the Durham

meetings on 1st of the 8th month 1659, but with a significant development. Written and signed by twenty

Durham Quakers, including Anthony Pearson, the paper was presented to the Skipton General Meeting

several days later on the 5th of the 8th month. Durham's paper addressed one of the fundamental issues

of the early movement – the question of a meeting's authority over an individual's religious connection

to the light. The paper recognised the individualistic nature of the inner light and emphasised that no

one can regulate authority over it. 'The power of the Godhead may be known in the body, that none

may exercise lordship or dominion over another, nor the person of any be set apart, but as they

continue in the power of Truth,' the paper stated. Furthermore, 'none exercise any authority, but such

to whom it is freely given in the Lord for the good of the body'.[174] The paper acknowledged that the light

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[172] Swarth. Mss., 2.97; 2.99; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 316.
[173] FHL, 'A paper drawn up at the Genll meeting at Skipton,' Port/16/2, (1659); Barclay, *Letters & c. of Early Friends,* pp. 284-285.
[174] FHL, 'A paper drawn up at the Genll meeting at Skipton,' Port/16/2, (1659); Barclay, *Letters & c. of Early Friends,* pp. 284-285.

would be the guiding influence in the meetings, thereby surmounting the issue of a fallible man-made

organisation. The paper continued by clarifying the set-up and expectations of the meeting system by

drawing-up an initial plan for the creation of a countrywide organisation of particular, monthly and

general meetings (*Appendix 2*). Friends should 'meet together once a month' the paper stated, and the

monthly meetings would,

> conveniently come together in a general meeting, twice or thrice a year, be joined and united,
> that we may not tie ourselves up to the World's limits of counties and places, and we wish the
> like may be settled in all parts, and one General Meeting of England.[175]

Durham's document laid out the structure for a countrywide Quaker church governmental system. At

Skipton it was 'by all Friends owned and approved, and agreed to be observed,' and it was ordered by

the General Meeting that copies of the paper were distributed to all the monthly meetings in the

northern counties.[176] In Durham, no meeting records survive before 1670, therefore the extent in which

the system was observed following its approval at Skipton cannot be definitively assessed, but as the

next chapter will highlight, the first entries of the meeting records in the 1670s show no period of

adjustment to the meeting system or disciplinary standards, suggesting a continuous observance of their

system from 1659 onwards.

It was almost ten years after Pearson had left the Quakers, and seven years after his death, that

the epistle he signed and presented to the Skipton General Meeting became the official standard of the

Quaker meeting system in England. This length of time has meant that Pearson and the whole of

Durham's membership's influence on the implementation of the meeting system has been forgotten,

with credit instead given to George Fox by his contemporaries and modern historians.[177] Nevertheless,

Durham's involvement in outlining church government is a powerful reminder of Pearson's long-term

contribution to the movement in Durham and throughout the country. His legacy can also be recognised

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Braithwaite briefly mentions Durham in the Northern General Meetings prior to 1660 but he passes over their contribution to the creation of the meeting system. Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* chapter 13.

in contributions to Quaker publications, some of which set the tone for Quaker social and political policy in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[178] In *A few words to all judges, justices and ministers of the law in England* (London, 1654), Pearson outlined magistrates' use of the law against Quakers for their objections to the oath, itinerant preaching and the payment of tithes.[179] Despite Quaker histories almost ignoring his influence in the early years of the movement, his work *The Great Case of Tithes* (1657) was published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as an educational tool on the history and justifications for the Quaker stance in refusing to pay tithes.[180] Furthermore, his conversion expanded Quaker ministering in north-east England, and his administrative skills were put to use in the formation of regional monthly and general meetings in northern England. Pearson's influence among Durham and English Quakers was profoundly important to the early movement. He has been described by one historians as the glue holding the Durham Quaker movement together in the 1650s; his political connections provided protection against prosecutions in Durham and his withdrawal of support at the Restoration meant the loss of many Quakers in the region.[181] While Pearson's work among the early Quakers was certainly significant, it should also be remembered that he was not the only member of the movement given the opportunity to meet with Cromwell, nor was he the most prolific writer of the period.[182] There were also nineteen other names affixed to the 1659 Durham paper, all local members of the Durham Quaker movement. Pearson's influence was significant but exaggerated, and the strength and capability of Durham's local Quaker community in the 1650s has been greatly underestimated.

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[178] See, Anthony Pearson, *To the parliament of the common-wealth of England* (1653); Anthony Pearson, *A few words to all Judges, Justices, and Ministers of the Law in England* (London, 1654), Thomason / E.231[6; Anthony Pearson, *The Great Case of Tithes: Truly stated, clearly opened, and fully resolved* (London, 1825 ed.), Thomason / E.931[2]. The last publication of *The Great Case of Tithes* was in 1850.

[179] Pearson, *A few words to all judges, justices and ministers of the law in England*. .

[180] Pearson, *The Great Case of Tithes*.

[181] Nuttall, 'George Fox and Quakers in the Bishoprick,' pp. 96-97; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 464 notes that Pearson kept persecution in Durham to a minimum in the 1650s; Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (Yale, 1964), p. 84.

[182] Several members of the movement meet with Cromwell including George Fox, Gervase Benson, Thomas Aldam and Edward Burrough; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* pp. 434-440.

Several factors have contributed to the perception that members' followed Pearson's example and left the movement between 1660 and 1661. First, the small number Quaker prosecutions during the Interregnum in Durham, coupled with Pearson's former occupation as a local authority, have led to the conclusion that Pearson provided some form of legal protection.[183] However, Pearson spent a large part of the 1650s outside of Durham collecting instances of religious sufferings and advocating for religious toleration. In terms of community cohesion and development in Durham and Newcastle, Pearson's influence was negligible compared to the local members who organised and sustained the meetings in the Restoration period. Found among the Swarthmore letters in the 1650s, several Durham Quakers were in contact with prominent Quaker leaders, despite not being active on a national scale. These individuals were the glue holding Durham's movement together after 1659. Men such as Lancelot Wardell who wrote to Margaret Fell seeking advice on the publishing of a Durham tract, and John Langstaffe from Auckland who was the first treasurer to the Durham Monthly Meeting in 1653.[184] Both men became leading Quakers in the seventeenth-century Durham meetings. Their contacts with the larger movement in the 1650s were less significant compared to Pearson's interactions with prominent leaders such as Fox, Nayler and Burroughs. While Wardell wrote to Margaret Fell on matters of business in Durham, there is little evidence to show that he had extensive contact with her or any other Quaker leaders.[185] Langstaffe presumably met with Fox when the latter visited Pearson's residence at Ramshaw Hall in 1656, but the only evidence of direct contact derives from a letter to George Fox in 1657, when Langstaffe espouses his devotion to Fox and states that he 'enclosed three sheets wherein I was moved to wright that which from the lord lay upon me'. No response to this letter survives, nor do the three sheets.[186] Nonetheless, Chapter Five will show that these individuals, along with several others, held

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[183] Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 116; Nuttall, 'George Fox and Quakers in the Bishopric,; pp. 94-97.

[184] *Appendix .1.*

[185] Only two letters can be found from Wardell to Fell, both were in 1656. Swarth., Mss. 1.284; 1.277.

[186] Swarth. Mss., 'John Langstaffe to G ff,' 4.237 (2nd month 14th 1657); Swarth., Mss., 'Wardell to M. Fell,' 1.277, (18 July 1656).

Durham's movement together in the Restoration and post-Restoration period. They had minor connections with the larger Quaker movement in the country, but their main focus was on maintaining their local and regional Quaker community.

Conclusion

Commenting on the importance of the local community in the 1650s, Braithwaite noted that 'organisation and Church discipline' within the Quaker membership 'were yet only in an incipient stage, and the personal leadership of strong local Friends and of the itinerating Publishers of Truth was the main dominating and regulating influence'.[187] Braithwaite's statement misrepresents the Quaker movement in the 1650s. The organisation of members was further along than he recognised, particularly in Durham and Newcastle. Among the Quaker leadership in the country as a whole, there was a desire to bring the membership together by creating common associations. Pearson and Benson's collection of sufferings in *The Cry of the Oppressed,* showed members across the country that they were not suffering alone or in vain. Even before the Restoration in 1660, members of the Quaker movement had undertaken efforts to organise and unite their religious community through a commonality of belief. In less than ten years, local and regional ties were established and strengthened to form a religious community in Durham, Newcastle and across the northern counties. The mediating of Quaker goals and values in Durham and Newcastle's monthly meetings, along with their participation in the General Meetings of northern Quakers, created a commonality of social and religious beliefs among members throughout northern England that helped to sustain the movement after the Restoration of the monarchy, and through the beginning of targeted persecution between 1660 and 1689.

Before a discussion on the progression of the meeting system can occur, the Quaker membership needs to be understood through their social and economic place in wider Durham and

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[187] Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 508.

Newcastle society. Chapter 4 explores the first generation of Quakers through their geographical location in County Durham, occupational listings, hearth tax records and probate sources to gain a better understand of who the first Quakers were and where they fit into wider society. This quantitative assessment allows for a better understanding of the social and economic interactions between Quakers and the wider community, which allows for a discussion in subsequent chapters on how wider interactions shaped the culture of the Society of Friends in Durham. When the first generation of Quakers are understood as part of the protestant middling sort, who were engaging in the wider community; then the establishment of the Quaker community in Durham can be explained through the context of seventeenth-century society, rather than as a shallow and fleeting movement among the religiously destitute.

Chapter 4: The social and geographical profile of Durham and Newcastle's Society of Friends, 1653-1727

Introduction

Understanding the social profile of the early Quakers is 'one of the most important tasks facing historians of the sect,' noted Adrian Davies. Knowing who joined the early Quaker movement is a significant factor 'in considering the sect's relationship with the world and its evolution over its first seventy years'.[1] Arguably however, understanding the first generation of Quakers not only places them within wider society, but it helps to explain how the Friends came to define themselves against the 'world's people' (non-Quakers) in specific regions of the country. The social standing of the early Quakers directly impacted their development as a religious and social associational group. Chapter 6 will specifically delve into the relationship between work and Quaker social values among the Durham and Newcastle monthly meetings. The intention here is to lay out the quantitative data to understand the social and geographical profile of the first two generations of Quakers in Durham and Newcastle. Understanding who the early Quakers were in society then allows for further analysis of Quaker teleology and the influences that shaped the cultural development of the early meetings.

Throughout the twentieth century, historians have studied the social origins of the Society of Friends to determine who joined the movement in the 1650s. Alan Cole was the first to argue that Quaker origins needed to be examined within the context of the social and political changes of the 1650s.[2] However, it was Christopher Hill who finally placed the Quaker social profile within a wider historical framework of the mid-seventeenth century. Using a number of contemporary accounts he determined that Quakers were mostly from what historians would eventually call the lower sorts in society.[3] There was certainly no shortage of sources on the "types" of individuals that joined sectarian

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[1] Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society* (Oxford, 2000), p. 140.
[2] Alan Cole, 'The Quakers and the English Revolution,' *P&P*, 10 (1956), pp. 39-54.
[3] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned upside Down* (London, 1975), Chapter 10; Christopher Hill, 'Puritans and "The Dark Corners of the Land,"' *Change and Continuity in 17thc. England* (London, 1974), p. 40; See, Keith Wrightson,

movements like Quakerism for Hill to draw his conclusion from. Yet what Hill failed to fully recognise

was that the contemporary use of religious destitution rhetoric was a polemic device, intended to

encourage action against groups deemed disorderly or heretical.[4] Over the course of the seventeenth

century scaremongering was incited through print, with contemporaries using religious and social

destitution to explain the rise of sectarian groups from among the lowest sorts of society. Ephraim

Pagitt's fifth edition of *Hereiograpohy* (1654) referred to members of the Quaker movement as having

derived from the 'dregs of the common people'.[5] John Gauden's *A Discourse Concerning Publick Oaths*

(1662), described the first Quakers as emerging 'from the very *rabble* and *dregs* of the people,

uncatechised, undisciplined and *ungoverned*'.[6] Individuals deemed a threat to order or regarded as

ignorant of true religious doctrine could be labelled a member of the meaner sorts of society. In 1663,

the meaner sort was 'distinguished by their "undutifulnesse and contempt of their superiors, especially

the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome"'.[7] Drawing from these sources it becomes clear why Hill

determined that the first Quakers were some of the poorest members of society.

   The characteristics of the Quakers' proselytizing methods (undertaken through the Lamb's War)

gave them the label of the meaner sort. Their refusal to remove hats before those considered their

social betters, their exercise of public outbursts as a method of preaching and their use of language to

express socially levelling principles were regarded as contemptuous, and warranted them the label as

members of the meaner sort in society. Yet in this instance, the designation of members as the meaner

sort was a label on their behaviour, rather than a true representation of economic and social standing in

their communities. Thus, contemporary print descriptions of the early Quakers are not a wholly

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'"Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England,' *The Middling Sort of People*, Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), (London, 1994).

[4] Alec Ryrie, 'Counting sheep, counting shepherds: The problem of allegiance in the English Reformation,' *The beginnings of English Protestantism,* Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge, 2002), p. 89.

[5] Ephraim Pagitt, *Hereiography,* 5th ed. (London, 1654), p. 136; John Gauden, *A Discourse Concerning Publick Oaths*, (1662), Wing / G352 ,p. 8.

[6] John Gauden, *A Discourse Concerning Publick Oath,* (London, 1662), p. 8; Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 141.

[7] Keith Wrightson, 'Sorts of People,' pp. 35-36.

sufficient source to determine the movement's social origins. Destitution rhetoric against the Quakers was intended to discredit the movement and discourage individuals from joining. As studies into the Quaker records will show, these accounts were not a true representation of the individuals who were persuaded by the message of the inner light.

Historians have acknowledged, particularly in the past thirty years, that members of the early Quaker movement were not a homogenous group, and using contemporary sources to determine social status has meant perpetuating a bias against dissenting religious groups. In 1957, Alan Cole published the first attempt at a systematic study of the social origins of northern Quakerism.[8] Cole's assessment, however, did not include County Durham or Newcastle in his research. Nevertheless, this did not deter him from claiming that all seventeenth-century Quakers were members of the 'petite bourgeois'.[9] Since Cole's study, it has been readily acknowledged that research completed in one region of the country cannot be used as evidence for the whole of England and Wales.[10] Instead, Quaker meetings must be studied on a county-by-county basis to determine if disparities in members' social status occurred based on regional social and/or economic factors.

Following Cole's initial study further research was completed by Vann, Reay, Hurwich and Stevenson, but they too neglected the north-east's Quaker population. Hugh Barbour acknowledged County Durham and Newcastle as early centres of Quakerism, even highlighting Consett (Derwent), Barnard Castle, Darlington, Bishop Auckland and Sunderland as locations with substantial Quaker meetings. However, he wrote the region off after the Restoration stating that the 'purely rural meetings later withered away,' an assumption likely derived from Nuttall's comments that Durham Quakerism did

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[8] Alan Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends,' *JFHS,* xlviii (1957).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Early historians of Quakerism such as Richard Vann, Alan Cole and Barry Reay used specific county studies to draw conclusions on Quaker social status in all of England and Wales. While they acknowledged faults in social status research among each other they did not recognise that status for the whole of the Society of Friends varied regionally. See, Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (New York, 1985), pp. 20-26; Richard Vann, *The Social development of English Quakerism*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), chapter 2; Alan Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends,' *JFHS,* xlviii (1957); J.J. Hurwich, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers,' *Past and Present,* 48 (Aug. 1978), pp. 156-172.

not survive the persecution of the 1660s.[11] Few historians have fully tackled the question of where the

region fits into the social composition of the early Society of Friends in England. A limited assessment

was completed by Erin Bell in her dissertation on gender in the county's meetings. Using Quaker and

Quarter Sessions records she complied a list of 178 occupations for 1650 to 1720, and determined that

in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the average north-east Quaker was among

'neither the poorest nor richest members of society'.[12] However, Bell's occupational data can be

significantly added to by including further non-Quaker sources, and a wider range of dates to include the

probate material (wills and inventories) of members who died in the 1720s. By including the bishop's

and archdeacon's visitation records, Consistory Court records and Quarter Sessions conventicle reports,

the number of known occupations nearly doubles from 1650-1727, to 276 identified occupations. While

this is only a small percentage of the estimated 700 Quakers in Durham, with the addition of hearth tax

records from 1666 and 1674 and Quaker wills and inventories from the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries, the social status of the first generation of Quakers in the Durham Quarterly Meeting can be

better understood. By expanding the range of sources, a fuller examination on the social demography of

Durham's Society of Friends has been completed. Additionally, it allows for comparisons to be made

with previous studies on Quaker social status elsewhere in England. The range of sources also provides

micro-study of the wider geographical and occupational divide found in County Durham and Newcastle.

The occupational data for the Durham and Newcastle Quaker meetings varies extensively, and

this created two challenges while compiling the data. First, under the Non-Parochial Registration Act

(1840) the birth, death and marriage records were surrendered to the Crown Commissioners of non-

Parochial registers. The Durham Quarterly Meeting stated that transcriptions of the meeting's records

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[11] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp. 42-43, 84: Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and the Rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal* (June, 1944), p. 97.
[12] Erin Bell, 'Discipline and Manhood in the Society of Friends: A study with particular reference to Durham, c. 1650-1750,' (PhD thesis, York University, 2003), pp. 42, 86.

were undertaken to comply with the law.[13] During transcription the birth, death and marriage registers

were changed to represent the monthly meeting system of the time. In the nineteenth century a

decrease in the number of members, and members' movement into market towns meant the monthly

meetings were consolidated into either the Newcastle or Darlington Monthly Meetings. Lanchester

Monthly Meeting became part of Newcastle, and the monthly meetings of Raby and Stockton formed

the Darlington meeting (*Table 4.1*). To determine regional variations between the meetings, individuals

have been placed into their respective seventeenth century monthly meeting based on their residency

found in the Quaker registers and court records.

Table 4.1: The consolidation of the Quaker Monthly Meetings

Seventeenth-Century Meeting	Nineteenth-Century Meeting
Gateshead (Newcastle) Monthly Meeting	Newcastle Monthly Meeting
Lanchester (Wallnook) Monthly Meeting	Newcastle Monthly Meeting
Raby (Shakerton) Monthly Meetings	Darlington Monthly Meeting
Stockton (Norton) Monthly Meetings	Darlington Monthly Meeting

For some individuals, two or three separate occupations were listed at different times and in

different records. Quakers frequently recorded a father's occupation in the records for births, spouse's

occupation(s) in the marriage register and male occupations in the death registers. The birth registers

contained the most listed occupations. Yet, over an individual's lifetime it was not uncommon for more

than one occupation to be listed in the registers. It cannot be assumed that the presence of two or more

different occupations represented mistakes or inconsistencies in the transcriptions.[14] When probate

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[13] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (1613-1840); William Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial England* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 8.

[14] See, Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial England.*

records were found for an individual, they often indicated a person's occupation at the time of their death, but this does not mean it was their only occupation. Instead, the economic nature of Durham and Newcastle created a mobile work environment in the seventeenth century. Therefore, it was very likely that a person did change employment over the course of their life.[15] It can be assumed that an individual did, at some point, change occupations, and thus, this has been acknowledged by listing each individual with all of their known occupations separately. This is presented in *Appendix 3.*

Using probate records to determine status was also problematic. Only 65 of over 700 Quakers have been positively identified in the probate records for the first two generations of the Society in Durham and Newcastle. Survival of the records contributes to the low numbers. Also, the Quaker refusal to swear an oath, a requirement when entering into probate, contributed to few Quakers entering wills into probate before their ability to affirm in 1689. This has meant only a small sample of first generation Quakers can be determined through these records, and therefore, cannot be too heavily relied upon to determine status.[16] The Quaker meetings' birth, death and marriage registers provide a substantial resource for determining occupations and family connections in the Society, and yet they have been frequently overlooked by historians studying status in English parishes. Durham's parish registers only rarely mention dissenters in the parishes, and it was usually for a parent refusing to baptise their child.[17] In Newcastle, nonconformity was not recorded in the parish registers, meaning Quakers were not taken into account in subsequent studies on the parish.[18] Nevertheless, nonconformists were living in these

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[15]David Levine and Keith Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society, Wickham 1560-1765,* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 221-223; Andrew Burn, 'Work and Society in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1600-1710,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 2013), p. 198. Chapter 3, in particular pp. 79-87; See, E. A. Wrigley, 'Family Reconstitution' in E. A. Wrigley, (ed.)*, An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, (London, 1966); Dorothy Elizabeth Hamilton, 'Social networks. Families and neighbourhoods: Brancepeth parish in the seventeenth-century,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 2000), p. 156; Also see, *When death do us part: Understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England*, Arkell, Tom, Nesta Evans, and Nigel Goose (eds.), (Leopard's Head, 2000).
[16] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 25; Andy notes that this a problem for any study of status and wealth; Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London, 2004), p. 26
[17] DRO, 'St. Mary's, Monk Heseldon,' EP/MH 1.
[18] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 29.

parishes, and contributing to the community outside of their religious organisations. By excluding them a small portion of society has been missed from social profile studies.

With the exception of Newcastle, the detail in the Quaker registers were unique for Durham and Northumberland. Parish registers rarely provide occupations unless their occupation was the cause of an individual's death.[19] From the late seventeenth century onwards Quaker meetings were diligent in recording the details of their members. Occupations and residences were frequently listed for men and women (one female was listed as a tobacco spinner in the Newcastle marriage register) in the birth, death and marriage registers.[20] The recording of the Quaker registers was undertaken for similar reasons that parishes kept their own registers, to maintain membership lists and determine eligibility for financial relief provided by the meeting.[21] It is not a coincidence that to establish the Society as a trustworthy religious organisation, Quaker leaders in the 1670s required meetings to keep registers and meeting minutes throughout England and Wales. The registers provided a sense of legitimacy for the Society as a religious organisation, and was part of a wider tradition of record keeping and list making.[22]

Despite their value, the minutes do have pit-falls. The records for the 1650s and 1660s are incomplete and have the possibility of being inaccurate. Members of the early Society were often not recorded in the birth and marriage registers because records were not required until the 1670s when the countrywide meeting system was established. To preserve the first twenty years of the Society's membership, the early years of the meeting's history was retrospectively written into the meeting registers. The Pattison family was born before the Quaker movement began, but their births were written into the records later in the century. Elizabeth Pattison was born in 1623 and her cousins, Ralph

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[19] Peter Kitson, 'The recording of occupations in the Anglican baptism registers of England and Wales, 1690-1799,' *Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure: Preliminary papers*, 14 (2007); Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 26.

[20] TWA, 'B/D/M registers Newcastle MM,' MF 176; DRO, 'B/D/M registers Durham QM,' SF/Du/QM/7/5-7.

[21] Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c. 1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004), ch. 5.

[22] Eric Ketelaar, 'Sharing: Collected memories in communities of records, *Archives and Manuscripts*, 33 (2005), pp. 44-61.

and Robert were born in 1628 and 1638. Beside their names the records note that the date given is when they were baptised at the parish church in Norton.[23] Those who defected from the Society after 1660 tended to be written out of the local records. This was the case for Anthony Pearson, who left the Society in 1661 to join the restored Church of England and take a post as Durham's under-sheriff. His defection meant he was not recorded in the retrospective reports of the early members. Yet we know Pearson was a Quaker because of his prominent influence in developing the early movement in County Durham, and because his wife, and later widow, continued as a member of the Society.[24] It is also difficult to determine individuals who remained Quakers until the time of their deaths. Individuals who converted later in adulthood, and were not as diligent as Jane Adamson in placing their name in the registers, were not recorded in the birth records. Furthermore, if they did not marry their only record would be the death register; that is if they remained a Quaker for their entire life. There are many individuals whose name appears in the particular or monthly meeting minutes, but cannot be traced in birth, death or marriage registers. This suggests individuals were moving to and from the region, and provided further difficulty in tracing Quaker status over several generations.

Since Alan Cole and Richard Vann's social status studies, which relied heavily on Quaker only sources, it has been agreed that consulting both Quaker and non-Quaker sources is the only means of creating a comprehensive social profile of the early Society. Simply identifying an individual's occupation provides only a static interpretation of social stratification, and despite the problematic nature of the sources, it is possible to reconstruct the social stratification of the early Quakers by linking the meeting minutes and registers with Durham's hearth tax entries and probate records. This allows for a greater

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[23] DRO, B/D/M registers Durham QM,' SF/Du/QM/7/5-7.

[24] See Chapter 3; Sandra Ann Hall, 'Anthony Pearson and Quakerism in Durham, (MA thesis, Teesside Polytechnic, 1989). See chapter 3 for a discussion on Anthony Pearson's role in the early Quaker movement; DRO, 'Raby MM; DRO, 'B/D/M registers,' SF/Du/QM/7/5-7.

understanding of the complex associational identity that Durham and Newcastle Quakers would have

had within and outside of the Society of Friends.

Quaker Economic Status in England and Wales – Studies to date

Using occupations to define social stratification was not an unusual task for contemporaries in

the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century England. Over this period, the concept of sorts

impacted the social and political rhetoric of the period.[25] Contemporaries writing on social stratification

sought to understand the social hierarchy of their time by designating occupations into categories based

on types of work. In 1577, William Harrison divided the people of England into 'foure sorts' of people –

gentlemen; citizens and burgesses of cities; yeomen; and finally labourers, poor husbandmen and

servants.[26] Less than thirty years later in 1600, Sir Thomas Wilson reassessed the social categorisation of

English society and divided the people into nobles, citizens, yeomen, artisans and rural labourers, with

sub-categories within each group. In 1695, Gregory King went even further in his attempt to estimate

occupations in English society at the time of the Glorious Revolution. He created a ladder of occupations

beginning with the gentry at the top and ending with common soldiers and vagrants at the bottom.[27]

Daniel Defoe famously categorised the status of individuals in his writings. Robinson Crusoe's father was

described as a merchant and a member of the middling sort who were the '"upper station of low life"'.

But in *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728), Defoe placed the middling sort below those involved in

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[25] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680*, (London, 1988), pp. 19-20; Wrightson, '"Sorts of People,"' *The Middling Sort,* pp. 34-36.
[26] *Harrison's Description of England*, Furnivall (ed.), pt. I, ch.5, 'Of Degrees of people in the commonwealth of England'; Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 19.
[27] Wrightson, *English Society*, pp.19-20.

trading. In two writings from 1709, he categorised people based on their levels on consumption and their economic function.[28] Again Defoe explained in *Robinson Crusoe* that,

> the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtue and all kind of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures, were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it, not embarrassed with the labours of the hands or of the head, not sold to a life of slavery for daily bread, nor harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace and the body of rest, nor enraged with the passion of envy, or the secret burning lust of ambition for great things; but, in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living, without the bitter; feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.[29]

From the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century the commonality between these writers demonstrates that society can be generally divided into three sorts – the gentry, the middling and the labourers.[30]

While not using the language of sorts, Alan Cole's 1957 regional study of the Quaker meetings in northern England determined that Quakers were from the lower to lower middle classes of society (the 'petite bourgeois'). Using the marriage registers from the north-west Quakers meetings, he determined that Quakers in England were mostly husbandmen and small craftsmen, such as weavers and tailors. Quakers in Cole's study were members of the urban and rural lower-middle classes of seventeenth-century society.[31] Yet, sole use of the marriage registers meant Cole's study was inevitably incomplete. Challenging Cole's conclusions, Richard Vann was the next to research the social composition of the first Quakers. He compared his study to Cole's, but within a smaller geographical focus. Looking at the Buckinghamshire, Norfolk and Norwich Quakers, Vann expanded the range of sources used by Cole,

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[28] Peter Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London,' Barry and Brooks (eds.) *The Middling Sort* (London, 1994), pp. 141-143; Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728), p. 103; Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), J.D. Crowley (ed.), (1972), pp. 4-5.

[29] Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1919), accessed, The Project Gutenberg Ebook, unpagnated.

[30] See, Wrightson, '"Sorts of People,"' *The Middling Sort.*

[31] Alan Cole, 'The Social Origin of the Early Friends,' *JFHS*, 48 (1957), pp. 99-118.

although still limiting his materials to Quaker sources. He found Quakers in Buckinghamshire, Norwich

and Norfolk contradicted the social assumptions found in Cole's research. Rather than developing from

poorer artisans and traders, Vann established that Quakers in Norwich and Norfolk began socially better

off, with a large number of gentry among the first converts. By the beginning of the eighteenth-century,

the status of the Society declined with fewer gentlemen, wealthy wholesale traders and professionals

amongst the group. Buckinghamshire, however, appeared to be the exception. Vann's study fit within

Cole's model of a lower social class of Quakers. Members encompassed the lower orders of society with

occupations such as husbandmen and labourers dominating the membership, rather than prosperous

yeomen.[32] Overall, Vann's Quakers in Buckinghamshire and East Anglia were not from the lower

middling sorts as Cole suggested, but from the middle to upper middling sorts with 'substantial yeomen

and traders' making up the majority of the membership.[33] The percentage of Friends belonging to the

gentry was 'not lower than that in the population at large,' according to Vann;[34] thus suggesting that

Quakers were a representation of English society. However, Vann's research was methodologically

flawed through his attribution of the term "yeoman" to anyone owning at least 20 acres or paying £4 in

tithes.[35] Margaret Spufford has shown that classifying farmers based on their landholdings can be

misleading. Vann's definition does not necessarily constitute the status of yeomen and rather an owner

of 20 acres 'may only deserve the title "husbandman"'.[36] Ultimately, this definition skewed his results to

show the Society as more of a middling movement than it actually was in Buckinghamshire and East

Anglia.

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[32] Richard Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge: 1969), pp.68-78; Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725* (Oxford: 2000), pp. 142-3.

[33] Richard T Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum,' *Past and Present* 43 (1969), p. 78.

[34] Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum,' p. 72; Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 142.

[35] Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure,' p. 65.

[36] See, Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, pp. 19-119; Bill Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' in *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725*, ed. Margaret Spufford (Cambridge, 1995), p. 352.

Acknowledging this flawed methodology, Bill Stevenson partially re-examined Vann's study, and expanded his geographical scope by looking at rural dissent in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire. He found little to substantiate Vann's theory of a middling social standing that narrowed as the movement progressed into the eighteenth century. In Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Essex, a narrowing social and economic situation amongst the early Quakers was not apparent according to Stevenson. In upper Buckinghamshire, in particular, rather than a downward trend Stevenson found an upward tendency, with Friends becoming economically better-off between 1686 and 1700.[37] This was also true in Huntingdonshire, Essex and Cambridgeshire where gentlemen did not appear until the end of the seventeenth century. However, the rise in gentlemen was counterbalanced with an increasing number of craftsmen and artisans within the whole of the Society.[38]

Stevenson also found Vann's bias towards yeomen to be unfounded. He determined only eight yeomen were among the first generation of Friends, comprising of only 8.9 per cent of the entire meeting, rather than yeomen comprising of half of the Society, as found by Vann.[39] He also determined that Vann overestimated the number of prosperous wholesale traders and large producers among the meeting. The number of labourers and husbandmen totalled 12.2 per cent in Stevenson's assessment, which was significantly higher than both Vann and Cole's estimations. Vann and Cole appeared to have 'misrepresented the numbers of labourers in the early Quaker movement'. Cole found them to be insignificant and Vann found them to be 'substantially underrepresented'.[40] From Stevenson's data, the Upperside Buckinghamshire Quaker Monthly Meeting indicates the movement to have been more of a lower-middle and lower class association.[41] In the counties studied by Stevenson the Society's

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[37] Bill Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration Dissenters, 1660-1725,' *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725,* Margaret Spufford (ed.) (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 355-357.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Vann, *The Social development of English Quakerism*, p.55.
[40] Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends,' p. 116; Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure,' p. 72.
[41] Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration Dissenters,' pp. 353-354.

composition supported Cole's general assessment that Quakerism began as a lower to middle class

movement and the membership continued that trend into the eighteenth century.

Stevenson's examination of religious dissent in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire used a

variety of Quaker and non-Quaker sources to demonstrate that post-Restoration dissenters did not

warrant the 'vulgar' label they were branded with by their contemporaries, nor did they deserve the

'[middle class] image stressed by some present-day historians'.[42] Adding to the debate, Adrian Davies

reconsidered Cole and Vann's social evaluation through a study of Essex and Colchester Quakers.

Recognising the distinctive regional aspects of Quaker occupational status, Davies agreed that the early

Quakers did not deserve to be labelled the vulgar members of society. In Essex County and Colchester,

he found two distinctive Quaker social profiles.[43] Incorporating a wide range of Quaker and non-Quakers

sources, including Quaker registers, Quarter Sessions books, deeds of property, Quaker suffering books,

pamphlets, wills, Assizes records and the hearth tax entries, Davies determined the Quaker converts in

Colchester were from the lower middling orders; whereas early Friends in Essex had a more varied

occupational background. Three per cent of the membership was classified as a gentleman and there

were an equal number of prosperous yeomen, wholesale and large producers, humble retailers, artisans

and husbandmen.[44] Essex was 'similar in many respects to that of the movement elsewhere,' particularly

Cole's research on northern Quakers, with a large number of people involved in agricultural and artisan

work. Yet, he noted that Essex had features distinctive to the county including a large number of poor

Friends listed in the hearth tax assessments. Colchester was very different with the majority of early

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[42] Bill Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration Dissenters, 1660-1725,' p. 333.

[43] Davies studied Essex and Colchester separately due to each holding their own administrative unit. Also, Colchester's separate meeting system gives an indication of its importance as a Quaker centre; Davies, The *Quakers in English Society*, pp. 134-144.

[44] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* pp. 144-145; See Davies, 'Appendix II,' for source methodology on Quaker social origins, pp. 227-228.

Friends from the 'lower middling orders' and with a significant number of wholesale traders and large producers and gentry.[45]

The break-down of Quaker occupations by Stevenson and Davies, highlight the importance of recognising the regional economic and social factors when determining the social composition of the membership. Quakers in England were not a homogenous organisation, but rather the members' social status was determined by the region they were living and working in. Furthermore, the completeness of Davies' and Stevenson's data has meant direct comparisons can be made between Essex, Colchester, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire the Upperside of Buckinghamshire and the Quaker communities in County Durham and Newcastle. The number of gentlemen among the Society did not constitute a significant percentage of the total Quaker population in any of the counties. However, the exception to these statistics was Colchester, where Davies found 4.8 per cent of their membership consisted of gentlemen Friends. This figure, he noted, was close to the 'level to be found in society at large,' but it was not as significant as the number of gentlemen Friends found in Vann's study, who recorded 6.3 per cent in Norwich, 7.3 per cent in Buckinghamshire, and 7.4 per cent in Norfolk.[46] Yet as mentioned earlier, Vann's findings were probably artificially inflated due to his methodology.

Durham and Newcastle had the most varied occupational structure. The region had the smallest number of gentlemen with only 2 per cent in the meeting, including Anthony Pearson who left the Society in 1661 and Henry Draper who was removed from the Society in 1671. The final two listed gentleman were George Burdon from Stockton who died in 1681 and William Wall from Bishop Auckland who died in 1679.[47] Several other friends also described themselves as gentleman in their business dealings outside of the Society, but do not use the title in other records, a possible reflection of the Quaker social levelling principles, although status inflation was not an uncommon characteristic of

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[45] Ibid., pp. 143-145.
[46] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 144; Vann, *Social Development*, p. 71.
[47] DUSC, DPRI/1/1681/B37/1-2; DPRI/1/1679/W61-2.

the seventeenth century.[48] Quakers who appeared to be called gentlemen outside of the Quaker records included Peregrine Tyzack and John Tyzack, leasees of a glasshouse in Newcastle.[49] Both men were described as gentlemen when the Newcastle Common Council agreed their lease of a glasshouse in the town. However, the Quaker meeting registers and minutes do not designate them as gentlemen, but rather as "broad glassmakers". Furthermore, Peregrine Tyzack's will described him simply as a broad glassmaker, with no mention of his status as a gentleman, or as having characteristics of a landed gentleman.[50] The label of 'gentleman' was taken as a form of late seventeenth and eighteen-century politeness, and therefore, John and Peregrine have not been included among the category of gentlemen Friends.[51] By the close of the century, Durham and Newcastle had no gentlemen Friends appearing in the Society's records. Additional inconsistencies occurred with the title of 'yeoman'. Several Durham Quakers were designated as yeoman, but they were not working the land as the term implies. The varying usage of the term has meant that unlike in previous studies where yeomen have been placed within the category of agriculture, in this assessment individuals with the title yeoman have been given their own category. (*Table 4.2*).

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[48] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship and Society Mobility,' *The Middling Sort of People*, Barry and Brooks (eds.), (London, 1994), p. 61.

[49] TWA, Newcastle upon Tyne 'Common Council Book,'7 April 1684; See Catherine Ross, 'The Development of the Glass Industry on the Rivers Tyne and Wear, 1700-1900,' (PhD thesis, Newcastle University, 1982), p. 57.

[50] TWA, 'B/D/M registers,' MF 167; DRO, 'B/D/M registers;' DUSC, DPRI/1/1721/T8/1.

[51] Richard, Watts, 'Language and politeness in early eighteenth century Britain,' *Pragmatics,* 9 (1999), pp. 5-20.

Table 4.2: Comparison of Quaker occupations in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Colchester, Essex, County Durham and Newcastle

Category	Upperside of Buckinghamshire	Cambridgeshire	Huntingdonshire	Colchester	Essex	Durham and Newcastle
Gentlemen	0	2	5	19	29	4
Professionals	3	0	4	19	28	7
Wholesale and Large producers	12	12	19	278	336	31
Retail Traders	15	46	51	93	306	34
Artisans	18	50	44	376	358	66
Sea Trades	0	3	3	10	53	34
Agriculture	30	87	74	19	642	37
Labourer and Servants and other	12	14	16	0	23	13
Yeoman	0	0	0	0	0	50
Total	90	214	216	814	1775	276

Bill Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' *The world of rural dissenters*, Margaret Spufford (eds.), (Cambridge, 1992); Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, (London, 2005), pp. 227-228; For Durham and Newcastle see *Appendix 3*.

The completed occupational records disprove the assertion by Geoffrey Nuttall that Quakerism in England would not have survived without its gentlemanly population.[52] Furthermore, when Braithwaite determined that Durham Quakerism did not endure the Restoration, the region's declining membership was attributed to the loss of prominent Quaker leader Anthony Pearson as a supporter.[53] These early assessments exaggerated the influence of wealthy Quakers on the Society's organisation in Durham and Newcastle, and instead supports the theory that local, middling members played a

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[52] Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and the Rise of Quakers in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal* (June, 1944), p. 97.

[53] Nuttall, George Fox and the Rise of Quakers in the Bishoprick,' pp. 96-97; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 464.

significant role in organising the membership after the Restoration.[54] A similar conclusion can be drawn from the other studies. Stevenson's study of Buckinghamshire found no gentlemen in the records between 1655 and 1685. Vann listed four gentlemen, including, Isaac Pennington, Thomas Ellwood and William Penn, all of whom were of gentry status.[55] Pennington, Ellwood and Penn were wealthy and influential Quakers, but their absence from the meeting records suggests they were not active members on a local or regional level. As Chapter 5 will discussion in further detail, lack of gentlemen Quakers within the meetings did not necessarily help or hinder the regional Society of Friends. The monthly meeting registers for Durham and Newcastle indicate the leaders of the regional Society were varied in social standing, and included artisans, wholesale traders, large producers, merchants and retail traders. Gentlemanly status did not determine leadership in the meetings, but rather, the weightiness of an individual's connection to the inner light was the primary factor in determining the meetings' leadership.[56]

Among County Durham and Newcastle's membership, 24 per cent, were employed as artisans. In Colchester the town's involvement in the textile industry led to a large number of artisans employed in the trade. This included 35 Quaker weavers from 1655 to 1664 and 34 from 1665 to 1694.[57] This was in stark contrast to Essex, which only had 23 Quakers weavers from 1655 to 1684, but a much higher percentage of agriculturalists.[58] Unsurprisingly, Newcastle Monthly Meeting had the largest number of members involved in the sea trades at 15 per cent. Yet in a similar manner to the other meetings, most of the Newcastle membership, 28 per cent, were employed as artisans. With the exception of County Durham and Newcastle, agriculture was the main mode of work among all of the meetings previously studied. Members involved in agriculture in the Upperside of Buckinghamshire Monthly Meeting

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[54] Chapter 5.
[55] Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration dissenters', pp. 352-353; Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure', pp. 79-81.
[56] See Chapter 5.
[57] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 152.
[58] Ibid.; See Table 8 and 9 in Davies, pp. 151-154.

totalled 46 per cent. In Huntingdonshire, 41 per cent of Friends were involved in some form of

agriculture, and in Essex, 36 per cent of the total occupations came from agriculture. From 1655 to 1724

this total came to 46 per in Cambridgeshire.[59] Yet in the whole of County Durham and Newcastle from

1653 to 1727, only 13 per cent of Quakers were involved in agrarian occupations, with the majority

located in the meetings at Stockton, Lanchester and Raby. Friends working in agriculture in the more

urban meetings near Newcastle, North Shields, South Shields and Sunderland were relatively low, and

instead the majority of members in these locations were artisans. The only meeting in England to have

less of an association with agriculture was Colchester, where Davies found 2 per cent of the membership

involved in agrarian types of work.[60]

The Quaker occupational statistics show how local economies directly determined the

employment and the social status of the Quaker membership. Occupationally, the first Quakers in

County Durham and Newcastle were divided along a north/south division, with occupations in the south

associated with the land and textile trade and occupations in the north associated with the growth of

the port towns along the Tyne and Wear rivers. Agrarian employment was highest amongst Quakers in

southern and eastern Durham, but that did not equate them to being the poorer neighbours of

Newcastle. Later in this chapter, an examination of probate records will show that the urban and rural

separation of occupations did not mean a differentiation of wealth. The occupational percentages do

not provide a qualitative understanding of the social status of the Society of Friends, and members need

to be placed within the wider communities in which they were living to determine the social status in

which the early movement derivied its membership.

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[59] Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration dissenters,' pp.339-340.
[60] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 152.

County Durham Hearth Tax Assessments

The Hearth Tax was instituted by an Act of Parliament in 1662, to raise funds for the crown by taxing '"every dwelling and other House and Edifice....shall be chargeable....for every Fire hearth and Stove....the sum of Twoe shillings by the yeare"'.[61] The hearth tax centralised the crown's authority in regions where local elites once ruled on their behalf, and it provided funds for the crown following the Restoration.[62] The assessment lists consist of names, parishes and individuals paying and not paying the tax. The list can be used to determine population density and the distribution of wealth in post-Restoration England. However, using the hearth tax records to identify the relative wealth of individuals can be problematic. In certain years of the assessment, under-recording of households was common, possibly due to population changes or changes in the interpretation of the law.[63] Furthermore, in any given town, village or parish, a commonality of names makes it difficult to determine one individual from another. An inability to positively identify more than ten Quakers in Newcastle and Cotherstone through name and parish identification has meant they are excluded from this assessment, and the main focus will be on County Durham where detailed residences of Quakers has been recorded.[64] Only Quakers with the most compiled information could be positively determined in the lists. With the aid of meeting records, occupations, probate and court records that identified specific residences, only 72 of the approximately 700 seventeenth-century Quakers could be identified. For instance the name William Hodgson occurs, with various spellings, in the assessments thirteen times. However, an examination of the Records for Sufferings listed William Hodgson's name in 1677 for being present at an illegal conventicle. The conventicle record stated that he was a yeoman and residing in Cockerton. This

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[61] *Durham Hearth Tax*, Adrian Green, Elizabeth Parkinson, Margret Spufford (eds.), (British Record Society in association with British Academy Hearth Tax Project, 2006), p. xviiii.

[62] M.J. Braddick, *State formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000); *Durham Hearth Tax*, p. xvii.

[63] *Durham Hearth Tax,* pp. xxix-xxx.

[64] For a general assessment of the hearth tax records and occupations in Newcastle see Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' Chapter 6.

information was used to narrow down the single William Hodgson in the assessments to determine that

he had one hearth and was paying the tax.[65] All individuals found in the hearth tax underwent a similar

process of identification.

For administration purposes, County Durham was divided into four wards – Chester, Easington,

Stockton and Darlington.[66] Transcriptions of the Lady Day assessment of 1666 and 1674 have been

published for the four wards, and using the names found among the Quaker registers, 72 Quakers have

been matched in the hearth tax lists.[67] The overwhelming majority, 58, were living in one to two hearth

houses with very few living in residences with over four hearths.[68] Ten were living in three or four hearth

houses, and the two wealthiest Friends of the period, Grace Pearson, widow to Anthony Pearson, and

Henry Draper, were taxed for eight hearths. George Burdon, the third gentleman, was listed among the

two hearth households.[69] Despite the overwhelming majority of one to two hearth households, only a

small number were not paying the tax. Fifty were paying and thirteen were non-solvent or listed as

exempt (*Table 4.3* & *4.4*).

[65] Besse, *Sufferings,* (York, 1753), p. 177; *Durham Hearth Tax,* p. 3.

[66]*Durham Hearth Tax,* pp. xviiii; xxxvi.

[67] See, *Durham Hearth Tax*.

[68] Two meetings are not included in this assessment, Newcastle and Cotherstone. Newcastle's records have not been published in full and most Quakers apart of the Newcastle Monthly Meeting were not living in the City itself but rather in North Shields, South Shields or Gateshead. Cotherstone, at the time, was part of Yorkshire and is therefore not included in the County Durham hearth tax publications.

[69] Anthony Pearson died in Durham City in 1666. *The baptismal, marriage and burial registers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin at Durham, 1609-1896,* accessed May 2014, [https://archive.org/stream/baptismalmarriag00durh/baptismalmarriag00durh_djvu.txt].

