

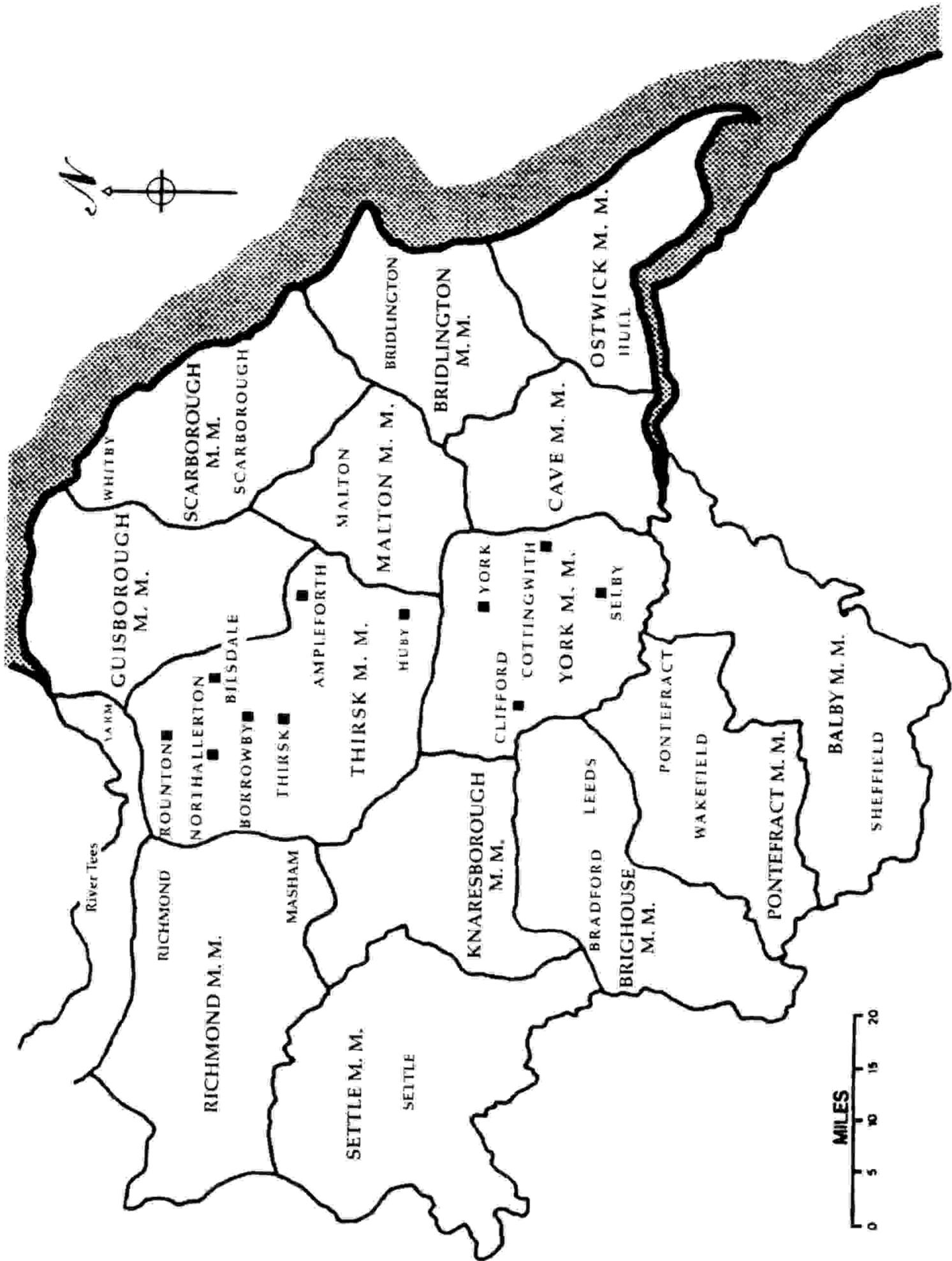
TOWN AND COUNTRY: LIVING AS A FRIEND IN URBAN AND RURAL YORKSHIRE 1780-1860

As with so many things in life, my interest in religious dissent started by chance reading of Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie's book *Montaillou* which is a study of the Cathars of fourteenth Century South Western France.¹ This became a fascination with groups whose religious beliefs led them to flout the rule of churches and the rule of governments, suffering persecution for their beliefs as a consequence. As a result, I found myself drawn to the history of the Society of Friends and this led to my original study of York Monthly Meeting in the period 1780--1860. Recently I have been working on Settle Monthly Meeting which was the most rural Meeting within Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting and provided an ideal contrast to York Meeting, having an entirely different economic and geographic profile and allowing an insight not only into the inner workings of a geographically less cohesive Meeting but also the economic and social relationship between Friends and their neighbours in the countryside. My primary concern in this paper is to come to some conclusions respecting Friends lives in the countryside by using evidence from Settle Monthly Meeting and from the communities within which Friends lived and from my original study of York Monthly Meeting.