Table 4.3: Rate distribution among County Durham Quakers, 1666 and 1674
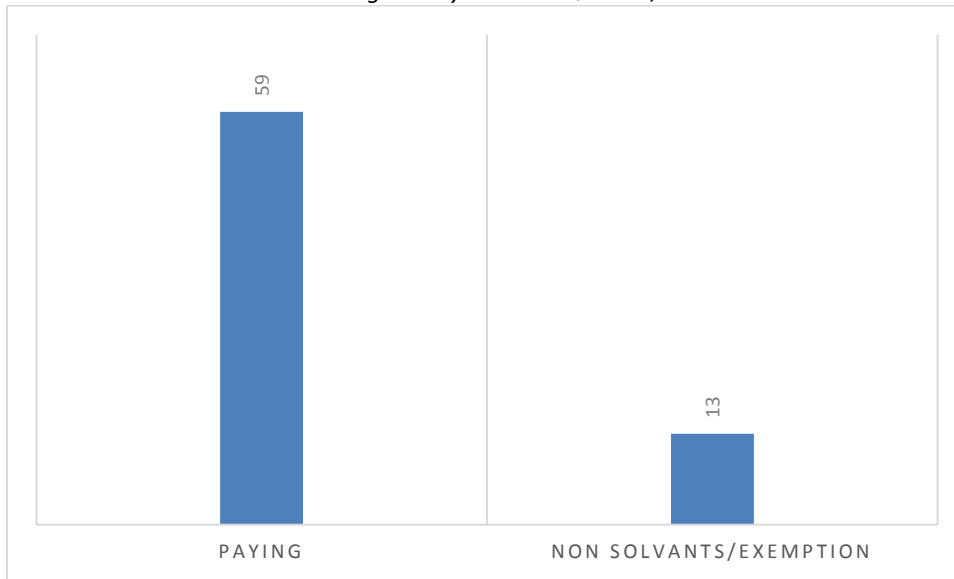
Durham Hearth Tax, Adrian Green, Elizabeth Parkinson, Margret Spufford (eds.), British Record Society in association with British Academy Hearth Tax Project (2006)

Table 4.4: Total number of hearths among County Durham Quakers
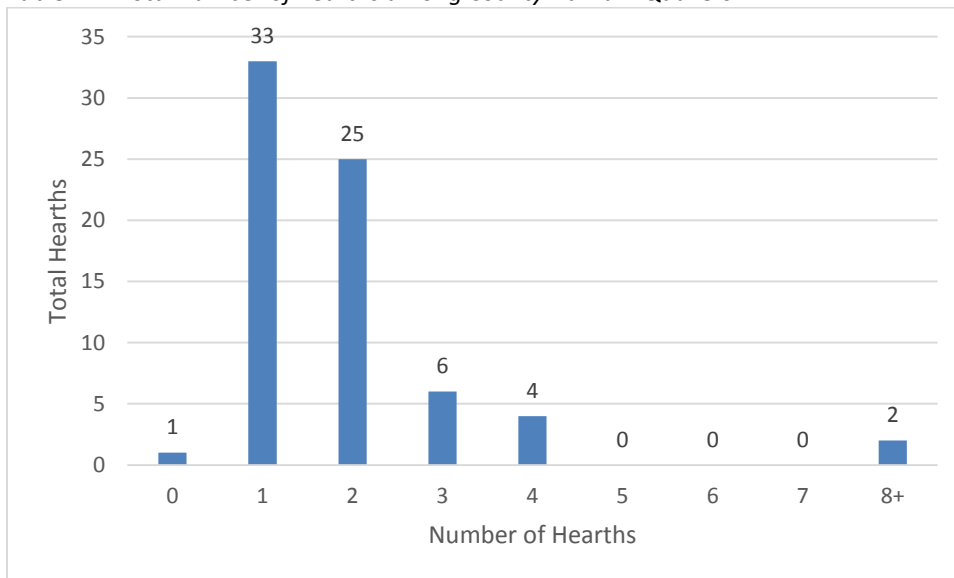
Durham Hearth Tax, Adrian Green, Elizabeth Parkinson, Margret Spufford (eds.), British Record Society in association with British Academy Hearth Tax Project (2006)

Due to county jurisdictional changes in the 1974, not included in the Durham assessments were

the parishes of Cotherstone and Lartington. Instead they were assessed within the North Riding of

Yorkshire. A surname index and statistical analysis has been completed for the North Riding, but without

specific household information on the Quakers living in these two parishes they have not been included

among the Durham Quaker analysis.[70] However, some information can be extrapolated from the

available information. Together these villages had 23 Quakers living in the parishes 1673.[71] In the 1673

assessment, Cotherstone recorded 114 householders and Lartington 52, and together they had a total of

231 hearths. In both parishes the majority of householders were classified as chargeable households

(*Table 4.5 and 4.6*).[72] As in Durham, it is likely that Cotherstone and Lartington's Quakers were

comparable to the wider community, and therefore, paying the tax on either a one or two hearth

household. However, this is an assumption and further research individual Quakers in the hearth tax

records for the North Riding will be needed to confirm this.

Table 4.5: Chargeable and non-chargeable hearths in Cotherstone and Lartington

	Total Hearths	Chargeable Hearths	Non-chargeable
Cotherstone	114	90	24
Lartington	52	46	5

'North Yorkshire Riding Statistical Analysis,' E179/216/462, 1673M,
[http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/communities/northriding/northridingstats.html].

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[70] 'Yorkshire North Riding Surname Index,' [http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/communities/northriding/], accessed December 2013.
[71] DRO, 'Cotherstone Particular Meeting, 1588-1992, SF/CO/PM 8/14.
[72] 'North Yorkshire Riding Statistical Analysis,' E179/216/462, 1673M,
[http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/communities/northriding/northridingstats.html], accessed December 2013.

Table 4.6: Hearth Distribution among Cotherstone and Lartington, 1673

'North Yorkshire Riding Statistical Analysis,' E179/216/462, 1673M,
[http://www.hearthtax.org.uk/communities/northriding/northridingstats.html]
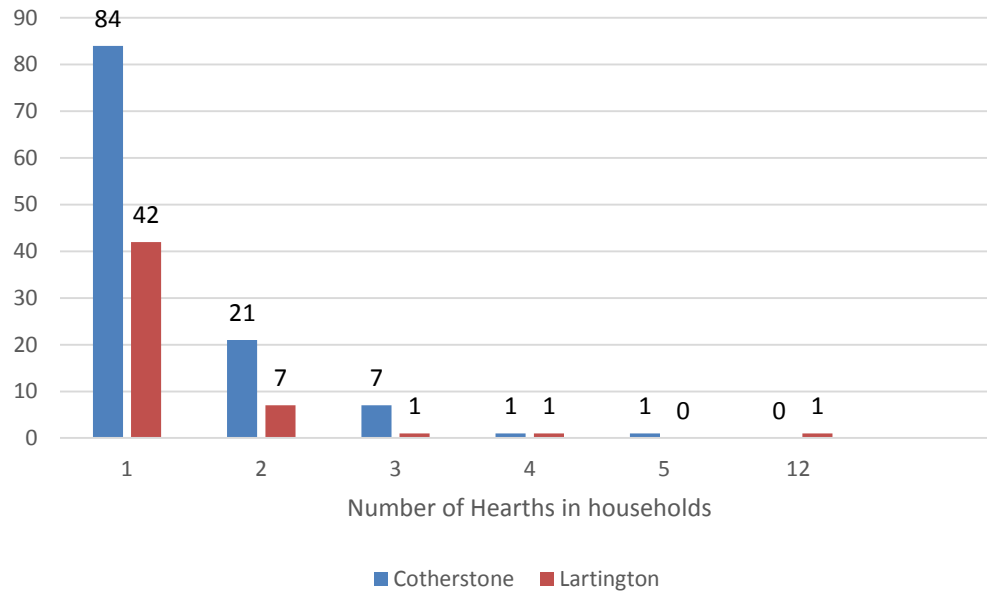
Judith Hurwich found in the 1662 Warwick hearth tax assessments that half of Warwickshire's

Quakers were paying the tax, and the other half were either exempt or living in homes with only one

hearth and not paying.[73] This led her to conclude that Quakers in Warwickshire were not part of the

upper middling sort, but neither were they consistently poorer. Instead, the Society in Warwickshire had

a wider range of wealth towards the close of the century. The high occurrences of payment and non-

payment indicated that Warwickshire Quakers were fairly divided between the middle and lower sorts.[74]

A similar study undertaken with the 1671 Essex assessments. Davies calculated that out of the 103

Quakers, 23 per cent were exempt from the tax, meaning more Quakers were not paying the tax than

paying. Within the select parishes he examined the majority of the total numbers of inhabitants were

exempt from the tax. Of the 1,925 inhabitants in the parishes, 39 per cent were exempt; considerably

more than the sample of Quakers found. In Essex, the distribution of Quaker hearths appears more

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[73] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* pp. 143, 156-161.
[74] Judith J. Hurwich, 'The Social origins of the Early Quakers,' *Past and Present*, 48 (1970), p. 160.

comparable to society at large, rather than a distinctly Quaker characteristic as Davies suggested (*Table 4.7*).

Table 4.7: Distribution of Hearths in 1671, from select parishes in Essex

Number of Hearths	All Inhabitants	Percentage		Quakers	Percentage
Exempt - 1, small houses, poor	66	39.8		4	23.3
2-3 (modest/comfortable)	672	34.9		45	43.7
4+ (large houses, comfortable)	441	22.9		31	30.1
8+	46	2.4		3	2.9
Total	1,925	100		103	100

Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 146.[75]

The distribution of hearths reflected wider society within these Essex parishes, and Davies concluded that the large number of exempt Quakers indicated that poorer members of the parishes were more likely to join a dissenting sect. The 'poorest members of English society,' he stated, 'were stirred by the difficult questions of human existence and were open to the answers that religious faith could provide'.[76] However, both Davies and Hurwich neglected to recognise that exemption from the hearth tax did not necessarily equate to poverty.[77] The hearth tax assessments were often incomplete, or deliberate omissions occurred due to evasion or incompetence by officials. Just because an individual was not paying the tax did not necessarily make them poorer members of their community.[78]

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[75] The parishes Davies used were Stebbing, Felsted, Great HOrkesley, Boxted, Theydon Garnon, Cressing, Earls Colne, Witham, Halstead, Roydon, Steeple, Harwich, Great Sampford, Saffron, Walden and Barking.

[76] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* p. 146.

[77] Tom Arkell, 'The incidence of poverty in England in the later seventeenth-century,' *Social History,* 12. 1 (1987), pp. 29-36.

[78] Ibid., p. 30.

Recognising limitations of the hearth tax records, the assessments for County Durham from 1666 and 1674 provide only a general characterisation of social status among Friends. As expected, the only two wealthy Friends of gentlemen status, Henry Draper and the widow of Anthony Pearson, Grace, had residences with eight hearths each.[79] Yet, for those occupying residences with four hearths or less, a variation in geographical location can be detected. Those with three or four hearths tended to be located in or relatively nearer to market towns. Edward Fisher, a weaver from Darlington, was recorded as having three hearths; Robert Wilson, another weaver from Darlington Borough, was recorded as having four hearths; and William Spencely, a dryer from Auckland Borough was recorded as having four hearths. Yet their occupational counterparts in the rural land around the market centres tended to have fewer hearths. Henry Emmerson a weaver from Brancepeth had one hearth, as did Lawrence Strickland another weaver from Blackwell outside of Darlington.[80]

Emmerson and Strickland were not unusual in their one hearth houses. Among the Quaker residences identified, the majority were characterised a paying for one or two hearth households. These individuals were often situated in rural communities and many were described as yeomen, husbandmen and labourers. However, labels of occupations should be used with caution.[81] For those Quakers identified as yeomen in the records, seven were in one hearth households, nine in two hearth households and one in a household with three hearths. All but one, Richard Park from South Shields, were residing in rural communities in southern Durham, such as Raby and Staindrop. Three were assessed as non-solvent and the rest were paying.

The numbers of hearths members were paying towards correlated with the physical location of the residence; whether they were based in a town, the country or in an urban or rural area. Quakers living in two hearth households were spread across the county from Easington on the east coast of

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[79] *Durham Hearth Tax*, p. li.
[80] *Appendix 4.*
[81] Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, pp. 19-119.

Durham to Piercebridge on the Durham-North Yorkshire border, but Green notes in Durham as a whole, two hearth households were less common and 'rarely amounted to more than a quarter of the population'. In the west of the county, houses with two hearths amounted to over 40 per cent, and the more prosperous lowland farming villages along the Rivers Tees and Wear had over 25 per cent of their houses with two hearths. In contrast, only a handful of two hearth households existed in the south of the county.[82] The same geographical range of Quakers can also be seen for those occupying one hearth houses.[83] Surprisingly, the two Friends with the highest number of hearths were not residing in the regions with the number of wealthiest Friends. As will be discussed in subsequent sections of this Chapter, the probate records reveal the wealthiest members of the Society resided among the Newcastle Monthly Meeting, predominantly near Gateshead and Sunderland. Yet, those with three or more hearths tended to reside in the west and south of the county. This pattern was representative of the county as a whole. Green found the central Wear valley, particularly near Bishop Auckland, contained a large number of five and nine hearth households, and those with three to four hearths centred near Barnard Castle, Bishop Auckland, Darlington and Sunderland.[84] The number of hearths and their location in Durham suggest that members of the Society were not residing in remote areas of the county, but were nearer to the market centres.

The hearth tax assessment further confirms that County Durham's Quakers were not among the poorest members of society. Yet, the hearth tax only provides a glimpse into community life of County Durham's Quakers by signifying them as representative of the wider Durham community. Quakers in this area were not an outcast or subsection of society as has been determined in the past.[85] They were not,

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[82] Ibid., p. lvii.
[83] See A*ppendix 4* at the end of this chapter.
[84] *Durham Hearth Tax*, pp. li-lv.
[85] See, Geoffrey Nuttall, 'George Fox and Quakers in the Bishoprick,' *Durham University Journal* (June, 1944); Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, chapter 1.

as Davies commented on Essex Quakers, the poorest members of society.[86] Durham's early members were neither significantly poorer nor wealthier than their neighbours. In subsequent sections of this Chapter further study into members' occupations, wills and inventories, provides insight into their position in the social hierarchy of the county.

Of the members identified in this assessment the majority were residing near market towns in the agricultural parts of the county, but without information on members from the urban parishes an understanding of Quaker social profile is incomplete. The next section will highlight the significance of an urban/rural split between the northern and eastern port and industrial parishes and the southern and western agricultural parishes.

Occupations – County Durham and Newcastle

Scholarship on the social origins of Quakers must acknowledge that regional economic variations affected modes of work, and a single assessment cannot be used as a determinate for the whole of English Quakerism. It is logical that members of the Quaker movement would have been employed in occupations that reflected the characteristics of their locality.[87] Vann and Cole's social origin studies centred on rural counties in England, and therefore, it is not surprising that the vast majority of members in these studies were associated with agriculture and artisan work. Yet, their studies reflected a religious movement tied to the land, not because it appealed to farmers and artisans seeking religious truth, but because their occupations reflected the communities they were living in. The local characteristics of County Durham and Newcastle created a diverse social and economic composition that was determined by the economic growth of the Tyne and Wear valleys. The demand for coal stimulated growth in Newcastle and the surrounding region, developing Newcastle into a

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[86] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 146.
[87] Ibid., p. 147.

culturally significant regional centre and provincial capital.[88] To meet the demand for fuel, a large wage-labour population migrated to the coal producing areas in the Tyne and Wear valleys, subsequently creating a greater demand for agricultural products. Increasing agricultural dependence forced the development of County Durham's landscape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[89] Freeholders and tenants enclosed open fields with many farmers benefiting from small land cultivators' decision to move towards wage labour employment.[90] These enclosures disproportionately impacted the lower Tees Valley, eastern Durham, the Wear lowlands and the mining parishes in the Tyne and Wear valleys,[91] regions where the Society drew its membership during the early movement.

Coal changed the landscape of the region by initiating a commercialised agricultural system in eastern and southern Durham. Adrian Green and Judith Welford identified Durham as having supported a 'quasi-industrial economy' through an 'increasingly efficient and commercialised agricultural system and the establishment of multiple consumer based industries'.[92] The region's economy was reflected in the occupational status of Durham's early Quakers. Levine and Wrightson found Whickham, and in association Newcastle, less of a quasi-industrial economy and more of an industrial economy in pre-industrial England.[93] Few of Durham and Newcastle's Quakers were directly involved in industry. Instead, their employment reflected the occupations that supported the quasi-industrial economy.

Known occupations for the whole of the region's Society varied significantly. Meeting minutes for each of the particular, monthly and quarterly meetings survive in varied conditions. Fewer particular meeting minutes have survived, possibly due to a change in meeting locations prior to the establishment of permanent meeting houses at the end of the seventeenth-century. Durham's monthly meeting

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[88] J.U. Nef, *The Rise of the British coal industry* 2 vols., (London, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 37-8; A. Green, 'County Durham at the Restoration: a Social and Economic Case Study' *Durham Hearth Tax,* p. xxxiii.

[89] A. Green, 'County Durham at the Restoration: a Social and Economic Case Study' p. xxxv, xxxvi; Judith Welford*, Functional Goods and Fancies: The production and consumption of consumer goods in Northumberland, Newcastle upon Tyne and Durham c. 1680-1780,* (PhD thesis, Durham University, 2010), p. 22.

[90] Hodgson, 'The progress of enclosure,' pp. 83-102.

[91] Ibid.

[92] *Durham Hearth Tax,* p. xxxv; Welford, 'Functional Goods,' p. 65.

[93] Levine and Wrightson, *Whickham,* p. 175.

minutes provide the most detail and insight into members' occupations. From the surviving records

Newcastle's meeting appears to have been largest in the region, encompassing communities near

Gateshead, Newcastle, North Shields, South Shields and Sunderland. The nature of members'

occupations was one reason the Newcastle Monthly Meeting minutes were the most complete and

detailed. Members' involvement in sea trade, ship building, wholesale production and retail trades,

contributed to a prolific recording of disputes between business partners and warnings by the meeting

to maintain morality in business transactions with Quakers and non-Quakers.[94] The Quaker meetings

oversaw the well-being of their members in the same manner that guilds and parishes oversaw the

welfare of their communities.[95] The moral well-being of the membership was maintined by the

meetings, including business and financial matters and interactions with individuals outside of the

Society. It was through the meeting's oversight that specific cases of indiscretion were recorded in the

minutes and occupations were identified for this assessment. The urban environment of the Newcastle

Monthly Meeting meant early Friends were more likely to be participating in occupations relating to the

industrial growth of Newcastle, and to be involved in business partnerships with non-members. As early

as 1684, it was the only monthly meeting within the Durham Quarterly Meeting to readily supervise

business and financial disputes between members and oversee members' personal and business

dealings with individuals inside and outside of the Society.[96]

Enquiries found in the meeting minutes on life outside of the religious community provide

further evidence of occupational status. On the 15th of the 12th month 1687 a dispute arose between

leasees of a glasshouse in Newcastle. Peregrine Tyzack was admonished for being 'scandalized about his

dealings' and 'litigiousness in law suites' against fellow leasees John Airey and Christopher Bickers.[97] By

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[94] Chapter 6.

[95] See, Brodie Waddell, *God, Duty and Community in English Economic Life, 1660-1720* (Boydell, 2012), Chapter 2.

[96] The relationship between business partners within the Quaker communities will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

[97] TWA, 'Newcastle MM,' (15th of the 12th month 1687), MF 167.

contrast, members of the more rural meetings were held to the same moral and religious standards, but the temptation and influence from people outside of the Society was not as worrisome. The minute books for Raby and Stockton show less of a concern with financial and business disputes, and instead the minutes reflect the rural characteristics of the meetings with concerns over tithe payments, as well as significant concentration on maintaining a moral Quaker lifestyle. Consequently, few specified occupations have been found among these meeting minutes.[98]

Further occupational records have been found in Quaker meeting convictions generated from the Conventicles Acts of 1664 and 1670. When an illicit meeting was broken-up, the residence and occupation of all individuals in attendance were recorded in the reports. However, some meetings were overrepresented in the conventicle reports. Meetings held in densely populated town centres, such as Gateshead, Sunderland and Darlington, made it difficult for religious and business meetings to occur without authorities finding out.[99] Only a small number of occupations for the Raby, Lanchester and Stockton meetings have been found outside of probate material and the Quaker birth, death and marriage registers. The rural parishes in the south and western uplands of the county continued to have absentee ministers with little knowledge of the dissenting communities in their parishes in the second half of the seventeenth century.[100] Isolation from the local parish community meant visitation reports for Durham did not include names for all the Quakers in the parishes. Gainford's vicar reported in 1669 that there were only two Quaker families in his parish; however the meeting records for the 1670s suggest there were actually several dozen.[101] These differences account for proportionately higher

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[98] DRO, 'Raby MM,' SF/ST/MM1/1.

[99] Bessie, *Sufferings of Early Quakers* (1753), pp. 173-190; DUSC, DCD/D/LP29; TNA, 'Consistory Court,' DURH/8/77/3; also see, Anthony Pearson, *The Great case of Tythes Truly Stated, clearly opened, and fully resolved. By a countrey-man,* (London, 1657), BL, Thomason / E.931[2].

[100] JD Brearley, 'Discipline and local government in the Diocese of Durham, 1660-1672,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 1974), pp. 48-49.; DUSC, DCD/D/LP/29/1-53; See Chapter 5 for further discussion on the Durham clergy and their interactions/reactions to non-conformists in their parishes.

[101] DUSC, DCD/D/LP29/3; DRO, SF/ST/M/1/1.

recordings of persecutions, and thus the larger number of occupations in the database from Quakers in urban and market centres, such as Gateshead, Sunderland and Darlington.[102]

From 1655 to 1727, a total of 276 occupations have been identified for County Durham and Newcastle. To facilitate comparisons with previous research on Quaker social status in England, and to make direct occupational comparisons between Durham and Newcastle Friends, each occupation has been placed into a specific category of gentlemen; professionals; yeomen; wholesale and large producers; retail traders; sea trade; artisan; agriculture; labourers and servants; or other.[103] These categories are loosely based on the PST system of occupational categorisation,[104] but the relatively small number of occupations examined has meant the categories have been broadly generalised for this study. Unlike past Quaker occupational scholarship, yeomen have been placed into their own category, rather than being encompassed under agriculture. This is to avoid the pit-falls of Vann's study, in which he attributed a Quaker yeoman to anyone owning 20 acres or paying £4 in tithes, whether or not they were given the distinction in the sources.[105] Additionally, the attribution of yeoman status was often unreliable in Durham, and the designation of the term did not necessarily indicate that an individual was a substantial farmer;[106] and for this reason yeomen have been given a separate designation.

Of the 276 occupations found for County Durham and Newcastle Quakers, 24 per cent of their membership came from workers associated with artisan work. Yeomen made up 18 per cent of the Society; agricultural employment were 13 per cent of the Society's membership; 11 per cent were wholesale traders and large producers; a further 12 per cent were retail traders; and 12 per cent were

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[102] Besse, *Sufferings;* DRO, SF/DU/QM/7/1; Persecutions under the penal laws will be further discussed in Chapter 5.
[103] See appendix at end of chapter for complete listing of occupations in the Durham Quarterly Meeting.
[104] E.A. Wrigley, 'The PST System of Classifying occupations', pp. 1-24; Thank you to Andy Burn for providing the reference to the PST system and his own occupational reference system for Newcastle upon Tyne.
[105] Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure,' p. 65.
[106] Levine and Wrightson, *Whickham*, p. 159.

involved in sea trades. A small percentage of professionals, gentlemen, labourers and servants also

made up the total membership of the Durham Quarterly Meeting (*Figure 4.8*).

Figure 4.1: Total Quaker Occupations in County Durham and Newcastle, 1655-1727; Sum of occupations found - 276
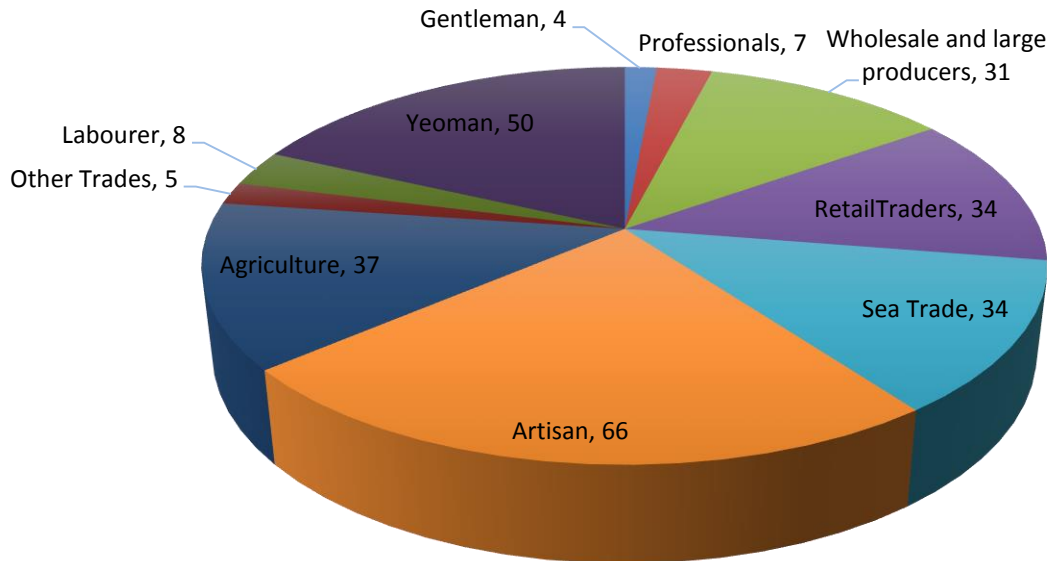
DRO, Quarterly Meeting birth/death/marriage registers (SF/Du/QM/7/5-7); Besse, Sufferings, pp. 173-190; TNA, DURH/8/77; DUSC, Probate Entries

Newcastle's meeting emerges with 141 known occupations, the largest in the region. There

were 30 occupations identified for Lanchester, 60 for Raby, 32 for Stockton and 13 for individuals

associated with unknown meetings in the region. Several individuals were found among Durham's

meeting who had a residence outside of Durham or Newcastle. Nicholas Martin was from Hexham,

which was closely connected to the Durham Quarterly Meeting, but was not officially a member.

Another was Samuel Nelhest, from Whitby. Samuel was a mariner and appears to have had business

connections with Stockton and Newcastle, making it likely that he attended the Newcastle and Stockton

meetings when he was visiting their ports. With the growing prominence of Newcastle and Sunderland's

ports as a major export and import centres, and the growth of Stockton's port in the latter seventeenth

century, one would expect to find several individuals like Nelhest; however it does to appear to have

been a common occurrence, or it simply was not recorded in the meeting minutes.[107]

Despite the growth of Stockton's port in the seventeenth century, occupations among the

Quaker membership predominately consisted of agriculturalists, with 36 per cent described as farmers

or husbandmen. This suggests that most members of the meeting were living in the agricultural land

around Stockton's port. A further 36 per cent were described as yeomen, although it is unclear how

many were actually employed in large scale agricultural work as their primary employment. The growth

of the port was also reflected with the presence of one master mariner, one waterman, one merchant

and one mariner. In total, 8 per cent of Stockton's membership was working in some sort of sea trade

associated with the growing port town. In the Raby Monthly Meeting, 11 per cent of its membership

could be confirmed as husbandmen or farmers; while the rest, 37 per cent, described themselves as

yeomen. With few surviving meeting records for Lanchester members had the least number of known

occupations, but of those identified the majority of members, 41 per cent, were involved in agricultural

work. In Lanchester, yeomen and artisans each had 22 per cent.

The occupation database confirms that Quakers in Durham and Newcastle were involved in a

wide range of employment activities, separated along a north/south axis. When the more rural based

meetings near Lanchester, Raby and Stockton are combined a total of 123 occupations have been

identified. This can then be compared to Newcastle Monthly Meeting's 141 occupations. Since a

regional location could not be determined for 10 of the occupations, the unknown occupations have

been excluded. The comparison between the urban and rural meetings shows an apparent north/south

split between the urban meetings in the north and east of the county and the rural agricultural meetings

in the south and east (*Table 4.8*). The high percentage of those employed in agriculture in Stockton,

Raby and Lanchester reflected the region's distinction as an agricultural centre. The 11 per cent of those

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[107] Richard Blome, *Britannia* (London, 1673), Wing / B3207, pp. 93-94.

employed in agriculture in the Newcastle meeting were mostly from Monkwearmouth and

Bishopwearmouth, in Sunderland's agriculture hinterland.

Table 4.8: Urban and Rural Occupation Comparison by Monthly Meeting, 1653-1727

	Gentlemen	Professional	Wholesale and large producers	Retail Traders	Sea Trade	Artisan	Yeoman	Agriculture	Labourers and Servants	Other Trades
Lanchester, Raby, Stockton	4	4	6	9	6	20	40	27	5	2
Newcatle	0	3	25	23	27	44	7	7	2	3
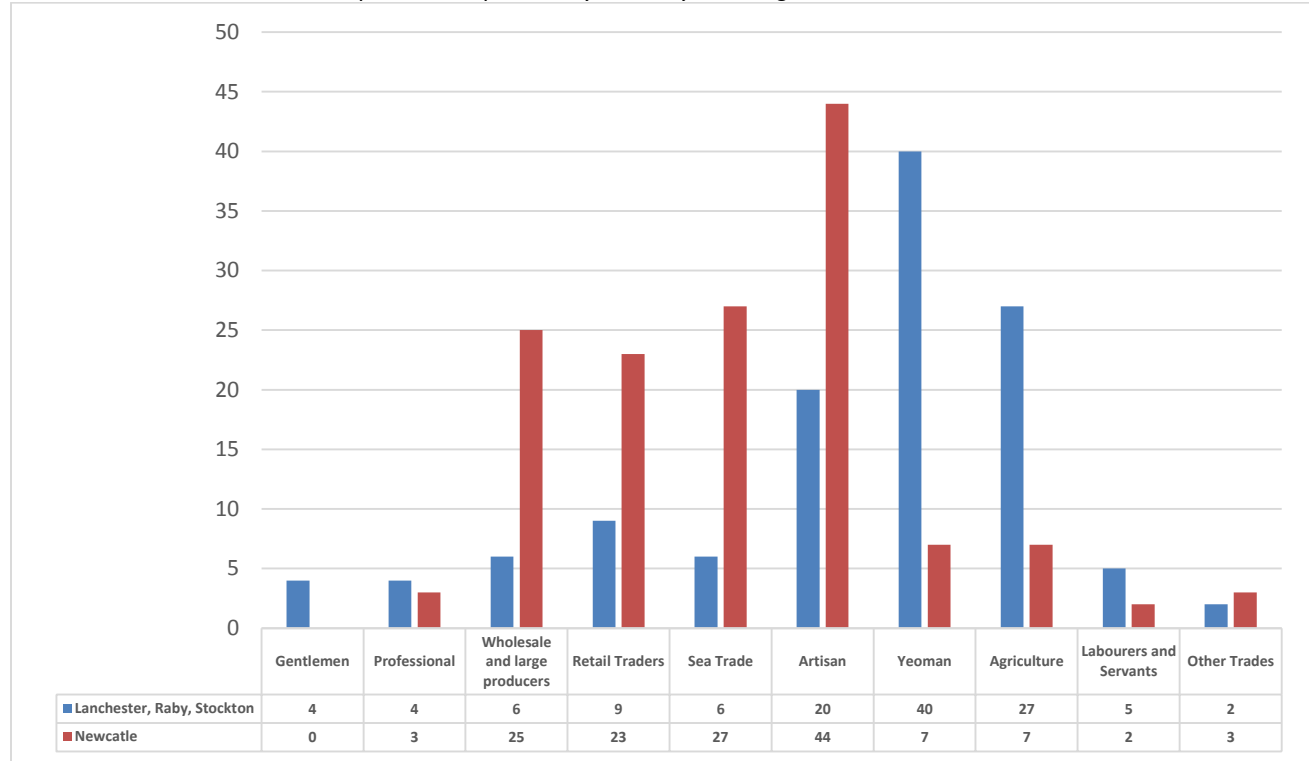
The occupations for County Durham and Newcastle's Society of Friends reflected the landscape

of the region. The southeast of the county had the most productive agricultural land, accounting for

Stockton members' prevalence in agriculture, and in southern Durham, land was less arable but suited

for animal grazing.[108] Quaker involvement in farming in these regions can be found among the probate

records. The inventory of Edward Fisher, a dyer in Darlington, revealed the predominance of grazing in

this region. Dated 13th June 1682, his inventory contained a section entitled 'cattle in the field,' and at

the time of his death he had '1 grey gelding & one grey cold, 2 small steires, 6 milck kine [and] 2 old

mayres'.[109] Upon his death in 1687, William Ellstobbe of Heslewell in the parish of Hamsterly had 'five

[cavles], two galaway [horses] and one meare, [and] sixtie and six sheepe'. He also left 'an Ewe' to each

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[108] *Durham Hearth Tax*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; Joan Thirsk, 'The Northern Province,' *The Agrarian history of England and Wales: 1500-1640*, Joan Thirsk (ed.), (Cambridge, 1967), p. 27.
[109] DUSC, DPRI/1/1682/F7/4.

of his grandchildren.[110] Rural artisans, retail traders and wholesale traders were also large components

of the occupational strata in the rural regions.

Unlike the rural meetings where yeomen and agriculture dominated the membership, in the

Newcastle Monthly Meeting mariners were the most prominent, but the overall occupations still varied

much more widely. Members partook in several occupations over their lifetime, a variance that often

reflected the changing fortunes of members over the course of their lifetime. For instance, Joshua

Middleton, who joined the Society sometime after the Restoration in the 1660s, trained and practiced as

a mercer in Darlington, and was listed as a freeholder of the town in 1685.[111] In 1690, he married

Rebekah Tyzack, the widow of glasshouse leasee Peregrine Tyzack. In 1698, he was listed in the Friends

register as a leasee of the St. Lawrence Bottle House in Newcastle and as a mercer; although there is no

evidence to suggest that he was working as a mercer after his marriage to Rebekah.[112] Middleton's

training as a mercer likely meant that he continued to consider himself one, despite not practicing the

trade for the majority of his lifetime.

John Allott was a Newcastle Friend who was described as a shoemaker and keelman at the time

of his marriage in 1659. Without a systematic meeting system in the 1650s and 1660s, no registers of

births, deaths or marriages were recorded until retrospective accounts were given to the meetings in

the 1670s. For Allott, it was possible that he gave the meeting his occupation at the time of his marriage,

but since 1659 he switched occupations accounting for the discrepancy. It was equally likely that he was

employed in both occupations. Poor weather in the winter months often meant keelmen needed to find

other employment, and Allott may have been supplementing his income as a shoemaker.[113] Allott's date

of conversion to Quakerism is unknown; therefore another possibility of his dual occupations was that

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[110] DUSC, DPRI/1/1687/E3/1-3.

[111] Robert Surtees, *History & Antiques of the County Palatine of Durham: Stockton and Darlington Wards*, vol. 3 (1823), [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compd=76365].

[112] FHL, Robson MSS TR1, 'Joshua Middleton'; DRO, SF/Da/MM/1/2; Ruth Sainsbury, *Beyond the Blew Stone*, p. 19.

[113] Joseph M. Fewster, *The Keelmen of Tyneside: Labour organization and conflict in the north-east coal* industry*, 1600-1830* (Woodbridge, 2011), Chapter 1.

he was a keelman prior to his conversion, but restrictions against Quakers and Catholics within the Newcastle companies and guilds would have led to conflict and his change in employment. For instance, the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers recorded in 1656 that 'in these late tymes, wherein iniquity abounds, wee find by [woeful] experience a great [apostasy] and falling off from the truth to popery, [Quakerism] and all manner of heresy and unheard-of blasphemy and profaneness'. The company then declared 'that no Popish recusant, Quaker, or any who shall not attend duely on his maister at the public ordinances' should be taken as an apprentice or else be fined 100 marks.[114] Restrictions such as this may have forced Allott to find other employment in the region.

Quakers in the Newcastle meeting provide a small insight into the dynamic occupational structure of the industrialising region. The growth of all major industries in Newcastle, Sunderland, North and South Shields were reflected amongst the members, with merchants, mariners, ship builders, ship carpenters, glassmakers, in addition to the artisans and labourers listed in the records. Katherine Elderton was the only female explicitly listed with an occupation as a tobacco spinner in Newcastle, and while not listed in the records as a haberdasher, Ann Chandler's inventory indicates that she maintained her husband's shop after his death. Ann's shop was stocked with tobacco, spices and silks, and with the further presence of two tobacco cutters, the Quaker occupational sample highlights the prominence of imported products to the region, as well as the extent of trade between the north-east and London.[115] There were divisions in the type of occupations held between the urban and rural meetings, but a survey of Quakers in probate will show that the divide did not equate to differing levels of social status between members of the Society.

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[114] Eneas Mackenzie, *Historical Account of Newcastle upon Tyne: Including the Borough of Gateshead* (1827), pp. 662-670.

[115] DUSC, DPRI/1/1697/c8/1-2; Welford, 'Functional Goods,' p. 181.

Probate wills and inventories

The occupational index and hearth tax assessments only provide a limited understanding of social status. Lists of occupations and numbers of hearths do not capture the identity of individual members, nor do they definitively place members of the Society within their wider community. A study of the probate wills and inventories provides concrete and tangible evidence of the sorts of people making-up the early Society of Friends.[116] Sixty-eight Quaker wills have been identified in the probate records from 1657 to 1740. This range of dates was chosen to encompass the first two generations of the Society's membership in order to determine changes in their social profile from one generation to the next, and to establish familial and business connections between individual members.[117]

Only a limited number of Quaker probate records have been identified before 1695, when an affirmation, rather than an oath, was allowed for the proving of a will. Quakers read Matthew 5:34-35, 'Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool,' as a literal and direct warning from God not to swear oaths. Newcastle Monthly Meeting's admonishment of John Carneath for taking an oath in a Newcastle court reflects the seriousness of following this belief.[118] Yet Carneath's reprimand was rare, with no other meeting registers in Durham or Newcastle recording instances of members publically admonished or expelled for oath taking. Instead, a mixture of Quaker and non-Quaker executors were used in all of the pre-1695 records. This indicates some type accommodation was in place before Quakers were given the right to affirm rather than swear an oath, but whether the accommodation came from the courts or the Quaker meetings remains unclear.

Spouses were the most common executors, whether they were a member of the Society or not. Often a second executor was named in the will, but there does not seem to be a systematic effort to make the second executor a non-Friend. Inventories followed the same pattern with at least one Quaker

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[116] For limitations of probate records see, 'Limitations of the Probate Inventory,' *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk,* J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds.), (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-74.
[117] Business and family connections will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.
[118] TWA, MF 167, (12th of 5th month 1680); Ibid., (9th of 6th month 1680).

listed among the appraisers. Where a will and inventory has survived, only occasionally does a Quaker

name appear as both a witness and appraiser, and rather non-Quakers were used as both.

Quaker accommodations for entering probate was not unique to north-east England. In Essex,

Quakers consisted of over half of the executors named in wills, leading Davies to suggest that 'some

form of *modus vivendi,* was reached between Quakers and church officials'.[119] Like Durham, it was

unclear whether leniency towards the oath was given by the courts or came entirely from the meetings

in Essex. In the 1660s, the Durham Quarter Session Order Book showed no indication of local authorities

accommodating Quaker religious needs when the oath of allegiance was administered.[120] But there

were instances in the minutes of the monthly meetings condoning the use of civil courts when

arbitration within the meeting was not possible.[121] The obvious lack of members brought before the

Durham and Newcastle meetings as oath takers suggests leniency was given by the local Society for the

purpose of executing the final wishes of deceased Friends.

Using the probate material many of the occupations compiled in the previous section can be

verified. While not available for all individuals in the probate entries, inventories of moveable goods can

be used to authenticate an individual's occupation by finding tools of their trade among the listings. For

example, in 1697 the inventory of Thomas Chandler of South Shields described himself as a yeoman, but

a study of his inventory tells a different story. Totalling just over £209, his inventory contained a column

entitled 'Goods in the shop' with items ranging from 'Tobacco rowell & cut, Tobacco pipes, Treakell,

suggers of severall sorts & candy, combs, gloves and skins, cheese and butter'.[122] Within the first column

of his inventory it becomes clear that Thomas was running a shop in South Shields at the time of his

death, rather than working the land as the term yeoman suggests. It was possible that Chandler did own

land and maintained a shop, but unfortunately his will has not survived to verify this.

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[119] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* pp. 194-195.
[120] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, Quarter Sessions, (1660-1669).
[121] TWA, Mf 167, (9th of 6th mo. 1687); this case will be discussed further in chapter 5.
[122] DUSC, DPRI/1/1697/C9/1-2.

One suggestion to designate a yeoman from a husbandman was through their land holdings, and an estimation of the amount of wealth it could produce. An individual with less than 50 acres of arable land would presumably earn £14 to £15 per year with £11 going towards subsistence. In a poor harvest year a husbandman would struggle to provide for his family, whereas a yeoman with 50 or more acres could earn £40 to £50 per year and in bad harvest years still be able to provide for his family.[123] Specific acreage amounts were not listed in the wills or inventories for any of the individuals studied here. However, in bequeathing various lands and tenements to family and friends a description of the amount and type (copy hold or free hold) of land held by an individual does appear. Among the Quaker yeoman several described their landholdings when bequeathing to family. Second generation Quaker John Hall of Monk Hesledon, in eastern County Durham, died in 1739 and left a will proved that same year. In it, he bequeathed substantial lands and tenements in Monk Hesledon, and its surrounding neighbourhood, to his wife and daughters.

> I give...to my two daughters Frances and Sarah to them and their Heires for ever all my Lands and Tenments lying at and in the neighbourhood of monk hasledon on condition that they shall jointly pay to their mother my present wife the yearly sum of twenty pounds...on farther condition that they shall pay into the Hands of my executors the sum of two hundred pounds within six months after my deacse...to the payment of my just debts.[124]

He bequeathed to his daughter Elizabeth Trotter, 'all my copyhold lands called gordons with the tythes thereof lying in the Barony of Evenwood'. Hall instructed that 'two hundred pounds' be used '...to enable...my said executors to the payment of my just debts,' and the money would come from 'the aforesaid premises [paid] within six months after my decease'.[125] From his will it would appear that Hall warranted the title of yeoman at the time of his death.

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[123] Keith Wrightson, *English Society,* p. 33; For the estimated earned income for husbandmen and yeomen Wrightson used P.J. Bowden, 'Agricultural prices, farm profits, and rents', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, 1500-1640,* J. Thirsk (ed.), (Cambridge, 1967), pp.151-152.

[124] DUSC, DPRI/1/1739/H1/1-2.

[125] Ibid.

The same was true for prominent first generation Quaker, Emmanuel Grice, whose will was proved in 1708. Grice's will lists his extensive copy hold lands 'within the...bondgate B[isho]p Auckland'.[126] His land holdings were substantial enough to warrant him the description of a yeoman. Yet William Foster's inventory, taken in 1692, lists him as a yeoman, but his inventory does not fit the description of a substantial landowner. He had £10 bondage listed in his inventory and at the time of his death there were'4 Kine and [a] heffer, 2 mares and a foale, 15 sheape and a swine, plow geare and wane gear, other implements appertaining and hay' on the land.[127] Unlike Grice and Hall, Foster did not appear to be a principal farmer and would perhaps have been better described as a husbandman rather than yeoman. The probate left by the above Quakers specify that it was not possible to assume that the term 'yeoman' denotes an individual working the land.[128] Returning to Thomas Chandler, he considered and designated himself a yeoman, but with no mention of land or agricultural items such as livestock or food goods in his inventory. It is possible that he had landholdings in the county which would attribute to his description as a yeoman, but there is no indication of this, and sadly Chandler's will no longer exists, making it difficult to know if he bequeathed land to anyone. His wife Ann appears to have continued to run the shop after his death.[129] Ann died in January 1698, with no surviving will included in the probate. Nor does her inventory provide any evidence confirming Thomas's status as a yeoman.[130] Clearly designating oneself as a yeoman did not mean employment in agriculture. Instea,d it was possible that yeoman was another form of polite society, used to designate a respected individual in the community.[131]

Identifying the status of yeomen and placing them within the social structure can only be done when the relative wealth of the individual is known. Otherwise, their status is left uncertain due to the

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[126] DUSC, DPRI/1/1707/G12/1-2.
[127] DUSC, DPRI/1/1692/F8/1.
[128] Levine and Wrightson, *Whickham,* p. 159.
[129] DUSC, DPRI/1/1697/C8/1-2.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Penelope Corfield, 'The Democratic History of the English Gentleman,' *History Today,* 42 (1992), pp. 40-48.

ambiguous attribution given to the title. But what about the other occupations held by Friends in the region? Where do they fit into the social structure? Twenty-nine Quaker inventories have been identified between 1665 and 1712, and they are represented by their occupation in *Table 4.10.* The table identifies the total goods and chattels valued at the time of death and shows varying degrees of wealth among the members of the Society; however a simple comparison of the total value of goods can be misleading. The two masons on *Table 4.10* were John Langstaffe (d. 1694) and John Atkinson (d. 1676). Langstaffe's inventory valued him with £221 in goods and Atkinson with just over £10. This discrepancy was not because Langstaffe was regarded as a better mason, and could afford better household items. Atkinson's inventory details particular household and workshop items – 'two ould chests; one feather bed and boulster; one stone trough; one raking one pare of tongs'.[132] Despite the detail and length of the inventory, Atkinson's goods were often described as 'ould,' and totals from each room rarely amounted to more than £1 in moveable goods. Langstaffe's household items were presumably comparable to Atkinson's with categories of household goods not adding up to more than £6.[133] The discrepancy in the evaluation comes from land held through a lease from the Dean and Chapter of Durham by Langstaffe. His lease was valued at £200, but, as Welford noted, calculating wealth from the value of land can be deceiving. Instead the value of household goods provides a more accurate calculation of an individual's wealth.[134] Thus, without his land holdings, Langstaffe's total value at his death would have actually been much closer to Atkinson's.

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[132] DUSC, DPRI/1/1676/A7/1-2; DUSC, DPRI/1/1695/L2/1-3.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Welford, 'Functional Goods,' p. 235.

Table 4.9: Total Goods and Chattels for 31 Friends, 1665-1712

Occupation	Inventory Value
Bankman	01:08:00
Cordwainer	05:01:10
Draper	631:07:04
Draper, Taylor	28:15:00
Dyer	175:19:08
Gentlemen	171:03:07
Gentlemen	251:00:00
Gentlemen	105:08:02
Glassmaker/Glasshouse owner	3397:11:01
Mariner	530:00:00
Mason	221:00:00
Mason	10:14:01
Master and mariner	19:14:03
Merchant	165:18:16
Widow but inventory suggests shopkeeper	91:09:05
Shipwright	33:17:07
Skinner	24:03:02
Smith	Estimation of 30:0:0
Spinster	28:14:00
Tanner	180:05:06
Unknown	12:15:02
Unknown	49:17:04

Unknown	77:00:00
Weaver	32:00:00
Weaver	20:04:02
Widow	20:12:11
Widow	Estimation of 18:0:0
Yeoman	65:00:00
Listed as Yeoman but inventory suggests shopkeeper	209:11:01

DUSC, DPRI - Probate Entries

There are also discrepancies between similar occupations and personal wealth. This was the case between Darlington drapers Robert Trueman and Lawrence Appleby. Trueman died in 1706, and had his goods and chattels valued at £631, 7*s. 4d.* Appleby died in 1699, and his goods were valued at £28, *15s.* The differential value between occupations and actual prosperity exemplify why an occupation cannot be the sole identifier of social status. Vann, Cole, Hurwich, Stevenson, Davies and Bell all used occupational descriptions as the primary indicator of the Society's social profile, but in their final analysis, each study insufficiently acknowledged contemporary concepts of social identity. For individuals like Chandler, using the title 'yeoman' was favoured because it denoted a position in society that was socially better than a shopkeeper. The wide array of individuals calling themselves yeomen highlight the fine gradations within the region's social structure.[135] Quakers were meant to rise above social class to recognise equality in god's inner light, rather than through material goods, hence the connotation of Quakers and plainness in dress and living. Nevertheless, inventories contained luxury items, such as feather beds, pewter and glass, but as the next section discusses, these luxury goods were

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[135] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 198; Corfield, 'The Democratic History of the English Gentleman,' p. 40.

more commonplace in Durham and Newcastle's society than previously expected.[136] For Quakers, the

decision to use ambiguous, but socially acceptable titles such as yeoman, points towards a social

awareness of class outside of the realm of the Society of Friends. Seventeenth and eighteenth century

Quakers were active members in wider society, and while they may not have been allowed to show their

status through clothing, they could use their titles and household goods to compare and distinguish

themselves among their social peers.

Quakers in urban and rural communities – Newcastle and Brancepeth

Few parishes in Durham and Northumberland recorded information on occupations that can be

used for quantitative analysis. Peter Kitson's sample of Northumberland parish registers found less than

6 per cent recorded occupations for four or more years.[137] Therefore, few comparative analyses have

been completed on the social profile of the parishes in County Durham and Newcastle, and even less has

been done on dissenters in the region. Nevertheless, a select number of parishes in the north-east have

been studied to provide a rough understanding of status in the region. Levine and Wrightson's

reconstruction of the village of Whickham from 1560 to 1765 unearthed a mobile and vibrant society

centred on coal and related industries such as iron. Occupations in Whickham consisted of colliery

managers, wrights, smiths, masons and metal workers, many of whom were associated with the

Crowley Iron Works at either Winlaton or Swalwell.[138] Yet there were no known Quakers residing in

Whickham, likely due to the high mobility of the town's population which did not allow religious

organisations outside of the parish church form. The Crowley Iron Works may have further inhibited

sectarian development since employees were forced to adhere to a strict code of conduct, including

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[136] Welford, 'Functional Goods,' pp. 242-243; Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' pp. 198-204.
[137] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 26; Peter Kitson, 'The recording of occupations in the Anglican baptism registers of England and Wales, 1690-1799'.
[138] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle, Ibid, pp. 218-222; see p. 220 for table of occupations.

attendance at Anglican prayers and church services at the Work's chapel.[139] Therefore, despite the

extensive research on the parish any comparisons to where Quakers fit into wider society would be

artificial.

However seventeenth-century Quakers were residing in Newcastle and its vicinity, and Andy

Burn's recent PhD thesis provides a means of comparing how Quakers fit into the urban societal

hierarchy. Using parish birth registers to record and study the nature of work in Newcastle, Burn

uncovered a dynamic and unique work environment from 1600 to 1710, with seventeenth-century

Newcastle acting as 'a century of two distinct halves'. Before the Civil Wars Newcastle's hostmen

financially benefited from England's growing population, while the rest of the town struggled to get by

on limited and often inconsistent wages. The upheavals of the civil wars coupled with the rise of

Sunderland as a second major north-east port reduced the hostmen's control on the coal trade by the

1660s.[140] Furthermore, the standard of living improved for the town's workers, with Newcastle

householders, at all social levels, becoming more prosperous than in the period prior to 1640; this

process was reflected in the probate and hearth tax records of artisans, manufacturers, hostmen,

merchants and keelmen in the town.[141] Newcastle fits with the larger ideological shift in class hierarchy

in the seventeenth century. As the hostmen lost some control of the coal trade economic power shifted,

with artisans and other Newcastle workers joining the ranks of the middling sort; a process coinciding

with a growing recognition of shifting class identities in the latter half of the century.[142] The Hostmen

and merchants in Newcastle were consistently at the top of the town's social hierarchy. Manufacturers,

such as the Quaker glassmakers, along with professionals, artisans, traders and mariners made-up the

middling sorts in the town. Yet as was discussed earlier in this Chapter, labelling an individual as

middling simply based on an occupation can be misleading. Burn found that probate and hearth tax

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[139] Levine and Wrightson, *Whickham*, pp. 166-167; 367-368.
[140] Keith Wrightson, *Early Necessities,* (London, 2002), p. 193.
[141] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' pp. 180-198; 273-274.
[142] Keith Wrightson, '"Sorts of People," pp. 49-50; 28-51.

records have shown that lower-middling and middling sort occupations, such as cordwainers, tailors and

barber surgeons, were actually held by of some of the wealthiest individuals in Newcastle.[143]

Quakers living in Newcastle experienced the same economic and social shifts as their

counterparts in the town; they were after all members of the same community. Nonconformists were

not listed in the Newcastle parish registers, therefore, Burn admittedly did not assess the role of these

individuals in the town during this period.[144] However, a survey of 141 occupations from the Newcastle

Monthly Meeting (this includes North and South Shields, Newcastle and Sunderland) has found a

significant percentage of occupations associated with the industrial economy of the region (*Figure 4.11*).

Among the first generation of Quakers, none were members of the Merchant Adventurers. Exclusivity

among the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers aided in keeping their members consistently at the top of

Newcastle's social hierarchy. Christopher Brooks has shown that fathers of new apprentices with the

status of 'gent' or higher increased from 1580 to 1680 from 29 per cent in the years 1580 to 1585 to 49

per cent from 1680 to 1685. Furthermore, 41 percent of the apprentices were already from Newcastle

and further 34 per cent were sons of current members of the Merchant Adventurers.[145]

The exclusivity of the Company may be the reason for the lack of Quaker members. In 1656, in

an effort to crack down on sectarian religious organisations, the Merchant Adventurers ordered that no

'popish recusants or Quakers' could be taken as apprentices. This ban continued into the eighteenth

century when Quakers in Newcastle complained to the Newcastle Monthly Meeting of their sufferings

under the Merchant Adventurers who refused to take Quaker apprentices.[146] The tendency of Quakers

to place younger members of the Society with other Quakers suggests there may have been Quakers in

the Merchant Adventurers, and by banning their apprentices they could effectively wipe out religious

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[143] Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 275.
[144] Ibid., p. 29.
[145] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship,' *The Middling Sorts,* pp. 56-9, 64.
[146] TWA, MF 167, (9th 11th mo. 1709); TWA, GU.CF 'Records of the Incorporated Company of Curriers, Feltmakers, Armourers and Hatters, Newcastle,' (1719); John W. Steel, *A Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends…in Newcastle and Gateshead, 1653-1898* (Headley Bros., 1899), p.8; TWA, Mf 167, (11th of 4th mo. 1733).

dissenters from the company.[147] A survey of eighteenth-century Quaker records indicates that the

company's strategy worked with only one Quaker recorded as a merchant in Newcastle when he

married in 1764.[148] Quaker merchants and mariners established themselves in areas with as less

stringent guild system, such as Sunderland, Stockton and North and South Shields, with 23 mariners and

merchants listed in the early eighteenth-century registers.[149]

Figure 4.2: Percentage of Occupations among the Newcastle Monthly Meeting, 1650-1727, Total 141
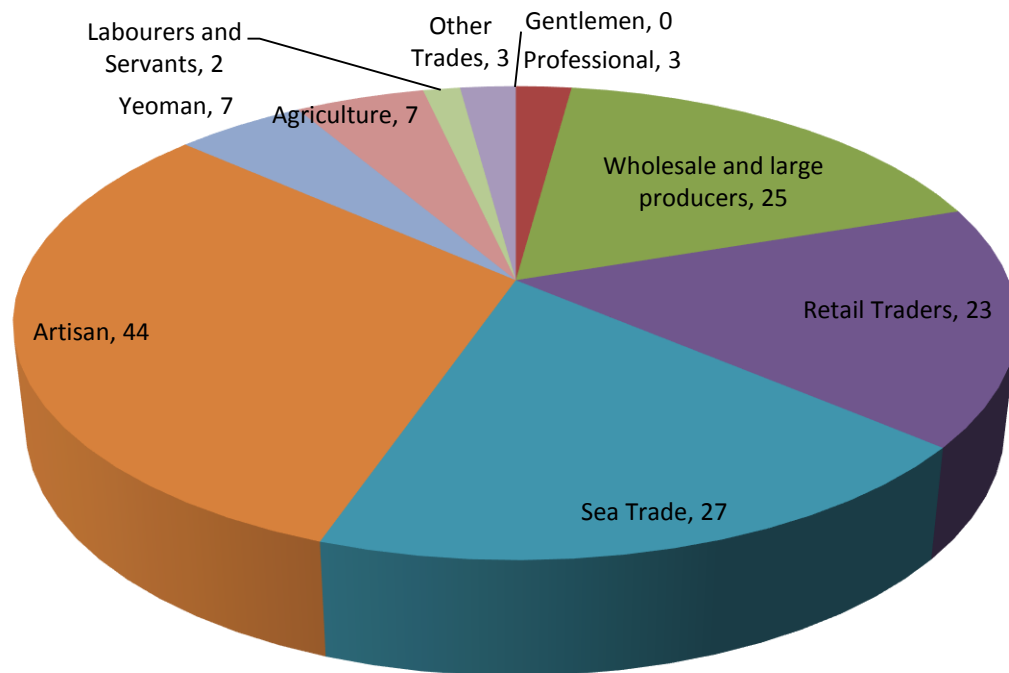
The probate records for Newcastle's Quakers confirm that luxury items found in the records of

the wider community were not beyond the reach of Quakers at all social levels. A skinner from North

Shields, John Buston, was entered into probate in 1710. His inventory listed his purse and apparel as

amounting to just over £1, typical for a plain-dressing eighteenth-century Quaker. However, his

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[147] Richard Graves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker: Anthony Sharp and the community of Friends, 1643-1710* (Stanford, 1998), p. 161.
[148] TWA, 'B/D/M registers,' MF 176.
[149] Ibid; DRO, 'B/D/M registers, SF/DU/QM/1/1.

plainness did not extend to his household goods. Items listed in his inventory reflected the growing

accumulation of luxury items by middling individuals. These included several feather beds, sixteen pairs

of sheets, 'two small looking glasses, twenty two pewter dishes small and great, two pewter chamber

pots' and dozens of 'old chaires' scattered throughout the house. The total for all his household goods

came to £24, *3s. 2d.*[150] Buston's accumulation of goods represented many Quakers and non-Quakers

living in the urban regions of Durham and Newcastle. After her death in 1709 the inventory for Barbary

Paxton's shop in Sunderland confirms the desirability of items such as spices, tobacco, feather beds and

window curtains.[151] The presence of such items demonstrates that Quakers living in the urban centres of

Durham and Newcastle were not among the poorest members of society. Instead their occupations and

consumer habits were representative of the wider middling sort. As the Society of Friends developed

their religious community in the latter half of the seventeenth century the Newcastle Monthly Meeting

minutes record the struggle to maintain religious orderliness and social acceptability within a growing

consumer society.[152]

Not all of Durham's Quakers were associated with urban growth of the region, and a large

number of the Society were living in the rural outskirts of towns and villages. In the rural community of

Brancepeth, a small Quaker community was present throughout the latter half of the seventeenth

century. The parish of Brancepeth provides a very different comparison to the urban regions of Durham

and Newcastle. Located five miles west of Durham City, it encompassed 31 square miles, and was

geographically diverse with a lowland river plane and land rising to over a 1,000 feet above sea level. In

1983, a geographical survey found the parish to be 'generally good agricultural land'. Land within the

river plane was often waterlogged and flooded but was suited to livestock and grazing. In the drier

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[150] DUSC, DPRI/1/1710/B16/1-2.
[151] DUSC, DPRI/1/1709/P4/3-4.
[152] Chapter 6.

lowlands winter cereals such as rye, oats, bigg and wheat were grown.[153] Seventeenth-century probate

inventories from the parish indicated that residents were involved in small and large scale agriculture.[154]

The tithe book for the parish listed the occupations of residents, such as carriers, weavers and coopers.

These occupations underline the importance of agriculture as the main source of employment in the

parish. Some evidence suggests that individuals supplemented their living in coal mining and related

occupations from nearby collieries; however it was not on the industrial scale seen in northern Durham

and Newcastle.[155]

In the clerical reports on dissenters in the Bishopric (1669) the curate of Brancepeth reported

the names of nine Quakers and seven Anabaptists living in the parish.[156] Five of the Quaker men named

in the report were listed as weavers with no other occupations recorded. A total of eighteen weavers

were listed in the parish tithe book, four in the township of Stockley (a few miles outside of Brancepeth)

and fourteen in Brancepeth proper.[157] With the exception of individuals involved in agriculture, the

presence of five weavers represents the highest concentration of one occupation among any of the local

meetings in Durham, suggesting a pattern of conversion among the weavers in Brancepeth. As Vann has

noted, similarities in occupations among the Quakers was not uncommon, with commercial ties

transformed into networks for evangelical ministering.[158] The concentration of weavers in Brancepeth

was likely because they were in contact with one another, which helped to spread the Quaker message.

Furthermore, as Anthony Pearson indicated in the previous Chapter, the conversion process was often a

collective experience. Individuals worked together to overcome the period of crisis that arouse prior to

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[153] Dorothy Hamilton, 'Social Networks, families and neighbourhoods: Brancepeth parish in the seventeenth-century,' (PhD thesis, Durham University, 2000), pp. 70; 138.

[154] Ibid., p.142; DUSC, 'The North-east inheritance database,' [http://familyrecords.dur.ac.uk/nei/data/simple.php], accessed January 2012.

[155] Hamilton found small coal mines in Tudhoe, Brandon and the West Park of Brancepeth, see Durham Cathedral Library Hunter Mss vol. 22, item 17; DUSC, Consistory Court Depositions, Loose Papers 1633-4, fol. 57; Hamilton, 'Social Networks,' p. 145.

[156] DUSC, 'Archdeacon's inquiry into nonconformist conventicles,' DCD/D/LP29/2-7.

[157] Hamilton, 'Social Networks,' p. 143.

[158] Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism*, p. 13; Margaret Spufford, 'The Importance of Religion,' *The World of Rural Dissenters,* Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995), p. 57.

their conversion to Quakerism. Collectivism also aided members in overcoming periods of persecution by the community and local authorities.[159] The concentration of weavers in this one parishes suggests that conversion, and the spread of religious ideas, was linked to associations outside of religion. The meeting records show that within any town or village in the region, the presence of several members of the Society helped to reinforce the individual members' beliefs and the principles of the Society.[160]

Probate records from Brancepeth reflect the agricultural nature of the parish with livestock and grains most commonly referred to in the records.[161] A sample of occupations taken from the North-East Inheritance Database from 1653 to 1750, illustrates that the majority of residents in Brancepeth parish considered themselves yeoman. The next largest group were gentlemen and esquires followed by artisans, such as millers, skinners and glovers. Despite the number of weavers found by Hamilton, only two have surviving probate records. Unfortunately, no probate has survived for Brancepeth's Quakers. However, it is not unsurprising. Many of the probate records traced to Durham's Quakers came from individuals living in the urban centres. Only a small handful rural Quaker wills were entered into probate, possibly a reflection upon individual wealth in the rural hinterlands. A comparison of urban/rural probate records indicates that most Quakers living in southern Durham did not enjoy the same luxuries as their counterparts in port regions. The inventories of rural Quakers lacked luxury items, such as feather beds and looking glasses; instead their inventories reflected their geographical location. Their wealth derived from their holdings in livestock, gains and farm equipment. William Ellstobbe died in Heslewell in 1687, and left just over £49 of goods and livestock. For a Quaker he was dressed finely with £5, 1*s.* worth of apparel. The rest of his inventory lists a small number of household items under a

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[159]Roger A. Straus, 'Religious conversion as a personal and collective accomplishment,' *Sociology of Religion,* 40, 2 (1979), pp. 162-163.

[160] The regulation of the Society's religious and social moral code by the meetings and individual members will be detailed in Chapter 6.

[161] DUSC, 'The North-east inheritance database,' [http://familyrecords.dur.ac.uk/nei/data/simple.php], accessed January 2012; Hamilton, 'Social Networks,' pp. 142-144.

single category, and the rest lists items on the farm and some mining equipment (likely for small scale mining in the parishes).

Hey	8.1.0
Three little sturkes	3:10:0
Five claves	2:5:0
Ton galaway herses and one [mare]	3:2:6
Sixtie and six sheepe	10:2:6
Tow littell ruckes of hay and ton stampes	3:6:8
One cubbart one ould cabell a table…chare, one … stoll, a chest, a little dishe, one bedstead and beding two pots, two panes …	1:13:4
One pit rope and tow barrows and sum shuvles belonging to the pit	0:13:4[162]

When Jane Vickers of Raby died in 1711, her cows and cheese press were worth more than her household goods. She left six pewter dishes, three beds and bedding and a 'cheespress & some cheese, some oates, a piece of bacon' and several cows and calves. However, her rural lifestyle did not make her destitute with her total inventory amounting to £28, 14*s*.[163]

Durham and Newcastle's Quakers clearly reflected the wealth and status of their surrounding communities.[164] Quakers living in or near the increasingly urban port towns were engaged in middling occupations that supported the economic industrialisation of the Tyne Valley. Likewise, Quakers in the southern and western areas of the county supported the growing need for agricultural goods to feed the workers and their families in the port and coal mining towns.[165] None of the members of the Society of Friends with occupational, hearth or probate records could be regarded as outcasts in their

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[162] DUSC, DPRI//1687/e3/1.
[163] DUSC, DPRI/1/1711/V3/1-2.
[164] Watts, *The Dissenters*, pp. 353-354.
[165] Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk, 1440-1580* (Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 1; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society,* p. 73.

communities, and while this partially reflects the predominance of middling Quakers in the sources, this small percentage of the larger Quaker population provides insight into wider Quaker associations. The economic and social associations that Quakers engaged in on a daily basis directly influenced the formation and development of the Society's meeting culture in Durham and Newcastle. The prevalence of Quaker occupations in trade, glass production and artisanal work placed them in greater contact with non-Quakers, particularly in comparison to their rural, agrarian counterparts. As Chapter 6 will discuss, occupations and interactions with wider society directly influenced how the monthly meetings implemented discipline and enforced the moral code among its membership.

Conclusion

The value of investigating social status lies in not simply pin pointing individual status, but also being aware of how contemporaries viewed social structure.[166] Historians of religious dissent have continuously sought to identify the social status of the first Quakers in England and Wales, and each has come to their own conclusions based on various Quaker and, sometimes, non-Quaker sources. Yet alone, none of these studies can be used to determine the status of Quakers in the country; regional variations make this a futile task. Instead, what can be determined was that Quakers in England reflected their regional communities, and throughout the country no single social class was more or less susceptible to joining the movement. Social standing was based on society's perceptions, and simply designating occupations to status does not provide a complete understanding of seventeenth-century social structure. Occupations and wealth were not the sole indicators of status; personal upbringing, consumer possession and education could influence a person's perception in wider society.[167] By the strictest definition Quakers Peregrine Tyzack and John Tyzack were not gentlemen. They were glassmakers with no evidence of having any significant amount of land outside of Newcastle.

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[166] Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London,' *The Middling Sort,* p. 156.
[167] Ibid., pp. 146-147; Penelope Corfield, 'The Democratic History of the English Gentleman,' pp. 40-48.

Nonetheless, both men were described as gentlemen when the Newcastle Common Council agreed their lease of a glasshouse in 1684.[168] Fine gradations existed within the region's social structure,[169] and for the Tyzack's there was clearly something other than their occupational status that Newcastle society deemed gentlemanly. It was possible that Peregrine and John were gentlemen by society's standards, and rather it was their Quaker levelling principles that kept them from adopting the title in the Quaker records.

While the overall sample of Quakers found in the hearth tax and probate records was relatively small compared to the total number of listed Quakers in the registers, the striking similarities of household size, occupations and wealth cannot go unnoticed. Almost all were paying into the hearth tax, living in one or two hearth households and, especially in the urban meetings, purchasing consumer luxuries. County Durham and Newcastle's Quakers emerged from the middling sort of society, much more so than in any other county studied to date. Just as Quaker occupations reflected the urban and rural nature of the county, the members reflected the emergence of a middling group of urban and agricultural workers in north-east England.

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[168] TWA, MF 167; DRO, 'B/D/M register, SF/DU/QM/1/1;' DUSC, DPRI/1/1721/T8/1; TWA, Newcastle upon Tyne 'Common Council Book,'7 April 1684; See Ross, 'The development of the glass industry,' p. 57.
[169] Andrew Burn, 'Work in Newcastle,' p. 198; Penelope Corfield, 'The Democratic History of the English Gentleman,' pp. 40-48; Also see, Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (London, 1966).

Chapter 5: Quakers, Persecution and Community, 1659-1689

Introduction

To what extent was the Quaker religious movement an individualistic religious experience or a communal religious organisation in need of an overarching church system? By the year 1659, Quakers in England were grappling with this question. As Chapter 3 demonstrated, George Fox, Margaret Fell, Anthony Pearson and other leaders of the Quaker movement in the 1650s, endeavoured to create a disciplined, coherent and uniform religious message through print, and in Quaker meetings across the country.[1] While notions of a countrywide organisation were being discussed, Quakers in Durham and Newcastle began the process of creating a religious organisational system through their local meetings for worship, regional monthly meetings and the Northern General Meetings, which included Quakers in Yorkshire, Durham and throughout north-west England. Over the course of the 1650s the meetings evolved from simply a financial organisational system to a disciplinary body intended to enforce uniformity among the meetings.

The progression of the meeting system can be found among the sources, particularly the documents that established the monthly meetings in Durham (1654) and the general meeting system in the North (1659). Both emphasised the business side of the meetings, with the monthly meetings intended to provide funds for ministers and persecuted individuals, and the General Meeting of Northern Quakers citing finances and disciplinary necessities as a driving force in its creation.[2] Over time, the meetings sublimated aspects of the parish community that were often lost when members joined the movement, such as poor relief. The meetings collected and offered funds to the poorer members of the Society, to individuals wishing to travel as ministers and to those unable to pay their fines due to legal prosecution. Additionally, the meetings provided disciplinary guidance to members

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[1] See Chapter 3, particularly pp. 32-35; 39-43.
[2] Swarth. Mss. 2. 17 (1654); FHL, Portfolio 16.2; See Chapter 3, *Appendix 1 and 2.*

throughout the northern counties.[3] Aspects of the 1650s Quaker community, such as ministering and

public disputations with non-Quakers, did not cease with the creation of the general and monthly

meetings, but overly enthusiastic behaviour associated with the Lamb's War in the 1650s was

discouraged, particularly as campaigns for religious toleration became a significant political aspiration

for Quakers by the Restoration.

Historians of Quakerism have often separated the early movement into three distinctive

periods. First, the Society is studied during the 1650s and the period of the Lamb's War; second, the

Restoration period and persecution of the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s; and finally the Glorious Revolution

and concessions towards toleration in 1689.[4] Admittedly this thesis has separated Quakerism in the

1650s from the rest of the seventeenth-century, but this is intended to provide clarity, and not because

a distinct dividing line can be found between the decades. The evolution of the Society of Friends as a

religious and social organisation was fluid from the 1650s onwards. Similarly to wider society, the

changing social and political atmosphere of the period meant there were ideological and social

differences between Quakerism in the 1650s and Quakerism in the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s. Yet certain

aspects of the Society remained constant from the 1650s onwards, including protestations for toleration

and their desire to implement a church governmental organisation, both of which were underway prior

to the return of Charles II and the enforcement of the penal laws. These continuities over the decades

can be used to illustrate the continuously evolving nature of the religious organisation.

This chapter begins where Chapter 3 ended, with murmurings of restoring the monarchy and

the English Church in 1659. It will briefly outline non-Quaker attitudes towards dissenters, rebellion and

disorderliness in 1659 and the early 1660s, and how fears of rebellion led to the implementation of the

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[3] Chapter 6.
[4] See, Rufus Jones, 'Introduction,' *The Second Period of Quakerism,'* (London, 1919); James F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum: A Chapter on the domestication of Radical Puritanism,' *Church History,* 19, 3 (December, 1950); Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912).

penal laws against nonconformists in England. Additionally, it will explore the extent of civil and ecclesiastical prosecution against Quakers in Durham to better understand the external influences that impacted the formation of the Quaker community which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Quakers, the Restoration and Societal Disorder

The inherent disorderliness of the 1650s Lamb's War generated societal fears against Quakers in the wider community. In the 1650s, persecution of religious sects was localised and often individualistic, with well-known Quaker leaders, travelling ministers and prominent local members bearing the brunt of legal action across the country.[5] The failure of the republican experiment and the return to monarchy in 1660, heightened already established fears of disorder and rebellion among English society.[6] The overt disruption of church services and deliberate public displays of religious beliefs, left lasting impressions that all Quakers, not just the leaders, were socially subversive. Throughout the latter half of the 1650s and early 1660s ministers cautioned their congregations on the consequences of allowing sectarian groups, like the Quakers, to continue to worship in the country. At St. Mary's Oxford, Robert South warned his congregation that God may suffer England 'to be transformed into a Münster'.[7] His caution of England descending not only into another English rebellion, but a religious rebellion similar to the sixteenth-century Anabaptist uprising, came when instances of disorderly behaviour by Quakers and other sectarians filled pamphlet literature. Publications such as Richard Blome's *The Fanatick History*

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[5] Besse, *Sufferings – Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland, Isle of Man, Lancashire* (York Sessions, 2000); James Nayler was an exception to this with his act of blasphemy in Bristol leading to a trial before Parliament.

[6] For a discussion on how order and disorder was viewed within sixteenth and seventeenth-century society see, *Order and disorder in early modern England*, Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (eds.), (Cambridge, 1985).

[7] R. South, *Interest Deposed* (Oxford, 1660), Madan / 2530, p. 19; Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (New York, 1985), p. 93.

(1659), compared Quakers and Baptists to the German Anabaptist groups, and warned the public that

adherence to fanatic religious groups would lead to further disorder and war in the country.[8]

New charges were levied against the Quaker movement to discourage their presence, including

civil prosecutions for immorality, incest, buggery and witchcraft.[9] Examples of disorderliness filled the

pages of anti-Quaker literature, and provoked outrage and violence against dissenters. Blome recalled

the behaviour of Quaker Solomon Eccles, who was cited for interrupting Edmund Calamy's congregation

by climbing into the pulpit and sewing. In Norwich, Blome recalled a man who trembled on a parish

communion table, whilst stripped from the waist down.[10] Lord Saye and Sele reported on a Quaker in

northern England who said the spirit had driven him to hang a minister.[11] Despite few instances of

overtly disruptive behaviour in Durham, the region was not immune to Blome's assessment. He

accentuated this point that the Quakers were 'enemies of Christ' through a visitor's experience at the

Quaker meeting in Benfieldside (northern County Durham). The meeting was held privately at the house

of J. Hunter. At the meeting the visitor found:

> about twenty [Quakers] sitting silent, after a while the minister of his own accord, rose up to prayer, but his legs so trembled that he had much a do to stand…there was but little disturbance, when in the name of Christ then the Quakers roared, in a strange and hideous manner…he was amazed to see about the one half of them so terribly shaken that it was a wonder they liv'd.[12]

During the commotion one member asked the visitor 'if he was come to torment them?' As he was

leaving another cursed the visitor with 'all the Plagues of God be upon thee' (Figure 5.1).[13] It is no

coincidence that this recorded meeting in *Fanatick,* was held 19 October 1656, three days after Quaker

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[8] R. Po-chia Hsia, *Society and religion in Münster, 1535-1618* (Yale University Press, 1984), Introduction; Richard Blome, *The Fanatick History* (London, 1660), BL, Thomason / E.1832[2].
[9] Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 93.
[10] Ibid.; Blome, *Fanatick History*.
[11] Saye and Sele, *Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest* (Oxford, 1659), McAlpin Coll. / III 292, p. 7; Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution,* p. 97.
[12] Blome, *Fanatick,* p. 109.
[13] Ibid.

James Nayler's arrest in Bristol for blasphemy when he imitated Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.[14] The

account was also strategically placed immediately after Blome's description of Nayler's parliamentary

trial in *Fanatick* to highlight that not only a few, but all Quakers were religious extremists.

Figure 5.1 – Quaker Meeting Experience in Durham

Extract from Richard Blome's *Fanatick,* (1660), p. 109

Examples, such as the ones found in Blome, were touted by anti-Quaker polemicists to discredit

national and regional calls for toleration during the Restoration.[15] Quakers, regardless of their position in

the movement, were increasingly prosecuted and often disproportionately targeted as anti-Quaker and

anti-sectarian sentiment grew alongside fears of social disorder from 1659 onwards. The Quakers'

refusal to take oaths, pay tithes and their private meetings for worship and business aroused suspicion

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[14] William G. Bittle, *James Nayler 1618-1660 The Quaker Indicted by Parliament*,(York, 1986), pp. 103-107; Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers,* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 233-237.
[15] Ethyn Williams Kirby, 'The Quakers' efforts to secure civil and religious liberty, 1660-96,' *The Journal of Modern History,* 7,4 (1935), pp. 401-421, 403.

and made them targets for persecution.[16] Reacting to growing anti-Quaker sentiment in 1659, Quaker

evangelist Edward Burrough produced *A Declaration from the People called Quakers, To the Present*

distracted Nation of England. In his publication, Burrough repeatedly emphasised the current crisis in

the nation, meaning the English nation in which the Quakers were participants. He echoed the fears of

disorder found in his opponent's publications, and expressed his uncertainties over the political,

religious and social situation in the nation. Yet unlike his opponents, he emphasised that the current

strife in England was not because of the disorderliness of religious sectarians. Instead, disorder in the

country was due to rulers not seeking God's council through the inner light.

> And oh, how do we mourn and lament, to behold the out goings of men, and the present
> condition of the People and Rulers in this the day of their trouble; alas they do not behave
> themselves towards the Lord that his judgments may be turned away, they do not seeke him in
> truth and righteousnesse, they do not turne unto him with all their hearts, neither do they
> tremble at his Word: But they rather eject his Counsell, and despiseth his visitation, and they
> seek themselves, and exalt their own horne, and loves the honour of this world, and their hearts
> are hardned, and the great men seems to be utterly insencible of what the Lord is doing in, but
> seekes great things for themselves.[17]

The current government under Richard Cromwell, and before him Oliver Cromwell and Charles I, failed

not due to the rise of Quakerism or other sectarians, but because of greed and ambition among 'thy

Kings, thy Parliaments, thy Protectors, thy Councils, thy Committees, who hath proved unto thee

Phisitians of no valew'. He declared the rulers to be 'oppressors, thy Teachers deceivers of Soules'. To

bring stability and happiness to the country 'the inward cause of thy distractions must be removed, even

thy iniquities must be forsaken, and thy transgressions repented of...thou must leave off thy hypocrisies

and flatteries with God and men...'.[18] Once the government rid itself of 'the false Teachers and

Decievers,' and they came 'to be taught of the Lord' and turned 'to the Lord with all thy hearts' then 'thy

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[16] Craig Horle detailed the disproportionate persecution of Quakers compared to other religious sects, and explains that the nature of Quaker disorderliness (not paying fees, refusal to take oaths, ect.) made them targets for persecution. See, *The Quakers and the English Legal System*, chapter 3.
[17] Edward Burrough, *A Declaration from the People called Quakers, To the Present Distracted Nation of England* (20th of 10th month 1659), Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / B5990, p. 2.
[18] Ibid., pp. 4-6.

light break out of obscurity, and the dew of mercies should fall upon thee...the Nation should be happy,

and the People blessed, and the Government of peace, and truth should be established, never to be

confounded any more'.[19] Burrough's declaration laid out a fundamental precept of a Quaker church

organisation, and the system that governed the Quaker governmental system later in the century. Only

those who have accepted the light within and listen to God's message should have the power to rule.

God instructed rulers through the light, and by following the instructions of the light a peaceful

government, and thus a happy nation, would be established. It was this principle that developed into

the Quaker religious system of the particular, monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, as well as the civil

governing structure found within the Quaker colonies in colonial British America later in the century.[20]

Burrough also emphasised the position of Quakers in England. Quakers, he explained, were not

the enemy nor are they a rebellious group. Despite having 'born thy reproches these many years, and

have passed under the Rod of thy wicked Rulers, and people' and having been 'afflicted through' the

'hard-heartedness, though we have never provoked thee...and through persecution, imprisonments,

whippings, banishments, and all hard things have bin our portion from thee, yet this hath bin for

righteious sake, and not for any evill doing'. Quakers 'borne all these things in much patience, and we

are not now provoked against thee, to seek thy hurt'.[21] They would not seek 'vengeance upon our

Enemeies, we seek not thy destruction, but we desire thy repentance, that thou mayest be healed; we

have not the spirit of mischief, and rebellion in our hearts'. For Burrough, labelling Quakers as rebellious

misrepresented their religious community.

> ...we are accounted as a cast-out people, yet we are dreadfull unto the wicked, and must be
> their fear, for we have chosen the Sonn of God to be our King, and he hath chosen us to be his
> people; and he might command thousands, and then thousands of his Saints at this day, to fight
> in his cause, he might lead them forth, and bring them in, and give them victory over all their
> Enemies, and turne his hand upon all their persecutors, but yet his Kingdome is not of this

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[19] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[20] Jane Calvert, *Quaker constitutionalism and the Political Thought of John Dickinson* (Cambridge, 2009), Chapter 1.
[21] Burrough, *A Declaration*, p. 9.

World, neither is his warfare with carnall weapons, neither is his victory by the murthering and killing of mens person, neither hath he chosen us for that end...[22]

As an early proponent of Quaker pacifism, Burrough used this passage to highlight the Quaker movement as a spiritual battle, and not one that required the weapons of war.

Despite his protestations that Quakers were not the nation's enemy, he ended this passage controversially, stating that 'neither can we yet believe that he will make use of us in that way, though it be his only right to rule in Nations, and our heireship to possesse the uttermost parts of the Earth'.[23] Burrough was suggesting that Quakers were the true rulers of nations because of their connection to the inner light, and for opponents of Quakerism, this final statement had a rebellious overtone. However, this final line in *A Declaration* was not referring to a mass movement of Quakers taking over the world's political systems, but rather it was an optimistic belief that eventually everyone will see the religious truth of the light within; thus allowing God to rule governments through revelations received from the light, and create a government 'wherein truth, and righteousness, mercy, and justice, unity and love, and all the fruities of holynesse may abound, and all the contrary be removed, cast out, and limmitted'. The rulers of the government, one man or many men 'shall have the Spirit of the Lord poured upon him...and shall be anointed of the Lord for such an use, and end, to Govern this Nation, under such only shall the Nation be happy'.[24]

Burrough's final point was not a new one. He emphasised it a year earlier in *A Message for Instruction to all the Rulers, Judges, and Magistrates*, 'To all such as have the spirit of the Father, and are led...in their judgement guided therewith; this is an easy thing to discerne, and an easy matter to know and find out, and such as cannot discerne...in these matters...hath not the Spirit of God...and sound judgment... nor fit to judge the people, nor the honour of a ruler and judge'.[25] In the same year Fox's

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., p. 12.
[25] Edward Burrough, *Message for Instruction of all Rulers and Magistrates* (London, 1658), Wing / B6013, p. 19.

pamphlet, *To the Protector and Parliament, instructed Richard Cromwell and Parliament,* stated that

laws were 'not made for the righteous but for the sinners'. 'Take head all ye Law Makers,' Fox warns,

'that ye may be kept in the fear of God, and to wait...to receive...Law from him, and not your own

Inventions, for that will be tryannical'.[26]

Burrough and Fox's tracts stressed that good government and policy could only be obtained and

implemented through God's Spirit; thus, only those accepting the inner light (Quakers) could be good

lawmakers. *A Declaration from the People* was written with the intention of pointing out the failures of

the republican government in 1659, and for Burrough and his Quaker and non-Quaker contemporaries

that reason was religion. Both sides of the argument on good government and order believed they were

fighting a war for Christ, and that the others were 'Enemies to Christ'.[27] Burrough's pamphlet was just

one of many appeals to the English people on what needed to happen in the country, not necessarily

would happen. In his letter *To the Protector*, George Fox explained that Quakers were not expecting

great change. '[We] are well contented with our sufferings, and murmurs not, our sufferings are our

present Crown'.[28] Burrough suggested that the prosecution of Quakers across the country were

undertaken unprovoked by members of the movement. His insistence of unprovoked persecutions,

however, ignores the nature of the Quakers' spiritual war (the Lamb's War) in the 1650s. Their intention

was to systematically and deliberately provoke non-Quakers into debates on religious beliefs through

print and public acts of misbehaviour. Yet, *A Declaration* presents to the country a re-write of the earlier

radical aspects of Quakerism in the 1650s. The intention was to curb anti-Quaker sentiment within the

political rhetoric and wider society by stressing their willingness to suffer in silence if the government

could not be steered towards toleration.

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[26] Fox, *To the Protector and Parliament* (London, 1658), Thomason / E.934[7], pp. 6-7; Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England,* p. 219.
[27] Blome, *Fanatick*, p. 109.
[28] Fox, *To the Protector*, p. 13.

Quaker leaders were calling for members to end overly enthusiastic behaviour of the Lamb's

War in order to stress a national message that emphasised the peaceful nature of Quakerism. However,

what leaders called for in print and what individual Quakers practiced in the localities generated

conflicting views of the movement's religious and social motives. While Quaker leaders such as George

Fox, Edward Burrough and Anthony Pearson were advocating toleration towards Quakers in the latter

half of the 1650s, Lamb's War tactics continued to be employed within communities. One of the few

disruptive incidents to occur in Durham took place in July 1658. A warrant was issued against Margaret

Ramshaw of Sunderland for 'distrubing Josias Dockery, Minister of Lanchester, in divine service on 18

July'.[29] With the behaviours associated with the Lamb's War acting to the contrary, opponents of

Quakerism in the provinces were less willing to believe Quaker insistence of being an orderly and

peaceful religious group. For the remainder of the century stories of Quakers and Anabaptists plotting

rebellion spread throughout the country and led to violence against dissenters. In 1658, Durham Quaker

George Humble was sent to prison for publicly 'reproving the Justice who had commanded' several

Quakers to the stocks. Besse recorded the matter in Durham's sufferings, stating that 'the Justice,

offended at the Reproof he deserved, sent the honest old Man to Gaol for giving, where, after about ten

Months Confinement, he died'.[30] Similar instances occurred throughout the country. In Norwich, public

hostility towards Quakers was looming in December 1659, forcing the mayor to ask members of the

local Quaker meeting not to congregate for their weekly meeting for worship for fear of violence against

them.[31] In London, a women shopping in the street was assaulted by a crowd when her butcher cried

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[29] TNA*, SP 18/183 f. 59; *CSPD,* (Oct. 21 1658), p. 162.

[30] Besse, *Sufferings – Durham and Northumberland*, p. 173; It is unclear the year Humble died. Besse records it has 1658 but his will is dated 7 March 1656 and was not proved until 1665. This may simply have been an earlier will and the only one he produced before he was sent to gaol, DUSC, DPR1/2/8, f. 233-235, p. 62.

[31] John Miller, 'A Suffering people: England Quakers and their neighbours,' *Past and Present,* 188 (Aug., 2005), p. 83; Besse, *Sufferings- Norwich,* pp. 488-9.

'Here is a Quaker'.[32] Such instances, were the direct result of local campaigning against dissenters in the parish communities.

Nationally, however, tendencies towards religious toleration appeared to be taking place. As the Interregnum government fell apart, the threat of a Presbyterian-Royalist uprising led the restored Rump Parliament to repeal restrictions on Quakers and Levellers in the army and militias in August 1659. However, this was not an act of toleration or acceptance by the government, nor was it the type of toleration Quaker leaders were seeking. In September 1659, a sub-committee of the Council of State on the rights of the civil power in matters of religion debated the power of parliament to control the religious beliefs of the populace. On 19 September it was decided 'that the supreme delegated power [parliament] is not intrusted to retain the profession of any person or persons who profess faith in God the father and in Jesus Christ manifested in the flesh and in the spirit'. On the following day it was further added that persons '… doe acknowledge the holy scriptures of the old & new Testament to be the revealed or written word or will of God'.[33] Opposition to Quakers joining the army also came from General George Monck who expelled dissenters from his army in 1659.[34] Even George Fox was divided from many of his fellows Quakers in the 1650s when he encouraged members to remain passive and distance themselves from the military affairs.[35] His political manoeuver highlighted the movement's non-threatening nature to refute accusations of Quakers preparing for an armed insurrection.[36] On the 21st of the 11th month 1660, Fox made an official declaration to the King that all Quakers were to

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[32] Miller, 'Suffering people,' p. 83.

[33] Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke, Longleat House, Wilts, vol. Xix, fols. 86-7; Thank you to Chris Brooks for providing me with this reference.

[34] Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration, A political and religious history of England and Wales, 1658-1667* (Oxford, 1985), P. 99.

[35] As early as 1654 Fox was stressing the movements' pacifism. In a letter to Oliver Cromwell he declared that his 'weapons are not carnal but spiritual'. George Fox, *Journal*, Norman Penney (ed.), (1924), pp. 197-198.

[36] Richard Greaves, 'Shattered Expectations,' George Fox, Quakers and the Restoration State,' *Albion,* p. 248; Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 480.

renounce carnal weapons and only appeal to spiritual weapons.[37] Despite this, Quakers did join the

army and militias in 1659 and 1660, including Durham's Anthony Pearson who raised forces in the North

against Booth's failed rebellion.[38] At the Restoration it was a fine line between how Fox and other

Quaker leaders represented their religious group in the political arena and what was occurring among

individual members in their communities. How could opponents of Quakerism take calls for a national

toleration policy seriously if their leadership could not control their own religious nation? The

inconsistency in the Quaker message meant suspicions of inherent Quaker disorderliness did not lessen

in Durham, and contributed to greater persecution against all sectarian religious groups later in the

century.

For Quaker leaders like George Fox, the changing political situation was regarded as an

opportunity to put forward their calls for the abolition of tithes and to gain further toleration of religious

conscience. In a show of Quaker unity and organisation, Anthony Pearson and others put forward a

petition against the payment of tithes. A call for signatures was sent to meetings throughout England. In

1659, names were sent to London and the petition was presented to the Rump Parliament with 15,000

signatures attached to it. In the same year the Quaker women across England signed and presented to

the Rump a petition with 7,000 names calling for the total abolition of tithes. Of those signatures, 169

came from Durham's female membership.[39] Several tracts were written on the establishment of good

government and the legal reforms parliament needed to undertake.[40] Signed by sixteen Quakers, *A*

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[37] George Fox, et al., *A Declaration from the harmless and innocent People of God, Called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the World: For removing the Ground of Jealousy and Suspicion from the Magistrates and People concerning Wars and Fightings* (1660), Wing/F1788; Christopher Hill regarded Fox's pacifism call in 1661 to be the first "official" statement against Quakers in the military in *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (New York, 1973), p. 194.

[38] Swarth. Mss., 3. 145, (7th Aug. 1660); Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 458, 463; Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum,' p. 263.

[39] *A copie of a letter presented to Parliament: And Read the 27th of the fourth Moneth 1659. Subscribed by more than fifteen thousand hands*, (1659), Thomason/147:E.988[24]; Mary Forster, *These Several papers was sent to the Parliament the twentieth day of the fifth moneth 1659* (London, 1659), Wing / F1605 , pp. 29-30.

[40] For example see, Edward Billing, *Mite of Affection manifested in 31 Proposals* (1659), Thomason / E.1001[5]; Thomas Lawson, *Appeal to the Parliament Concerning the Poor, that There may not be a Beggar in England*, (1659),

Declaration of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, To all Magistrates and People (1659) was written and published during this period to establish guidelines for how Quakers could work towards toleration in their localities. The Rump Parliament was perceived as an opportunity for the movement's political and social demands to be met, and while they were given the freedom to re-join the army and militias, for a time, Quaker participation in armed activities was not the form of acceptance they sought to gain. This was evident in the legal toleration sought in Pearson's and the women's meeting's petitions. Furthermore, with the parliamentary elections in spring 1660 voting in mostly loyalist MPs, the anticipation of the returning monarchy forced Quaker leaders to change their political tactics from petitions to parliament to calls for members to utilize spiritual rather than physical weapons, and emphasise loyalty to the returning king.

Attempts by Quaker leaders to declare their desire for order and allegiance to the crown did not quell fears of disorder and rebellion by Quakers and other dissenters, particularly in the localities. Greaves estimated that in 1642, 70,000 men had taken up arms against the crown, some of whom were regarded as religious radicals in the 1650s, although an estimate of numbers was not given. Furthermore, following the ejection of nonconformist ministers from their parishes in August 1662, Greaves went on to estimate a further 100,000 nonconformists were living in the kingdom.[41] While not all of these individuals were religious or political radicals, distinguishing between those with radical ties and passive dissenters, among a large number of nonconformists was a problem for the restored government and local authorities in the country.[42] Increasing the crown's fears were continued rumours of rebellious plots. An oath of allegiance to Charles II was promptly introduced to weed out possible

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Wing / L722; George Fox, *Fifty Nine Particulars laid down for the Regulating things, and the taking away of Oppressing Laws, and Oppressors, and to ease the Oppressed* (1659), with an introduction by H. Larry Ingle, [http://universalistfriends.org/quf2002.html], accessed May 2014; Edward Burrough, *A Declaration from the People called Quakers, To the Present Distracted Nation of England* (20th of 10th month 1659), Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / B5990.

[41] Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies under his feet*: *Radicals and nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990), p. 1.

[42] Ibid., p. 2.

dissidents, but while Quakers insisted on their loyalty to the crown, their refusal to take the oath

furthered suspicions of subversion. As several northern Quakers reminded magistrates on the eve of the

restoration in 1659, their refusal to take an oath was not to be disorderly but under the command of

Christ. They cited Matthew 5. 34-37, as proof of their religious conviction.

> Swear not at all neither by Heaven for in is Gods throne, ...neither shalt thou swear by thy head,
> because thou can not make one hair white or black; but let your yea, be yea, and you nay, nay,
> for whatsoever is more than these commeth of evil.[43]

Nevertheless, no concessions on taking the oath were granted to Quakers, and a continued outright

refusal to take any oath meant that the first year the oath of allegiance was rendered, Durham's Quaker

community had a total of 73 members appear before the Quarter Sessions for refusal to take the oath in

1661.[44]

Anti-Quaker sentiment was perceived as so great in 1660 that one Quaker declared that King

Charles II would banish them from the country 'or hang us all' upon his return.[45] The majority of this fear

came in the first few years after the Restoration, when stories of sectarian plots and conspiracies,

whether real or contrived, spread nationwide and precipitated a backlash against those deemed political

or religious dissenters. In Durham, rumours of uprisings and actual plots against the Crown reinforced

the monitoring and prosecutions of dissenters in the 1660s. The inability of the Quaker leaders to shape

and control a consistent message of peace meant the Society was swept into rumours of uprising and

plots. This prompted a backlash against Quakers in Durham and an increase in the number of

prosecutions against Durham's membership immediately following the Restoration by the ecclesiastical

and civil authorities.

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[43] John Crook, *A Declaration of the people of God in scorn called Quakers, to all Magistrates and People* (London, 1659), 855.f.3[43], p. 3.

[44] DRO, 'Quarter Sessions Order Book,' Q/S/OB 1-44, (1660-1661); Convictions and persecutions will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[45] George Fox the younger, *A Noble Salutation* (London, 1660), Wing / F2007, p. 13; Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 105.

Risings, Rebellions and the backlash against Durham's Society of Friends

Upon the return of Charles II, authorities began a campaign of weeding out rebellious individuals

in the country. Across the country informers reported to the government on possible dissenting threats

in the provinces. In June 1660, an informer in Durham reported to the Crown that Quaker Anthony

Pearson held large meetings at his residence at Ramshaw Hall. These meetings were attended by over

100 Quakers, and at one meeting he received a large supply of daggers and knives to his house.[46]

Despite this accusation, Pearson was not apprehended by authorities until December 1661 when he was

detained over personal connections in Scotland and possible links to a Scottish-English uprising. On 14

December, Pearson was questioned on his contacts and correspondence with individuals in Scotland. He

declared 'that he hath not held correspondence with any person in that kingdome since ye return of his

majesty'. He added that he also did not know of any 'correspondence held between any persons of the

Scottish or English [nation], now in Scotland & persons here in England'.[47] Pearson was released by the

authorities, but only after recanting his Quaker faith. He confessed that his involvement with the

movement was nothing more than a 'Chymericall notion of those giddy tymes'.[48]

Suspicions levied against Pearson and other Quaker leaders reflect the unsettled atmosphere of

the early 1660s. Like Pearson, in 1661 Quaker leader George Fox was arrested and imprisoned in

Lancaster for four months for his association with the Quaker movement. While he was never

connected to an uprising he was described by the Crown as 'an Enemy to our sovereign Lord the King

and a chief upholder of the Quaker sect'.[49] Some suspicions against dissenters, however, were not

entirely unfounded. In Durham, rumours of armed uprisings and rebellious individuals were expressed in

March 1664 in a letter to Durham's deputy lieutenant, Sir William Blakeston. Writing from Darlington an

unnamed, J. S., reported that in Durham and Newcastle he could 'never read more discontent than at

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[46] Richard Greaves, 'Anthony Pearson' *DNB*.
[47] TNA*,* SP 29/45 f.112; *CSPD,* (14 Dec. 1661), p. 181.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, p. 105.

this moment'. '[T]he Phanaticks looke with a Rebellious spirit, and their Language smaells much of dissatisfaction; and begin againe to meet with much confidence, which is much to bee feared with bee an opportunity of them to hatch their Rebellion'.[50] Not long after J.S.'s letter, Blakeston explained to Joseph Williamson that he feared for his life. The outlook had dramatically changed and affairs in the north were 'far out of order'. Durham, he writes, was not prepared for an armed uprising. 'The horse are not ready and there is no place of strength'. He concluded that he may have to leave the country because 'there is not a greater company of villains in England'.[51]

Blakeston's report of a looming rebellion was not entirely unfounded. His letter was written in the wake of the failed Derwentdale Plot that was intended to rise 'against the government, and to destroy Parliament, and murder all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and all other ministers if the Church…to destroy the Common Prayer Book, and to pull down all Churches'.[52] Blakeston's concerns at the beginnings of a rebellion were substantiated by Captain Edward Shepperdson, a co-conspirator in the plot. Shepperdson confessed in April that an uprising was under way in northern England, and in Durham papers were circulated '"to excite the relations of those that have suffered, & all others of there interst, to kill...all those Who have bene active against them"'.[53] A spy for the Crown in Durham was instructed 'to procure the subscription of the disaffected partie to such engagements as may bring them within the compass of the law'. Sir Roger Langley reported to Secretary Bennet that the radicals were in 'so great a readines' 'that they want little, but to attend there intended tyme for rising'.[54] In the examination of John Waller in 1664 for his role in another suspected uprising in Durham and Yorkshire, he reported to the government that 700 or 800 men were ready to fight and kill all who opposed

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[50] TNA, SP 29/94 f.10; *CSPD,* (2 March 1664), p. 503; (J.S. may refer to Mr Stewart, at minister in Darlington who is mentioned in a letter from Blakeston several days after this letter on 16 March 1664, TNA SP29/94 f.117.

[51] TNA, SP 29/94/ f.117; Greaves, *Enemies under his feet,* p. 6.

[52] Robert Surtees, *History and Antiquities of Durham,* ii, (1820), p. 89; For a full account of the plot see, Henry Gee, 'The Derwentdale Plot, 1663,' *The Royal Historical Society*, 3, 2 (1917), pp. 125-142; Henry Gee, 'A Durham and Newcastle Plot in 1663,' *A.A.*, 3, xiv, (1917), pp. 145-156.

[53] Greaves, *Enemies under his feet*, p. 7.

[54] Ibid., p. 10.

them.[55] The rebellion in Durham and Yorkshire was anticipated in July 1664, leading authorities to postpone a general meeting of the militia and volunteers, and instead companies of the militia were dispatched to York '"to rescue the country from the dangerous attempts of seditious conventicles, &c.'".[56]

Adding to the fears of internal rebellion was England's war with the Netherlands, which produced fears of an internationally co-ordinated uprising between the Dutch, exiled commonwealthmen and religious radicals in England and Scotland.[57] Newcastle's trading ties to the Netherlands, in particular, increased suspicions of a co-ordinated plot in the region. Rumours circulated in 1663 and 1664 of a joint northern, Scottish and Dutch revolt, and these fears were confirmed in 1664 when former supervisor of Durham gaol, John Joplin, was found communicating with dissidents in Westmorland and Scotland.[58] After his arrest for a second time in 1664, the dean of Durham Cathedral discovered that Joplin was using a woman as a courier to correspond in code with exiles in the Netherlands in a plan to resurrect the northern rebellion after the failed Derwentdale plot earlier that year.[59] An informer told the crown that the conspirators were planning to seize the port towns of Newcastle and Tynemouth for the purpose of receiving ammunition and supplies from Holland to support their rebellion.[60] In 1665, it was reported that the Dutch were planning to invade northern Scotland and march south to take Newcastle. Christopher Sanderson reported from Egglestone that Christopher Eyon, 'quaker merchant of Barnard Castle,' informed him that 'there are eight or nine regiments of English and Scots in Holland, who are for landing in Scotland'.[61] Conveying these plans to the northern conspirators were thought to be women sympathetic to the dissenting cause, including

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[55] TNA*,* SP 29/86 f.25.
[56] Ibid.
[57] TNA*,* SP 29/83 f.96.
[58] Queries for Atkinson's examination,' TNA*,* SP 29/93 f.13; SP 29/94 f.132; SP 29/94 f.46; SP 29/82 f.145.
[59] Greaves, *Enemies under their Feet,'* p. 11.
[60] Gee, 'The Derwentdale Plot,' p. 137.
[61] TNA, SP/29/114 F. 45.

Lady Frances Vane of Raby Castle in County Durham. Lady Vane was the wife of the religious radical and regicide Sir Henry Vane the younger, and supporter of religious dissenters in County Durham, including Quakers who met near her residence at Raby Castle. Dorothy Forster of Blanchland was also thought to have been a supporter of dissenters in the region. Her employee, Anabaptist John Ebrington, was a conspirator turned informant in the Derwentdale Plot.[62]

The Derwentdale uprisings were discovered by authorities before coming to fruition. However, the possibilities of another plot unfolding incited anxiety within the public, and its effects on dissenting communities were felt across the country in the form of ecclesiastical prosecutions and the penal laws. Parliamentary acts, including the Quaker Act in 1662 and the Conventicle Acts in 1664 and 1670, were passed and implemented across the country. The implementation of these law were timed to coincide with the uncovering of the North's rebellious plots and national political issues, including the Great Fire in London in 1666, plague, war with the Netherlands and the Exclusion Crisis. In Durham, Bishop John Cosin and the Archdeacon implemented inquiries into nonconformists in the parishes to identify and weed out dissent.

Civil and Ecclesiastical persecution of religious dissent

The first Conventicle Act and the Civil Persecution of Religious Dissent among Durham and Newcastle Quakers

Reports of sectarian plots bolstered support within the Restoration parliament for the passage of the Quaker Act in 1662, and later the Conventicle Acts in May 1664 and 1670. Quarter Sessions records for Durham show that Quakers were readily prosecuted and imprisoned for refusal to take the oath of allegiance in 1660. At the October Sessions, two Quakers were presented for not taking the sacrament in their parish church, and when rendered the oath of allegiance they were also charged with oath refusal and fined £10 each. At the next Sessions in January 1661 the number of Quakers presented

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[62] TNA, SP/29/70 f. 134; Raby Castle was regarded as a centre for dissenting and radical activity in the 1660s; Gee, 'The Derwentdale Plot,' p. 130; Greaves, *Enemies under his feet*, p. 18.

for refusing the oath jumped significantly to 50, with only two brought before the Sessions for refusing

to take the sacrament.[63] The Quaker Act was intended to reinforce the oath of allegiance in the

aftermath of the Fifth Monarchist Rising (1661) by instituting harsher penalties on dissenters for

noncompliance across the country. Writing to Quakers held in Durham gaol in 1661, Quaker minister

Francis Howgill noted that their suffering was 'the case of thousands, for the imprisonment of Friends

lies as a weight upon the nation'.[64] Sectarian prosecutions continued in 1662. On 14 July, over 30

Quakers were charged with oath refusal and fined through the new Quaker Act, many being the same

individuals presented in January 1661 for similar charges. In October 1662, a further 30 were convicted,

and given additional fines and with some members imprisoned.[65] From 1660 to 1664, each meeting of

the Quarter Sessions recorded at least one Quaker in Durham presented for their refusal to take oaths.

In 1664, the passage of the Conventicle Act created an additional avenue for prosecuting

dissenters across the country. As one historian noted, the Act was established to attack 'the means by

which rebellion could be fomented'.[66] The Act stated that its passage was intended to combat uprisings

similar to the Derwentdale Plot. '[T]he Act' was passed to provide 'further and more speedy Remedyes

against the growing and dangerous Practises of Seditious Sectaryes and other disloyall persons who

under pretence of Tender Consciences doe at their Meetings contrive Insurrections as late experience

hath shewed'.[67] Meetings of five or more people over the age of sixteen and gathering for

nonconformist religious worship became a finable offence. Offenders charged for the first time were

given a fine of £5, a second offence was £10 and a third £100 and/or imprisonment or transportation to

a British colony, often in the West Indies. The 1664 Act was promoted by the government as simply a

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[63] DRO, 'Quarter Sessions Order Book,' Q/S/OB 1-44 , (Oct. 1660), (Jan. 1660/1).
[64] William Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (York, 1979), p. 12.
[65] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, (July 1662), (Oct. 1662).
[66] Hutton, *The Restoration*, p. 208.
[67] 'Charles II, 1664: An Act to prevent and supresse seditious Conventicles,' *Statutes of the Realm: volume 5: 1628-80,* (1819), pp. 516-520, [http://www.british-history.ac.uk], accessed March 2013.

means of reinforcing an older Elizabethan law that Parliament declared was no longer being executed by

Justices of the Peace.[68]

> Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth Entituled An Act to retaine the Queenes Majestyes Subjects
> in their due Obedience hath not beene putt in due Execution by reason of some doubt of late
> made wether the said Act be still in force although it be very clear and evident, and it is hereby
> declared that the said Act is still in force and ought to be putt in due execution. [69]

Durham's collection of sufferings recorded several Quakers committed to Prison under the Act for

Banishment, but members appear to have been prosecuted under the law prior to its reinforcement

through the 1664 Act.[70] In 1661, twenty-seven Durham and Yorkshire Quakers were taken from a

meeting at Robert Linton's house in South Shields by the Deputy Governor of Tynemouth Castle. It was

recorded that the men and women in custody were 'cast into nasty Holes' in the Castle's prison. After a

month they were released when 'so far as appeared to them, neither Order, Authority, nor Warrant for

any Part of his Proceding'.[71] Members were also sent to prison in 1662 when their meetings were

discovered by authorities.[72] 'On the 3 [day] of the Month called August 'seven individuals were taken by

soldiers to Durham gaol for attending a meeting at Henry Draper's residence at Headlam. They were

held in gaol for nine weeks until the Sessions when they were indicted and fined.[73]

When the Conventicle Act was passed in July 1664, it filled the loopholes that had allowed

members of the Society to be released from Tynemouth prison in 1661. Warrants were no longer

needed if individuals were perceived to be participating in a meeting of five or more people. The Act's

insistence that the Elizabethan law was already in place, just in need of enforcement, meant civil and

religious authorities used pre-1664 convictions for religious meetings to hand out harsher sentences in

Durham. This reaction was probably a consequence of the Derwentdale Plot and of continuous rumours

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[68] Horle, *Quakers and the English legal System,* p. 46.
[69] Ibid; 'An Act to prevent and supresse seditious Conventicles,' pp. 516-520.
[70] Besse, *Sufferings*, p. 176.
[71] Besse, *Sufferings,* pp. 174-175.
[72] Ibid*.,* p. 174.
[73] Ibid., p. 175.

that Quakers in England were planning another uprising.[74] Three months after the Act's passage the first

instances of Quakers condemned to transportation were recorded in the suffering records, a sentence

that was only given after the third offence. In October 1664, Richard Errington and John Ushaw were

sentenced to transportation to Barbados. Others were committed to prison including John Bowron who

was imprisoned for twenty weeks and Anthony Wilkinson, John Ellison and Richard Snawball who were

committed to Morpeth Goal for seven years.[75]

Despite these convictions few records on the prosecution of Durham nonconformist under the

1664 Conventicle Act have survived outside of the Quaker sufferings lists. The Quarter Sessions records

have only survived in sporadic years; thus persecution cannot be confirmed through them. Both Besse's

collection of Durham's sufferings and Durham's Book of Sufferings record instances of prosecution

between 1664 and 1670, but with the exception of the two latter examples none of the entries explicitly

state that they were for holding illegal conventicles. Yet, when the Act was renewed in 1670, a revival in

prosecutions for illegal conventicles provides evidence of how the law was used against Quakers in

Durham. Besse noted among Durham's *Sufferings* that 'after the passing of the Conventicle Act this Year

(1670), many suffered Distress of Goods for themselves and others being at Meetings'.[76] The absence of

prosecution records from 1664 to 1670 was not an act of leniency by local authorities. The Quaker

suffering records still specify prosecutions for tithe and there were instances of Quaker arrests, but it

was not specified for what reason. As the next section will discuss in further detail, the second

Conventicle Act explicitly stated that authorities were to break-up any reported instances of illegal

meetings, or be fined or imprisoned themselves.[77] This new stipulation may be why more prosecution

records have survived under the second act. Justices of the Peace and constables needed to ensure they

complied with the law, and therefore, records of detected conventicles were better kept. Furthermore,

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[74] Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet,* p.

[75] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, (4 Oct. 1664); Also recorded in Besse, *Sufferings*, p. 176.

[76] Besse, *Sufferings,* p. 177.

[77] 'Charles II, 1670: An Act to prevent and suppresse seditious Conventicles, pp. 648-651.

without this provision in the first Act local civil authorities could use more diversified means of

prosecuting dissent in Durham, but when forced to prosecute individuals after 1670 prosecutions shifted

to a combination of illegal conventicles and fines for refusal to pay tithes.

Understanding prosecutions against Quakers in Durham can be better explored after 1670. After

this date the illegal conventicle records were better recorded, and the Quaker meetings in Durham

began maintaining their own records in 1671. Therefore, instances of persecution found in the Book of

Sufferings were more likely to have been recorded in real time, and were less likely to be

misremembered and exaggerated as persecutions were retrospectively recorded in the Book of

Sufferings. Furthermore, on the eve of the second Conventicle Act the Bishop of Durham and Durham's

Archdeacon asked all clergy to identify nonconformist meetings or individual dissenters in their parishes.

Before discussing the second Conventicle Act, the next section will look at the archdeacon's 1669 inquiry

into nonconformity. Information from these reports was used to combat the presence of large Quaker

meetings in Durham following the passage of the 1670 Act. Furthermore, the returns from this inquiry

provide an evaluation into perceptions of nonconformity in Durham, and offer an insight into why the

Conventicle Act was deemed significant enough to be renewed for a second time in 1670.

Ecclesiastical prosecution of Dissent

In 1660, John Cosin was named as the new Bishop of Durham by Charles II. According to his

biographer Isaac Basire, his post at Durham was given as a reward for his service during the royalist exile

in the 1650s.[78] Cosin had left the country in 1644 and was appointed by Charles I as chaplain to the

protestant members of Queen Henrietta Maria's court in France.[79] Cosin, however, also had a history

with Durham, extending back to the 1620s. During Richard Neile's episcopate, Cosin was made a

Durham Cathedral prebend and rector of Brancepeth in 1626. He was a supporter and instigator of the

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[78] Isaac Basire, *A Brief of the Life and Dignities of the Benefactions and Principal Actions of the Right Reverent Father in God, John Lord Bishop and Count Palatine of Durham* (London, 1673), Wing / B1031, p. 61.
[79] Anthony Milton, 'John Cosin,' *DNB*.

Arminian innovations to the interior of Durham Cathedral and the parish churches. He promoted

ceremonial additions to church services, which led to criticism by Calvinist Prebend Peter Smart in a

sermon delivered at Durham Cathedral in 1628.[80] As the first Bishop of Durham since the dissolution of

episcopacy in 1644, Cosin rapidly began to rebuild the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions of the diocese.

In September 1661, he held synods at Newcastle and Durham where he was hoping to 'preach among

them, and put them in some order, if by any faire meanes I can'.[81] During the synod he also ordained

nineteen ministers in an effort to restore order within the Church of England.[82]

Cosin's efforts to restore order in the Bishopric also extended to combating nonconformity and

religious dissent in Durham. His 1662 diocesan Visitation was intended to uncover the condition of

parish churches and parochial properties, and examine the knowledge and activities of the clergy, parish

clerks, churchwardens, curates and schoolmasters. Particular attention in the Visitation papers was also

given towards the detection of dissenters and recusants.[83] Yet, the detection of dissenters was not

mirrored in the reports sent back to Cosin. Between 1662 and 1665 the number of reported Quakers

appears to have risen in the diocese, from 200 to 270.[84] The Quaker birth, death and marriage registers

confirm that Quakers in the region were vastly under-recorded in the Visitation, with at least 700

members of the Society by the close of century.[85] It was possible that following his exile in France during

the Civil Wars and Commonwealth, Cosin did not want to evoke opposition towards the re-established

Church by appearing too harsh on nonconformists in the first years of the Restoration. Therefore,

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[80] Ibid; Peter Smart, *The vanitie and downe-fall of superstitious popish ceremonies* (1628), STC (2nd ed.) / 22640.7; Also see Chapter 2 for a discussion of Smart's sermon.

[81] *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with other Papers,* George Ornsby (ed.), SS, ii (1872), p. 27, 31.

[82] John Hoffman, 'John Cosin, 1595-1672: Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church,' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977), p. 312.

[83] J. Rogan, 'Episcopal visitations in the Diocese of Durham, 1662-1671,' *AA*, 4, 34 (1956), p. 93; Hoffman, 'John Cosin, 1595-1672, p. 316.

[84] G. Lyons Turner, 'Presentations in Episcopal Visitations,' *JFHS*, (1916), pp. 20-22, 64-65, 142-143; Ibid., (1917), pp. 105-107; Ibid., (1918), pp. 67-68; Ibid., (1919), p. 92; Ibid., (1921), p. 88; Ibid., (1928), p. 32.

[85] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1; Erin Bell, 'Discipline and Manhood in the Society of Friends: A study with particular reference to Durham, c. 1656-1750,' (PhD thesis, York University, 2003), Chapter 1.

through his power as Prince Bishop, Cosin used his temporal jurisdiction over the region to pursue

Quakers in the civil courts. This would explain the previous section's finding of an immediate increase in

prosecutions against members of the Society in the 1661 Quarter Sessions. Utilising the civil side of his

power as Prince Bishop gave Cosin the opportunity to focus on establishing order in the Church, re-

establishing the Bishopric's rents and leases and restoring the dilapidated Bishopric estates.[86]

The Quaker suffering accounts and the Quarter Sessions Order Book suggest that civil

prosecutions of Quakers declined by the close of the decade.[87] This decrease in civil prosecutions

appeared to have increased Cosin's anxiety over the continued presence of dissenters in the diocese. In

1669, efforts were renewed to individually identify nonconformists, possibly in a reaction to the lapsing

of the first Conventicle Act in 1668.[88] Ecclesiastical authorities in Durham were ordered by Cosin to

identify individual nonconformists living and meeting in their parishes. Durham's Archdeacon, Denis

Granville, requested on behalf of the Bishop of Durham, John Cosin that all ministers in the Bishopric

report on the presence of dissenters in their respective parishes under the 1664 Conventicle Act. This

exercise of requiring clergy to identify nonconformity in their parishes provides an understanding of

individual ministers' attitudes towards dissenters, as well as an insight into ministers' knowledge of the

parishes they were serving. Consistency in the returns varied from parish to parish. Granville's

description of the information he and Cosin required survives in a letter to the Vicar of Grindon.

Granville wrote that the Bishop of Durham commanded 'that you forthwith...make deligent...and inquire

about all Conventicles and unlawfull meetings within your [parish] how often they are held what are the

numbers that usually meet ..., what condition or sort of people they consist of, and from whom or upon

what hopes they looke for'.[89]

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[86] Milton, 'John Cosin,' *DNB.*
[87] DRO, 'Sufferings,' SF/DU/QM/7/1; Besse, *Sufferings*, pp. 173-177; DRO, M7/2.
[88] Tim Harris, *Politics under the later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (New York, 1993), p. 41.
[89] DUSC, 'Archdeacon Inquiry into nonconformist conventicles in the parishes,' DCD/D/LP29/1, (26 June 1699).

Under the above specifications, not a single minister returned a complete description of

nonconformity in their parishes. Vicar William Alder returned a simple reply. 'In the parish of Grindon

we have no Presbyterians, Quakers or any other sectaries, excepting papists'.[90] Names, residences,

meeting locations or social status of the reported papists in Grindon were not provided to Granville. In

Longnewton, John Oliver's reply gives his opinion of nonconformity in England. He certified 'yt I have

nether Papist nor nonconformist in my parish, save only one simple Quaker, [and] therefore no

meetings'. On first reading it appears Oliver was nonchalant about a single Quaker in his parish, who

was not inviting other dissenters into the parish to hold a meeting. However, the second half of the

report reveals his true feelings towards his single Quaker resident. 'I am confident I have convinced his

judgment but not his will, I have reduced him to those straights yt he hath wanted words. I believe he is

[often] at ye conventicle at Norton'. In relation to the Quaker meeting at Norton, Oliver writes, 'A good

success to ye [proceedings] against such meetings'.[91]

In Elswick the curate and churchwardens simply certified 'whom it may concern yt there are no

persons in ye Parish of Elwick to frequent conventicles'.[92] While other ministers were more detailed in

their reports. Edmund Fotherbie, vicar of Gainford reported two Quaker families in his parish.

> there are onely two families of them ye one Mr Henry Drapers of Headlam, who is of a
> considerable estate in land and mony he and his whole famile are Quakers and absent
> themselves from our Church but he pays all church [assess] to me for his tithes, ye other family
> of Quakers is James Whites of Peircebridge in ye said Parish. He is of far lesse estate then ye
> other havine onely a Term[ly] lease under ye Lady Vane, he for these 10 yeares past near [paid]
> any church [assess], nor yet for his tithes to me.[93]

Fotherbie also used his letter to Granville as an opportunity to express his personal opinions on why

Quakerism continued in the Bishopric.

> impunity in not paying tithes, and church [assess], I think it a principle cause that made many
> Quakers at first, and that that cause them to continue Quakers still,...yet Parish or ye Ministers

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[90] DUSC, (24 July 1669), DCD/D/LP/29/1.
[91] DUSC, (July 1669), DCD/D/LP29/5.
[92] DUSC, (July 19 1669), DCD/D/LP29/21.
[93] DUSC, (July 1669), DCD/D/LP29/3.

by taking out a significant might force them to pay their dues, or to ly in Pri[s]ons, but I perceive in most places nether Parish nor Minister a willing to be at so great charges and by this meanes many of ye Quakers escape [payment] what is due, as this James White of our Parish has done for a long time.[94]

In Fotherbie's view, nonconformity persisted in many parishes because ministers were not willing to force individuals to pay their tithes to the parish church. His leniency towards the Draper family does not suggest an acceptance of Quakerism, but rather he was willing to turn a blind eye on Draper's nonattendance at services, provided the family continued to pay their dues to their local parish.

Fotherbie's return was rather unusual in its detail and opinion. From the other letters, it is strikingly clear that ministers and church officials could not fully identify individual nonconformists in their parishes. In Witton-le-Wear, the curate and the churchwardens returned a very uncertain report to Granville. He knew of 'none as yet save Jefery [G]lachet of whome it is reported that the hath entertained divers & severall times at his owne house at private...or unlawfull meetings but as yet we...not know what number usually meet there, or [what] sort of people they [are] but shall make diligent inquiry thereafter'.[95] Their diligence does not appear to have come to fruition, with no further reports among the returns, nor does the meeting appear in future conventicle reports found among the conventicle convictions. In Gateshead, Rector John Ladler replied to Granville's request by listing only three individuals holding conventicles at their residences; despite Quaker records indicating at least 35 Quakers attending the monthly meeting in the parish.[96]

> [In] Goatesyde there have bene of late severall conventicles, and unlawfull meetings in the house of Samuel London Distiller, Richard Stockton Merhcant and John Airey Soape-Boyler, and that some of the persons at such unlawfull assemblies have bene indicted at other Publicke Sessions held for the Countie Pallatine of Durham by the Constables and church wardens of the Towne and Parish.[97]

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[94] Ibid.
[95] DUSC, DCD/D/LP29/14, (July the 11th/69).
[96] TWA,MF 167, (13th of 12th mo. 1688); DRO, 'B/D/M registers,' SF/SU/QM/1/1.
[97] DUSC, DCD/D/LP20/28.

Ladler's underrepresentation of the number of Quakers in his parish was probably because he felt it was unnecessary to record all names since they had been indicted under the first Conventicle Act. He refers Granville to the 'Publicke Sessions' for names and parish for each Quaker in the indictment. For him, the location of the meetings within his parish was the main concern, perhaps to ensure any future meetings could be dealt with by local authorities and in the civil courts.

In addition to the 1669 inquiry additional evidence of persecution against Quakers can be found in the Act Book of the Archdeacon of Durham. The Archdeacon's visitation reports records Anabaptists, papists, Quakers and any violation of parish ordinances, such as nonattendance or not bringing a child to the parish church be baptised by the minister. Like the earlier clerical reports to Granville, these lists are not comprehensive. Often, names are simply listed under a single heading of 'papist, schismatick and dissenters' or simply 'for dissenters' with no designation between the two; although, at times, Quakers do appear to have been the exception and were often listed as such. Comparisons of parishes from the inquiry and visitations shows only minor additions to their knowledge of dissenters in the Bishopric. Gateshead, for example, returned three Quakers in the 1669 inquiry, Samuel London, Richard Stockton and John Airey. In the 1685 visitation this number rose to twelve, with Samuel London no longer included among the list of Quakers, but instead presented in the visitation for absenting himself from receiving 'ye holy sacrament'.[98] However in general, the 1685 visitation was a typical visitation return, rather than an inquiry into nonconformists residing in the parishes. Members of the Society of Friends who followed the godly way should, and would have been, recorded for any number of violations in the visitation reports including non-attendance, refusal to receive the sacrament, non-payment of tithes, non-payment for church repairs and not following the baptismal and burial rights of the Church of England. Because visitations tended to inquire into these aspects of the parish, it can be assumed that Quakers would readily appear among the names in the visitations.

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[98] DUSC, DCD/D/SJA/11.

Auckland listed 33 Quakers separately from individuals who did not pay their Easter offerings in

1684. Lanchester simply returned a list of all individuals not attending church services, with no

separation for religious convictions. In the same year Wearmouth also returned a list of 50 individuals

simply labelled as 'papists, schismatick and dissenters'.[99] From this list certain people can be positively

identified as members of the Society of Friends through cross-referencing with Quaker records. For

example Robert Wardell, Lancelot Wardell and both of their wives were prominent Quakers in

Sunderland during this period, but other names, such as Cuthbert Appleby or Thomas Smith, were too

commonly used names to definitively designate them as members of the Society. *Tables 5.1* and *5.2*

reflected this inability to identify Quakers confidently in the visitation records, and instead gives the

total number of individuals in the two most complete records, visitation and excommunication lists.

From this table it becomes clear that like the Archdeacon's inquiry into nonconformity, the visitation

reports were not an accurate representation of dissent in the Bishopric. Parishes with the largest

number of dissenters in their returns were Wearmouth (Sunderland), Auckland, Lanchester and

Gateshead, but missing from the list were known Quakers living in Darlington (with the exception of one

Quaker listed as an excommunicate in 1695), and Norton. Both towns had large Quaker populations, as

evident from the monthly meetings held there in the 1670s and 1680s, as well as from a 1670 report

from the vicar, Thomas Davieson. Davieson reported on the obstinate men and women residing in his

parish at Norton.[100] The visitations provide valuable data on what dissenters were prosecuted for in the

church courts, but overall it is not an accurate source for determining the number of dissenters in the

parishes. Many of Durham's parishes were large and without a full time minister, making it feasible that

Quakers and other dissenters could go unnoticed in the visitations.[101]

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[99] DUSC, 'Visitations' (1685-6) and 'Persons denounced excommunicated,' (August 1695), DCD/D/SJA/6, 7, 40-44.
[100] *The correspondence of John Cosin*, vol. II, p. 243.
[101] See chapter 3.

Tables 5.1 & 5.2: Presentations in Durham's Visitations, 1685-1686, 1691-1693
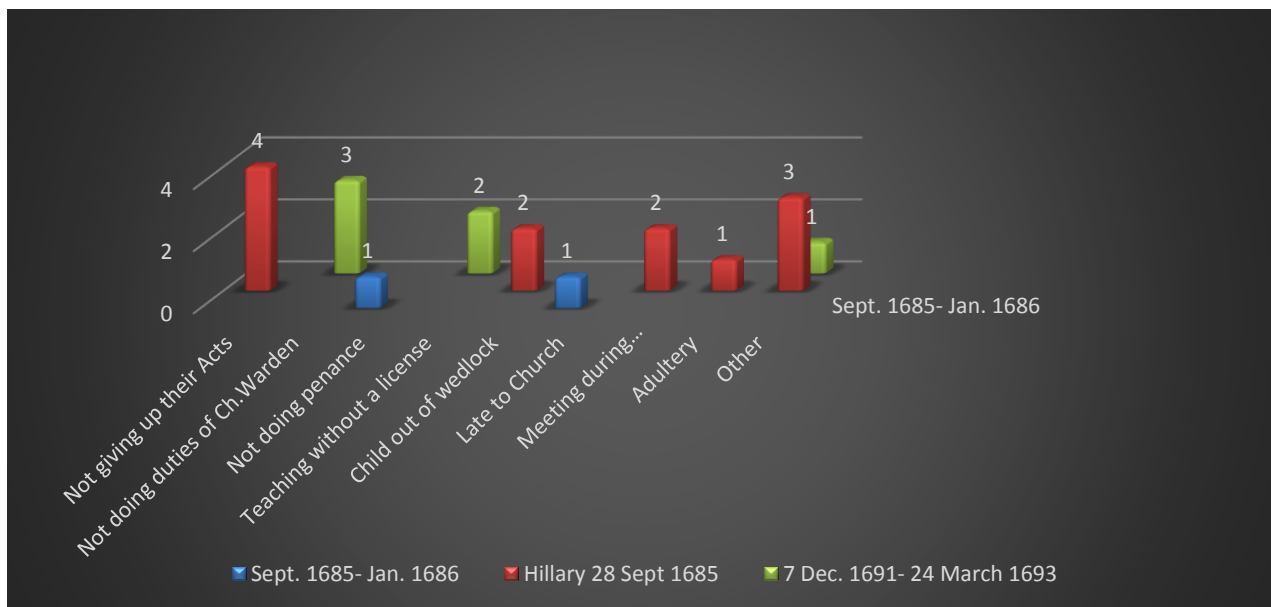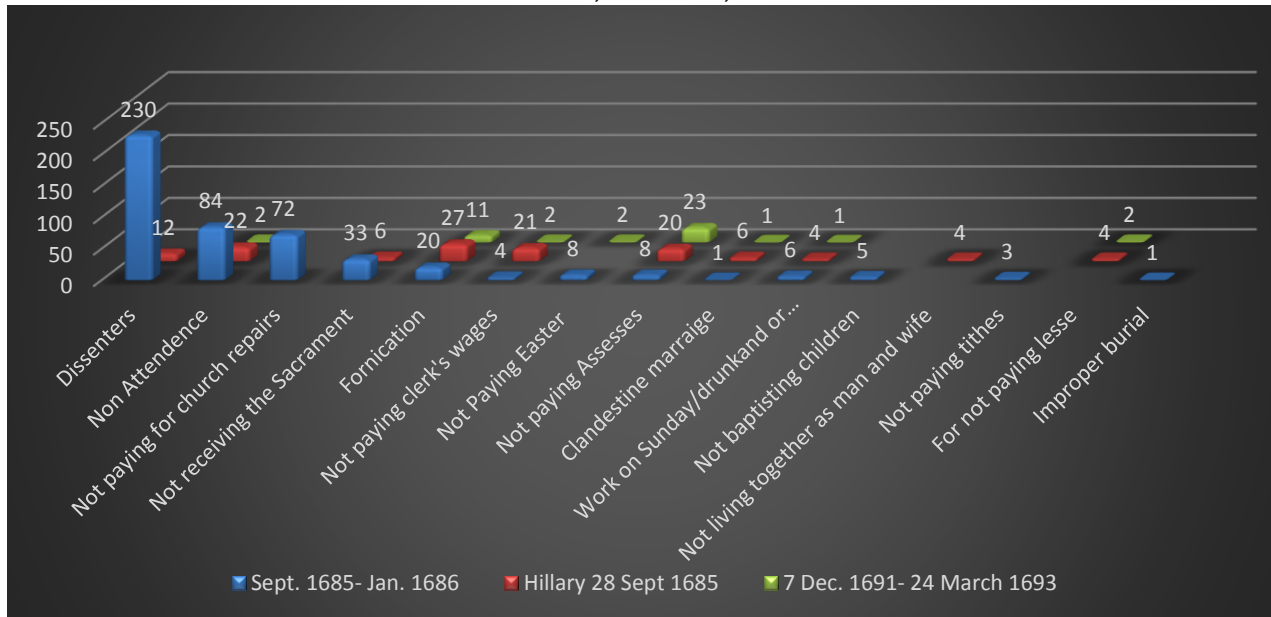
DUSC, 'Detecta and Comperta arising from Visitations,' and 'Persons denounced and excommunicated, August 1694,' DCD/D/SAJ/3-15, 40-44

The impact of the Bishop's visitation and excommunications only appeared occasionally, and

often indirectly in the Society's meeting records. For the 1680s, Darlington Monthly Meeting's suffering

accounts recorded mostly civil persecutions for illegal conventicles until 1688 when the conventicle law

was repealed. From 1690 onwards Quaker suffering records in Durham shift to mainly distraints for

refusing to pay tithes to their local parish.[102] The two most common charges under ecclesiastical

jurisdiction were non-payment of tithes and absence from church services. In 1671, William Hodgson

and John Robinson from Cockerton had £3 10*s.* in goods confiscated for the non-payment of church

tithes, and in 1682 four members of the Barnard Castle meeting were fined for absenting themselves

from church services.[103] Based on the Durham Quarterly Meeting records, ecclesiastical prosecutions of

Quakers were mostly limited to obtaining tithes owed to the local parish. In 1678, the Quarterly Meeting

reported that there were no excommunicates among their members that year, but there were two

members fined under 'recusancy' laws for non-attendance and two members were committed to prison

for the non-payment of tithes.[104]

Once given the ability to affirm rather than swear an oath in the 1695 Quakers were most

commonly prosecuted for their refusal to pay tithes in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a

trend that is reflected in the Book of Sufferings.[105] Gainford's Parish rector, Edmund Fotherbie

demonstrated that Quaker nonconformity could be effectively overlooked in the parish if, like Henry

Draper, they continued to pay their tithes to the parish. However, individuals like James White, who

held ten years of arrears for non-payment of his tithes, would not be tolerated.[106] Yet, by the close of

the century members of the Society like Draper, who complied with the payment to their parish

churches or landlords, were no longer tolerated by the Quaker meetings. This stance in the meetings

was reflected in 1691 when the Dean and Chapter of Durham threatened to cancel the leases of

members who refused to pay their yearly tithes. Members approached the Durham Quarterly Meeting

for advice and the meeting produced a paper stating why they would continue to refuse tithe payments.

They also appointed weighty Friends to oversee the complainants, to ensure they did not comply with

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[102] DRO SF/QM/1/1, 'Sufferings,' (1671-1754); SF/Da/MM/7/1, 'Darlington MM Sufferings,' (1683-1793).
[103] DRO, SF/DA/MM1/1, 'Sufferings'; Besse, *Sufferings*, p. 177.
[104] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (6th of 2nd mo. 1678).
[105] DRO SF/QM/1/1, 'Sufferings,' (1671-1754).
[106] DUSC, DCD/D/LP29/3.

the Dean and Chapter's ultimatum. Sent to all the meetings in the region, the paper stated that 'tythes

to priest or impropriator (being the same in effect) whether by contract or covenants or howsoever, it is

the judgment of Friends in the Truth that they ought to be denied testified against & Truth's Testimony

kept clear thereof'.[107] Their advice to members with Dean and Chapter leases was to:

> wait in lowliness of mind on the Lord to feel his power to bring them over all difficulties,
> consultations & reasonings, whereby they may witness a willingness to give up to his will &
> answer his requiring: And it is seen fit …that some faithful Friends be ordered to visit the said
> Friends, to see what exercise they have been under in Relation to their testimonies & to
> keep…them in the love of God.[108]

The meeting also recognised that simply refusing to pay tithes was not enough, and suggested that

members 'take the advices of some able councellour in the law to know his opinion whether such an

article being broken will made void the lease in law'.[109] Little indication was given on the individuals or

their locations in this dispute, making it difficult to trace outside of the Society's records. Nevertheless,

the incident highlights an on-going conflict between the established Church, nonconformity and the

extent of religious toleration in the country. The Church was insistent on collecting their tithes, while

Quakers remained persistent in their duty not to pay on religious grounds.

With the exception of the collection of tithe payments, clerical authorities in the Bishopric often

left the enforcement of nonconformist meetings to civil authorities. This becomes especially evident

when the ecclesiastical records are compared to the Durham's birth, death and marriage records and

the Book of Sufferings. The Quaker records indicate that there were a larger number of members living

in the parishes than clergy and churchwardens recorded in the visitation reports.[110] Under-recording of

religious dissent was common, but this does not suggest that ministers were protecting members of the

local community. Rather, they were complacent in their visitation duties, or as the Archdeacon's

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[107] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (10th of 5th mo. 1691).
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Adrian Davies found a similar situation in Essex where church authorities 'seemed impotent' when it came to dealing with nonconformity, and instead they left it up to the civil courts to prosecute dissent. Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 180.

spiritual inquiries suggested, they were simply unaware of individual nonconformists in their parishes.[111]

Within the jurisdiction of the civil courts, however, members of the Society were certainly recognised

and targeted in the legal system, and among the surviving records, the second Conventicle Act (1670)

provides substantial insight into the prosecution of Quakers in the civil court system.

The Second Conventicle Act and the Civil Persecution of Religious Dissent

Increasing political and social anxiety during the 1670s and 1680s led to a resurgence in the

prosecution of nonconformists throughout the country, and this was reflected in the renewal of the

Conventicle Act in 1670. In Essex, one historian found that Quakers made up a large percentage of

dissenters in the courts from 1670 to 1672 and 1682 to 1685, leading to the conclusion that these dates

were representative of the perceived disorderly threat of sectarianism found among authorities at all

levels of government.[112] In Durham, persecutions against religious sectarians show a similar pattern.

Civil prosecution of Quakers reflected the growing tensions in the wider political sphere, and in

particular, efforts to enforce uniformity of religious belief and relieve uncertainties of rebellion. The

political complications of the exclusion crisis and increased fears of Catholic subversion in the country

was replicated in the timing of persecutions against religious dissenters in Durham and elsewhere in the

country.[113] The Restoration Bishop of Durham, John Cosin, mentioned the detection and prosecution of

nonconformist in letters to his secretary, Miles Stapylton. Upon the renewal of the Conventicle Act in

1670, Cosin emphasised to Stapylton the importance of Durham's justices upholding the law. He hoped

that 'you [Stapylton] and the other Justices of the Peace about you have got the new printed Act against

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[111] DUSC, DCD/D/LP29.

[112] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 172.

[113] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 62.

seditious conventicles into your hands, and the you will jointly set you minds by conferences one with another to put it in execution'.[114]

Records from the second Conventicle Act report illegal Quaker conventicles from the years 1671 to 1685 in Durham. With the addition of the Quaker suffering and meeting records, it appears that Quaker prosecutions in the 1670s and 1680s were relatively sporadic under the Act.[115] Only a limited number of conventicle reports have survived to consult, with twenty-seven records found in total. Supplementing the conventicle prosecutions with the Quaker suffering records for Durham has led to only several meetings being identified that were not among the surviving Quarter Sessions records. Problems, however, do occur when relying too heavily on the Quaker records. Besse's publications of Quaker sufferings in the first generation of Friends were based on reports collected and sent by the county's quarterly meetings to London. A closer look at Durham's quarterly and monthly meetings suggest more recordings of sufferings survive in the Durham minutes than are in the London records used by Besse. This may be due to loss of records over the years or simply that they were not collected and sent to London on a regular basis. Quaker records for Durham and Newcastle also indicate that not all of the particular meetings were collecting and sending their sufferings to their monthly meeting. In 1679, the Yearly Meeting requested that members throughout the country should 'call to mind & recollect as well as they can all their former sufferings for the Testimony of Truth since the year 1660'. Meetings were required to send reports of their sufferings to the monthly and quarterly meetings from the late 1670s onwards to be collected and eventually sent on to London, but not all members were diligent in this endeavour. In 1689, South Shields Quakers were reprimanded by the Durham Quarterly Meeting for their 'neglect in enquiring into Friends clearness' against the payment of tithes.[116]

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[114] John Cosin, *The correspondence of John Cosin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with other Papers*, S.S., (1872), 2 (1872), p. 238.
[115] DRO, SF/DU/QU/7/1, (1671-1754).
[116] DRO, SF/DU/QU1/1, (1st of 5th month 1679), (26th of 1st month 1689).

It was likely that meetings in Durham were not verifying and collecting their members sufferings quickly enough to have them sent to the Quarterly Meeting, written-up and sent to London in time for the Yearly Meeting; therefore they were not recorded in the larger suffering records in London. Furthermore, the Quaker records were concerned with the total amount of possessions taken rather than the conviction itself. For instance, Besse's publication of Durham's sufferings does not always designate the number of meetings broken up under the Conventicle Act, but instead totals the amount of goods taken on cause of an illegal conventicle in a given year.[117] For instance in 1682, he recorded that £183 7*s*. 7*d.* was taken by distress due to attendance at illegal meetings (*Figure 5.2*).[118] However, this total does not give any indication of the number of Quaker conventicles reported by informers or even their location (although the names listed suggested the meetings were in Auckland and Darlington); instead it simply gives the total worth of the goods taken.[119] The inconsistency in the suffering records, and the Society's preference to total items taken rather than the fines given, creates difficulty in identifying the total percentage of Quaker meetings prosecuted by local authorities.

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[117] Besse, *Sufferings*, pp. 173-190.
[118] Ibid., p. 184.
[119] This assumption of the meeting location is based on my database of Quakers which includes the residence of members in the seventeenth century.

Figure 5.2: Distresses made on Durham Quakers for a meeting in 1682

Besse, Sufferings, p. 184

The majority of the conventicle prosecutions were found among Durham's Chancery Court

records in The National Archives, and they all correspond to the second Conventicle Act, dating from

1671 to 1685.[120] The records give the names of those informing the Justices of the Peace of the

conventicle, the Justices present and the location and names of those attending the conventicle (if

known). However, while the reports do present the same general information - name(s) of informers,

names of offenders and the location of their residence – whether they were being convicted on a first,

second or third offence and individual fines incurred, were not always mentioned (*Figure 5.3*). Under the

1670 Conventicle Act, fines for illegal meetings ranged from 5*s.* for a first offence, 10*s.* for a second

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[120] These records were found among the DURH Court of Chancery records at TNA under the heading 'Cursitor's and Registrar's Miscellanea'. Upon closer examination it appears these records are actually from the Quarter Sessions with several stating they were written at the Quarter Sessions. It is unclear why they have been deposited amongst the Chancery Court materials.

offence and £20 for the householder(s) and for anyone considered to be preaching or teaching at the

meeting. Individuals found having two previous offences were either imprisoned or sentenced to

transportation, often to the West Indies.[121]

For example, one such report was produced on 23 May 1680. It recorded a Quaker meeting,

discovered and informed on by Stephen Bordley and Thomas Newton both of South Shields. Eight

Quakers were found at the meeting and all were meticulously recorded in the conventicle report.

> ...by the oath of Stephen Bordley ...and Thomas Newton...taken before me John Jenkins esq:
> one of his majies: Justices of Peace for this county, yt Rob Linton & Joan his wife, Thomas
> Chanlor & Anne his wife, George Carr & Robert Readhead all of South Shields aforesaid. John
> Young & Bridgett Pindar of North Sheild in ye county of Northumberland, all above ye age of
> sixteen yeares...at an assembly conventicle...[122]

Also recorded was whether they were previously convicted under the conventicle law and the fine set

against them.

> ...by ye oaths of the witnesses above mentioned & there upon a ffyne of tenn shillings a piece
> was imposed by me on ye sd Robert Linton and Joan his wife Thomas Chandler George Carr
> Robert Readhead for their second offence & ye wife of Thomas Chandler and Bridgett Pindar ye
> sum of five shillings a piece it being their first offence...

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[121] *Statutes of the Realm*, 'Charles II, An Act to prevent and suppresse Seditious Conventicles, 1670,' John Raithby (ed.), 5 (1628-80), accessed on British History Online.
[122] TNA, DURH/8/77/3/6.

Figure 5.3: A Quaker Conventicle discovered in the parish of Heighington, 1671
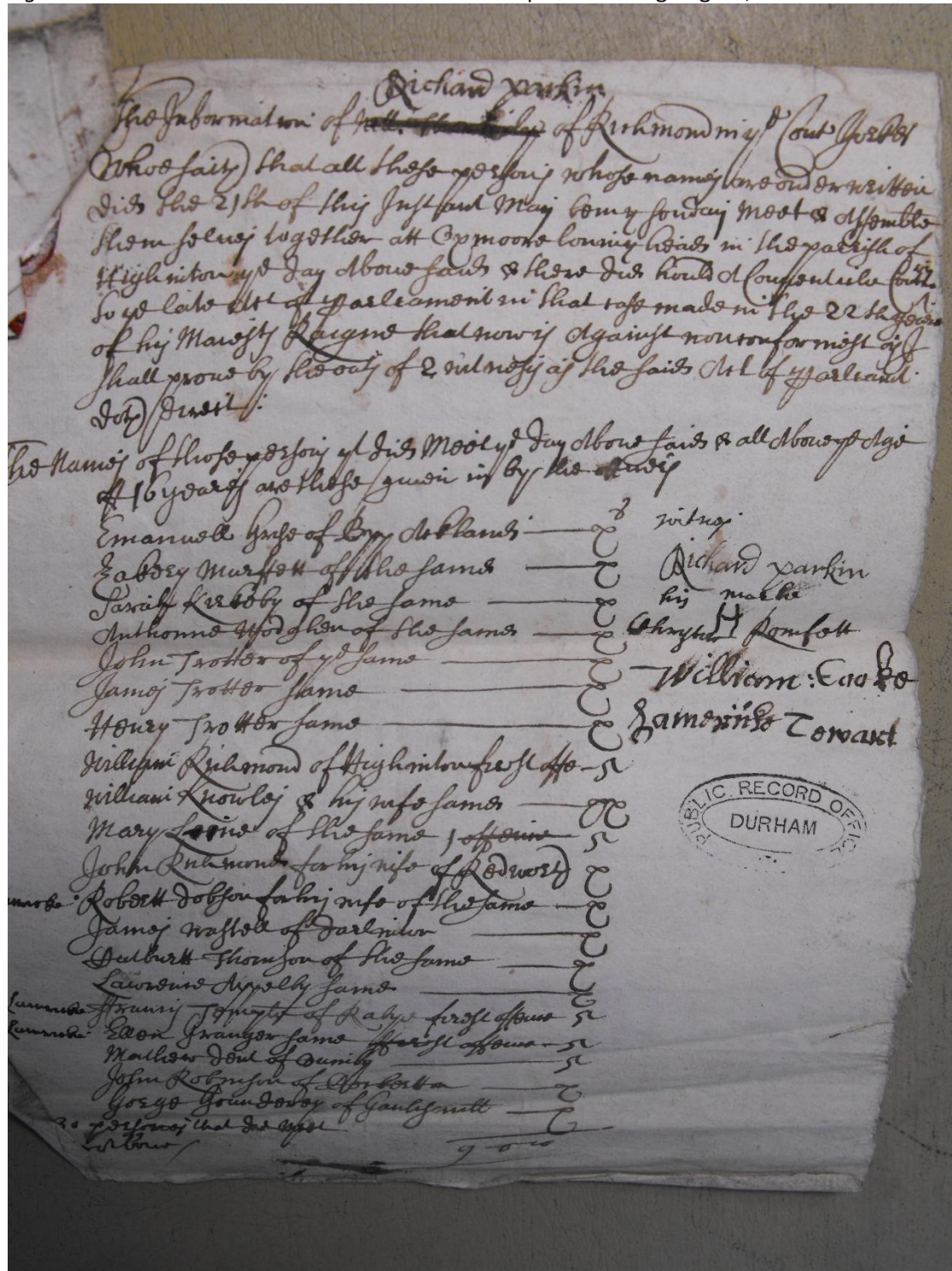
TNA, DURH/8/77/3/2

Along with the fines for attending the meeting, Robert Linton was charged 'ye fine of twenty pounds for

suffering ye sd conventicle in his sd house'. Bridgett Pindar was also charged a further twenty pound

fine for being identified as the 'speaker or preacher at ye sd conventicle'. Pindar's fine was divided by

the Justice of the Peace to be paid by Thomas Chandler, George Carr and Robert Readhead. John

Jenkins, the JP wrote:

> ye fine of twenty pounds, chargaeable upon her [Pindar] upon ye psons hereafter named, in
> manner following vizt: upon Thomas Chandler ye sume of ten pounds upon George Carr ye
> sume of ffive pounds & upon Robt Readhead ye sume of ffive pounds.[123]

A similar entry for a Gateshead conventicle, discovered in 1680, explained the reason for dividing the

fine. Justices John Morland and Miles Stayplton, wrote that the twenty pound fine against Anthony

Allison for holding an illegal meeting would be levied on the other attendees because Allison was 'poore

& hath nothing'.[124] Dividing the fines was not an act of kindness towards poor individuals, but was

stipulated in the Conventicle Act. 'Noe person,' the Act stated, 'shall by any Clause of this Act be liable to

pay above Ten pounds for any one Meeteing in regard of the poverty of any other person or persons'.[125]

Therefore dividing the fine was a typical procedure undertaken by Durham's justices, and not an act of

tolerance.

The extent of persecutions against Quakers in the country has often been questioned by

historians, particularly whether leniency was given as a form of community co-operation. Adrian Davies

noted that in Essex hostility towards dissenters often varied from a policy of harassment to one of

moderate toleration. In 1682, John Shaw of Colchester lamented on the large degree of sympathy

towards nonconformists in the region. He complained 'that there would be little hope of subduing the

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[123] Ibid.
[124] TNA, DURH/8/77/3/7.
[125] *Statutes of the Realm*, 'Charles II, An Act to prevent and suppresse Seditious Conventicles, 1670,' John Raithby (ed.), 5 (1628-80), accessed on British History Online.

town's dissenting congregations until the magistrates showed more enthusiasm for the task'.[126] Yet

despite rumours of leniency, personal greed by constables led to complaints from Quakers that goods

worth more than their fine were confiscated. Friends in Witham, Essex commented that justices advised

constables to take five pounds worth of goods for a five shilling fine.[127] Durham's Quaker records

provide little evidence of constables taking more than was owed during distraints, although this practice

could account for the Quakers' meticulous notes in the suffering records on the total value of goods

taken from members.[128]

It is difficult to determine if authorities deliberately provided any form of leniency in enforcing

the Conventicle Act. The Quakers' meticulous recordings of the total value of goods taken by local

authorities suggesting leniency was limited, and they wanted the records to prove it. Although instances

of members receiving multiple convictions under the Conventicle Act was rare, and transportations

under the Act in the latter half of the century were non-existent. For example, authorities charged

individuals for a second offences against the act, but never for third offences. In 1679, Michaell

Blacklock and Richard Packe reported on a Quaker meeting at Robert Linton's house in South Shields.

Linton, Michael Hall, Isabel Burden, George Carr, Thomas Farnes and unnamed others totaling 'fifty

person or aboute,' according to the informers, were presented to the Justices of the Peace for being at

an illegal conventicle.[129] The report did not record fines or the number of offences, but instead appears

to be the surviving testimony of the informers. While no records state that those listed were prosecuted

and fined for the meeting, a second Quaker meeting reported in 1680 recorded George Carr and Robert

Linton (listed at the initial meeting above) as having a prior offence under the Conventicle Act.[130] This

suggests that 1679 was their first conviction for attending an illegal conventicle. However significantly,

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[126] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 174; source from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 'From Sir John Shaw to the Recorder of Colchester,' Rawlinson Mss. C 983, no. 26, fo. 59.
[127] Davies, *the Quakers in English Society*, p. 175.
[128] John Miller, '"A Suffering People": English Quakers and their Neighbours,' *P&P,* 188 (Aug., 2005), p. 74.
[129] TNA, DURH/8/77/3/5.
[130] TNA, DURH/8/77/3/6.

among the conventicle reports for the second act there were no instances of third offense convictions,

even though Linton was convicted again in 1681 for attending a meeting in South Shields.[131] One reason

for this may be due to the local authority's reading of the Conventicle Act. *Position XIII* limited the

prosecution of offenders by stating that:

> Noe person shall be punished for any offence against this Act unless such Offender be
> prosecuted for the same within three moneths after the Offence committed, And that noe
> person who shall be punished for any offence by virtue of this Act shall be punished for the
> same offence by virtue of any other Act or Law.[132]

All individuals cited for a second offence were within a three month time span, but if a third offence was

been committed it was usually committed with a year's gap in between the last offence, therefore

negating it as a third offence. For instance, Linton was a prominent member of the local Society and can

often be found as a regular representative at the Newcastle Monthly Meeting. After his fine 1680 for a

conventicle, he habitually attended meetings, (as evident from the meeting registers), but he was not

convicted of a third offence by local authorities. It was possible that authorities were providing some

leniency towards Quakers by rarely intervening in the same meetings, or not recording individuals as

repeat offenders. Yet there was no incentive for intentional tolerance. Especially since under the second

act individuals who did not inform or prosecute against illegal conventicles could be prosecuted

themselves.[133]

Any appearance of leniency in Durham may have been due to the nature of the meeting system

after 1670. The geography of the reported conventicles varied throughout the county, with informers

reporting Quaker meetings near regional market and port centres including Norton, South Shields,

Gateshead, Durham, Auckland and Heighington. These meetings were often small (less than twenty

people) and they were located near monthly meeting sites. The twenty years that the act was in place,

and the tendency of Quakers to change the location of their meetings, meant informers and justices had

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[131] DUSC, DDR/EJ/OTH/3 (January 1681).
[132] *Statutes of the Realm*, 'Charles II, An Act to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles, 1670,' 5 (1628-80).
[133] Ibid.

difficultly tracing the meetings and those in attendance. For example, in 1681 the Darlington Monthly

Meeting frequently moved between locations in Norton and Stockton which would have made it difficult

for informers to regularly follow and report the meeting.[134] This made the act nearly impossible to

enforce on a regular basis, and explains why the conventicle convictions for Durham were sporadic

during the 1670s and 1680s.

Some of the conventicles reported were likely meetings for business, rather than for worship.

While none of Durham or Newcastle's monthly meeting minutes mention their meetings being broken

up under the Conventicle Act, the assumption that they were meetings for business can be made

through the location, size and gender make-up of the meetings. Men and women had separate monthly

meetings, which explains the prominence of men in the reports. Also, only two or three weighty Friends

were selected to attend the meetings for business; therefore, the monthly meetings would be smaller,

the locations would change and the names of those in attendance would have changed based on the

local meeting's selection of its representatives. Authorities may not have been targeting business

meetings, but were rather finding any known Quaker conventicle in Durham. This was reflected in the

Stockton Monthly Meeting's record of a warrant issued in 1681 for an illegal meeting. Sixty-five Quakers

were listed as attending a meeting at Shotton. Shotton's representative to the monthly meeting, John

Wilkinson, presented the warrant to the Darlington Monthly Meeting and included the names and fines

for each individual.[135] No record of this meeting has been identified among the conventicle reports, but

its large size and representation by Wilkinson in the Darlington Monthly Meeting suggest it was a

meeting for worship. It would be expected that the meetings for worship would be the highest

represented in the conventicle reports, because they were more geographically restricted, but this does

not appear to have been the case. The meetings for worship were held in individual, often remote

residences in the county. Meetings for business, however, were held closer to town centres, near where

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[134] DRO, SF//DA/MM/1/1.

[135] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/1, (12th 5th mo. 1681).

the weighty Friends lived and worked, thus explaining the over-representation of meetings in locations

such as Gateshead, Durham, Stockton and Darlington in the conventicle reports.

Instances of overt leniency towards Quakers by individual authorities were also scarce. In 1668

the overseer of Norton, Thomas Dawson, issued a warrant on a Quaker meeting in Norton. He

reportedly kept several brass utensils taken from a Friend's house and since that time he was 'visited

with Sickness'. His stealing of goods was a great 'Trouble of Mind' for Dawson and 'he could not be

satisfied till the said Brass was removed out of his House'.[136] The Durham Quarterly Meeting recorded

an even stranger instance of greed and guilt in 1678. A warrant for £20 was executed on Richard Watson

for speaking at a Quaker meeting. He had cattle and goods taken by authorities in Norton, and the

money collected from his property was used to pay the informers of the conventicle. The meeting noted

that having gluttonously spent his money,

> one of the informers so over charged his stomach that he never after could digest or retain any
> victuals but did vomit it till his dying day, which was about Six month after he got the surfeit &
> before he dyed he declared that he could never eat any Meat since that time, but was
> continually thirsty & so dyed.[137]

These prophetic occurrences against local authorities and informers harken back to the Quaker

mentality of the 1650s, and the sense that these persecutors were punished for prohibiting god's people

from their work. These entries did not occur regularly in the records, and letters presented to Durham's

Justices by local Quakers demonstrate no evidence of a vengeful rhetoric found in earlier periods of the

century.

The vengeful rhetoric found in the aforementioned instances occurred in 1668 and 1676 when

Quakers in Durham were subjected the highest occurrences and penalties for tithes and conventicles.

Friends were convicted in absence for their presence at conventicles in 1676, leading the meetings to

describe the court as holding 'arbitrary proceedings'. In 1675, Besse estimated that a total of £66 3*s*. 8*d*.

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[136] Besse, *Sufferings*, p. 177.
[137] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (1st 3rd mo. 1678).

had been taken from Friends for the payment of fines for a conventicle in Norton. Little relief was found

in 1676 when goods taken for fines for a second conventicle in Norton totalled £45 19*s.* 10*d*.[138] Excessive

distraints led members of Durham's Society of Friends to produce a paper in 1682 stressing their

religious position and the injustice of the prosecutions against their membership. They signified their

innocence in the charges against them, and continued by listing the excessive fines set against members

in the Quarter Sessions. *A Representation of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in*

Durham emphasised their peaceful and honest living despite having 'been cruelly oppressed and deeply

impoverished' (*Transcription 5.1*).[139]

Transcription 5.1: A Representation of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in Durham, 1682
To the Justices at Quarter Sessions, 4th and 5th Days of the Tenth Month 1682

We the People of God in Scorn called *Quakers*, living peaceably in the Fear of God, have undergone the Severity of the Law made to suppress seditious Conventicles, to the Loss of many Hundred Pounds, almost every Year since the Act took Date, whereby many honest and industrious Families have been cruelly oppressed, and deeply impoverished; having the Testimony of a good Conscience in the Sight of God, that we are free from the clear of all seditious Conventicles, which we deny as contrary to the Spirit of *Christ Jesus*, and the Faith we have received of him, neither have the Informers seen any such Thing among us. And we are not without a Witness in the consciences of Men, among whom we have had our Conversation, that we are a People of no dangerous Principles or evil Practices, our Meetings being only to worship God according to the Command of *Christ Jesus,* and Practice of the primitive *Christians*, or to provide for the Fatherless, Widows, and Poor, with other Christian Duties, which the Christian Religion requires.

We are sensible that the late Act extended against us (beside the Encouragement of Self-ended Informers to swear almost any thing against us in our Absence for their Interest, whereby many grievous Oppression have befallen us) in many other Particulars also exceeds the Severity of other Laws of this Realm, yet we have suffered many Extremities beyond the Severity of this Act, whereof the following Account may give some Instances, which because they are fresh, and in your Power to redress, we shall only acquaint you with at present. Those many which are long since transacted, not coming so properly under your Consideration now, farther than being certified that many such have been these twelve Years, and you hereby made sensible thereof may be the more inclinable to redress these at present, and in Christian Wisdome to prevent any more for the future, that Oppression may cease with the Righteous lie under, for which the God of Heaven is grieved; with whom that you may find Mercy in the great Day of Account, is the Christian Desire of

Your Peaceful Friends and Neighbours

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[138] Besse, *Sufferings*, pp. 178-179.
[139] 'A Representation of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in Durham, 1682,'
Re-printed in Besse, *Sufferings*, pp. 185-6.

Emanuel Grice   Anthony Hodgson

James Trotter   Jane Vickers

Zachary Murthwaite   Sarah Kirby

John Wilson[140]

The letter denied that Quaker meetings had seditious undertones, and stated that they hold

their meetings 'only to worship God according to the Command of *Christ Jesus*, and Practice of the

primitive *Christians*, or to provide for the fatherless, Widows, and Poor, with other Christian Duties,

which the Christian Religion requires'.[141] Significantly, the end of the petition signifies the Society's

position in their community. The members who drew up the petition signed their names as 'Your

peaceful Friends and neighbours'.[142] Here the Society was emphasising not only its member's

peacefulness, but also their place as Christian neighbours in the wider community.

Despite an appeal towards Christian neighbourliness, the Society's letter to the Quarter Sessions

had little impact, and in 1683 and 1684 just over £363 in goods were taken from Friends for attendance

at illegal meetings.[143] Regardless of its ineffectiveness, the letter highlights the community mentality of

Durham's Quakers. They emphasised the harsh penalties against members of their religious community,

but they also stressed that their community was not limited to Quaker society but it extended to all their

neighbours. The conventicle reports indicate that only a small handful of authorities were actively

seeking out Quaker conventicles in Durham, with the same Justices names appearing in the court

records throughout the 1670s and 1680s.[144] John Miller has found that this was the cause throughout

the country with persecutions 'carried on by a small minority of bigoted magistrates and greedy

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[140] 'A Representation of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in Durham'.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., p. 187.
[144] DUSC, DDR/EJ/OTH/3; DURH/; DURH/8/77/3.

informers'.[145] Friends may have insisted that they were peaceful neighbours but the extent of

persecution in the 1670s and 1680s suggests that they were not fully accepted by their local

communities. In Durham, Quakers were engaged in a local struggle for religious toleration and an end to

persecution. The next chapter will explore how members of the Society internalised and reacted to

persecution through the implementation and acceptance of an authoritative disciplinary body in the

form of the meeting system. It will discuss the characteristics that defined Durham's Quaker community

through the meeting's authoritative control, the regulation of morality, education and through the

negotiation of life inside and outside of the Society of Friends.

Conclusion

Members of Durham's Society of Friends did not distinctly divide their movement into decades.

Rather, the Society's development was fluid from the 1650s and 1660s onwards. Through the latter half

of the seventeenth-century they certainly had to adapt their religious community to the social and

political atmosphere of the times. The fear of political and social chaos of the Restoration, particularly

after the discovery of the Derwentdale Plot in 1664, drove persecution against dissenters throughout

the century in the form of the Conventicle Acts, the Quaker Act and tithe prosecutions. Yet throughout

the century, Durham's membership maintained their commitment to a religious centred community

placed within wider society.[146]

Durham's Society of Friends insisted in their 1682 petition to the Quarter Sessions that Quakers

were their neighbours, and part of the wider community. Nevertheless, authorities and members of the

community viewed the formation of the Quaker organisation as politically suspicious, subversive and as

religious enemies of Christ and the State.[147] The Society of Friends' recreation of a parish-like community

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[145] Miller, 'Suffering People,' p. 96.
[146] 'A Representation of the Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers in Durham, 1682'.
[147] See Blome, *Fanatick*.

through financial support, the meetings for worship and the meetings for business, raised alarms among

civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Authorities called for their detection in the Bishopric's parishes in

1669, and for increased prosecutions under the 1670 Conventicle Act.[148] While Quakers were not

prosecuted to the full extent of the law under the second Conventicle Act it was not because of leniency

towards members of the Society in Durham, but rather due to the remote geography of Durham's

Quaker meetings which kept prosecutions to a minimum. Unless large meetings were held in town

centres, Quakers were rarely detected by informers, and instead prosecutions in Durham were

restricted to excommunications and distresses on goods to recoup payment from Quakers who refused

to pay church tithes.

The question which remains is, how significant was persecution in the shaping of Durham's

Society of Friends? Prosecution in the civil and ecclesiastical courts certainly did not deter dissenters in

Durham. In May 1670, Bishop Cosin wrote to his secretary Miles Stapylton and commented on a

complaint made by the vicar of Norton, Thomas Davieson. Davieson noted the 'obstinate men and

women in his parish that will not yet let downe their conventicles'. To this, Cosin replied that in London

dissenters were being sought out and dispersed. The dissenters 'are ferretted out of every hole by the

train-bands of the city…truly I think their meetings will ere long dwindle to nothing in this City, which

hath … been an upholder… of all the rest abroad'.[149] Cosin's prophecy did not come to fruition in

Durham, London or anywhere in the nation; instead it was just the opposite. During the early 1670s the

Quaker organisation evolved into a single English Society of Friends with Quakers across the country

maintaining their presence and formally organising their religious system. As George Fox explained in

1658, Quakers were 'well contented with our sufferings, and murmurs not, our sufferings are our

present Crown'.[150] Quakers in Durham maintained this mentality and bore their sufferings from 1660

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[148] DUSC, DCD/D/SAJ/3-15, 40-44; DCD/D/LP29; *The correspondence of John Cosin,* vol. II, p. 238.
[149] Ibid., p. 243.
[150] Fox, *To the Protector*, p. 13.

onwards as a group. Persecution against Quakers was not the only glue binding members together, but it can be regarded as one piece of the puzzle that helped to shape the relationship between Quakers at the regional and national level.

Just as Anthony Pearson's *The Great Case of Tithes* (1657) was intended to form a common identity among Quakers throughout the country in 1650s, persecution in the 1660s played a role in bringing members together into a unified religious organisation.[151] As the next chapter will discuss, Quaker community development, and their place in wider society, will be explained through the organisation and legitimisation of the Society's authority. Persecution in the seventeenth century was just a single part of the Quakers' move towards denominationalism, and wider sociological expectations beyond the simple explanation that persecution was the unifying force of the Society, needs to be incorporated into the development of Durham's Quaker community.

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[151] Chapter 3; Anthony Pearson, *The Great Case of Tythes,* (London, 1657), Thomason / E.931[2].

Chapter 6: The Quaker Community: Codification of belief, discipline and education in Durham and Newcastle, 1671-1710

Introduction

The beginnings of a Quaker religious organisation has been debated and studied by scholars and historians of the religious group for decades. Hugh Barbour regarded the persecutions under Charles II and James II as having crystallised Quaker organisation. Richard Vann identified the establishment of monthly and quarterly meetings throughout the country in 1667 and 1668 as the start of Quaker insular institutional organisation, and Adrian Davies noted that by the 1660s Friends organised by increasingly practising 'a form of "tribalism,"' which involved 'a disregard of worldly customs and associations'. For Davies, it was through Quaker exclusivity that a community and religious organisation formed into the Quaker meeting system.[1] When Quaker organisation and community began has been debated among scholars. However, most agree that by the middle of the 1670s Quakerism was evolving into a formalised religious system. Reflecting this change was the conservative separatist reaction led by Thomas Story and John Wilkinson in 1675. Wilkinson and Story lamented the Society's move towards corporate Quakerism that deprived members 'of the law of the Spirit and to bring in a tyrannical government: it would lead us from the rule within to subject us to a rule without'.[2] For the Society of Friends the 1670s was the period when theological and organisational matters were decided and put into practice by Quakers across the nation.

Historians have generally agreed that persecution from the 1660s onwards was a significant unifying factor in the creation of Quaker church government and the enforcement of Quaker discipline.[3] The disciplinary process was enforced through the local meetings to ensure members followed a godly

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[1] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, (Yale, 1964), p. 231; Richard Vann, *The social development of English Quakerism,* (Harvard, 1969), pp. 101-102; Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, (Oxford, 2000), chapter 2, in particular, pp. 35-38.

[2] Jane Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism and the political thought of John Dickinson*, (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 31-33.

[3] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 102; Vann, *Social Development*, pp. 137-138; Charles F. Carter, 'Unsettled Friends: Church Government and the Origins of Membership,' *JFHS*, 51, (1967).

path through the light within, and for the practical purpose of establishing and maintaining a positive

view of the Society within the local community. Yet too much focus has been placed on the effects of

persecution, particularly after 1660, on the development of the Quaker community and their church

organisation. Instead, persecution should be regarded as a stimulant in a wider sociological process,

rather than the sole cause. The large scale persecution of members undertaken through the penal laws

from 1661 to 1689 reinforced calls for unity and church institutionalisation found in the 1650s.

Especially after James Nayler's blasphemous imitation of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in 1656 and his very

public trial before parliament, Quaker leaders recognised that putting forward set standards of belief

and behaviour would downplay accusations of Quaker radicalism and aid in their calls for religious

toleration. Furthermore, unity in belief allowed members to emphasise their place in society as a

peaceful Christian religious organisation. However, if toleration was to be achieved it could only be done

if Quakers throughout the country agreed to live by prescribed religious, social and economic standards.

Institutional unity would keep the organisation together while Quaker leaders fought for toleration on

behalf of all members of the Society.[4]

Identifying when Quakers recognised themselves as part of a larger Society of Friends has

created a tendency to concentrate on the organisation as a national phenomenon. Vann found that

denominationalism among the Quakers began when the organisation called for a system of nationwide

monthly meetings in the 1670s, a theory that overlooks and disregards the monthly and general

meetings established in the 1650s.[5] As Chapter 3 demonstrated, Quakers in Durham were holding

monthly meetings from 1654 onwards, as well as attending the General Meetings for northern Quakers.[6]

This early formation of a religious organisation has not been effectively evaluated through wider

discussions on Quaker church government, and the formation of Quaker personhood in the seventeenth

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[4] Hugh Barbour uses this point to describe the significance of Barclay's *Anarchy of the Ranters* in justifying an organisational Quaker church government in the 1670s. Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, pp. 230-231.
[5] Vann, *Social Development*, pp. 101-103.
[6] FHL, Swarth. Mss. 2. 17 (1654); FHL, Port Mss. 16.2 (1659); *Appendix 1* and *2.*

century. The formation of regionalised monthly meetings in the 1650s, and the later implementation of a countrywide system of monthly meetings in the 1660s and 1670s, were not separate entities. The evolution of the meeting system was a fluid progression of the organisation's growth from a local sect, to a regionalised movement with connections to Quaker leaders across the country, and to finally, a single denomination known as the Society of Friends. The move towards an institutional organisation led to the creation of an interpretive authority that formed the voice and structures for the Quaker faith and community.[7]

In tracing the formation of religious communities, sociologist John Smolenski found common characteristics shared among all developing Christian sects. Features included, members commitment to the sect and no other religious body; an exclusive understanding of religious truth; relatively strict discipline; total commitment from members; and an opposition to the church, state or secular society.[8] Using these features, Peter Collins commented that all were 'apply more or less [equal] to the Quakers and to other well-known civil war sects'.[9] However, small groups of individuals could display each of these characteristics without arranging into a larger religious organisation; hence the emphasis that all sects in the 1640s and 1650s fit the mould. Therefore, how can Quaker fortitude and organisational structure be explained? For Collins, it was the Quaker's 'almost obsessive codification' of discipline that sustained the Quaker membership in the seventeenth century and beyond. 'Quakers built for themselves an internal order, transcending the orthodoxy/heterodoxy duality by generating an ideology...founded on what was characterised as proper practice'. Through the codification of religious and social beliefs, Quakers created and maintained a religious organisation that survived a period of social, political and religious upheavals.

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[7] John Smolenski, '"As the Discharged of my Conscience to God": Narrative, personhood, and the construction of legal order in 17th-Century Quaker culture,' *Prospects,* 24, (Oct. 1999), p. 127.
[8] B. Wilson, *The Sociology of Sects, in religion in sociological perspective*, (Oxford, 1982); Peter Collins, 'Discipline: The codification of Quakerism as orthopraxy, 1650-1738,' *History and Anthropology*, 13, 2 (2002), pp. 80-81.
[9] Collins, 'Discipline,' p. 80-81.

This chapter focuses on the methods used in the codification in Durham's Society of Friends, and how these methods aided in the creation of the Quaker identity and community both within and outside the religious group. While persecution was not the sole force in unifying the Society in a nation of Quakers, it did have a secondary role in the community's formation. The early years of Quakerism will be briefly reassessed to highlight the Quaker organisation as fluid, and not separated by an unknown barrier between the end of the Commonwealth and return of the monarchy. With the beginning of Durham and Newcastle's monthly meeting minutes in 1671, it is possible to provide evidence on the disciplinary methods and regulation of Quaker behaviour inside and outside the meeting place in the latter half of the century. Durham's monthly meeting records provide insight into the lives of seventeenth-century Quakers and how they dealt with individuals not following the prescribed godly path.

The role of Quaker narratives will also be discussed. These narratives, often written after the death of a Quaker, were not a necessary rite of passage in the Society, but were used as expressions of an individual's ideology and commitment to their faith. Narratives became important tools in maintaining and educating younger members of the community in the Quaker way. Finally, the negotiation of social and economic associations outside of the Society will be assessed, with particular focus on the well documented and intriguing case of the Quaker mason, John Langstaffe.

Persecution, financial relief and Community Organisation

The Quaker Book of Sufferings has been well studied by historians for its literary and historical significance.[10] Historians have often focused on the detailing of every item taken by distress on the

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[10] For example see, Barry Reay, 'Quaker Opposition to Tithes 1652-1660,' *Past and Present,* (1980), pp. 98-120; Barry Reay, 'The social origins of early Quakerism,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* (1980), pp. 55-72; John Miller, '"A Suffering People': English Quakers and Their Neighbours c. 1650–c. 1700,' *Past & present,* 188, 1 (2005), pp. 71-103; John R. Knott, 'Joseph Besse and the Quaker Culture of suffering,' *The Emergence of Quaker writing:*

orders of local authorities, and the role this played in framing a Quaker identity of martyrdom.[11] The

attention to detail within the Quaker sufferings accounts was undertaken for several purposes. First,

Quakers regarded themselves as the 'suffering people,' and recording and collecting instances of their

suffering acted as a propaganda tactic. The first large scale collection of sufferings undertaken by

Anthony Pearson and Gervase Benson in the mid-1650s as *The Cry of the Oppressed* (1656), was

intended to underscore the wide-spread persecution of Quakers in England. Its publication also provided

a sense of commonality among members in England, by showing individuals that they were not alone in

their religious sufferings.[12] This tradition of collecting instances of persecution continued for two

centuries after its initial implementation.[13] Quaker persecution by civil and church authorities were

collected by local meetings and sent to the country's quarterly meetings to be recorded in a designated

book of suffering. The compiled information in Durham was sent to London, and assembled with all

recorded instances of sufferings in the country.

Scholarly emphasis on persecution as an explanation for Quakers coming together as a religious

society, has focused on the Books of Sufferings as a main source of evidence.[14] However, the process of

Quaker denominationalism was more complicated than the persecution theory has suggested.[15] As the

previous Chapter discussed, persecution within the Durham Quarterly Meeting was sporadic, and not

consistently imposed from year to year. Durham does not fit into the traditional mode of continuous,

and often unrelenting, persecution against Quakers. How then, did the Quaker organisation form in

Durham if persecution was not regularly enforced on members? The answer to this was three-fold. It

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Dissenting literature in seventeenth-century England, Thomas N. Corns and David Loewenstein (eds.), (London, 1995), pp. 126-141.

[11] See, John R. Knott, 'Joseph Besse and the Quaker culture of suffering'; pp. 126-141; John Miller, '"A Suffering People:" English Quakers and their Neghbours,' *P&P,* 188 (Aug. 2005), pp. 71-103; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*; Braithwaite, *Second period of Quakerism*; Besse, *Sufferings*; Richard Vann, 'Friends Sufferings – Collected and Recollected,' *Quaker History*, 61 (1972), pp. 24-35.

[12] See, Chapter 3.

[13] In Durham, these collections can be found in DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1.

[14] Braithwaite, *Second period of Quakerism*, pp. 633-634; J.S. Rowntree, *Quakerism: Past and Present*, (1859), pp. 62-65; Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, pp. 106-107.

[15] Davies, *Quakers in English Society*, pp. 219-220.

was financial, communal and spiritual. The purpose of Durham's initial formation of the monthly

meeting was not because of persecution through the legal system, but rather to replicate the communal

system individuals lost when they denounced their parish churches. Vulnerable members were feeling

economically and spiritually pressured by non-Quakers to renounce their new-found faith in order to

resume receiving parish support. Durham's monthly meeting was established to remedy this conflict.

The paper creating the Durham monthly meeting in 1654 highlighted this outside temptation.

> …wee being brought to feele & see the estate & conditions of the Church in these parts, & the danger yt many may lye in, because of the oppressors, & thereby the enemy of the soule may come to have advantage over us.[16]

For writers of the paper, 'oppressors' does not refer solely to the legal constraints members were under

for religious beliefs, but rather the presence of spiritual persecution and worries that newly converted

members would stray from the inner light if they were not receiving the same financial and communal

benefits they enjoyed outside of the sect. The last paragraph of the document seeks to remedy the

financial aspects by recognising 'at present here is a great need for a collection'. The signatories of the

document order that 'your several meetings to doe herein every one according to your freedoms in the

present necessity, & give notice ye next first day yt it may be collected for ye poore'.[17] The creation of

the Durham Monthly Meeting bound the region's members together through spiritual, communal and

financial ties. This created the foundations for the Quaker community that developed under the Quaker

meeting system later in the century.

The use of financial ties as an organisational tool was not limited to Durham. In 1656, members

of the London meeting arranged to meet 'once a fortnight, or once a month, at the Bull and Mouth'. The

meeting's purpose was to deal with matters pertaining to the provision of meeting places, the care of

the poor, visiting the sick and providing employment for those shunned by society due to joining the

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[16] Swarth. Mss. 2.17 (1654); See, *Appendix 1* for the full text of the document.
[17] Ibid.

Quaker movement.[18] In 1657, a general collection was established 'for the service of Truth and Friends that travelled beyond the seas, through all the nation'. Friends in charge of establishing the collection recognised that until that date the provision of funds was 'lain mostly upon the Northern Counties before this time'. Several members from across the country, including Durham Friends Anthony Pearson, John Langstaffe and Anthony Hodgson, prepared the letter to be sent to 'every county in the nation'.[19] From 1657 to 1658 a total of £444, 3*s.* 5*d.* was sent to the general collection from across the country, with Durham contributing £21.[20] By 1658, the general collection had evolved into an organised system of collecting and distributing financial aid to traveling ministers and members in need across the country.[21] The collection of funds laid the foundations for the Quaker meeting system by tying individual meetings to a wider Quaker association.

The creation of a general collection among the Quakers was partially in response to funds needed to support members suffering from persecution in the country. In this sense persecution did have a role in bringing the country's Quakers together, but it was not the sole commonality among Quakers in the country. The Quaker community was brought together through a commonality of religious and social beliefs. As Durham's meeting designated, the basic need for a larger organisational system was to replace the parish community they denounced; this was a driving force in uniting Quakers locally, regionally and eventually across the country. This type of organisation in Durham was not replicated everywhere. According to William Penn in the eastern and western counties of England, the Quaker meetings had not developed a strong Quaker organisation in the same way the northern

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[18] Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 320.
[19] Ibid., pp. 321-322.
[20] Swarth. Mss., 1. 397; Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 324.
[21] For a more detailed narrative on the formation of the general collection in counties across England see, Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, pp. 324-328; Bonnelyn Young Kunze, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism,* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 86-100, Davies, *The Quakers in English Society,* chapter 6.

counties had done in the late 1650s.[22] Nevertheless, the national establishment of a general collection in 1656 was the first attempt to bring the Quaker organisation together on a larger, nationwide scale. Its success can be determined from the support given when a call for funds was issued to Quakers in the counties. From 1657 to 1658, counties across England sent funds to the general collection, including £30 from York, £20 from Durham and just over £136 from the eastern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge and Huntingdon.[23]

The beginnings of a centralised Quaker network in the late-1650s meant that when a formal meeting system was proposed in 1667, issues of dissent arose not from the organisational structure, but over the extent an administrative body could exert authority over individual Quakers. Questions of church government and authority came to a head in the Wilkinson-Story separation in 1675. The dispute arose over the question of authority within the monthly meetings, in particular the meeting's ability to hand out condemnations against members acting contrary to the beliefs of the Society. Additionally, they disapproved of a separate women's meeting, particularly their special role in the approval of marriages among members; the requirement that members write testimonies to confirm their continued efusal to pay tithes; and lastly, the way Quakers were worshiping in meetings by members' 'groaning, singing, or sounding'.[24] However, John Wilkinson and John Story's open dissent from the Quaker governmental system did not deter, but rather progressed the formation of a Quaker church government. Issues of church government, authority and belief were hatched out in publications by emerging Quaker leaders William Penn, Robert Barclay and Isaac Pennington.[25] As Endy has noted, Penn

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[22] William Penn's *Judas and the Jews*, (London, 1673), Wing / P1307, p. 24; Quoted in, Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism*, p. 237.

[23] See, Braithwaite, *Beginnings,* p. 324.

[24] For a full discussion of the controversy see, Clare Martin, 'Tradition versus innovation: The hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies,' *Quaker Studies,* 8, 1 (2003); Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism*, pp. 290-323.

[25] Robert Barclay, *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines*, (1676), Wing / B718; William Penn, *The Great case of Liberty and Conscience,* (1670), Wing (2nd ed.) / P1298B; Isaac Pennington, *Some of the Mysteries of God's Kingdom glanced at*, (1663), Wing (2nd ed.) / P1298B; *The Friends' Library: Comprises Journals, Doctrinal Treatise,*

and his generation of Quakers attempted to tone down the radical religious aspects of Quakerism and emphasised a more subdued religious organisation. This included changing the perception that the inner light was literally God within each individual, and towards the concept that the light was a source of insight and religious and moral power.[26] In 1676, the Yearly Meeting of Quaker ministers in London declared that the spiritual life of the Society was not irreconcilable with church government and discipline. 'The power of God,' the meeting determined, 'is the authority of the men's and women's meetings and of all the other meetings'. The 'faithful men and women in every city, county and nation, whose faith stands in the Power of God…are in possession of this gospel…they have all right to the power of the meetings'. Because they were the faithful and had a stronger spiritual relationship with the light, weighty individuals were given the ability, through God, to have authority in the meetings. '[F]for they be heirs of the power and authority of the men's and women's meetings'.[27] The paper laid out the nature of authority within the Society. God was their primary authority, first and foremost, and because his revelations were given to members of the Society through the insight of the inner light, the weighty members acted as an authoritative proxy within the meeting system.

By reconciling issues of authority with the individualistic nature of the inward light, the Yearly Meeting paved the way for establishing a Quaker meeting system across the country. Within this system the quarterly meetings were formatted for overseeing 'the poor and other affairs of Truth,' according to one meeting. The monthly meetings functioned as an arbitrator of outward business, to ensure members walked in an orderly way.[28] As one historian noted, a function of the meeting system was to

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and other Writings of the Religious Society of Friends, W. Evans and T. Evans (eds.), 2 (Philadelphia, 1837-50), pp. 213-310, 233.

[26] Melvin Endy, 'George Fox and William Penn: Their relationship and their roles within the Quaker movement,' *Quaker history*, 93, 1 (2004), p. 34.

[27]Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism,* p.348, taken from the *Christian and Brotherly Advices, Given forth from time to time By the Yearly Meetings in London* (1676).

[28] Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism,* p. 291; Describing the functions of the meetings were taken from the Dorset Quarterly Meeting and Berkshire Quarterly Meeting. The separation of tasks in the Durham Quarterly and Monthly Meetings shows this distinction to be true.

'contain the libertine,' to weed out religious and social dissent and keep the membership unified.[29] With

authority established within the local and regional meetings and on weighty individuals in the meetings,

Quakers were able to contain disorderly behaviour and enforce Quaker morality through a disciplinary

system. This allowed Durham and Newcastle's meetings to oversee the codification of discipline within

their respective meetings, and enforce specific aspects of the moral code based upon variations in social

and economic interactions in the urban and rural meetings. Using the Durham and Newcastle monthly

meeting minutes and the Durham Quarterly Meeting minutes, the next section will discuss how

members tailored disciplinary expectations to fit the needs of the meeting and its membership.

Discipline, Certificates and Advices

The codification of discipline within the meeting system was instrumental in establishing

ecumenicity among the Quakers. Sociologists have noted that for a religious movement to succeed it

must offer a separate religious culture that sets itself apart from the general culture of the period.[30]

Quakers created distinctive moral standards, which members were to abide by, both inside and outside

of the meeting place. Many of the basic precepts of the Quaker community were culturally similar to

their non-Quaker contemporaries. Assistance for the poor was one such example. Characteristics found

in early modern communities were adapted to fit within the Quaker understanding of society and the

economy. To ensure their godly culture was preserved the imposition of 'relatively strict moral

standards' was implemented in the meetings. The enforcement of discipline in the meetings had to be

strict, but not overly strict, to ensure the survival of the Society.[31]

The basic principles of a disciplined religious society began in the early years of the Quaker

movement, and rested on their emphasis on social and cultural distinctions in speech, mannerisms, the

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[29] Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism*, p. 12.

[30] Stark, 'Why religious movements succeed or fail,' *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 11, 2 (1996), p. 137.

[31] Ibid; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society,* (Oxford, 1974), p. 137.

non-payment of tithes and a refusal to take oaths. Yet during the 1650s and early years of the

Restoration, direct consequences within the membership for not following some or all of these

principles were slight or non-existent. It was possible to impose exclusion on a member for not following

the light. Thomas Aldam warned Margaret Fell in 1654, not to receive Agnes Wilkinson into her home

because 'she acted contrary to the Light in filthiness'. But Aldam, in reference to Wilkinson's 'filthiness,'

also expressed the Quaker belief that individuals could return to the fellowship and be received by

Friends.[32] This attitude changed slightly following James Nayler's trial before Parliament in 1656 for

blasphemy. Members of the movement began to distance themselves from overtly controversial

individuals like Nayler and his followers. This became the case in 1661 during the Perrot controversy

over the wearing of hats during worship, and in 1675 following the Wilkinson-Story debates over

religious authority among the Quaker meetings.[33] Publicly, issues regarding the foundational beliefs of

Quakerism and Quaker organisation forced a separation from disorderly individuals to ensure the

continuation of the Society, but among the wide membership, discipline and uniformity of belief was

less than stringent. In Durham, in an effort to ease persecution and fines, members were continuing to

pay church tithes with no consequences from the Society. As the vicar of Gainford explained, Durham

Quaker Henry Draper absented himself from church services but he 'pays all church assess and to me for

his tithes'.[34] While early Quaker leaders emphasised upholding Quaker principles, including the 1659

General Meeting of Northern Quakers, there was little evidence of pre-1670 disciplinary actions against

individuals like Draper. With the start the meeting minute records instances of disorderly behaviour

within the local meetings and the disciplinary actions taken and imposed on individual members were

recorded.[35]

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[32] *Early Quaker Writings*, Hugh Barbour and O.A. Roberts (eds.), (Michigan, 1973), pp. 471-472.
[33] Moore, Rosemary, *Light in their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain*, (Penn State, 2000), Chapter 15.
[34] DUSC, DCD/D/LP/29/3.
[35] FHL, (1659), Port/16/2.

Durham's meetings may have been well-organised into monthly and general meetings by the start of the Restoration, but their lack of authority over disciplinary issues can be understood through Henry Draper's partial conformity to the Quaker way of life. Draper represented the meetings' struggle to regulate uniformity in the early movement. However his disownment from the Society in 1671 highlights the meeting's transformation into a structured church governmental system with clear boundaries and understandings on who can identify themselves a Quaker.[36] There was ultimately little room for occasional compliance with the Quaker moral code, as Draper discovered. Prominent members needed to legitimate their authority over the sect to justify government organisation and discipline, and this is noticeable in the earliest meeting records. The official formation of the Quaker governmental system created a legitimate authority, and its acceptance by members throughout the country moved the Quakers from sectarianism and into the realm of denominationalism. Members' acceptance of the meeting's authority (whether it be the local, monthly, quarterly or yearly meetings), and the disciplinary procedures accompanying it, legitimated the influence and doctrine of Quaker leaders like Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay. Furthermore, the meeting system created a network that connected members through religious, social and economic relationships throughout England and the colonies.[37] These social relationships were 'part of the tangible rewards of participating in a religious movement – affection, respect, sociability and companionship' are all 'vital exchange commodities'.[38] Without internal networks members of the Society would have lacked commitment and ultimately failed as a religious organisation.[39]

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[36] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (4th of 5th mo. 1671).

[37] See, Edwin B. Bronner, 'Intercolonial Relations Among Quakers Before 1750,' *Quaker History* (1967), pp. 3-17; Frederick Barnes Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic culture*, (Macmillan, 1960); Larry D. Gragg, *The Quaker community on Barbados: challenging the culture of the planter class*, (University of Missouri Press, 2009).

[38] Stark, 'Why religious movements succeed or fail,' p. 142.

[39] This point will be expanded on further in this Chapter. Particularly the idea that creating an isolated religious organisation would not have been beneficial to the maintaining of the Society.

The establishment of the meeting network and the individual acceptance of the governmental

system, meant the Society could enforce disciplinary methods to ensure the survival and purity of the

religion. Members became part of a larger organisational system in which advices (suggestions from the

Yearly Meeting given to the quarterly and monthly meetings) and epistles (queries from the Yearly

Meeting that required a reply from the quarterly and monthly meetings) were drawn-out at the Yearly

Meeting, disseminated and enforced among the regional and local meetings. Over the course of the

1670s and 1680s various aspects of members' lives were regulated by the meeting. The marriage of

members was scrutinised and approved by the local meeting in order to maintain a level of 'fertility

sufficient to at least offset member mortality'.[40] Ecumenicity was practiced throughout communities in

Europe to ensure the integrity and survival of a religious society. Historians have recognised the trend

towards endogamy in the seventeenth-century as a promotion of unity among religious groups.[41] The

Society of Friends was, therefore, not unique in their formation of discipline among members. French

Huguenots, for instance, scrutinised marriage proposals, provided education within the boundaries of

their moral code, and encouraged adherents to trade between fellow Huguenots before seeking outside

partners.[42] However, unlike many of their contemporary nonconformist groups, Quakers recorded,

often in great detail, their disciplinary process against individual members of the meetings. These

records were completed for the posterity of the meeting and to allow members to learn from the

mistakes of others.

By focusing on the monthly meetings in Durham and Newcastle, the use of authority and

discipline among members of the region's Society can be observed to understand the level of

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[40] Stark, 'Why religious movement succeed or fail,' pp. 140-141.
[41] Anne Laurence, *Women in England 1500-1760,* (London, 1994), pp. 42-60; P. Benedict 'Confessionalization in France? Critical reflections and new evidence,' *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685,* Raymond A Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds.), (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 53-61; Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky, 'Introduction,' *Getting Along*, pp. 16-17; Lawrence Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England, 1600-1753,* (Oxford, 1992), p.
[42] P. Benedict 'Confessionalization in France? Critical reflections and new evidence,' *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685,* pp. 53-61

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acceptance members gave to the disciplinary code and the authority of the meeting system. The

granting of certificates, the handling of marriages to individuals inside and outside of the meeting and

the relationships between business partners can all be evaluated through the minutes to provide insight

into the development of Quaker personhood in County Durham and Newcastle.

Certificates of Clearness

The disciplinary measures put into place by members of the Society constructed a Quaker

identity 'through the evocation of particular performances and presentations of self and, through ritual

incorporations of Friends into a larger community'. This created the Quaker *nomos.*[43] The endurance

and acceptance of the disciplinary system was essential to avoid free riders (individuals using the Society

for their own gain rather than religious belief) and dissent in the community. In a similar manner to

parish testimonials, certificates of clearance from an individual's meeting was an important tool for

ensuring members were active participants in the Society.[44] Meetings vouched for individuals or families

wishing to relocate to another meeting. In 1687, the Newcastle Monthly Meeting wrote to a meeting in

London to certify the clearness of John Tyzack and his family. Tyzack had been travelling to and from

London since 1684 for business, but their permanent move to the city in 1687 meant they had to

provide a letter from the Newcastle Monthly Meeting certifying they were active and orderly members

of the Society.

> To all Friends whom it may concerne in London
>
> Whereas John Tizacke late of the Towne & County of Newcastle upon Tine Broad Glassmaker
> being desirious of a certificate from our [monthly meeting] for himself & his wife we have
> thought fit to certifie as followth,

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[43] John Smolenski, '"As the discharge of my conscience to God": Narrative, Personhood, and the construction of legal order in 17th-Century Quaker culture,' *Prospects,* 24, (October, 1999), pp.127-128.

[44] For the use of testimonials and certificates in parishes see, William Edward Tate, *The parish chest: A study of the records of parochial administration in England*, (Cambridge University Press, 1969).

> That our friend John Tizacke…did for many years owne & make publicke & p[ro]fession of the … Truth with us & was of Good report, even up till the time that he was called to remove himself & family to London to live there, he was very diligent in frequenting meetings as often as his calling would p[er]mitt he had his share in sufferings both in being knocked at the meeting & imprisonmt he was very diligent in his Calling & ready to contribute with us to such as stood in need or otherwise as we had occasion – And as for Sarah his wife she was of good report amongst us – esteemed a sober discreet woman loved Truth & friend frequented meetings & was a good … they removed from here to London in the year 1684…

John Ayrey	Peregr Tizacke	Dorothy Smith	Robert Lynton
Jno Harrison	Anne Hunter	Chr Bickers	Tho Wilkinson
Joane Lynton	Tho Chandler	Moses ffisher	Mary Sostley
Jn Allott	Lyonell Heathinton	Sarah Wallis	Rober Wallis
Geo Rome	Elizabeth Harell	Jn Moron	Wm Appleby
Anne Muschamp	Elizabeth ffisher	Jn peele	Robert Sostley
Sarah Hunter	Wm Smith	Reben Ayrey	Anne Corneath
Danill Tittery	Barbard Midford	Margaret Simpson	Samell ffreman
Jane ffraron	Catherine Ellott	Robert Askew	Jane Turner [45]

In 1700, Margaret Dalton requested a certificate from the Stockton Monthly Meeting because she 'intends if the Lord p[er]mit for pencilvania [Pennsylvania]'. 'A certificate being required from this meeting: It is desired that Shotton friends write one & signe it in behalf of this meeting'.[46] The meeting agreed to the certificate, but left the writing of it to her local meeting at Shotton, probably because they knew her standing in the Society better than the representatives of the Stockton Monthly Meeting.

Certificates were also issued for individuals wishing to temporarily travel to other Quaker meetings in England, often for ministering purposes. Seventeenth-century certificates for travel have not survived for Durham and Newcastle, but a few can be found among an eighteenth-century miscellanea collection at the Tyne and Wear Archives. In 1727, Lancelot Wardell of Sunderland was issued a certificate for his desire to 'travel to meetings in other parts,' and in 1740 a certificate was issued for Ann Flower and Mary Frost who wished to travel to Cumberland to visit the Friends' meetings

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[45] TWA, MF 167, certificate recorded at the meeting held 13th 6th mo. 1688.
[46] DRO, SF/DA/MM 1/2, (9th 5th mo 1700).

there. The Monthly Meeting confirmed that both women had 'good unity,' and that God 'hath called

them forth to Labour' in Cumberland.[47]

If an individual was deemed to have had a disorderly past this would be made known their new

meeting, so that they would keep a watchful eye over any signs of disorderly behaviour. In 1687,

Thomas Thorp wished to embark on an unspecified foreign voyage, and when he approached the

meeting for a certificate of clearness he urged members not to declare a report of forgery against him in

the certificate.[48] Nothing else came of the matter in the meeting minutes, but Thorp's eagerness to

receive a certificate without the matter of forgery noted on it substantiates the level of authority given

to these certificates. They represented an individual's trustworthiness as a member of the Society of

Friends, as well as their credibility within wider society. The system of certificates kept undesirable

members from moving from local meeting to local meeting, and ensured that only upstanding, active

and godly individuals were members of the Society.

Regulating Morality – Marriage and Orderly Walking

The moral connotations of marriage meant Quaker meetings placed particular attention on the

unions their members were entering into. In her study on Quaker marriages and discipline, Su Fang Ng

found that the moral and social implications of marriage were so important to Quaker discipline that

they developed their own distinctive procedure.[49] Marriage was certainly a significant factor in

maintaining the community and the religious integrity of the Society, and for this reason it was strictly

enforced by the local meetings. However, the process and purpose of marriage among members of the

Society was not entirely distinctive compared to their non-Quaker counterparts. For Quakers, the timing

and purpose of marriage was the same as their contemporaries. Second generation members, both

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[47] TWA, MF 167, (8th 11th mo. 1727), TWA, 'Newcastle Misc. Certificates, 1700-1750,' MF 174, (12th 3rd mo 1740).
[48] DRO, SF/DU/DA/1/2, (3rd 9th mo. 1687).
[49] Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth-century England*, (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 204.

male and female, tended to marry in their mid to late 20s, an average age that was reflected in wider

society.[50] Furthermore, for Quakers and non-Quakers marriage was for the procreation of children, a

remedy against sin and the temptations of fornication, and it acted as a form of companionship.[51]

Marriage was regarded as a moral regulator, but only if the right partner was chosen. William Penn

commented that when selecting a partner, Quakers should 'never marry but *for* love; but see that thou

lov'st what is *lovely'*. When selecting a partner he suggested a man must 'prefer the *person* before

money*, virtue* before beauty, the mind before the body; then thou hast a *wife*, a *friend*, a *companion*,

second Self, one that bears an equal share with thee in all thy Toyls and Troubles'.[52]

Quaker meetings and weighty Friends maintained a great deal of control in the decision of

matrimony. In a similar manner to the Church of England's practice of publishing marriage banns to

allow for objections to be made, Quakers enforced a period of scrutiny into the religious and moral

clearness of the individuals proposing marriage.[53] However, the moral aspects of Quaker marriages were

also coupled with more practical elements of membership maintenance. The stringent regulation of

marriage and child rearing were linked to the Society's use of discipline, and the need to maintain the

status quo in future generations.[54] As one historian noted, the meeting was a representation of the

family. Members of the community were brothers and sisters and the weighty Friends of the monthly

and quarterly meetings were the mothers and fathers of the community.[55] Members not only presented

their marriage intentions to their local meeting but also the men's and women's monthly meetings.

Weighty Friends used their authority to make inquiries into the couple's lives inside and outside of the

religious Society. If necessary, a marriage request could be denied if a problem, such as evidence of pre-

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[50] Roger Schofield, 'English marriage patterns revisited,' *Journal of Family History*, (Spring, 1985), pp. 1-20.
[51] Laurence, *Women in England*, p. 41.
[52] William Penn, *Fruits of Solitude: Reflections and Maxims. Relating to the Conduct of Human Life* (1693), Wing / P1369, pp. 27-28, 30; Laurence comments that in the seventeenth-century marriage for companionship became more widespread, *Women in England,* p. 42.
[53] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 97.
[54] Stark, 'Why religious succeed or fail,' p. 137.
[55] Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family*, p. 202.

marital sex, parental disapproval or a previous engagement arose.[56] In the instance of an unapproved

marriage going forward, the couple would likely be censured by the meeting and a public apology

sought by the couple. If the couple refused to admit their wrong-doing against the principles of the

Society, the meeting could disown (remove) them from the community.

When marriage was proposed the couple publically 'laid their intentions' before their meetings,

allowing any objections to be raised. In 1675, the marriage proposal of George Trewthwaite and Isabell

Walker was objected to by Joseph Peacock. His reasons for the objection were not specified in the

minutes, but he was asked to attend the next meeting and give his reasons publically. However, instead

he withdrew his objection and the meeting gave permission for the union to go ahead.[57] When an

individual prosed marriage, and was not from the meeting, inquiries were made to their local meeting to

ensure their orderliness in the Society. In 1691, Joshua Middleton of Darlington and Rebeckah Tyzack of

Newcastle declared their intention to marry to the Stockton Monthly Meeting on 8[th] of 7[th] month. The

next month a paper was 'read to this meeting [Stockton] from ye monthly meeting at gateside signifying

ye p[ar]ties [Tyzack's] clearness & the satisfaction of Friends'.[58]

Scrutinising couples prior to marriage was a practical endeavour; it provided a level of insurance

on the godly upbringing of the next generation of Quakers.[59] If parents were upstanding members of the

meeting then their offspring would receive a proper spiritual and secular education in the Quaker way.

This would enable the next generation of Friends to be open to God's grace and ensure the future of

Quakerism, but even more significantly, requiring members to present their marriage to the meeting

was a means of assessing members' obedience to their meeting's authority. In 1679, Ann Pickering and

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[56] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (2nd 11th mo. 1682).

[57] DRO, SF/MM/DA/1/1, (14th 7th mo. 1675; 12th 8th mo. 1675).

[58] DRO, 'SF/MM/DA/1/2, (8th 7th mo. 1691; 13th 8th mo. 1691).

[59] John Landers, 'Fertility decline and birth spacing among London Quakers,' *Fertility and Resources: 31st Symposium Volume of the Society for the Study of Human Biology,* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 94; Edward Byers, 'Fertility transition in a New England commercial centre: Nantucket, Massachusetts, 1680-1840,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, (1982), p. 40.

Ralph Hodgshon laid their intentions of marriage before the Raby Monthly Meeting. The meeting,

however, expressed concerns and asked John Airey to look into their relationship before approving the

marriage. A month later he reported to the meeting that he could not find anything to object to the

marriage and they were given permission by the meeting to marry. However, during the month Airey

was investigating the couple, they married before the meeting had given its permission. Despite giving

permission in the end, on 2th of 4th month 1679, Raby Monthly Meeting produced a paper of

condemnation against the couple for 'marrying befor friends had given them freedome'.[60] The couple

was not disowned, but a public condemnation would have proved embarrassing for the newlyweds. For

the meeting a condemnation was necessary because they had strayed from their moral obligation to the

meeting.

The vast majority of entries in Durham and Newcastle's meeting minutes relate to individuals

seeking permission to marry. Scattered throughout the minutes were also condemnations against

individuals for entering into improper marriages with non-Quakers, or criticisms against couples going to

local parish churches to be married. The importance of ensuring proper unions among Friends can be

found among the earliest Quaker meeting records. In 1671, the first entry in the Raby Monthly Meeting

minutes regards the marriage of Ellen Raine to Peter Grainger. 'Chris. Goodson & Wm Hutton the elder

speak with Ellen Raine and Peter Grainger about their marriage'. At the next meeting it was suggested

that Ellen had married outside of the Society, and her situation was deferred to their local meeting.

Friends in the meeting were advised 'that they walke wisely toward her & that they endeavour to keepe

her mind downe in the feare of the Lord'.[61] Ellen continued to be a member of the Society, but in 1682

she appears one final time in the meeting minutes for attending services at the parish church in Barnard

Castle.

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[60] DRO, 'SF/ST/MM/1/1, (5th 1st mo. 1679); (6th of 2nd mo. 1679); (25th of 6th mo. 1679).
[61] DRO, SF/ST/MM1/1, (4th 5th mo 1671), (1st 6th mo 1671).

> Ellen Grainger of Barnard Castle who having formerly contrary to truth friends advice joined her self in marriage to a man of ye world by him was forced to goe to ye steeple house...it was much taken notice of by people of the world.[62]

Ellen does not appear to have been initially disowned from the Society for her marriage; however, when she attended religious service at the parish church, the meeting determined this to be grounds for her disownment from the Society.[63] The entry makes a point of indicating that Ellen was forced by her non-Quaker husband to go to the church, and because of his influence she was led astray. In 1672, the Durham Quarterly Meeting called on all Friends in the region to 'draw up a paper [against] disorderly marriages, drunkenness & ordering of Families'.[64] For Friends, Ellen's situation was exactly what the Society feared would occur if diligence and scrutiny was not observed in the marriage of its members.

Instances of disorderly marriages were frequently used as lessons to other members of the Society. In 1697, James Raine appeared in Raby's Monthly minutes for marrying a close relative. The meeting condemned the action and Raine was requested to write a paper on the marriage and present it to his meeting. Despite a general disapproval of incest in seventeenth-century society, Raine explained that he did not know Quakers were against marrying closely related family members.[65]

> I am sorry you should be soe dissatisfied concerning my marriage for being soe neare of kin, for I did not know that itt was any order amongst friends not to marry soe neare till I was I soe far concerned … but itt might have been otherwise soe I would desire itt may be noe ill president to others.[66]

Despite objections to his marriage, the meeting did not take further action against James, and he continued to be an active member of the meeting. Instead, his condemnation in the meeting and his

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[62] Ibid., (1st 5th mo 1682).

[63] Ellen's marriage to a non-Quaker was one of the only instances found in all the monthly meetings where it did not result in expulsion from the Society. This may because Raby was having difficulty maintaining attendance to the meetings, and the meeting may have been hesitant to lose a worshiper; DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (4th 5th mo. 1671).

[64] DRO, SF/DU/QM/2/1, (24th 4th mo. 1672).

[65] Martin Ingram, *Church courts, sex and marriage in England, 1570-1640*, (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 238-249.

[66] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (6th 5th mo 1697).

reply, which was recorded in the minutes, provided an example for later members who might find

themselves in a similar situation.

All of Durham's meetings exhibited a concern with the upholding of family and religious values.

In 1671, Raby Monthly Meeting encouraged that 'care be taken that all fr[iends] be carefull to bring

their families & children to meetings & alsoe that they be a good example amongst them'.[67] Durham's

Quarterly Meeting produced a paper 'of Exhortation to every [monthly and pariticular] meeting'. Item

thirteen in the paper stated that,

> Fr[iends] be careful in the lords power to up Dominian over all disorderly procedures to marriage in their monthly meetings, & no indulging be allow'd to any to marry without answering the order of Truth [establish] in te wisdom of god amongst us.

The paper also touched on the issue of members marrying non-Quakers, and in particular, to be wary of

individuals claiming enlightenment to the inner light to marry one of the membership.

> That no Fr[iend] be too much countenanced to joyn in marriage with the worlds people under pretence of their professing Truth when it is but rarely for that end, that such of the worlds people be plainly dealt with in such cases to the answering of the witness of god in their consciences, that Friends concerned wth such be advised either totally to desist or to wait till Truth's testimony be brought up in them yt the exercise of the power of God.[68]

Item thirteen continued by warning parents of their duty to 'prevent their children that are

marriageable from all unnecessary society with the worlds young people, & that if any of them seek

their children for wives or husbands they upon first knowledge…warn their children agt it'. Parents were

also to approach non-Quakers and explain why a marriage could not take place. '[A]lso deal plainly with

such of the World's people,' the paper explained, 'that they may neither seek nor expect such a thing'. If

the child was disobedient and continued with their desire to marry a non-Quaker, their parents were

required to acquaint the meeting with 'their children's disobedience' so that 'they may assist them, so

that they may approve themselves clear both in the light of God & Friends'.[69]

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[67] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (5th 10th mo 1671).
[68] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (2nd 11th mo. 1682).
[69] Ibid.

The Quarterly Meeting's paper highlighted the significant role of parents in educating their children and ensuring their orderly marriage. Certificates guaranteed the parents' role in their child's clearness, but equally, parents could be blamed for a disorderly marriage.[70] In 1688, the Stockton Monthly Meeting ordered William Jowsy and his wife to appear at the next meeting to discuss their daughter Sarah's disorderly marriage 'with a man of ye world'.[71] At the next meeting a caution against disorderly marriages was written with Sarah's behaviour made public and used to 'caution young friends or others yt may be liable to such temptation'. Sarah's parents must have been cleared of wrong-doing because they were not mentioned in the caution.[72] Erin Bell has noted that mothers, in particular, were regarded as responsible for their daughter's behaviour, and marriage was no exception.[73] In 1698, Ellinor Howell married to 'one yts noe friend' and in the parish church. Her mother Elizabeth, who was not in Stockton at the time of Ellinor's marriage, was put at fault. A paper was written against both women and made public to the other meetings in Durham.[74] Another example occurred in 1719, when Lydia Peacock's parents were cleared of parental negligence when Lydia married a non-Quaker. Her certificate specified that she was brought up by her parents 'amongst us ye people called Quakers,' and her marriage was undertaken 'against her parents advice'. She was removed from the Society for disobedience in her choice of a spouse.[75]

When a child disobeyed the Society, parents were often scrutinized by the meeting for negligence in the upbringing of their son or daughter. In 1686, Elizabeth Corney was married 'with one of the worlds people & by a [priest] contrary to the good order'. Darlington's Women's and Men's Monthly Meeting produced a testimony against her actions, and several women were appointed to 'make her sensi[b]le of the evell of her outgoings.' Furthermore, her parents were required by the

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[70] Certificates of clearness will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.
[71] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/2, (9th of 8th mo. 1688).
[72] Ibid., (13th of 9th mo. 1688).
[73] Erin Bell, 'Discipline and manhood in the Society of Friends,' (PhD thesis, York University, 2003), p. 150.
[74] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/2, (8th 12th mo. 1698); (8th 1st mo. 1699); (12th 2nd mo. 1699).
[75] TWA, 'Misc, certificates and testimonies,' MF 215, (1719).

meeting to produce a testimony declaring their clearness in knowledge of her marriage. In the testimony

they took responsibility for her disorderliness explaining that it was due to over indulgence in her

childhood.[76]

All of the meetings upheld principles of marriage proposals and inquiries into clearness, but they

also oversaw the education of children and the tackling of poor social behaviours, such as, drunkenness

and gambling. William Hutton was reported to the Raby Monthly Meeting for 'being too much addicted

to keeping company & taking excess of strong drinke'. He was required by the meeting to produce a

testimony against his behaviour to the next meeting.[77] Friends at Darlington produced a paper of

condemnation against Nathan Colling for 'laying a wager against a horse running from beside Newcastle

upon Tine to Darlington'. Interestingly, the monthly meeting found it important enough to add to

Colling's entry that the horse made it from Newcastle to Darlington in 'two hours & a halfe;' a time the

meeting must have found impressive enough to include it in the minutes. Nevertheless, the monthly

meeting certified the condemnation, and it was sent back to Darlington Friends 'to be made publick,'

and used as a warning against gambling to all others in the meeting.[78]

Questions of authority, hierarchy and religion were contested issues found within all levels of

society and community in seventeenth-century England.[79] For Quakers, the popular concern of authority

and order were manifested within their own religious community. The creation of the meeting system

and the disciplinary measures enforced within the meetings, aided in the preservation of the Quaker

community by ensuring the Society maintained social and religious unity across the country.

Additionally, guaranteeing the appropriateness of members' behaviour and interactions outside of the

meetinghouse meant members could devote more of their energies towards the spiritual side of the

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[76] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/1, (11th 11th mo. 1686).
[77] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (26th 10th mo. 1699(; (6th 12th mo. 1699).
[78] DRO, SF/DA/MM1/2, (13th 6th mo. 1695).
[79] See, *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), (London, 1996).

Society. As Jane Calvert demonstrates in her study of Quaker politics and theology in colonial

Pennsylvania, seventeenth-century Quakers in both England and the colonies continued to believe that

a godly society, guided by the inner light, was feasible.[80] If all members of the Society were adhering to

the Quaker morals (walking orderly) then the message from the inner light could be better interpreted

and implemented.

Members' non-spiritual life created complications in the Society's ability to create completely

orderly members. Within the Durham and Newcastle Society of Friends economic and social conflicts,

particularly among members of the Society in the commercial and industrial port towns of Newcastle,

Sunderland and Stockton, created additional disciplinary concerns. Their members' tendency to be

involved in business, trade and manufacturing meant the Newcastle Monthly Meeting spent a large

proportion of its time dealing with business disputes between Friends, and warning members on the

dangers of having close interactions with non-Quakers. The economic growth of the region made these

entries unique among the meeting minutes in Durham, and arguably throughout many of the meetings

in the country.[81] The next section will explore the disciplinary measures imposed on Friends among the

Newcastle Monthly Meeting and how members negotiated between their worldly and spiritual lives.

Dispute, Debts and Discipline in the Newcastle Monthly Meeting
In response to the increasing number of disputes among members of the Society, the London

Yearly Meeting produced a paper in 1673 calling for kindness and mediation between disputing

members.

> Keep out all roughness, harshness one towards another & all self rule & dominion yt is not of ye
> Life but in ye will of ye flesh…& le no strange fire be kindled amongst you nor in your meetings.

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[80] Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism*, Chapters 1 and 2.
[81] One exception to this is the Bristol Monthly Meeting. As the port grew in Bristol in the late 17th and 18th centuries business disputes between Friends became more readily seen in the minutes. It would be expected that a similar situation would be found in London as well, but their records have yet to be thoroughly consulted. For Bristol see, *The Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1686-1704* (Bristol Record Society, 1977).

> And elders & overseers must not be self willed nor soon angry... nor any shorness or bitterness for such keep not in a sound mind nor in ye discerning of true judgmt or mercy...[82]

The epistle stressed that mediation must be adhered to, to avoid 'the enemy' from breaking their unity. '[That] you may keep out the enemy in all his appearances yt would make divisions and disturbances in ye Churches. For at this time ye enemy is busy & secretly at work'.[83]

The epistle does not definitively define 'the enemy,' instead it likely refers to the many enemies around them. There was a spiritual enemy embodied as the devil. There was also the physical enemy, such as political or religious opponents; the enemy of temptation found in luxuries, fashion or the desire to marry a non-Quaker; and the enemy of internal dissention. In the case of this paper, the enemy denoted to the fear of the community splintering over issues of authority and belief as church government formed. The premise of meditation and keeping miscarriages (disputes) between Friends, applied to all issues arising within the Society. Friends were reminded that internal issues debated in the public arena created fuel for their adversaries. '[L]et not judgmt & testimonies agt miscarriages & offences be made more public then ye miscarriages are to harden those yt miscarry & give ye adversaries of truth to throw dirt upon Friends'.[84]

The enemy, therefore, was all around them, both within and outside the Society. Members had to be vigilant, and discipline needed to be enforced if the Society was to succeed in its religious endeavours. Friends in Newcastle recognised this, and adherence to the authority of the meeting can be found in the handling of disputes between Quaker business partners. The economic growth of the Durham and Newcastle coal industry meant Quakers living in Newcastle, Gateshead, Sunderland, Stockton and North and South Shields were more likely to be involved in trade, shipping, and industry, compared to their rural counterparts in the rest of the county.[85] Consequently, participating in business

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[82] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (6th 11th mo. 1673), The epistle is dated 26th 3rd mo. 1673.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] See, Chapter 4, *Table 4.8*.

networks and partnerships with both Quakers and non-Quakers was more likely in the industrialised regions.[86] Marriage, family life, and moral discipline were still a concern in the Newcastle Monthly Meeting, and similarly to the Raby minutes, one of the first entries in the minutes was for Jonathan Carneath's 'practice of marrying wth a preist'.[87] However, the upholding of social morality was also combined with an emphasis on economic morality. Unlike the more rural meetings in Teesdale (Raby Monthly Meeting), issues between business partners, money lending and indebtedness were frequently brought to the Newcastle Monthly Meeting. To uphold the religious standards of the Society, the regulation of business practices within the meeting was essential.

In 1687, Newcastle Monthly Meeting appointed Jeremiah Hunter and Lionell Heathrington to speak to Christopher Bickers about his suing of fellow Quaker Henry Middleton in an unknown court case. Bickers told the meeting that he 'acknowledg his error in suing Hen: Middleton' but he refused to 'with draw the action' unless Middleton 'will pay the charges already contracted'. Not wanting the issue 'to goe on the publicke hearing before unbelievers,' it was suggested that Middleton or someone on his behalf pay the charges to Bickers. However, if an agreement could not be reached the meeting 'doth advise that Henry doe use such means as the court directs'. No further mention of the dispute was recorded.[88] Like the regulation of marriage, internal meditation, rather than going to the local courts or churches, was preferred. However, this was not unique to the Society of Friends. Most livery companies forbade their members from using the court system for business purposes, with complaints dealt with internally.[89] The Society's use of internal mediation was politically motivated, as the 1673 epistle stated, but it was also spiritual.[90] The refusal of Quakers to take any oaths on spiritual grounds became a

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[86] A wider evaluation of the urban/rural divide and demographic makeup of the meetings can be found in Chapter 3.

[87] TWA, MF 167, (5th 12th mo. 1674).

[88] Ibid., (9th 6th mo. 1687).

[89] C.W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The 'Lower Branch' of the legal profession in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 1986), p. 35.

[90] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (6th 11th mo. 1673), The epistle is dated 26th 3rd mo. 1673.

problem when going before a local court.[91] John Airey was appointed by the Newcastle Monthly

Meeting to speak to Jonathan Carneath on the moral implications of his actions in 'taking an oath in ye

court in Newcastle'. Despite Carneath not recognising 'ye evell of taking an oath,' and Newcastle Friends

left the matter 'to a further tyme to deal wth him,' in the hoped that 'in ye truth' he and other Friends

'may finde freedom'.[92] This last point was a second reason for internal mediation. The inner light, and

not the 'world's people', was the only guide for resolving issues between Friends.[93] When an issue arose

it was presented to the Newcastle Monthly Meeting. No decisions were made until Friends were

appointed to investigate the matter, and the meeting had time to reflect on the best resolution. Quaker

mediation was achieved through divine service. It was not a hasty process, with disputes often taking

several months to be resolved, but it was a godly process.

The first recorded instance of the Newcastle Monthly Meeting being used for arbitration occurs

at the end of 1686. Like most of the disputes in the minutes, details of the complaint were not given, but

future disputes between these individuals imply that it may have been an issue arising among Quaker

leasees of a glasshouse in Newcastle. The initial entry simply states that 'Jno Osburne having

[complained] against Dannll Tittery & Chris Bickers as by his declaration drawn up in writing'. The

meeting appointed Robert Linton, William Maude, Jonathan Carneath, Zachary Herron and Peregrine

Tyzack to enquire into the matter further and act as arbitrators.[94] No further mention of it was made in

the minute book, but complaints among the glass workers continued in the minutes. Six months later

another complaint was brought before the meeting, and the excessive number of disputes led the

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[91] Quakers refused the taking of oaths on biblical grounds. They cited Matthew 5: 34-35 – 'Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool'.
[92] TWA, MF 167, (12th 5th mo. 1680), (9th 6th mo. 1680).
[93] 'The world's people' is a term frequently used in the meeting minutes to describe non-Quakers. It came from the notion that Quakers had transcended themselves above worldly endeavours and goods that non-Quakers partook in.
[94] TWA, MF 167, (13[th] of 7[th] mo. 1686).

meeting to produce a letter of condemnation. The letter was presented on 15th of 12th month 1687. It

began:

> Whereas you reposed a [truce] in as & by [your] appointment wee endeavoured to make an end
> of ye differences among ye p[ar]tners of ye glasshouses yt are friends after much time spent in
> hearing all p[ar]tys wee find ye ground of yt differences have proceeded from
> misapprehension…& want of Christina charity among themselves wch is Judged by ye Truth &
> on Expedient is found out where unto they all agree & so hope ye like disappointment may not
> be fall the futures…wee desrie you Christian care to stop it before it proceed too farr.[95]

The next line of the paper specifically names and shames the individuals responsible for the latest

disputes or 'misapprehensions,' as they described it. 'And whereas Peregrine Tizack is scandalized about

his dealings wth John Airy & Chrto Bickers is blamed for litigiousness in law suites we have had a hearing

of both cases & do find there is any [occasion] for any such scandal'. The final section of the paper

indicates that it was intended to be read publically as a lesson to other members.

> And for preventing of schandall & evill reports one against another wee commend to your
> consideration ye apointmt of a meeting of grave men & women friends to Inquire into such
> things…false reports may be judged & ye raisers of them condemned & whereas friends of
> severall capacityes may be concerned together in dealing wee desire yt equity & good
> conscience may be observed by them and that so none may go about to go beyond or over
> reach one another but in ye symplcity of truth may do by each other as they would be done by
> them selves according to ye Law of our Lord Jesus Christ so commending you to ye wisdom of
> god to guide you in all your undertaking…[96]

The lesson of this paper was not heeded by the members of the meeting, and disputes between the

glassmakers continued; however, not without sufficient scrutiny over the issues first.

The new system of inspecting the charges before addressing them in the meeting was first

implemented on 9th of 5th month 1688, when John Tyzack made a complaint against Peregrine Tyzack.

The complaint was read by Christopher Bickers but 'Peregrine Tizacke being absent' it was 'thought

[best] not to read in this meeting'. Instead, several Friends were appointed to read the paper, discuss

the issues amongst themselves and determine whether it was necessary 'to [communicate it] to the

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[95] TWA, MF 167, (15th 12th mo. 1687).
[96] Ibid., (15th 12th mo. 1687).

monthly meeting'.[97] At the next meeting it was recorded that 'friends appointed to read John Tizacks

paper doe give account that they do not find it needful to be read in this Meeting'. The Friends charged

with verifying the complaint determined them to have been falsely made. Several more Friends were

appointed to investigate the false charges and report to the meeting. On 10th of 7th month, it was found

that no proof could be found regarding John's complaint against Peregrine, and John was condemned by

the meeting for 'such railing accusations in a Testimony agt that evill…spirit wch has been too much

manifest in their (the glassmakers) contentions debates'.[98]

Disputes between the glassmakers continued into 1689 and 1690. On 9th of 10th month 1689, an

undisclosed issue between Christopher Bickers and Peregrine Tyzack were not brought to the monthly

meeting to determine if it was a matter for the meeting to intervene in. Instead, the issues appears to

have been urgent, and they approached the meeting to have 'four friends…hear & determine the

differences' between them immediately. The four arbitrators were given permission to settle the

disputes themselves, and the matter was finished.[99] In 1690, Rebekah Tyzack approached the meeting

'to inspect matters between her & Danill Tittery,' regarding the disputed ownership of bottles in a

Newcastle glasshouses that they both held a portion of a lease in. Nine Friends were appointed 'to meet

on the fifth day come a weeke after the general meeting to inspect the charges'. On 9th of 10th month, a

paper was recorded giving their decision on the matter. Both individuals were found to have been at

fault.

> …having heard over the letters and papers relating here unto and having enquired into &
> examined the preceeding betwixt them & well weighted & the same…doe in the first place
> Judge & condemn the many….expressions & reflections against the said Rebekah & her
> deceased husband as …unseemly & out of the holy pure & peaceable spirit of Truth
>
> We find that Danll has not eyed the order of Truth in that he did not first acquaint Rebekah as a
> friend with his intentions to [take] the bottles…[when they were]paid for already by her

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[97] TWA, MF 167, (9th 5th mo. 1688).
[98] Ibid., (10th 7th mo. 1688).
[99] Ibid., (9th 10th mo. 1689).

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We find also that Rebekah has not kept in the order of Truth in bailing the said bottles though part of them belonged to her; but ought first to have accqu[ainted] Danll that such a part belonged to her…

It is with us weightly to caution them both to keep to the government of Gods holy Truth & spirit in their hearts and to wait low in their minds to feel judgment come over all prejudice & hard heartedness towards each other and to dwell in that wherein their souls may [prepare] in the Truth & be to the honour of God & his Truth & his peoples comfort

…Truth ought to have been upon or full review & consideration of the whole matter we doe not see further what wee command.

Jno Langstaffe
Edward Tonstall
Jn Wilkinson   Nicholas Cockfield   Jeremiah Hunter [100]

On 9th of 8th month 1693, after several years of disputes, Newcastle recorded their concern over the large number of Friends 'not keeping to the Bounds of Truth in their Trade and dealing'. The meeting 'discour[s]ed & it is desired that a method may be thought of & put in Practice to prevent [outrunning] in this Matter: & whereby Friends who may be und[er] p[re]sent difficultyes as to their outward Estate may have that Wholsome…advice & assistance'. The meeting decided to give the matter 'serious Consid[er]ations,' and at the next meeting it was determined that Friends needed to maintain its disciplinary procedures and use 'all necessary admonition,' against those who persistently caused problems.[101] Only one other dispute arose between the glassmakers in the meeting minutes in 1700, but again no details were given and it was quickly resolved within the monthly meeting.

The announcement in 1693 was put to use in all aspects of trade and business, not only against the feuding glassmakers. Indebtedness and un-Quaker-like business practices were frequently discussed at the meetings. Following the above advice, on 11th of 10th month 1693, Lawrence Heslam was called to the meeting so Friends could 'discourse wth him about his having guns [on] his ship'. For this the meeting 'tenderly admonished him of the evill consequences of it'. The minute ended by reminding Friends to take continued 'care to advise & admonish such as may be in danger in their Trade &

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[100] TWA, MF 167, (9th 10th mo. 1689).
[101] Ibid., (9th 8th mo. 1693), (13th 9th mo. 1693).

comerce'.[102] Heslam was clearly swayed by members of the meeting, and he confirmed a few months

later that he had sold all of his ship's guns.[103] The weighty Friends were eager to encourage members to

first approach the meeting to tackle disputes, mismanagement and indebtedness. From 1694 to 1705,

seven further instances of debt and mismanagement of business affairs were reported to the meeting to

be dealt with internally, and all were deliberated over the course of several months to ensure the

matter was dealt with properly. For instance, Ann Chandler was in debt for £8 following the death of her

husband in 1686. She was required to provide a list of all debts and credits to weighty Newcastle Friend

Joshua Middleton, and within two months it was reported that the meeting had sorted the issue and she

was able to pay her debts.[104] In 1700, increased indebtedness among all Friends led the Durham

Quarterly Meeting to send a paper to all the meetings in the region. The paper encouraged members to

be vigilant when entering into debt.

> A paper from the Quarterly Meeting was here red & ordred to be recorded &copies thereof sent
> to every p[articu]lar meeting…
>
> Whereas it has been proposed to this meeting to take into consideration the inconveniences of
> delayes that have sometimes hapned in the proceedings of friends in their monthly meetings
> with such as have been complained of for not paying their debts – whereby creditours being
> friends have suffered loss; whilst others that either were not in the prosession of only in the
> profession have satisfied themselves out of the debters estate; for prevention whereof & that
> creditours that are friends may be the better secured against such predudics; & that their just
> debts on account of friends being under obligation in the truth not to goe to law with a friend or
> brother until denied by the meetinging & c: we doe tenderly desire that friends in their
> respective meetings: may have a watchfull eye upon those that belong to their meetings who
> are in trade or business in the world: [Especially] such whose dealing is upon their Credit & may
> be thought in any danger; that friends who are appointed by the meetings may in fredome &
> love visit such; & desire to have an account of their state & if they refuse or trifle with friends
> then to acquaint the meeting; who are in the wisdom of god to deale with them further as they
> see meet, & where one friend is owing to another & makes not payment in dew time, the partye
> greeved ought to apply to the ouerseers or other weight friend or friends to inspect into the
> true cause of such failure & if they finde things well in the maine then to give such Christian &
> friendly advices & assistance as they are capable of; in order to help the friend out of his straite;
> or if tow or there can not do it to take other assistance; soe shall the blessing of him that is redy

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[102] TWA, MF 167, (11th 10th mo. 1693).
[103] Ibid., (12th 1st mo. 1693/4).
[104] Ibid., (14th 7th mo. 1696), (9th 9th mo. 1696), (11th of 11th mo. 1696); Thomas Chandlers' probate records
confirms his death at this time. See, DUSC, DPRI/1/1697/C9/1-2.

to perish come upon friends; & the glory & virtue of truth be shued forth unto the world; But if such friend shall not harken to the advice of those appointed by the meetings; or shew good cause why they do not to the meeting to which they belong; wee do judg that a sufficient cause for such to be disowned & a record thereof to be made in the meetings booke: & that after such record the partye or friend who is creditour may be at Liberty in the truth to take such other remedy for recovery of his debt as he sees meet

From our Quarterly Meeting at Durham the 26th of the first mo. 1700[105]

Papers such as this one were read aloud to all the meetings in an effort to encourage Friends to be more vigilant in leading an orderly life.

The Newcastle Monthly Meeting urged, more than any other meeting in Durham, for watchfulness and vigilance towards those in business to ensure they continued to walk the godly path. Individuals working with other Quakers had similar expectations in business practices and the same understanding of conflict resolution. However, for Friends engaged in business, trade and industry interactions with non-Quakers was an inevitability in an increasingly mobile and commercial age. Furthermore, the passage of the Quaker Act in 1695, meant Friends no longer had to worry that legal disputes with non-Quakers would go unresolved without sacrificing their principles against oath taking.[106] The strict regulation of marriage gave the Society the appearance of striving towards an enclosed community, but members did interact in the world around them. Newcastle Monthly Meeting recognised that they could not prevent Friends from working with non-Quakers, but they could exert their authority over members' business practices, and disown individuals who did not heed their warnings. In 1703, John Airey, was admonished for his 'fraudulent dealing wth divers psons'. He was advised to give up his unsuitable business dealings, and a testimony was written against his behaviour. However, after Airey persisted in his practices, he was formerly disowned from the meeting.[107] Airey was a prominent member of the local Society, with several business connections to members in the

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[105] Taken from, DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/2, (14th 3rd mo. 1700).
[106] 'William III, 1695-6: An Act that the Solemne Affirmation & Declaration of the People called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Forme', *Statutes of the Realm: volume 7: 1695-1701* (1820), pp. 152, [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46841], accessed March 2014.
[107] TWA, MF 167, (8th 1st mo. 1703/4), (11th 2nd mo. 1703/4).

Newcastle meetings. While not explicitly stating it was in relation to Airey's disownment a month after

he left, Newcastle's Monthly Meeting wrote to all the particular meetings recommending they take care

in 'dealing with disorderly persons professing Truth'. The meetings appears to be expressing concern

over future dealings with disowned Friends like Airey. They asked that all the particular meetings 'keep a

record of their proceedings therein in order to be produced as occasion may [call for the clearing of the

truth]'.[108]

Using Newcastle Monthly Meeting to resolve business disputes, and acceptance of the decisions

laid down by the meeting, signifies the authoritative control of the Quaker meeting system and

members' obedience to it. However, the submission of members to the disciplinary advices of the

meeting cannot be deemed as surprising. The message of the 1673 Yearly meeting was clear and simple,

'Submit to ye power of God in his people in those cities place or Counties with such friends as they with

ye parities concerned shall call to their assistance for they do and will judge for God'.[109] Members of the

Society were doing God's will, they were following the inner light and the disciplinary system, enforced

through the meeting system, and this ensured their work was not undermined by enemies within or

outside the Society.

The meeting minutes represent only a small number of the Quakers in Durham and Newcastle.

All of the above examples involved prominent members of the region's Society of Friends. They were

representatives to the monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, and many were the wealthiest, and most

influential members. These individuals were fully committed to the Society, thus, their use of the

meeting system would be expected. The commitment and dedication of these individuals was

remembered through stories of their conversion experience and their life as an orderly Quaker. These

narratives of Quaker godliness were not intended to be used as memorials, although as the next section

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[108] Ibid., (11th 2nd mo. 1703).
[109] Ibid.

will show in many ways they were, but they were used as educational tools to encourage all generations (young and old) to strive for orderliness in their lives.

The Durham and Newcastle Quaker community in life and death

As well as producing advices and epistles for the edification of its members, the Society also published and transcribed the conversion autobiographies (written by the individual explaining their conversion experience), or life narratives (written after the death of a prominent Friend to memorialise the life of an orderly member) of prominent members of the Society. According to Lawrence Stone the genre of autobiographies and diaries emerged throughout early modern English society as the laity shifted from an oral to a written cultural tradition. Yet, it was the production of introspective autobiographies, often on religious conversion experiences, that became the most common among nonconformist groups in the mid-seventeenth century.[110] Among the Quakers, Rosemary Moore found the writing of a deceased Friends' conversion and life narrative to be a 'new literary form' that gave an account 'of the life and work of a dead Friend'.[111] However, the autobiographical and biographical narratives and testimonies of the early members, were often referenced through the highly selective and edited works of the early Quaker leaders.[112] When Barbour and Roberts put together a compilation of Quaker writings, including autobiographies, they too only published the narratives of the most well-known Quaker leaders in England.[113] Research conducted into Quaker women has explored the context of their testimonies to supplement information not recorded elsewhere on female Quakers.[114] However, all of these studies focus on the well-known, and often, prolific male and female Quaker writers of the period.

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[110] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage,* (London, 1979), p. 154.
[111] Moore, *The Light in their consciences*, p. 206.
[112] Kate Peters, 'Patterns of Quaker Authorship,' *Prose Studies*, 17, 3 (1994), p. 7.
[113] *Early Quaker Writings,* Hugh Barbour and O.A. Roberts (eds.), (Michigan, 1973).
[114] Catherine La Courreye Blecki, 'Alice Hayes and Mary Penington: Personal Identity Within the Tradition of Quaker Spiritual Autobiography,' *Quaker History,* (1976), pp. 19-31.

Alongside the testimonies of George Fox, James Nayler, Margaret Fell and the rest of the Valiant-Sixty another set of less known testimonies was produced in the localities. Quakers throughout the country recalled their own conversion stories, whether they were prominent members of the Society or not. Furthermore, members of local meetings memorialised the first generation of deceased Friends from their meetings. These local narratives have been relatively neglected by historians, and have often been overlooked as nothing more than spiritual outpourings that were common among seventeenth-century society.[115] Yet, the local narratives provide evidence of the identity of the early members of the Society. The individuals with surviving narratives were prominent members of their local Society, and while not counted among the First Publishers of Truth, they were the members who developed and shaped Durham's Quaker community in the first decades of the movement. The narratives were completed and recorded for the edification of the Society. They emphasised how one could lead a good Quaker life, and more importantly, they built a common history for the regional community.

Recalling or writing a conversion narrative was not a requirement to enter the Quaker community. The Quaker faith was continually witnessed through an adherence to the inner light. Therefore, recording personal stories was not necessary because an individual's relationship with the light was continually changing. Outward behaviour and everyday interactions with Friends and non-Friends acted as proof of their commitment to the Society, but if conversion stories were not essential for the faith, why were they written? Recent scholarship on Puritan congregations in New England by Francis Bremer has re-evaluated the conversion narrative. Bremer has suggested that conversion narratives as proof of election was not a requirement for entry into a congregation, as was once thought. Instead, they were simply a form of early modern literary writing that was adopted by religious

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[115] See, Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-century England,* (University of California Press, 1992).

communities to share their experiences.[116] Literary historian John Stachniewski noted that within

religious autobiographies and puritan deprivation literature in there was a 'persecutory imagination'. He

found that both Puritans and Quakers used examples of persecution to underscore spiritual and society

oppression.[117] Yet, within this literary genre Quakers produced testimonies of their religious experiences

for various purposes, not just as a record of persecution. Individuals recounted their own stories, often

in the meeting to share a revelation received from the light, or stories were recorded in a personal

journal to remember the trials and tribulations of conversion. Many of these narratives were written

years after the experiences occurred, as retrospective accounts of an individual's religious life. George

Fox's conversion experience, recalled in his *Journal*, is one of the better known examples of a

retrospective personal narrative.[118]

Chapter 3 discussed the conversion of Anthony Pearson through the letters he composed to

James Nayler and Edward Burrough. The written evidence of Pearson's conversion was unique among

the Durham membership, because no other Quaker in Durham recorded his or her conversion as it was

taking place. Pearson was writing of his conversion experience to seek advice from fellow Quakers as he

grappled with his new religious understandings.[119] Pearson, however, was not remembered by his

contemporaries as an upstanding Quaker (he left the Society in 1661). His contribution was forgotten by

the Society, and his conversion, despite surviving among the Swarthmore Manuscripts, was never

formally recorded. While his letters were not a personal reflection on his conversion experience, they

were written as his crisis of religious belief was taking place. Pearson's letters were a raw and unfiltered

insight into an individual's struggle of conversion, and provide a unique comparison to how Durham's

Quakers reflected on their conversion at the end of their lives.

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[116] Francis Bremer, 'Invisible Saints,' (forthcoming, 2014). Thank you to Francis for sharing this article with me before its publication; Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage,* p. 154.

[117] John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination, England Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair,* (Oxford, 1991), Introduction; pp. 17-27; 159.

[118] For his recalling of his first interaction with the inner light see, Fox, *Journal*, Penney (ed.), pp. 9-18.

[119] Swarth. Mss., 3. 109; 3. 111; 3. 115.

Another Durham Quaker, Thomas Raylton, reflected on his conversion to Quakerism in a testimony preserved in the Cotherstone Preparative Meeting minutes. In it he recollected the story of his upbringing, conversion and sufferings (*Appendix 6.1*).[120] Raylton's narrative was not unusual in its format or style. His conversion was given within the context of his wider childhood experiences. A recent study on modern Quaker conversion narratives has found that explaining conversion through personal stories, continues to be a common technique, and often these stories begin, as Raylton's did, with his or her first attendance at a Quaker meeting.[121] Raylton begins his narrative with his origins. Born in 1671 in Bowes, North Yorkshire (now part of Durham), he recalled that he was 'educated in the way of the Church of England, but in 1685,

> it providentially happened, that by the invitation of Francis Wrightson, (one called a Quaker) at whose house a meeting was kept, about two mile from the place of my a bode, my mother went to a meeting there, and tooke me to ride before her, at which meeting were two ministers, namely John Bowron and George Rook, by whose powerful minister and lively prayer, it pleased God to open mine heart, and to let me see the vanity of this present world, if which for my short time, I had had some share, for which I had been often secretly smitten by the just witness of God in my own heart.[122]

After joining 'with these people,' Raylton 'then saw I must walk in the narrow way, and leave the vain compliments, the putting off the hate, and lowing the knee to man, & a upon which I was soon taken notice of, and complaint made to my mother'. This marked the beginning of his period of temptation, in which non-Quakers tried to convince him to give up his newly found religion. He recalled this temptation, not as a period of trial and suffering, but rather as a spiritual triumph. His continued his adherence to Quaker social standards, and was observed by his school master, which led him to confront Raylton about his new religious system.

> [T]he priest my then master was moved at my behaviour, and I suppose intended at that time to use the rod, and having made preparation, called me to him, and said I heard to-day that thou wentest by Mr Bounskell, and didst not pull of thy hat and bid good-morrow; adding what is thy

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[120] The narrative is too long to reprint here, see *Appendix 5* for the full conversion narrative.
[121] Elizabeth Molina-Markham, 'Lives that preach, the cultural dimensions of telling one's "spiritual journey" among Quakers,' *Narrative Inquiry,* 22, 1 (2012), p. 9.
[122] DRO, SF/CO/PM 8/14, (1705).

reason for so doing? Whether it is pride or religion? I told him it was not pride; then said he, it must be religion; and if so, thou must not be whipped: and so laid down the rod'.[123]

Discovering that Raylton's behaviour was religiously motivated, a discussion ensued on the precedent found in Revelations to justify his conduct. 'I found that an angel shewd John many things, explained Raylton, 'and that John said When I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship the angel that showed me those things; but the angel said, see thou do it not, for Some of thy fellow servants, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the saying of this book: worship God. And from this it told him if refused to do it unto men'. His minister tried to explain to him that removing his hat and bidding good morning were a sign of 'civil respect between man and man,' and 'though I might the better conform to it'.[124] Yet, Raylton's refusal to conform became another triumph of the continuous temptations against him.

The discussion with his minister did not end Raylton's trials. His refusal to go to Sunday services and conform while at school led his parents 'to be more severe,' leading him to leave 'the house for a while'. He returned home and continued to attend school, but began to feel a pull between respecting his parents and following God's will. He reflected on a passage he read: 'that saying of our Lord "whosoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me"'. Using this as justification, he left his parents' house and went to live with fellow Friends. He stayed with them for fifteen days until they returned him to his parents. '[T]hey told my father it was their desire that he would take me home again, as I was his son, and if he would not accept of me as a son, then as a servant into his house; but if he could not as nether then said they he must become our care, forasmuch as he is become one of us'. He lived with his parents, free from temptation and able to worship with Friends in peace. In 1686, the Society found him an apprenticeship with a Quaker blacksmith in Durham, and in 1695, he ends his story with his first public revelation at a meeting in Cotherstone. He felt himself called to visit Quaker

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[123] Ibid.
[124] DRO, SF/CO/PM 8/14, (1705).

meetings in Cumberland 'and was kindly received by them, and was at most of their meetings, if not all'.[125]

Unlike Pearson, whose conversion experiences was described as a state of confusion and temptation, Raylton recalled his conversion as straightforward, clear and sensible. He underwent periods of temptation, but he never wavered to the outside influences around him. When his school master threatened to beat him for not doffing his hat, Raylton maintained his Quaker principles in the face of persecution and entered into a peaceful religious debate with his teacher. The narrative also represents Raylton's identity as a Quaker and the communal aspects of Society. When Raylton left his parents' house he turned to his fellow Friends for help. The community was willing to take him in if his family was not, and when he was old enough the Society, not his parents, found him an apprenticeship with a suitable Quaker master. His narrative described his steadfast commitment to the Society, and in turn, their commitment to him as a member of their community.

Raylton did not stay in northern England after his apprenticeship. In 1705, he moved to London, married Quaker printer and bookseller Tace Sowle and remained in London until his death in 1723.[126] Despite spending that last seventeen years of his life outside of Durham, the addition of his story to the Cotherstone Preparative Meeting minutes suggest that because his conversion took place among their community, his narrative was intended to be read and learned from. In 1846, a rediscovery of his experience was published for a wider audience as *Some Account of that Faithful Minister of the Gospel, Thomas Raylton: Found in His Own Hand Writing, After His Decease; and a Short Testimony of Friends Concerning Him.* Raylton's narrative was deemed by Friends as an extraordinary example of how to lead a Quaker life. His experience could be used as an educational guide on how to avoid temptation and led a spiritual life within the Society of Friends.

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[125] Ibid.

[126] TNA, PROB 11/595/127, 'The will of Thomas Raylton of George Yard in Lombard Street, City of London' (1727); Paula McDowell, 'Tace Sowle,' *DNB*.

Publishing the personal stories and testimonies of the early Quakers became increasingly popular as the Society sought to shape the history of the first generation of Quakers and strengthen the community in the eighteenth century.[127] Raylton's conversion story was an autobiography, making it unique compared to the rest testimonies found for Durham. The majority of the narratives found for Durham's Quakers were not composed by the individual whose story was being told, but were completed by other members of the Society. These narratives were obituaries, and intended for the remembrance and dedication of exemplary Friends, and to be used in the education of members. In 1706, the Yearly Meeting requested that all the Quarterly Meetings in the country,

> doe collect the…a breife memorial or account of the lives, labours, travels, sufferings, death & dying sayings of all the faithfull labourers in the service of truth that did belong to their respective [Quarterly Meeting] & are now deceased, and send them up or as many as they shall judge needful: to the morning meeting.[128]

The collected testimonies were sent to the meeting in London where they were transcribed and published as examples of model Quaker living.

Wider literary culture and a desire to preserve the memory of the first Quaker ministers was part of the motive behind recording the testimonies of the first generation of Friends.[129] Using his ownership of the *Newcastle Journal* as a platform, Quaker Isaac Thompson published testimonial type obituaries on prominent members of their meeting in the early eighteenth century. Newcastle Quaker, Peregrine Tyzack also produced a collection of poems in 1729, many of which were inspired by members of the Society.[130] The accounts of deceased Friends were compiled in the journal of Abiah Darby, daughter of Sunderland coal fitter, Samuel Maude. In her journal, she included several entries taken from the poems written by Thompson and Tyzack. One entry was written by Peregrine Tyzack on the life

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[127] For a full discussion on how later generations of Quakers tried to revise the early history of the Society see, Larry Ingle, 'From mysticism to radicalism: Recent historiography of Quaker beginnings,' Quaker History, 76, 2 (Fall, 1987), pp. 79-94.

[128] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/2, (14th 4th mo. 1706), epistle from Yearly Meeting dated 13-18th 3rd mo. 1706.

[129] Peters, *Print Culture,* p. 10; Stone, *The Family Sex and Marriage*, pp. 154-155.

[130] The Bowes Museum, 821/AM Manuscript; O.S. Pickering, 'Poems by Peregrine Tyzack,' *Notes and Queries*, 23, 11 (November, 1976), pp. 497-500.

of her father, Samuel Maude, an eminent member of Durham's Society. After Samuel Maude's death in

1730, Tyzack recalled him as,

> The tenderest Father, and the kindest spouse;
> Their only comfort is, the trust that he,
> Who call'd him hence, will their guardian be!
> Justice on all his actions did attend,
> An able teacher and a faithful Friend[131]

Darby also recorded Maude's testimony, found in the Newcastle Monthly Meeting minutes. In a similar

fashion to the poems written and published by Thompson and Tyzack, the Monthly Meeting's testimony

pays tribute to the religious life of prominent members in their religious community.

> We think it our Duty, and hope it may be of service to recommend to posterity the good
> example of this our Dear deceased Friends. He was born at Leeds in Yorkshire; his Parents being
> Presbyterians, he was educated in that way till about the eighteenth year of his age, at which
> time he came to live with Wm Maude his uncle at Sunderland who was a professor to Truth in
> its early breakings forth; with whome he continued not long, before he was convinced of the
> Same, and made open profession.[132]

In many aspects, the meeting was recording a superficial account of Maude's conversion narrative.

Maude's early life as a Presbyterian was mentioned, but he was opened to the 'profession' [Quakerism]

not long after he was apprenticed to his uncle. As a Quaker, he demonstrated 'to the world the blessed

effect[s] of the power of Truth by a sober and Religious life, in which he seemed daily to improve, until

he was raised up to bear a Public Testimony to the Light of Jesus, which had wrought his Reformation'.

Maude suffered in silence when he was fined for attending meetings in the 1670s, and when a dispute

arose between himself and his brother, he took the issue to the monthly meeting to be arbitrated and

resolved.[133] His inward and outward commitment to his Quaker principles meant he was to be

remembered as an archetypal Quaker.

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[131] FHL, 'Abiah Darby's Journal,' MS 310, pp. 4-6.

[132] Ibid., p. 6; For further testimonies see, *A Collection of testimonies concerning several ministers of the Gospel amongst the people called Quakers, Deceased: With some of their last expressions and exhortations,* (London, 1760).

[133] Besse, *Sufferings,* pp. 182, 189,190; TWA, Mf 167, (14th 6th mo. 1727).

In Newcastle, many of the prominent members of the Society, previously mentioned in the section on disputes and discipline, were memorialised for their dedication to the Society. Following the death of Jeremiah Hunter in 1741, he was recorded as having been 'about the 25th year of age' when 'the lord was pleased to open his mouth in Testimony for Truth'. During his time with the meeting 'he grew in the ministry, became very serviceable'. He was described as 'open hearted' and 'ready to keep & relieve the Poor not only amongst Friends but to others he have freely'.[134] Deborah Wardell was another first generation Friend memorialised in a testimony. Her early life before joining the membership was unknown to the writers. 'We are not in possession of any particulars respecting the early part of her life'. However, once joining the community 'her ministry was lively & sound & very edifying'. She was described as an individual who 'preached the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in his spiritual appearance, frequently opening the mysteries of Life & salvation'. Two days before her death in 1732 she was recorded as expressing 'to her children…I did not think I should have been alive till now. I hope it will be a happy hour for me. I pray god bless you all in your undertakings, & at he may be with you, as he has been with me to the end of your Days'. Her testimony ended with the recording of her death. 'She departed this life the 7th of 10th mo. 1732, like a shuck of corn fully ripe & gathered in its season'.[135]

Testimonies provided an additional method of education for current and future members on exemplar godly living. Joshua Middleton, a member of the glass making industry in Newcastle, was praised for never being part of the glass disputes in the monthly meeting, but instead used his endeavours to mediate the differences. He was 'a man of meek and peaceable spirt,' and was 'also liberal to the poor & a great promoter of such liberality'.[136] Samuel Maude, was regarded as keeping 'more than ordinary Government over his own Spirit, which made the World of the Spirit of Truth shine

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[134] FHL, Robson Mss., TR 1, pp. 79-80.
[135] Ibid., pp. 80-81.
[136] FHL, Robson Mss., TR 1, pp. 52.

forth very eminently both in his Life and Doctrine'. The meeting ended its tribute lamenting on their loss

of Maude's fellowship. 'Many are bowed down in a deep Sense of the Loss we sustain by his Death'.[137]

The numerous tributes to Maude from Friends in Newcastle show that he was regarded as a man to be

emulated in life and death. Newcastle sent his testimony to London, and in 1760 it was published as a

compilation of deceased Quaker testimonies from across the country. The preface to the publication

explicitly stated that it was compiled 'to encourage the Practice of Virtue, and of that Obedience and

Self-denial, which the Gospel of Christ requires of his Servants'.[138]

The end of Joshua Middleton's testimonies sums-up the purpose of the Quaker narratives. They

were created because 'the memory of the just is precious'.[139] These individuals were remembered by

their meetings for their unwavering dedication to the Society and the inner light during periods of

temptation and legal persecution. Their stories reminded the meetings that because the first generation

of Quakers held firmly to their principles, the next generation of Friends could continue to be guided by

the light within. Furthermore, once discipline was accepted and codified within the meeting system in

the seventeenth century, the meeting had to reinforce their community structure among the next

generations. Discipline not only had to be enforced among new members, but the meeting needed to

demonstrate how one could lead an exemplary life. By elevating prominent members to saint-like status

through their spiritual life, the Society was encouraging a sense of history that could be strived towards

by all members. The narratives were recorded and published because these individuals were the

archetypal Quakers. Their conversion experiences, sufferings and life in the Society were to be learned

from, strived towards and not forgotten. As early as 1682, Durham's Quarterly Meeting requested that

members be diligent in collecting the testimonies of the first Friends.[140] This desire not to forget the first

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[137] FHL, 'Abiah Darby's Journal,' MS 310, pp. 4-6.; *A Collection of testimonies,* pp. 32-33.
[138] *A Collection of testimonies*, preface to edition.
[139] FHL, Robson Mss., TR 1, pp. 52.
[140] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (3rd 8th mo. 1682).

generation of the Society tied into the same motive for collecting their religious sufferings; the narratives reinforced and defined the Quaker identity and shaped the local community.

Negotiating Associations outside of the Quaker Community

The archetypal Quakers not only lived a godly life within the meeting system, but they also managed to negotiate their Quaker principles within wider society. While Clive Holmes noted that communities in Lincolnshire were divided along religious and ideological lines that sought 'to minimize contacts' between the groups;[141] in Durham interactions between Quakers and non-Quakers were not only unavoidable but they were recognised by the Society. Holmes' assessment does not take into account the many relationships an individual could possess in their local community. Quakers were members of strict and disciplined religious society in Durham, but within the estimated population of 70,000 in Durham, Quakers were less than one per cent of the population with around 700 adherents in the late seventeenth century.[142] This meant they were required to be members of, and form associations within, wider society. Any employed Quaker would have interacted with non-Quakers over the course of their lifetime, even if it was limited interactions. These interactions were an impetus for the meetings' continuous reminders and strict enforcement of adherant's social and religious morals. It was easier in theory, rather than in practice, to spurn the non-Quaker world, and as Davies has noted, Quakers 'were obliged to intermingle with family, neighbours and parishioners'.[143] This relationship between Quakers and non-Quakers in Durham was especially represented by the Quaker mason John Langstaffe.

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[141] Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-century Lincolnshire,* (Lincoln, 1980), pp. 44-45.
[142] Adrian Green *et al., Durham Hearth Tax,* (London, 2006), p. xxxviii; Michael Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution,* (Oxford, 1978), p. 509; Bell, Discipline and manhood in the Society of Friends, p. 18; DRO, 'Birth, Death and Marriage registers,' SF/DU/QM/1/1.
[143] Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, p. 192; Bell, 'Discipline and manhood,' p. 69.

In 1660, Quaker John Langstaffe of Bishop Auckland was presented before the Quarter Sessions in Durham for his refusal to take the oath of allegiance and was committed to Durham gaol. Two years later he was convicted under the Act against Quakers and fined by the sessions along with 36 other members of the Society, again for refusing to take an oath.[144] Yet, Langstaffe's relationship with Durham's authorities was not solely one of persecution. Alongside his fines for refusing oaths and holding conventicles, the Sessions also respected Langstaffe for his abilities as a mason, and throughout the Sessions books he was recorded as an inspector of the highways and bridges of the county, as well as employed to build the new Quarter Sessions house.[145] Furthermore, Langstaffe was employed on various building projects for the Bishopric's estates in Durham and at Brafferton House in North Yorkshire.[146] He too was the archetypical Quaker, who balanced his religious beliefs with his worldly occupation.

John Langstaffe joined the Quaker movement in 1653 or early 1654 at the height of the Quaker ministering campaign in the county. However, very little is known about Langstaffe prior to his conversion to the movement. It was likely that he had connections to prominent Durham Quaker Anthony Pearson, before joining the movement, and it may have been Pearson who had an influencing hand in Langstaffe's convincement and conversion. The two men were likely acquainted through social and economic networks in Bishop Auckland during Pearson's employment as Sir Arthur Hesilrige's secretary, and during Langstaffe's employment by Hesilrige to renovate Auckland Castle into a manor house in the 1650s.[147]

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[144] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, Quarter Sessions, (1660 and 1662).

[145] Ibid, (1664).

[146] *The Correspondence of John Cosin,* Part II, (S.S., 1834), pp. 233-234; James Raine, *A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace of Auckland,* (Durham, 1852), pp. 103-104; Adrian Green, 'Houses in north-eastern England: regionality and the British beyond, c. 1600-1750,' *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of Identity in Great Britain and its Colonies,* Susan Lawrence (ed.), (Routledge, 2003), p.71.

[147] Raine, *A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace of Auckland,* pp. 103-104; For Pearson's relationship with Sir Arthur Hesilrige see Chapter 3.

Langstaffe's conversion in the early years of the movement was supported by the attachment of his name to the document setting up the first Durham Monthly Meeting in 1654. His prominence among the membership was noted in the document when he was named as the unofficial treasurer for the financial collection called for by the meeting.

> [S]eeing at present, there is a great need for a collection by reason of some great sums of money yt have been laid, out, & more is to be laid out, we recommend it to your several meetings to doe herein everyone according to your freedom in the present necessity, & to give notice, the next first day, yt it may be collected for the poore, the first-day following & to be paid over to John Langstaffe; and a note of the sums subscribed by some Friends from the meeting.[148]

At the time of the Restoration, Langstaffe was both a prominent member of the Quaker organisation and a respected mason in Durham. He had a hand in maintaining the Quaker meetings and membership after the Restoration. His residence at Shakerton, outside of Bishop Auckland, was the location of the particular meetings in Auckland. He was regularly appointed to represent Shakerton at the Raby Monthly Meeting and the Durham Quarterly Meeting.[149] His significance in the meeting was shown in 1671, when he provided a book to the Raby Monthly Meeting for the registering of marriages, births, and deaths of members within the meeting. He was subsequently put in charge of the register.[150]

His weightiness was further demonstrated though his appointments to look into the behaviour of fellow members and to provide guidance on disciplinary actions taken against disorderly members. In 1679, when his son Bethwell Langstaffe married fellow Quaker Ann Hudson without the consent of the meeting and in the Anglican Church, John and several other Friends were appointed to sort out their disorderly marriage. For several months the meeting discussed the condemnation of the couple, but it was ultimately left up to John to decide whether or not the paper should be published and set to Durham's meetings. On 9th of the 10th month 1679, despite involving his son, Langstaffe declared to the meeting that a paper of condemnation against Ann and Bethwell's marriage ought to be written and

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[148] *Swarth. Mss.*, (1654), 2.17; See, Chapter 3 *Appendix 1*.
[149] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1; DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1; Langstaffe appears in both records between the year 1671 to 1692.
[150] DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1, (6th of 6th mo. 1671).

distributed to the meeting.[151] Langstaffe's belief in an orderly and disciplined religious community

clearly outweighed his familial obligations.

Despite his role as a disciplinary and authoritative figure in the Quaker meetings, Langstaffe's

occupation as a mason placed him in direct and continuous contact with non-Quakers. In 1665, Durham

Quarter Sessions 'ordered yt ye treasurer of bridges do pay unto Robt Morley & Jo Lang[staff] arrears

due unto them according to ye contract betwixt his maties justices & him for ye reparie of New Bridge in

ye p[arish] of Chester'.[152] In the same Sessions he was hired to conduct further work in reviewing the

decay of the Wolsingham Bridge. He was paid £20 'for his charge in going about to view' the bridge at

Wolsingham.[153] His work for the Sessions indicates a level of ambivalence towards his nonconformity by

local officials. In 1666, the Quarter Sessions order book noted the indictment of Edward Lambson,

Anthony Hodshon and Emmanuel Grice for their conviction under the Conventicle Act for attending a

Quaker meeting at 'ye house of John Langstaffe in Bpp Auckland'. All three were sentenced to

transportation destined for a plantation in Barbados.[154] This meeting may have been the same meeting

mentioned in April 1667 when Langstaffe's final payment for building the new Quarter Sessions house

was deducted due to the fine he owed for holding a Quaker meeting. '[I]t is ordered yt Mr Crosby doe

pay unto Jo: Langstaffe the sume of foure pounds being the [remainder] of ye money for severall fines of

Quaker [meetings] wch sd foure pounds is in p[aymen]t [of the] tenn pounds remaining due to him for

the building of the sessions house'.[155] In 1670, Langstaffe had a £7 warrant issued against his goods for

an illegal meeting at his house. The constable of Coundon, John Brown assisted Langstaffe by refusing to

take Langstaffe's property. For his refusal to execute the warrant Brown suffered a £3 distress on his

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[151] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/1, (8th of 2nd mo. 1679), (10th of 4th mo. 1679), (9th of 10th mo. 1679).
[152] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, Quarter Sessions, (11 January 1664/5).
[153] Ibid., (11 January 1664/5), (25 April 1666).
[154] Ibid., (3 October 1666); Besse, *Sufferings,* p. 176; Besse mentions the sentence of transportation for Hodshon, Lambson and Grice, but there is no mention of Langstaffe's conviction.
[155] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, Quarter Sessions, (17 April 1667).

own goods.[156] This incident and the Session's use of Langstaffe's skills as a mason despite his prosecution in the court, indicates that Langstaffe's position in the wider community was not entirely hindered by his religious beliefs.

John Langstaffe was also employed as a mason on several of the Bishop of Durham, John Cosin's, building works in Durham and North Yorkshire in the 1660s and early 1670s. An account of Auckland Castle taken at the Durham Assizes in August 1664, highlighted Langstaffe's involvement in the local community during the Interregnum and his current work for the Bishop. It stated that the new building commissioned by Sir Arthur Hesilrige at Auckland Castle in the 1650s, was to be taken down under the instruction of Bishop John Cosin, by the mason who helped built it, John Langstaffe.[157] Langstaffe was employed to work on the demolition and rebuilding of Auckland Palace, the construction of Cosin's library on Palace Green in Durham, the construction of Cosin's Alms Houses on Palace Green and the renovations of a Bishopric estate in North Yorkshire.[158]

Cosin's employment of Langstaffe did not mean he condoned Quakerism or nonconformists in the Bishopric. When a report was sent to Cosin in London regarding the lack-lustre suppression of conventicles in Newcastle, the Bishop replied that he wished he was in Durham to aid in the meetings' suppression. Additionally in 1668, he praised the 'zeale' of Archdeacon Isaac Basire in 'the suppressing of the seditious … assemblies at Newcastle'.[159] Cosin can, therefore, be regarded as a disinterested employer, with possibly no knowledge that Langstaffe was a member of the Society of Friends. Langstaffe was fined for holding meetings at his house, but his only recorded imprisonment was in

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[156] Besse, *Sufferings*, p. 177; 'Charles II, 1670: An Act to prevent and suppresse Seditious Conventicles,', pp. 648-651.

[157] James Raine, *A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle, or Palace of Auckland,* (Durham, 1852), p. 104; Raine mentions Langstaffe role in the building of Hesilrige's new residence at Auckland from a 1662 Assizes minutes which calls Langstaffe the demolisher of the chapel and castle at Auckland. Raine, however, incorrectly wrote that Bishop Cosin converted Langstaffe back to the Anglican Church.

[158] *The Correspondence of John Cosin,* For mentions of Langstaffe's work in Cosin's letters to Miles Stapylton see, pp. 233-234, 249, 251-252; For the articles of agreement between Cosin and Langstaffe see, pp. 375-377, 380.

[159] Ibid. p. xxvi.

1660/1 for his refusal to take the oath of allegiance. Therefore, at no time during his employment to

Cosin was he in breach of his agreement due to imprisonment under the Conventicle Acts.[160]

There was also a strong possibility that Cosin never actually met with Langstaffe during his term

of employment.[161] Cosin's letters to his secretary Miles Stapylton suggest Stapylton acted as the go-

between, and dealt with the workers on behalf of Cosin. During Langstaffe's tenure on the building

works, Langstaffe appears to have reported building updates to Stapylton, with Stapylton relaying the

messages to Cosin. This relationship was best expressed in letter from Cosin to Stapylton in August 1670

on the building of the library on Palace Green. Cosin decided to:

> prepare the void roome which is between the Exchequer and the Library…as you and John Langstaff[e] may remember I designed, to hold more books. I pray you speake with John Langstaffe about it, and get him to make a handsome draught of it, and to count what the charge in all particulars will arise unto; and then let me hear from you about it.[162]

Cosin's letters regarding Langstaffe's building plans, emphasised Pearson as an employee and nothing

else. If Cosin knew about Langstaffe's nonconformity it clearly did not matter, as long as the building

works went forward.

Langstaffe's secular associations were not simply a by-product of his life prior to his conversion

to Quakerism. There were instances of Quaker interactions with the wider society observed throughout

their history. For instance in 1729, the Quaker glasshouse leasees in Newcastle participating in the

establishment of the Newcastle Broad and Crown Glass Company. The newly formed Company brought

together a diverse array of social and economic backgrounds, including Quakers, a Prebend of Durham

Cathedral, current and future mayors of Newcastle, a widow of a glasshouse worker and individuals

denied freedom to work in Newcastle due to religious affiliation.[163] Despite differences in religion and

social status, each individual shared a common interest in the success of the Newcastle glass industry.

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[160] DRO, Q/S/OB 1-44, Quarter Sessions, (1660); Besse, *Sufferings,* p. 173.
[161] The theory that Langstaffe and Cosin never met came from a discussion with my supervisor Adrian Green.
[162] *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, p. 249.
[163] Ross, 'Development of the Glass Industry,' pp. 52-55.

Yet, documented instances of positive associations with non-Quakers were few, and for many Quakers their secular identity did not hinder the Quaker identity. For example in 1688, Durham Quakers John Heighington and John Hunter were fined by the Cordwainers' Guild for 'takeing an Apprentice out of Course,' a statement that probably referred to their use of the meeting system when finding and taking on an apprentice, rather than relying on the guild. Both men paid the fine and went about their work and religious lives with no further conflict documented.[164]

Langstaffe's work illuminates the ability of members to be good Quakers while participating in the wider community. His relationship with the Raby Monthly Meeting and Durham Quarterly Meeting highlighted a man principled in Quaker discipline and the moral code. Quaker interactions outside of the Society of Friends provides little indication of a wholly isolated or alternative community. Significantly, Langstaffe's work in Durham was never condemned by the Society, and at no point did any of the meeting minutes suggest his work conflicted with the Society's principles. Nor did Langstaffe appear to have any misgivings working for the Bishop of Durham, or even building a Sessions house for the authorities prosecuting him and his religious colleagues for nonconformity. An entry in the Durham Quarter Meeting minutes suggests Langstaffe's respectability as a Quaker and a mason benefited the Society as well. In 1677, he was assigned by the meeting to assess a new meeting house in Darlington and if he found 'it convenient the bargain to go forward'.[165] Also in 1691, the Society was preparing to build a new Quarterly Meeting house and Langstaffe was in charge of estimating the price of the building works, and finding the money for the project to go forward.[166] Members of the Society of Friends negotiated their secular and religious associations through a recognition, by both the non-Quaker and Quaker communities, that interactions were an inevitability.

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[164] Reference to the guild record found in Bell, 'Discipline and manhood,' p. 71.
[165] DRO, SF/DU/QM/1/1, (2nd of 8th mo. 1677).
[166] Ibid., (30th of 4th mo. 1691).

It was a continuous balancing act between adhering to the Society's principles and participating in the economic world, but if at any point a member of the Society neglected to maintain the balance the meeting system was prepared to intervene. In 1703, the Newcastle Monthly Meeting was deliberating an issue with fellow member John Airey, who was unable to find the correct balance between his religious and economic obligations. According to the meeting record, Airey 'had great exercise of his fraudulent dealing wth divers p[er]sons & since att [this] time as att former times he slights friends advice it is their resolution to give out their testimony against him'. After further deliberation with Airey and members of the Society, 'an [account] from the friends formerly appointed to deal wth him' found 'that he [persists] still in his resolution of not giving up his concerns'. For refusing to give up his dealings with 'divers persons' the meeting determined that Airey should be disowned from the Society and his story made public to the members of the Newcastle Monthly Meeting as a warning.[167]

John Airey was a respected and long-term member of the Newcastle Society of Friends. His name appears in the earliest meeting records as a weighty Friend, often selected to mediate disputes and aid fellow members.[168] His work with 'divers persons' alone may not have been what led to his disownment; after all the vast majority of John Langstaffe's employment was for the Bishop of the Durham. By 1687, Airey was censured for suing a fellow Friend in court.[169] In 1693, the meeting was concerned over his 'meddling with his Fathers estate & dets in ord[er] to set up ye Trade of Sope Boiling'. The Society urged him to consider 'ye hazard of Such an und[er[taking' and 'endeavered to disswade him'.[170] During this time he continued to work with the Society, but by 1703 his previous good works with the meeting had been overshadowed by his continuous disobedience to the moral code. By not negotiating his life within and outside the Quaker community he was censured by the meeting.

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[167] TWA, MF 167, (8th of 1st mo. 1703); (11th of 2nd mo. 1703).
[168] See, TWA, MF 167, (10th of 11th mo. 1675); (1st of 2nd mo. 1678); (12th of 5th mo. 1680); (10th of 10th mo. 1682).
[169] Ibid., (15th of 12th mo. 1687).
[170] Ibid., (12th of 12th mo. 1693).

Additionally, by not admitting his fault and altering his behaviour, the meeting disowned him because

his life was no longer guided by the religious principles of the Society. Yet more importantly, his

disobedience meant he had strayed from the inner light. Members could maintain connections with

wider society, but it had to be within the limits of the light and the Quaker disciplinary code.

Conclusions

By the 1680s the meeting minutes for County Durham and Newcastle indicated an organised

Society of Friends with an accepted religious governmental system. Yet, Quakers still recognised that the

inner light was continuously changing. Some members may rebel or stray from the light, but they could

always return to both the inner light and the Society's membership if they reformed their ways. Quaker

authority and discipline, therefore, was never permanent. Quakers found it necessary to 'keep the front

door' of the meeting house open to any willing adherent, but it was also necessary 'to keep the back

door open too' for those unable to follow the Society's principles.[171] An open door policy ensured

members came freely to meetings, but they could also leave or be forcefully pushed out the back if they

could not adhere to the religious principles. However, those who were forced out the door could return

if they returned to the godly path and the inner light.[172]Rarely did Quakers return to the Society after

disownment, with the exception of Richard Watson. In 1687, prominent member of the Stockton

Monthly Meeting, Richard Watson, was condemned for falling into debt. Members of the meeting were

assigned to look into the mishandling of his finances and it was determined that he owed too much for

them to help. After several months of deliberation he was disowned from the Society, but his

disownment did not mean a permanent loss of the community. Entry back into the Society a possibility,

and on the 10th of the 10th month 1693, Watson's re-establishment with the community was recorded.

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[171] Stark, 'Why religions succeed or fail,' p. 143.
[172] Ibid.

> These may signifie to all whome it may concern yt for some time past & by reason of some failing yt happened by Richard Watson we ye people of god called [Q]uakers who was in fellowship with him did then put forth a paper of condemnation against him to signifie to ye world our disunity with him therein; & now after a patient waiting and long forbearance as is evident & yt by severall circumstances and testimonies doth appear through his harmless life & watchfull conversation who hath with patience borne ye deep exercise & great trials yt have befallen him upon this [occasion] doth evidence to us ye great goodness & long forgiveness of god towards him: through wch we declare to ye world our unity & fellowship with us: desireing yt we with him & he with us may so walke ye remainder of our appointed time as may be to ye praise & glory of god who is over all amen[173]

Watson's acceptance back into the meeting designates the circular nature of the meeting's revolving door policy. Nothing was finite in the Quaker faith, and a fall from grace could lead to redemption, forgiveness and re-entry through the front door. The use of disciplinary guidelines for the social and economic morality of its members also prevented the free rider problem. Individuals could not simply benefit from the Quaker social and economic network or the poor relief system; they had to participate in the religious life of the Quakers, and uphold their religious and social values to secure any communal benefits. This ensured the meetings let go of individuals who did not fit into the community.

The creation of the Quaker organisational system cannot be synonymously attributed to the creation of an alternative social and political organisation. Creating a completely alternative community did not benefit the Society. The relationship between John Langstaffe and the wider community emphasised how Quakers navigated through the murky waters of religious life and economic obligations. Isolation within an alternative society was not an option for Quakers participating in the economic world around them. Yet while economic interactions were accepted as an inevitable aspect of life, the meeting closely scrutinised their members' interactions in the wider community. The meetings' recording and publishing of the disciplinary process was a social construct, intended to provide a foundational basis for the community, to promote social control, and to be used in the edification of the Society's members.

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[173] DRO, SF/DA/MM/1/2, (10th of 10th mo. 1693).

The disciplinary system also held deeply religious connotations. The prominence of the inner light in every aspect of life meant the Society formed community associations in line with the expectations given to them by god. Good religious government could only be achieved through the acceptance of the inner light, and the same theory held true for unavoidable interactions in wider society.[174] From the 1650s onwards, the Society was certainly creating an alternative religious group to what was available in the wider community, but it was not an alternative society. Quakerism was another manifestation of religious life that broke away from mainstream religion. The Society of Friends represented the seventeenth-century struggle between religion and authority in England. Their religious beliefs were extreme for the period, yet their church organisation and authoritative system fits the pattern of contemporary and modern associational development with many of their social constructs merely modifications of wider societal norms.

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[174] For a full explanation of Quakers and political thought in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries see, Jane Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism*, (Cambridge, 2008).

Chapter 7: Conclusion – The Quaker Authority in Durham and Newcastle

The formation of County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne's Society of Friends represented a microcosm of the seventeenth-century power struggle between religion, authority and control over the community. Quakers regarded themselves as special in the world. Their belief and acceptance of an internalised spiritual connection with God was a reaction against wider religious and political disputations in the mid-seventeenth century. Friends rejected the ceremonialist forms of worship and belief found among English Arminians; and while Quakers freed themselves of the uncertainties of predestination and election found among Calvinists Puritans, they also adopted and reshaped the ethos of Protestant godliness and manners to fit within the boundaries of the inner light.[1] Their development of their religious governmental organisation created the orderly and disciplined community that wider English society was desperately striving to achieve throughout the century. The seventeenth-century Society of Friends gave the appearance of an alternative community, one in which the problems of the outside world were resolved from within their religious society, through their belief in the inner light. Demonstrating this total reliance on the Society was the Newcastle glassmakers, and their willingness to use the meeting for arbitration in business disputes.[2] However, historians have frequently placed too much emphasis on the inclusiveness of the Quaker community.[3] Quakers have too often been taken out of English Society and studied as a separate and unique off-shoot of their wider communities. It has frequently been forgotten that members of the Society of Friends were socially integrated with their local communities.[4] This examination of Quakerism in County Durham has endeavoured to evaluate the

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[1] Chapter 2; See, Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012).

[2] Chapter 6.

[3] Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 344-50; Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln, 1980), p. 233; Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964), pp. 483-492.

[4] For a discussion of Quakers in society see, Bill Stevenson 'The social integration of post-Restoration dissenters,' *The World of Rural Dissenters*, Margaret Spufford (ed.), (Cambridge, 1995).

Society of Friends through their simultaneous involvement in a religious organisation, and as members of English society. This analysis into the Quaker meeting minutes, Quaker letters, court records and community interactions within and outside of the Society of Friends, has widened the scope of Quaker community development in the seventeenth century by demonstrating the procedures, tactics and policies that influenced the formation of the religious community in Durham.

Durham and Newcastle have provided an illustration of the core social commonalities between the Quaker community and their neighbours. Their continuous desire to maintain control and unity among members of the meeting through record keeping, certificates, testimonies, discernment of marriages, moral oversight, financial maintenance and apprenticeship appointments, were not aspects unique to Quaker society, but of seventeenth-century society as a whole. Quakers emulated the social aspects of the parish and local communities because it was familiar, and a desirable system that could be implemented and easily accepted within their own religious community. The Society simply modified wider social norms associated with the reformation of manners and place them within the boundaries of their faith, while not entirely alienating themselves from the wider community.[5]

The Society of Friends in Durham and Newcastle provides a useful contrast to previous research undertaken on the sect. W.A. Cole, Richard Vann, Judith Hurwich, Christopher Hill, Bill Stevenson and Adrian Davies, each found contrasts and continuities among Quakers and dissenting communities in the country, but no one has fully agreed on the origins of the early community.[6] This lack in consensus boils down to a single explanation; the first generation of Quakers cannot be explained as a single social movement in the country. Instead, understanding why individuals joined the Quaker movement in the

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[5] Chapter 2; See, Martin Ingram, 'The Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England,' *The Experience of Authority*, Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, Steve Hindle (eds.) (London, 1996), pp. 47-81.

[6] Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (New York, 1985); Richard Vann, *The Social development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); Alan Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends,' *JFHS*, xlviii (1957); J.J. Hurwich, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers,' *Past and Present*, 48 (Aug. 1978); Bill Stevenson, 'The status of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725,' *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725*, (Cambridge, 1995); Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society* (Oxford, 2000); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London, 1975).

1650s can only be answered on a regional level, and these regional explanations cannot be attributed across the nation. Recent studies undertaken by Davies and Stevenson have provided more concrete and well-rounded evidence on the social origins of the early Quakers. The acknowledgment of regional influences as impacting the social status of the first Quakers was a significant observation that led Stevenson to recognise the Quakers' role within their local society.[7] However, despite this research the significance of the region has not been expanded to include its impact on the culture and community of the Quaker meetings, a gap which has diminished our understanding on how the Quaker community developed.

Durham's Society of Friends represented the region they lived and worked in. Their social, religious and economic situation was unique to their region, and should not be used to explain the rise of religious sectarianism across the country. There were undoubtedly similarities between Quakers in Durham and Quakers elsewhere in the nation, but ultimately it was an individual's local and regional circumstances that influenced conversion to the movement and the moral discipline enforced in the meetings.[8] As Chapter 4 demonstrated, throughout Durham members of the Society were part of the emerging middling sorts.[9] The vast majority of Quakers were not, as their contemporaries commented, 'the dregs of the common people'.[10] This type of deprivation rhetoric has led historians to misrepresent the early Quaker movement throughout England.[11] Across north-east England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, deprivation rhetoric was used to explain religious and cultural uncertainties in the region. Individuals in remote parts of Durham and Northumberland were labelled as backwards, heathen or irreligious. In the 1650s, descriptions of deprivation became a convenient rhetorical device

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[7] Bill Stevenson 'The social integration of post-Restoration dissenters'.
[8] Chapter, 3, 4 and 6.
[9] Chapter 4.
[10] Ephraim Pagitt, *Hereiography,* 5th ed. (London, 1654), Thomason / E.282[5], p. 136.
[11] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned upside Down,* Chapter 10; C. Hill, 'Puritans and "the dark corners of the Land,"' *Change and Continuity in 17thc. England*, (London, 1974), p. 40; W.A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers,' *JFHS*, 48, 3 (1957), p. 117.

to designate the "orderly" from the potentially "disorderly" individuals in society. Newcastle's ministers explained in their 1654 disputation with Quaker minister James Nayler that the Quaker ministers were 'grievous Wolves entring in upon you, not sparing, but endeavoring to make havock of the flock'.[12]

Durham and Newcastle's social profile was compiled from occupational listings in the Quaker registers, hearth tax entries, court records and probate records. It has shown us that members of the Society were predominately working as artisans, in agriculture and in trade, and living in or near market centres. When the quantitative data on Durham's Quakers was compared with their meeting minutes and court records a significant correlation is revealed between social status, geographical location and the interactions between the Quakers, their meetings and the wider world.[13] Chapter 4 explored the occupations and social status of the region's Society of Friends to better understand who joined the early Quaker movement. In Chapter 6, Durham's meeting minutes were assessed in detail to highlight how members' occupations played a crucial role in the enforcement of the community's social and moral principles in the meeting. The tendency of Quakers in the Newcastle meeting to be involved in trade and business directly influenced the direction of meeting's moral oversight. Business disputes between members were frequently brought to and resolved within the meetings; indebtness was discouraged, and members involved in trade were repeatedly reminded to be cautious when working with non-Quakers.[14] The cultural development found among the Newcastle meeting was in stark contrast to more rural monthly meetings in Raby and Stockton. The tendency of members in these meetings to be employed as artisans in town centres or as husbandmen or farmers in the rural hinterlands meant the priorities among the community varied significantly to their urban counterparts. Disputes between members rarely occurred, and instead discipline focused on marriage, drunkenness

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[12] Thomas Welde, William Cole, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond and William Durant, *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness* (London, 1654), Wing / C5045; Chapter 3.
[13] Chapters 4 and 6.
[14] TWA, MF 167, (13th of 3rd mo. 1700); Chapters 4 and 6.

and gambling, with little mention of maintaining moral business practices.[15] The differing cultural priorities of the meetings in Durham emphasised the localised nature of the Quaker community. Durham's meetings have demonstrated the importance of evaluating Quakerism not only through the national organisation of Quaker meetings, but also through regional influences that impacted the formation and acceptance of the Quaker meeting system.

The implementation of a Quaker church disciplinary and organisational system, used to oversee members social and religious lives, became a crucial feature of the Quaker community of the seventeenth century, but its formation did not occur without difficulties. Members questioned the oversight of the meetings, church government and theological and social codification of beliefs.[16] Yet, Durham's meetings were different from elsewhere. There were no recorded instances of opposition to a church government, and instead, the region formed one of the earliest monthly meetings in the country. In 1654, Durham's Quakers came together for the reinforcement their faith and protection of their members from 'oppressors, and & thereby the enemy of the soule'. Furthermore the meeting was a financial support, and it collected 'great sums of money…for ye poore'.[17] For Quakers in Durham and Newcastle the creation of the monthly meeting was motivated by what many members lacked, or never had; a strong protestant parish community. Intermittent protestant ministers in the region from 1561 onwards planted the possibility of a religious community that never came to fruition before the Civil Wars, but the work of lecturers and itinerant ministers in the early seventeenth century led to a scattering of Puritan and Presbyterian congregations seeking a spiritual community in the parishes.[18] The petition written by the parishioners of Muggleswick's for a worthy minister in 1649, and the

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[15] DRO, SF/DA/MM1/2; SF/DA/MM/1/1; SF/ST/MM/1/1.

[16] H. L. Ingle, *First among Friends: George Fox and the creation of Quakerism* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 202-207; Nigel Smith, 'John Perrot,' *DNB*; Rosemary Moore, *Light in their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain*, (Penn State, 2000), Chapter 15; Clare Martin, 'Tradition versus innovation: The hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies,' *Quaker Studies,* 8, 1 (2003); Chapters 5 and 6.

[17] Chapter 3; *Appendix 1 and 2.*

[18] Chapter 2.

splintering of Sunderland's parish community to form a Presbyterian congregation in Monkwearmouth, both indicate the region's desire for, but lack of, a religious community suited to their needs.[19] The first Quaker converts shared a kinship with these earlier dissenting communities through a continuity of religious, social and economic experiences; a continuity which reminds us that Quakerism was not simply a movement, but a community of individuals actively contributing and interacting in the world around them.[20] For several generations regional influences contributed to an individual's decision to join the movement, and additional research into individual parishes and the people living in them will reveal further lines of continuity between religious traditions in the Durham parish communities and dissenting movements in the 1640s and 1650s.

The aftermath of James Nayler's public trial before Parliament for blasphemy in 1656 and the implantation of penal laws aimed at criminalising Quakerism in the 1660s and 1670s, led to further recognition that unity among the nation's meetings was required if the Society was to continue its godly mission. Prominent members, known as weighty Friends, recognised that the formation of a nationwide church organisation and institutionalised authority was the only means of creating a unified and respected religious community. The publication of Nayler's episode, in particular, became an impetus leading to the realisation that the interpretation of God's message could be misread or skewed without the input and filter of authoritative, spiritually advanced individuals. All Friends could receive God's message, but the meeting system and prominent members acted as the final determinate of the message's authenticity and dissemination to members and to wider society through print.[21] The influence of God's messages and the formalised meeting system impacted all aspect of members' lives within and outside of the meetinghouse. The religious and secular aspects of the Quaker community

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[19] *A most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick,* (London, 1642), Thomason/69.f.4[69]; TNA, SP16/447 f.50; *CSPD* (March 4, 1639-40), p. 515; Michael Tillbrook, 'Arminianism and Society in Durham,' *The Last Principality*, David Marcombe (ed.), p. 204.

[20] Chapters 2 and 6.

[21] Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 250.

were spiritually legitimised, as the 1676 Yearly Meeting explained, through 'the power of God'. God was 'the authority of the men's and women's meetings and of all the other meetings,' because worship was led through the internal light found in each individual. The power of the light was not selective, but rather all 'faithful men and women in every city, county and nation, whose faith stands in the Power of God…are in possession of this gospel…they have all right to the power of the meetings'.[22] In theory God's guiding light, found in every individual willing to listen, was the sole authority over every aspect of a Quaker's life, not the meeting itself. Individuals adhering to the inner light came together in silence to listen to God's message, and if necessary, report his message to the meeting. Yet they also met in more formalised business meetings that oversaw the day-to-day social lives of its members, a function guided by the light.

The formation of the meeting and disciplinary system by the 1670s redefined the Society as both a religious and secular association. Members turned to the meeting for worship and religious guidance to ensure the light was continuously followed in all aspects of a Quaker's life. The meeting was a social control mechanism and a network used to ensure members' non-religious work and interactions were within the boundaries of their spiritually inspired moral code.[23] Members accepted the authority of the Society because it was the only truly godly authority available to them. As Edward Burrough noted before the Restoration in 1659, England's government continued to fail because of greed and ambition among 'thy Kings, thy Parliaments, thy Protectors, thy Councils, thy Committees, who hath proved unto thee Phisitians of no valew'. Rulers, he declared, were 'oppressors, thy Teachers deceivers of Soules'. Stability and happiness in the nation could only be achieved by removing 'the inward cause of thy distractions'. '[E]ven thy iniquities must be forsaken, and thy transgressions repented of'. 'Thou must

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[22] William Braithwaite, *The second period of Quakerism* (York, 1979), p.348, taken from the *Christian and Brotherly Advices, Given forth from time to time By the Yearly Meetings in London* (1676).

[23] FHL, 'Swarth. Mss,' 2.7 (1654); Ibid., 'Portfolio 16.2,' (1659); Chapter 6; Jane Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionalism,* (Cambridge, 2009); Smith, 'John Perrot,' *DNB*; Rosemary, *Light in their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain*, Chapter 15; Martin, 'Tradition versus innovation: The hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies'.

leave off thy hypocrisies and flatteries with God and men'. Once the government rid itself of 'the false

Teachers and Deceivers,' and they came 'to be taught of the Lord,' through the inner light, they would

turn 'to the Lord with all thy hearts' and 'thy light break out of obscurity, and the dew of mercies should

fall upon thee...the Nation should be happy, and the People blessed, and the Government of peace, and

truth should be established, never to be confounded any more'.[24] Burrough was not arguing for

separation, but was emphasising the Quaker desire for a happy English nation, which Quakers were a

part of. However, without a ruler imparted with the wisdom of the inner light, Quakers were forced to

maintain a moral authority within their godly membership. Yet, it cannot be forgotten that this authority

was situated within the English nation, acting as a godly example.

Durham's desire for order and community was discernible in the first years of organisation. By

1654 members created a monthly meeting, and in 1659 they expressed in a letter to the Northern

General Meeting of Quakers that monthly meetings were necessary across the North for the religious

and social maintenance of the movement's members. They wanted the Quaker community to

'conveniently come together in a General Meeting twice or thrice in a year, or as occasion requires, be

joined and united'.[25] Despite the implementation of an early meeting system in the North, it was not

until a nationwide meeting system was accepted in the 1670s that the Society's dual authoritative role

as a social and religious regulator was discernible through the regional meeting minutes. Within

Durham's minutes, members' acceptance of the formalised system is revealed. The meetings in Durham

ensured the Society maintained an orderly spiritual and secular life, and followed the epistles and

advices of the Yearly Meetings and weighty Friends. By accepting the meeting's authority and the

disciplinary procedures of certificates and testimonies, the Society maintained a united and rule-bound

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[24] Edward Burrough, *A Declaration from the People called Quakers, To the Present Distracted Nation of England* (20th of 10th month 1659), Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / B5990, pp. 2, 6-7.
[25] FHL, Portfolio, 16.2 (1659).

religious community that contained any libertine ideas or behaviours that could reflect poorly on the organisation.

Membership to the Society of Friends was one of many associations held by Quakers, with work, politics and family relationships each playing an integral role in members' day-to-day lives. The monthly meetings in Durham and Newcastle recognised their members' associations within the local community through economic and social ties, and as such, adherence to the moral code was crucial if the meeting was to maintain a community of divinely inspired members. Individuals who had proven that they could conduct their relationships to fit within the moral framework of the inner light were tasked with overseeing the region's meetings.[26] It was, therefore, no coincidence that these weighty members of the Society were the individuals who frequently engaged with non-Quakers in their day-to-day lives. John Langstaffe held multiple roles as a weighty Friend in the Raby Monthly and Durham Quarterly Meetings while simultaneously working as a trusted mason to the Bishop of Durham, John Cosin. In Newcastle, many of the elected members to the monthly and quarterly meetings were glassmakers who brought their disputes to the meetings to be deliberated.[27] These individuals had proven their ability to maintain the moral code, within and outside of the meetinghouse, and were thus the most suitable for overseeing the regional Society and its members. Friends negotiated their lives within the wider community to fit within the framework of the Society of Friends' expectations for a secular and spiritual life. Non-weighty Friends were willing participants in this all-embracing authoritative system because it offered them the same social and financial benefits found in their parish communities, but through a divinely inspired and godly religious community.

Following the deaths of the first generation of weighty Friends, their lives became an educational tool; used to inspire the next generation of Quakers to strive towards Quakerly perfection. Durham Quakers Joshua Middleton, Samuel Maude and numerous others were given saint-like status as

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[26] Robert Barclay, *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines,* (London, 1676), Wing / B718.
[27] Chapter 6; DRO, SF/ST/MM/1/1; TWA, MF 167.

archetypal members in an effort to reinforce the Society's identity and local community.[28] Other

members recorded their experience of conversion in end of life narratives. Thomas Raylton expressed

the trials and tribulations he underwent as a first generation convert in Barnard Castle.[29] Issues such as

prosecutions for conventicles and refusal to take an oath were no longer relevant issues for the second

and third generations of Quakers after toleration in 1689. The first members of the Society had created

and enforced an authoritative meeting system based on a desire for order, unity and toleration within

wider society.[30] While toleration was not wholly received after 1689, an issue made evident in 1709

when the Newcastle Monthly Meeting complained that the Newcastle trading companies continuing

refusal to accept Quaker apprentices; unity had been achieved through common experiences of

religious and social persecution and a desire for a close religious community. For subsequent

generations, instances of imprisonment and transportation for religious affiliation were less of a worry.

As the marriage registers and meeting minutes have indicated, Quakers were increasingly accepted in

wider society and individuals were beginning to meet and marry non-Quakers to the dismay of the

meeting.[31] By recording the first Quakers, the Society was conveying a sense of pride through the

community's history and identity. It reminded members of the turbulent past that shaped their current

community, and the behaviour that was needed from the current membership to continue the godly

work of their persecuted predecessors.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Durham's Society of Friends had reinforced

organisational unity by creating and disseminating a history that placed their community on the outside

of society. The trials and tribulations of the first Quakers were remembered by subsequent generations

to reinforce the authority of the meeting system and establish an identity among the membership.

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[28] Chapter 6.
[29] See *Appendix 5.*
[30] Chapter 5.
[31] TWA, MF 167, (9th 11th mo. 1709); TWA, GU.CF 'Records of the Incorporated Company of Curriers, Feltmakers, Armourers and Hatters, Newcastle,' (1719); Chapter 6.

Throughout their history Quakers emphasised their spiritual distinctiveness and enlightenment that came from the light within. Nevertheless, their enlightenment cannot be solely regarded as leading to their isolation in English society. Through their belief in the light Quakers believed they were examples of moral righteousness and could spiritually and morally rise above their non-Quaker neighbours. They recognised their spiritual authority over non-believing individuals, allowing them to negotiate their lives in order to work and socialise in a world not guided by the inner light. It was only when members' actions went outside the restraints of the Society's religious and social principles that the meeting intervened to remind members of their moral obligations. The meeting system had an integral role in the negotiation process through moral oversight and guidance of its members, but the meeting system offered more than spiritual support. The meeting system was practically necessary for the Society to maintain its membership. It provided the same benefits enjoyed by their Anglican neighbours including apprenticeship placements, financial assistance and advice to any deserving member. For Durham's Quakers, ensuring their members had access to the same community relationships as their non-Quaker neighbours was the lynchpin of their early development.[32]

Durham's seventeenth-century Society of Friends have demonstrated the sociological characteristics of the Quakers' community development. They have shown how one regional group of Quakers organised and legitimised a religious governmental system and formed an orderly religious and social community within County Durham society. Quakers in seventeenth-century Durham did not divide their lives into separate religious, economic or social communities, but rather their identity was defined by both English society and their religious society.

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[32] Chapter 3; *Appendix 1.*

Appendix

Appendix 1: The creation of the Durham Monthly Meeting, Swarth. Mss. 2. 17 (1654)

Deare Friends in the measure of the light of Christ, wee being brought to feele & see the estate & conditions of the Church in these parts, & the danger yt many may lye in, because of the oppressors, & thereby the enemy of the soule may come to have advantage over us. Therefore in the feare of the Lord, being moved thereunto by the Lord, and being subject henceforth everyone to beare his burthen, the strong with the weake that ye weake be not oppressed above his strength, but all drawing on hand in hand that the weake & the tyred may be refreshed, and soe all [may] become a joint witness to the everlasting truthe in word & conversation, our lives & minds being sett free from yt dayly may tempt or trouble in the particular.

Therefore deare Friends we who are met together doe thinke it convenient yt some of every severall meeteing doe meete together, every first seventh day of every moneth, begining upon the first seventh day of the 3 moneth, & to declare what there to be considered on by Friends there mett, & as freedom & necessity is seene soe to minister.

And seeing at present there is a great need for a collection by reason of some great sums of money yt have beene laid out & more is to be laid out, we commend it to your several meetings to doe herein every one according to your freedoms in the present necessity, & to give notice ye next first day yt it may be collected for ye poore ye first day following & to be paid over to John Langstaffe: 7 a note of the sumes subscribed by some Friends from every meeting.

Christ: Eyon	Anth: Parson
John Heighington	Rob: Selbye
Christr. Richomndj	Rich: Wilson
Peter Young	Will: Trewhitt
Willm Cotesworth	Jo: Langstaff
Martin Richmond	Rich. Eubancke
James Whyte	Andrew Rawe
John Hopper	Tho: Shaw

Brethren and Friends,

It having pleased God, in his marvellous love, in these latter days to reveal the mystery of his gospel, which hath been hid from ages and generations, and to make manifest his glorious Truth, which hath been long lost in the dark night of apostacy, since the days of the Apostles, - and chosen England before all the nations of the world, as the land of his delight, and to ring forth many thousands therein, (as a kind of first fruits to the glory of his name,) unto whom he hath given to see those days that many righteous souls long waited for and thirsted after; - let us all, in the simplicity of Truth, (which at the first was made manifest to us,) abide and dwell, and in the liberty of Christ Jesus hath made us free, stand fast; that we be not again led back into the errors of those that went before us, who left the power, and got into the form, who brought in that darkness which hath so long covered the face of the earth, that no footsteps may be left for those that shall come after, or to walk by example: but that all they may be direct [by] and left to the Truth, in it to live and walk, and by it to be guided: that none may look back at us, nor have an eye behind them; but that all may look forward, waiting in the Spirit for the revelation of those glorious things, which are to be made manifest to them.

It is needful that we call to mind, how long, and in what manner, the world has been distracted and divided, about those things which the Apostles practised; and what sad calamity (beside the loss and departures from the Truth) has come upon many nations, about forms and ways of discipline and government of the church (so called;) some saying the Apostles made bishops, and gave them power, and they ordained Elders; others saying, nay, it was by the laying on the hands of the presbytery; and others, pleading it was the election and choice of the churches. And how have men gathered themselves into forms and sects, according to their divers persuasions; and how are others setting up committees to approve and send forth preachers, and give them maintenance, seeing into the errors of the former: but all being ignorant of the life, or of the true power. And thus have men usurped one over another, and intruded into those things they understood not; and by human policy and invention, set up a carnal, worldly religion and worship, which has for many hundred years overspread the whole face of the earth.

Wherefore, in love and tenderness, and in the fear of the Lord, we exhort, that we may all in the unity of the Sprit, dwell in the pure wisdom, which is from above; which *comprehends* that which would lead out to the setting up persons or things: that the power of the Godhead may be known in the body, in that perfect freedom which every member hath in Christ Jesus; that none may exercise lordship or dominion over another, nor the person of any be set apart, but as they continue in the power of Truth. And that none exercise any authority, but such to whom it is freely given in the Lord for the good of the body: that all the world's image and ways, and forms and sects, may be condemned and confounded; and the glory of Christs body made manifest, in that widsome and in that power, which the world cannot comprehend; that Truth itself in the body may reign not persons nor forms: and that all such may be honoured, as stand in the life of the Truth; wherein is the power, not over, but in, the body; that our path may be as the way of a ship in the sea, which no deceit can follow or imitate.

That for the better ordering of the outward estate of Friends, in all relations in and to the world and to one another, in wisdom and as becomes the Truth, and for making collections for the needs of the church, - [let] as many particular meetings, or some Friends from each of them that are near, and can conveniently, meet together once a month, or as occasion shall require: and as many of such Monthly Meetings, or some Friends from each of them in the northern parts of England, as can conveniently come together in a General Meeting twice of thrice in a year, or a occasion requires, be joined and united: and that we may not tie up ourselves to the world's limits of counties and places; but join together as many conduce to the union and fellowship of the church, and to the mutual help of one another in the Lord; and we wish the like may be settled in all parts, and one General Meeting of [or for] England.

That for the supplying the needs of the church, and relieving such as are in want, it may be laid upon Friends in every meeting to take care of their own poor; to supply such as are aged and inform in body; to provide employment for such as want work, or cannot follow their former callings by reason of the evil therein; and to help such parents for the education of their children, as have more than they can maintain: that there may not be beggar amongst us, nor any whose soul need be oppressed with care for food or raiment. And where Friends of one meeting are overburdened, and under a greater charge than they can bear, that Friends at each Monthly Meeting, take care to contribute to their assistance.

The Friend at each Monthly Meeting do take care to provide supply for such as are in the ministry amongst them, where there is need; as also for the relief of Friends in prison, or any other, suffering for the Truth's sake, according to their several wants; and to make collections from time to time for the same. And where Friends of any Monthly Meeting are under a greater charge and burden than they can well bear, the General Meeting of Friends in the North to take care to contribute to them; that we may all bear one another's burdens, and walk in love as becomes brethren.

The all collections made by any particular meeting, be paid to such hands, and disposed to such ends, as Friends of the Meeting shall appoint; and the same likewise to be observed by each Monthly Meeting with their collections; and the like also by Friends of the North, at their General Meetings: that the true power of the whole body, and of every part thereof, may be preserved; that every member may act in its own freedom, and every meeting in its own authority, as part of that body which Christ Jesus hath set free. And none to usurp over another; but let him that would be greatest, be servant unto all: that as Friends according to their freedom to contribute, they may be also satisfied it is laid out by the power and in the wisdom of the body to whom they commit it.

That all collections made by Friends at their Monthly Meetings, as also at their General Meetings, be for the needs of the churches in general, and not limited for those only that are in the ministry; who will be as much grieved, as others offended, to have a maintenance or hire raised on purpose for them.

That for the more clearness of Truth, and satisfaction of Friends, two or more persons be still appointed in all trusts about moneys, and the privy to all receipts and disbursements; that the innocency of the upright may be known, and all deceit be prevented.

That all Friends that receive any collections, do from time to time, make account to Friends of the particular meeting, Monthly Meeting or General Meeting, by whome they are entrusted; and in order thereunto, that a note under two or more hands be sent out of every county, with such collections as are appointed by the General Meeting, to be produced, together with an account how it hath been disbursed [at] the next General Meeting, together with an account how such are entrusted therewith; and that particular notes from every Meeting under two or more hands be sent with their collections to such persons as are appointed by the Monthly Meeting to receive the same, to be produced together with the account how it hath been discharged, at the next Monthly Meeting after: and after every account so made and cleared, all papers to be concealed, and no further remembrance thereof to be had which may beget many offences in future time, but cannot be of any service to the Truth.

Dear Friends, these things being agreed and indistinct in clearness of Truth, which hitherto have taken up much time at the General Meetings, to the loss of many precious opportunities,-you will see greater things before you, which more chiefly concern the state of the church, and will be of greater service to the Truth; as our Friends who bring this from us may lay before you, as there is freedom and opportunity.

From friends met together at Durham, from several Meetings in the adjoining to the County of Durham, the 1ˢᵗ day of the 8ᵗʰ Month, 1659: to Friends who shall meet together out of the several Northern Counties, at Skipton, the 5ᵗʰ of the 8ᵗʰ Month, 1659

Thomas Turner
Rich: Wilson
Christo: Richmond
John Gumwell
John Longstafe
Antho: Pearson
James Hall
George Wilson
George Hall
James Warwill
Cuth: Hoyyer
Ralfe Hodgson
J Joinings
Antho: Wilkinson
Robt: Dubway
Hugh Hutchenson
Henry Laye
Ralfe Parson
Andrew Raw
William Emerson

Appendix 3: **Occupational Database for seventeenth and eighteenth century Quakers in County Durham and Newcastle, 1650-1727**

Name	Occupation	From	Monthly Meeting	Classification
Abbs, Jacob	Ship carpenter	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan
Abbs, Jerimiah	Ship wright/ carpenter	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan
Airey, John	Soap boiler	Gateshead	Newcastle	Artisan
Airey, John senr.	Soap boiler	Gateshead	Newcastle	Artisan
Allinson, John	House Carpenter	Gateshead	Newcastle	Artisan
Allinson, Matthew	Mariner	Gateshead	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Allison, John	Yeoman	Barnard Castle	Raby	Yeoman
Allison, Nathaniel	Yeoman	Carleton	Stockton	Yeoman
Allot, George	Joiner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Allott, John	Keelman	Sandgate	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Allott, John (2 Occup)	Shoemaker	Sandgate	Newcastle	Artisan
Appleby, Christopher	Butcher	Hurworth		Retail Traders
Appleby, Lawrence	Tayler	Darlington	Raby	Retail Traders
Atckinson, Benjamin	Tayler	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Atkin, John	Servant	Stainton	Raby	Other Trades
Atkinson, John	Mason	Staindrop	Raby	Artisan

Atkinson, Nicholson	Farmer	Stockton	Darlington	Agriculture
Bainbridge, James	Farmer	Unknown	Unknown	Agriculture
Baker, Henry	Husbandman	Knitsley	Lanchester	Agriculture
Baker, Thomas	Husbandman	Knitsley	Lanchester	Agriculture
Bell, John	Weaver	Quarry House, NC	Newcastle	Artisan
Bell, William	Weaver	Fallen Shore	Newcastle	Artisan
Bickers, Christopher	Grocer	Gateshead	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Bickers, Christopher	Merchant	Gateshead	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Blakesonte, John	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Brewster, John	Patten maker	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Brough, George	Farmer	Norton	Stockton	Agriculture
Brown, Israel	Master Mariner	South Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Brown, John	Husbandman	Derwent	Lanchester	Agriculture
Burden, Thomas	Mariner	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Burdon, George	Gentleman	Stockton	Stockton	Gentleman
Burrell, William	Husbandman	Derwent	Lanchester	Agriculture

Busten (Buston), John	Skinner/Glover	North Shields	Newcastle	Artisan
Carneth (Carneath), John	Tanner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Carneth (Carneath), Jonathan	Farmer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Agriculture
Carr, Geroge	Salt Merchant	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Carr, Geroge	Yeoman	South Shields	Newcastle	Yeoman
Carrey, Robert	Skinner/Glover	North Shields	Newcastle	Artisan
Chandler, Ann	Widow/ Haberdasher	South Shields	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Chandler, Thomas	Yeoman	South Shields	Newcastle	Yeoman
Chandler, Thomas	Tayler	South Shields	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Chipchase, John	Cordwainer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Chipchase, Thomas	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Christon, Thomas	Tanner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Clarke, John	school master	Cleadon	Newcastle	Professional
Claxton, Anthony	Weaver	Blackwell		Artisan
Colling, Michael	Cordwainer	Darlington	Raby	Retail Traders

Colling, Michael (2 Occup)	Yeoman at death	Darlington	Raby	Yeoman
Colling, William	Yeoman	Darlington	Raby	Yeoman
Cooper, James	Smith	South Shields	Newcastle	Artisan
Cooper, Samuel	Smith	South Shields	Newcastle	Artisan
Crawford, John	Yeoman	Blackwell	Raby	Yeoman
Crawford, William	Yeoman	Whitworth	Lanchester	Yeoman
Crosby, Christopher	Waterman	Stockton	Stockton	Sea Trade
Currey, Robert	Skinner/Glover	North Shields	Newcastle	Artisan
Cutter, Mathew	Weaver	Newburn	Newcastle	Artisan
Cutter, Samuel	Grocer	Gateshead	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Davieson, Joseph	Baker	South Shields	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Dickenson, Robert	Labourer	Iveston	Lanchester	Labourer
Dickinson, Arthur	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Dickson, George	Yeoman	Raby	Raby	Yeoman
Dickson, George	Wheelwright	Unknown	Unknown	Artisan
Dobson, William	Servant to Thomas Pyburne	Hurworth		Other Trades

Dodshon, Robert	Merchant	City of Durham	Lanchester	Wholesale and large producers
Dodshon, William	poor Labourer	Stainton	Lanchester	Labourer
Doubleday, Robert	Yeoman	Jarrow	Newcastle	Yeoman
Dove, William	Baker and Brewer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Draper, Henry	Gentleman	Headlam Hall	Raby	Gentleman
Elderton, Katherine	Tobacco Spinner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Agriculture
Elinor, John	Sadler	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Ellison, George	Husbandman	Derwent	No MM at this time	Agriculture
Ellot, Jn	Keelman	Sandgate	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Elstob, William	Bankman	West Pitts	Raby	Professional
Elstob, William	Yeoman	Greatham	Raby	Yeoman
Emerson, Nicholas	Weaver	Carleton	Raby	Artisan
Emerson, Nicholas	Yeoman	Brotherless, Stanhope	Raby	Yeoman
Emmerson, Henry	Weaver	Brancepeth	Lanchester	Artisan
Errington, Richard	Yeoman	Greatham	Stockton	Yeoman
Fairer, John	Mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Farnes, Thomas	Yeoman	Cullercoates	Newcastle	Yeoman

Fearon, Thomas	Salt Merchant/Owner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Fisher, Conrad	Dryer	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Fisher, Edward	Dryer	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Fisher, Moses	Haberdasher/ Hatter/Feltmaker	Gateshead	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Forster, William	Yeoman	Carleton	Raby	Yeoman
Fothergill, Thomas	Yeoman	Barnard Castle	Raby	Yeoman
Fowler, Robert	Mariner	Burlington	Lanchester	Sea Trade
Frances, William	Patten Maker	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan
Francis, John	Patten maker	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Freeman, Samuel	Gardener	Ravensworth Castle	Newcastle	Other Trades
Frost, John	Mariner	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Frost, John	Master Mariner	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Gecees, William	Shoemaker	Stockton	Stockton	Retail Traders
Glenn, John	School master	Sherburn	Newcastle	Professional
Grainger, Henry	Yeoman	Staindrop	Raby	Yeoman
Grice, Emmanuel	Yeoman	Raby	Raby	Yeoman

	Milliner	Staindrop	Raby	
Gundry (Goundrey), George				Wholesale and large producers
Haddock, Zephaniah	Shoemaker	North Shields	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Hall, John	Yeoman	Monk Hesledon	Stockton	Agriculture
Hall, Michael	Yeoman	South Shields	Newcastle	Yeoman
Hall, William	Yeoman	Parkewall House, Staindrop	Raby	Yeoman
Harrison, John	weaver	Ouseburn (Newcastle)	Newcastle	Artisan
Hartburn, William	Master Mariner	Stockton	Darlington	Sea Trade
Hearon, Isaac	Cordwainer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Heavside, William	Yeoman	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Yeoman
Hedley, John	Servant to Christopher Bickers	Gateshead	Newcastle	Other Trades
Heighington, John	Yeoman	Stockton	Stockton	Yeoman
Heighington, William	Shoemaker	Durham	Lanchester	Retail Traders
Heron, Zachariah	Mariner	Stockton	Stockton	Sea Trade
Heslam, Lawrence	Ship Master	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Hetherinton, Lionel	Sadler	Gateshead	Newcastle	Artisan

Hewett, William	Poor Labourer	Unknown	Unknown	Labourer
Hickten, Richard	Mercer	Gateshead	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Hodgshon, Ralph	Yeoman	Hamsterly	Raby	Yeoman
Hodgson, Anthony	Yeoman	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Yeoman
Hodgson, Ralph	Yeoman	Unknown	Unknown	Yeoman
Hodgson, Thomas	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Hood, Jon	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Hopper, Cuthbert	Husbandman	Dikenoon	Unknown	Agriculture
Hopper, Thomas	Yeoman	Framwellgate	Lanchester	Yeoman
Hornsby, Nicholas	Yeoman	Lanchester	Lanchester	Yeoman
Hornsby, Thomas	Yeoman	Lanchester	Lanchester	Yeoman
Hort, John	Mariner	Unknown	Unknown	Sea Trade
Hudson, Roger	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Hull, Michael	Salt Merchant	North Shields	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Hunter, Cuthbert	Fitter/Dryer/Quaker minister	Monkwearmouth Shore	Newcastle	Artisan
Hunter, Henry	Tobacco Cutter	Gateshead	Newcastle	Agriculture
Hunter, Isaac	Tobacco Cutter	Gateshead	Newcastle	Agriculture

Hunter, Jeremiah	Fitter/ Quaker miniser	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Hunter, John	Husbandman	Benfieldside	Lanchester	Agriculture
Ingledew, William	Ship Master	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Jackson, Thomas	Mariner	Burlington	Lanchester	Sea Trade
Jeckhill, Robert	Dyer	Newcastle, The close	Newcastle	Artisan
Johnson, Thomas	Yeoman	Lowside	Lanchester	Yeoman
Jones, Samuel	Mariner	North Shields	Newcastle	Sea Trade
King, Edmund	Weaver	Ouseburne (Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Lambson, Edward	Yeoman	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Yeoman
Langstaffe, John	Mason	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Artisan
Law, William	Yeoman	Unknown	Unknown	Yeoman
Layburne, Thomas	Wright	Derwent	Lanchester	Artisan
Leighton, Robert	Husbandman	Easington	Stockton	Agriculture
Little, William	Mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Little, William	Cheesemonger	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Loftis, Ralph	Husbandman	Shotton	Stockton	Agriculture
London, Samuel	Distiller	Gateshead	Newcastle	Retail Traders

Looper, John	Mariner	Ouseburne (Newcastle)	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Lowry, John	Tayler	Castle Garth	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Lyons, Christopher	Hoiser	Unknown	Unknown	Retail Traders
Maistle, James	Carrier	Haughton	Stockton	Labourer
March, Benjamin	Mercer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Mason, Henry	Weaver	Brancepeth	Lanchester	Artisan
Mason, John	Weaver	Tynemouth	Newcastle	Artisan
Mason, Peter	Weaver	Brancepeth	Lanchester	Artisan
Mason, Thomas	Weaver	Tynemouth	Newcastle	Artisan
Mason, William	Weaver	Kibblesworth	Lanchester	Artisan
Maud, William	Draper	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Maud, William (2 Occup)	Merchant	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Mayord, William	Mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Merriman, John	Apprentice to Lancelot Wardell, Mercer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Merriman, Thomas	Steward at Salt Pans/ Salt owner	Blyth	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Michell, John	Weaver	Ouseburne	Newcastle	Artisan

Middleton, Joshua	Mercer	Darlington and Newcastle	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Midford, William	mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Mooreland, Geroge	School Teacher	Wineyeard (Wynyard)	Stockton	Professional
Murthwaite, Zachariah	Cordwainer	Unknown	Unknown	Retail Traders
Nicholson, Martin	Yeoman	Chapel Meadow	Unknown	Agriculture
Owrner, Bartho:	Soap boiler	Unknown	Newcastle	Artisan
Oyster, Adam	Tayler	Dentshole, Nland	Other	Retail Traders
Park, Richard	Yeoman	South Shields	Newcastle	Yeoman
Parkinson, John	School teacher	Sedgefield	Raby	Professional
Pattison, Ralph	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Paxton, Barbary	Widow/ Haberdasher	Sunderland	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Paxton, Thomas	Husbandman	Easington	Stockton	Agriculture
Pearson, Anthony	Gentleman	Ramshaw Hall	Raby	Gentleman
Pearson, Christopher	Husbandman	Jerrey Grange	Lanchester	Agriculture
Pearson, Francis	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Pearson, Thomas	Mariner	Cullercoates	Newcastle	Sea Trade

Pearson, Thomas	Tanner	Framwelgate	Lanchester	Wholesale and large producers
Phillipes, Soloman	Wool Comber	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Pickering, Christopher	Yeoman	Raby	Raby	Yeoman
Pickering, Nicholas	Wright	Lanchester	Lanchester	Artisan
Pickering, William	Farmer	Raby	Raby	Agriculture
Pickering, William (2 Occup)	Yeoman	Raby	Raby	Yeoman
Pinder, Richard	Mercer	North Shields	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Raw, Andrew	Husbandman	Derwent	Lanchester	Agriculture
Raw, George	Tanner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Readhead, Thomas	Husbandman	Shotton	Stockton	Agriculture
Rhodes, Joseph	Bottle maker	St. Lawrence, Newcastle	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Richardson, Anthony	Husbandman	Derwent	Lanchester	Agriculture
Richardson, Geroge	Husbandman	Shotton	Stockton	Agriculture
Richardson, Philip	Husbandman	Shotton	Stockton	Agriculture

Robinson, Anthony	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Robinson, Richard	Apothecary	North Shields	Newcastle	Professional
Robson, William	Weaver	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Rumford, Thomas	Weaver	Castle Garth	Newcastle	Artisan
Rutter, John	Master Mariner	Stockton	Darlington	Sea Trade
Simpson, Philip	labourer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Labourer
Simpson, Tho	mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Smaller, George	Linen weaver	Sandgarth	Newcastle	Artisan
Smith, Ralph	Yeoman	Sedgfield	Raby	Yeoman
Smith, Thomas	Labourer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Labourer
Smith, William	Mill Wright	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Snawball, Richard	Husbandman	Derwent	Lanchester	Agriculture
Spark, George	Calender worker	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan
Spencly, William	Dryer	Auckland	Raby	Artisan
Stag, Joseph	Cordwainer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Stickley, Richard	Mercer	Gateshead	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers

Stobbs, John	Gunn Smith	Sandgate	Newcastle	Artisan
Stockton, Richard	Merchant	Darlington	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Story, Roger	Tayler	Brancepeth	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Strickland, Lawrence	Weaver	Eden	Raby	Artisan
Tayler, Robert	Weaver	Raby	Raby	Artisan
Teasdale, Jacob	Yeoman	North Shields	Stockton	Yeoman
Temple, Frances	Yeoman	Darlington	Raby	Yeoman
Tennant, Caleb	Mercer	Raby	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Thommson, Cuthbert	Butcher	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Thompson, Richard	Tayler	Raby	Raby	Retail Traders
Tittery, Daniel	Broad glassmaker	Glasshouses	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Tizack (Tyzack), Paul	Glassmaker	Glasshouses	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Tizick (Tyzack), John	Broad glassmaker	Glasshouses	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Tizick (Tyzack), Perigrine	Glassmaker	Glasshouses	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers

Tonstall, Edward	Physician	Raby	Raby	Professional
Townsend, Simon	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Trewet, George	Copy holders of small farms	Bolden	Newcastle	Agriculture
Trewet, William	Copy holders of small farms	Boldon	Newcastle	Agriculture
Trotter, James	Dryer	Raby	Raby	Artisan
Trotter, Richard	Weaver	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Trueman, John	Cordwainer	Darlington	Raby	Retail Traders
Trueman, Robert	Tayler/Draper	Darlington	Raby	Retail Traders
Tucker, Ralph	Master Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Tucker, Thomas	Mariner	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Twiner, Barth:	Soap boiler	Unknown	Unknown	Artisan
Tyzack, John	Broad glassmaker	Glasshouses	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Ubancks, Richard	Tayler	Gateshead	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Ushaw, John	Labourer	Stockton	Stockton	Labourer
Varey, Thomas	Yeoman	Great Stainton	Raby	Yeoman
Vickers, Christopher	Husbandman	Derwent	No MM at this time	Agriculture
Vssy, John	Labourer	Stockton	No MM at this time	Labourer

Walker, Robert	Farmer	Coupon	Raby	Agriculture
Wall, William	Gentleman	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Gentleman
Wallace, Robert	Shoemaker	Durham	Lanchester	Retail Traders
Walles, Robert	Cordwainer	Castle Garth	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Wappe, Mark	Yeoman	Stockton	Stockton	Yeoman
Wardale, Lawrence	Yeoman	Castle Eden	Stockton	Yeoman
Wardell, Josh.	Coal Fitter	Sunderland	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Wardell, Lancelott	Mercer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Wardell, Robert	Coal Fitter	Sunderland	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Wardell, Robert	Merchant	Sunderland	Newcastle	Wholesale and large producers
Watson, Charles	Farmer	Coudon Grainge	Unknown	Agriculture
Watson, James	Mariner	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Watson, Richard	Yeoman	Norton	Stockton	Yeoman
Wattson, Jacob	Potter (putter)	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Weitherington, Lynell	Sadler	Gateshead	Newcastle	Artisan
Westgarth, Robert	Dyer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan

Westgarth, Thomas	Cordwainer	Cleadon	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Wharriman, Jno	Bricklayer	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan
Wheatley, Thomas	Baker & Brewer	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
White, James	Farmer/ lease under Lady Vane	Gainford	Raby	Agriculture
White, James	Merchant	Hopewell near Pierce Bridge	Raby	Wholesale and large producers
White, John	Yeoman	Bishop Auckland	Raby	Yeoman
White, Robert	Yeoman	Unknown	Unknown	Yeoman
Wilkinson, Anthony	Ship worker	Newcastle	Newcastle	Sea Trade
Wilkinson, John	Shoemaker	Newcastle	Newcastle	Retail Traders
William, Thomas	Shoemaker	North Shields	Newcastle	Retail Traders
Willinson, John	Yeoman	Monk Hesledon	Stockton	Yeoman
Wilson, Brian	Yeoman	Barnard Castle	Raby	Yeoman
Wilson, Robert	Weaver	Darlington	Raby	Artisan
Wilson, Rowland	Extractor of Silver and Lead	Acton Mill, Nland	Newcastle	Other Trades
Wilson, Thomas	Husbandman	Shotton		Agriculture
Wind, William	Miler	Newcastle	Newcastle	Artisan
Winde, Anthony	Millwright	South Shields	Newcastle	Artisan

Wrangham, Thomas	Farmer	Stockton	Stockton	Agriculture
Wren, Timothy	Farmer	North Shields	Newcastle	Agriculture
Wyberon, Thomas	Weaver	Neasham	Raby	Wholesale and large producers
Yoole, Thomas	Farmer	Coupan	Raby	Agriculture
Younger, John	Boat Builder	Sunderland	Newcastle	Artisan

Appendix 4: County Durham and Newcastle Quaker Hearth Tax List

Name	Parish Name	Residence or Meeting	Hearths	Paying/Exempt
Airey John Sr.	Sunderland	Bankward	4	paying
Appleby William	Sunderland	Bishop Wearmouth	1	Non Solvants
Baker Thomas	Crooke and Billiraw	Derwent	1	paying
Bell Thomas	Barnard Castle	Barnard Castle	1	paying
Blackiston(Blaixton) John	Norton	Norton	1	paying
Brown John	Bishopton	found at a meeting in Norton	1	paying
Burdon George Sr.	Easington	Easington	2	paying
Burdon Thomas	Cockfield	Cockfield	1	paying
Chipchase Thomas	Norton	Norton	2	paying
Cockrill John	Sunderland	Sunderland	3	paying
Colling Michael	Darlington	Darlington	2	paying
Crosby Christopher	Stockton Township	Stockton	1	paying
Dickenson Robert	Iveston	Iveston	1	Non Solvants
Dickson George	Raby	Raby and Kaverstone	1	paying
Draper Henry	Headlam	Headlam	8	paying
Emerson Henry	Willington	Brancepeth	1	Non Solvants
Errington Richard	Greatham	Greatham	1	paying
Fisher Edward	Darlington	Darlington	3	paying
Foster William	Carlton	Carleton, Stockton Ward	2	paying
Goundry George	Staindrop	Staindrop	3	paying
Grainger Henry	Raby	Raby and Knaverstone	2	paying
Hall James	Monk Hesledon	Hesledon	2	paying

Heron John	Stockton	Stockton Borough	1	paying
Hodgkins Samuel	Sunderland	Sunderland	2	paying
Hodgson Anthony	Auckland, Lynesack and Softley	Lynesack and Softley	2	paying
Hodgson Ralph	Hamsterley	Hamsterley	1	paying
Hodgson William	Cockerton	Darlington Ward SE, Cockerton	1	paying
Hopper Thomas	Framwelgate	Crossgate	1	paying
Hudson John	Norton	Norton	1	paying
Hunter Cuthbert	Gateshead	Gateshead	4	Paying
Hunter John	Benfieldside	Benfieldside	2	paying
Jefferson Henry	Norton	Norton	0	Exemption
Langstaffe John	Middleton/Auckland	Bishop Auckland	1	Non Solvants
Layburne, Thomas	Derwentcoate	Choppwell Lordship	1	paying
Leighton Robert	Easington	Shotton	2	paying
Leighton Robert	Headley	Hedley	1	Paying
Mason, Peter	Branspeth	Branspeth Cum Castle & Park	2	paying
Mason, William	Kimbblesworth	Urpeth	2	paying
Nicholason Ralph	Sedgefield	Sedgefield	2	paying
Oliver Edward	Greatham	Greatham	1	Non Solvants
Park Richard	South Shields	South Shields East Ward	2	paying
Paxton James	Easington	Easington	1	paying
Paxton Thomas	Easington	Easington	2	paying
Pearson Grace	Ramshaw	EvenWood Barrony	8	paying
Pearson Thomas	Framwelgate	Framwelgate	3	paying

Pescod George	Swallwell	Swalwell	3	paying
Pickering Christopher	Raby	Raby and Knaverstone	2	paying
Readhead Thomas	Cleadon	Cleadon	1	paying
Richardson George	Shotton	Shotton	1	paying
Richardson Philip	Shotton	Shotton	1	paying
Richmond William	Heighington	Heighington and Old Park	2	paying
Robinson Anthony	Hawthorne, Easington	Hawthorne	2	paying
Robison (Robinson) Thomas	Hawthorne	Hawthorne	1	paying
Smith Ralph	Sedgefield	Sedgefield	2	paying
Smith Thomas	Sunderland	Bishopwearmouth Panns	1	Non Solvants
Smith William	Stockton	Cornforth	1	paying
Snowball Richard	Derwent	Hunstonworth	1	paying
Spenceley William	Auckland	Borough of Auckland	4	paying
Strickland, Lawrence	Darlington	Blackwell	1	paying
Temple Frances	Raby	Raby and Knaverstone	2	paying
Townsend Simon	Norton	Norton	3	paying
Ushaw John	Stockton	Stockton twp.	1	Non Solvants
Var[e]y Thomas	Great Stainton	Great Stainton	1	Non Solvants
Vickers (Viccars) Christopher	Derwent	Stanhope Park	1	Non Solvants
Walker Robert	Coopen	Coopen Bewley, Stockton	2	paying
Watson Richard	Norton	Norton	2	paying
White James	Piercebridge	Piercebridge	2	paying
White John	Auckland	Bondgate Bp Auckland	1	Non Solvants

White Robert	Piercebridge	Piercebridge	2	Non Solvants
Wilkinson John	Monk Hesledon	Hesledon	2	paying
Wilson Robert	Darlington	Darlington Borough	4	paying

Appendix 5: **The conversion narrative of Thomas Raylton** *(DRO, 'Cotherstone Particular Meeting (PM),'*
SF/CO/PM 8/14) (Transcribed by Lindsay Houpt-Varner)

I was born on the 30th of 6th month 1671 in Bowes in the north part of Yorkshire, and educated in the way of the Church of England: but in the year 1685, being about fourteen years of age, and then a scholar with one Richard Wharton, priest of the parish, and teacher of a free school in Bowes… it providentially happened, that by the invitation of Francis Wrightson, (one called a Quaker) at whose house a meeting was kept, about two miles from the place of my a bode, my mother went to a meeting there, and tooke me to ride before her, at which meeting were two ministers, namely John Bowron and George Rook, the caller then living in Cumberland, but since in Ireland, being come to visit friends there ways ,by whose powerful minister and lively prayer, it pleased God to open mine heart, and to let me see the vanity of this present world, if which for my short time, I had had some share, for which I had been often secretly smitten by the just witness of God in my own heart; yet for all that I was pretty much a stranger to it, and so was not sensible from whence it came; until I came to be affected with the gospel, which I may say, was glad tidings of salvation unto me: and from that day I was joined in heart with those people that directed to Christ within the hope of their glory.   And although I have had many instructors in Christ since, yet I have not many fathers, for the said George Rook, who preached the word by the gospel of Jesus Christ, was the instrument under the Lord for my convincement; for which, I tow my knees and worship and thank the Lord for his goodness hitherto.

Now after I was joined with these people, the word of God more powerfully wrought in me, and shewed me that I was to alter the course of my conversation, that was to leave the corrupt life, and to shun evil company; and forasmuch as I was bowed before the Lord, and had given up my name to serve him, I then saw I must walk in the narrow way, and leave the vain compliments, the putting off the hat, and lowing the knee to man, & a upon which I was soon taken notice of, and complaint made to my mother, of my neglecting to conform to these things, by the priest my then master, who was moved at my behaviour, and I suppose intended at that time to use the rod, and having made preparation, called me to him, and said I heard to-day that thou wentest by Mr Bounskell, and didst not pull off thy hat and bid good-morrow; adding what is thy reason for so doing? Whether is it pride or religion? Upon which I told him it was not pride; then said he, it must be religion; and if so, thou must not be whipped: and so laid down the rod; but, said he, if for religion, let me know why thou refusedst, and give me precedent. So I told him, I had been reading in the Revelations, and there I found that an angel shewd John many things, and that John said When I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship the angel that showed me those things; but the angel said, see thou do it not, for Sam of thy fellow servants, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

And from this I told him I refused to do it unto men.   But he endeavoured to persuade me, that what he requested of me, was no more than a civil respect between man and man; and from thence he thought I might the better conform to it; and to make the more willing to believe it was no worship, but respect (as he had said before) he turned me to that place of the children of Hesh & Abraham's bowing to each other, and also proceeded to shew me something of the like kind among the children of Israel, in the time of Moses and Joshua; but all these were to no purpose to me, for my eye was opened to see a more glorious dispensation than that of Moses, yea or the prophets; for thou they were good men, an that by the spirit of Christ in them, they did for tel the coming of Christ, and of his sufferings; yet they did not live to see those things come to pass, which they had spoken of.   So that he had not force in his argument to make me use those things, which might be used among the fathers, and also after the law.

And since the New Testament is silent, and gives no account of either Christ or his apostles being in the practice of bowing; I did not see why either knee or hat should be expected of me; for as for the latter I have no account at all, therefore I stood to my principle, and kept to the light and understanding the Lord had given me through Jesus Christ my Saviour, who then was come to my house in spirit, and had brought salvation with him

And that day I told one of my schoolfellows that what my master had shown me was but out of the law, and not of the gospel, which he told my master, and I had a quiet day.   It is to be observed that this was but the beginning of further exercise for as it was in some measure begun (though I had at that time met with favourable treatment from my examiner, whose moderations, as I have said, then appeared) yet after this, whether for grief which he was then in being in all probability likely to part with me from his flock, over which he might look upon himself to be pastor, or from the persuasion of my parents, he began to be more severe, and told me that unless I would make congees to him, (as he called them) he would teach me no longer; and although I must confess I would gladly have learned a little more, being them a bible scholar, yet to have it in a way I saw I must deny and bear testimony against I forsook the school at that time and went home to my father's house, and told my mother the occasion of my coming, and although she took me to the first meeting but a few weeks before, ye she then repented it, and would not hear of my suffering by my master, so as to give me any relief; upon which I left the house for a while.

But I may say, the aim of the Lord wrought for me, for my master presently sent word to my mother, that he had done what was in his power to persuade me to be conformable, but he saw it would not do, therefore desired her to send me to school again, and said he would leave me to my liberty about religion: the tidings being brought to me, as I was under an hedge where I was retired, not then knowing what would become of me, who had both left the school, and knew not with whom to lodge; but whilst I was in this condition, the tidings I have mentioned were brought to me, which I received gladly, and went to school again, and found it pretty much as had bene told me: thou the Lord pleaded my innocent cause: unto whom be glory ascribed for ever.

Thus far I was got on my way, and was still to go farther; now my parents had taught us from our childhood to ask of them to pray to God to bless us, and though it is true there is not an evil in the thing itself; yet the bringing of it into such a form, as to use it every night and morning, this also I found was my place to leave off, at which they were much offended, and began to beat me into a compliance with them, but that would not do, for I had read that saying of our Lord, "whosoever loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me": so that in an holy resolution I went on, not much doubting but the Lord would help me over that as he had done over other things before, which in time he did; but the course I took, after much threatening and several beatings upon the subject, was this; I left my father's house, and was kept privately for about fifteen days, but as Moses by the good providence of God, and care of his sister, who watched to see what would become of him, was ordered to his mother again to be his nurse, a providence to be commemorated, so was, I watched over by some of those people unto whom I was joined in fellowship, and by them sent for to come to one of their meetings, I being then remote from it, yet at their request, it went; for meetings were precious unto me, for I had been but at two meetings from that of the first, and that was about three quarters of a year before, and a good meeting this also was to me; and after this meeting was over, some of the friends undertook to go and offer me to my father gain; so I went along with them, and coming there, they told my father it was their desire that he would take me home again, as I was his son, and if he would not accept of me as a son, then as a servant into his house; but if he could not as neither then said they he must become our care, forasmuch as he is become one of us. This proposition took such place with my parents that they friends were thanked for the care they had over me

And thus I was brought home again, and had free access to their presence morning and evening with out insisting upon the aforementioned ceremony, which was the cause of my leaving their house…[I] decline[d] going to church (as they called it) and for about seven weeks more I lived with them at peace, and went to meetings with their knowledge; and at the end of that time, being the 30th day of the 4th month, 1686, I went apprentice to a friend in the county of Durham, by the approbation of my parents, being conducted thither by my father ….

Now in the time of my seven years apprenticeship to a laborious trade, being a blacksmith, at leisure times I often read the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, in which I found great benefit, being often broken into many tears when I read, and especially when I met with places that mentioned the call of God to sinners and their return to his call; in order for their conversion and salvations and my delight was much in reading some places of the prophets, which prophesied of the coming of the Just one, and of the work of restoration that he would bring to pass, and although I have said I delighted in these things, yet the crown of my rejoining was that I was counted worthy to know this blessed work begun; and I did not only read in private, but in the family we used to read much by candle light, my master & mistress allowing it, and were in the practice there of themselves, being honest friends that feared God, with all their children who were dutiful to their parents, and kept very much out of the evil communication of the world, so that we were a comfort one to another, as we kept to that which was good; and when I have been alone at my work, the Lord did very often comfort me with his Holy Spirit and gave me a sight, that he would give me a dispensation of the gospel to preach; and for seven years the word of the Lord was often very powerful in my heart, not only to the fitting of me for so great a work, but growing upon me to the affecting of my heart: during those years living breathings often ran through me to the Lord that he would fire serve me in his fear.

After I had served out the full time of my apprenticeship, I went to the place of my birth and there followed my trade about a year, but it was not long until the Lord brought that which I had seen before me more near, viz the work of the ministry; and the nearer it came to me, I still saw the more need to be weighty and solid, and much inward in spirit, often filled with the word of life, so that I could scarcely hold my peace in the assemblies of the people of God; yet much inward and still, often remembering the building of Solomon's temple, where there was not the sound of a hammer or tool or iron: and in this quietness in meetings, I was greatly refreshed and filled with inward joy to the Lord, but could not yet utter by words what I felt.

For indeed, as the minister is a great work; it made me the more cautious how I entered into it, remembering it was not approved that one of old laid hold of the ark when it was shaken.

Now, I saw by all this experience and care fullness in not offering until I was fully satisfied it was my incumbent duty, yet I found it safe not to appear in the ministry until I was fully satisfied of the Lord's requiring therein, although the Lord had been often with me from meeting to meeting, and in his visitations, less his livly dew upon my spirit; and thus who I filled with the odour of his good ointment, with which I was anointed to preach the gospel; and thu I was led into the minister.

Upon or about the 30th day of the 10th month 1695, in a meeting at the house of John Bowron, in Cotherston, where I was amongst many more, after a little time, my soul was divinely touched with the power of God, and his word was again in my heart, as a burning fire in my bones, and I could no longer contain, my tongue being lossed, my mouth was opened to speak of the Lord unto his people in that meeting. I cannot but observe one thing, and that was the holy silence which was in the forepart of that meeting, before my mouth was opened, although there were several there that had public testimonies, yet that power y which I was opened, bound them to silence, but after I had spoke what I then delivered,

there stood up a fiend, and was like one that had a peal to set down to the words I had spoken: and as I grew in testimony a concern came into my mind to visit friends in Cumberland, where after some time I went, & was kindly received by them, and was at most of their meetings, if not all.

J. Raylton

[Note in meeting book] This…Thomas Raylton after he had travelled much in the service of the Truth, settled in London about the year 1705, where he was …serviceable and edifying in his ministry…

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