My original work on York explored the internal dynamics of that Meeting and included a study of the relationship between members of the Meeting and the wider society, economics and politics of the City of York.² This study was deliberately confined to York Meeting for Worship which was geographically restricted to the City of York. Up until the early nineteenth Century, the City of York was effectively still enclosed within its medieval walls, giving the City a uniquely homogeneous social, economic and political profile.

Both York and Settle Monthly Meetings were part of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting and although visiting ministers to Yorkshire recognised the isolation of many members in the more remote areas of the county, they also commented on the uplifting vitality of the county. In 1784 Rebecca Jones wrote an upbeat assessment of the Meetings, seeing in the present generation a spirit and hope for the future who "...in the right time [will] show themselves to Israel

MAP OF YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING SHOWING YORK AND THIRSK MONTHLY



Inventory of the Records of Yorkshire General Meeting & York & Thirsk Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends (Leeds University Libraries. 1986). Map 2. Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds University Library.

equipped with the holy armour, on the right hand and on the left".³ Her assessment of the situation was overly optimistic and in fact the life experiences of Friends living in the countryside were very different to those living in the urban environment of one of Yorkshire's major cities in this period.

Both York Monthly Meeting and Settle Monthly Meetings were two of the thirteen Monthly Meetings which comprised the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. Settle Monthly Meeting established in 1669, whilst part of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting was geographically entirely different to many of these Meetings, especially those in the rapidly industrialising areas of West and South Yorkshire, in particular, Brighouse Monthly Meeting which included Leeds Meeting; Pontefract Monthly Meeting which included Wakefield and Balby Monthly Meeting which included Sheffield. Stretching across the Yorkshire Dales from Lothersdale - just outside Skipton in Lower Wharfedale in the East, and West to what is now almost the Cumbrian border, the only town of any significance was the small market town of Settle in Ribblesdale. Otherwise the Meeting consisted of small, dispersed communities which although some bordered on the manufacturing towns of Keighley and Bradford, were not a part of them. It is in this area that Quakerism has its roots overlooked as it is by Pendle Hill to the South and Swarthmore is just over the border in Cumbria.

Geographically the area was largely agricultural and mainly dependent on sheep and their by-products but it also had fast running rivers for water power and the climate being generally damp, was ideal for cotton, wool and flax spinning. Whilst many Friends were employed on the land or were farmers, others were involved in the woollen industry both as spinners and weavers and as manufacturers and merchants.⁴ Quakers also controlled the flax industry in parts of Yorkshire but what is less well known is how many of them were involved in the Yorkshire cotton industry.⁵ In 1784-5 William and John Birkbeck, partners in the Settle bank of Birkbeck & Co. built Yore Cotton Mill, near Aysgarth. By 1800 William Birkbeck, had a share in a number of cotton mills in England and Scotland including Settle and Montrose as well as Linton Mill, near Grassington which was used for worsted spinning.⁶ At the beginning of this period, many of the Quakers who were weavers would have been working in their own homes, on their own looms, so the scale of manufacture was small.⁷ The spinning mills in villages such as Cononley, Lothersdale, Barnoldswick, Kildwick and Airton just outside Skipton and in Settle and Higher Bentham further West were water driven and even at the end of this period, many of the mills were still small and few had installed steam engines.⁸

At the beginning of the period, Settle Monthly Meeting encompassed the Meetings of Lothersdale and Salterforth, Settle, Bentham, Langstroth, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) and Rilstone and Airton. In 1785 Langstroth to the North in Wenslydale became part of Aysgarth Meeting. Ultimately, in 1853 Settle Monthly Meeting was absorbed by Brighouse Monthly Meeting, which included part of what had been Knaresborough Monthly Meeting and which from this date onwards extended from Bentham and Settle in the North-West to Huddersfield in the South-East.⁹ These Meetings were isolated one from the other and compared with York, were small. The Meetings at Lothersdale in the South, Bentham in the West and Settle in the centre dominated the Monthly Meeting, accounting for nearly 95% of the membership. Lothersdale the largest Meeting had approximately 162 members over the whole period, Settle 92 and Bentham 87. Newton in Bowland (Bolland), Airton and Rylstone would each appear to have had less than 20 members and at times even fewer - Airton in the late eighteenth century had only four members. The total membership for Settle Monthly Meeting over the whole period was around 440 compared with an figure of around 540 for the period for York Preparative Meeting.¹⁰

John Yeardley's journal gives us an insight into the lifestyle of Friends in these rural Meetings. John Yeardley was a linen manufacturer who moved to Bentham in 1817 when his business in Barnsley was failing. As he explained to his wife, their move to Bentham would take them away from all their friends and relations but it would remove the "extreme anxiety attendant on trade, when the whole responsibility rests on our shoulders".¹¹ He accepted a post at the flax-spinning mill in Higher Bentham owned by Charles Parker, a minister in the Society of Friends and member of Bentham Meeting.¹² In June 1818 he rented a house in Low Bentham, remarking that it was a pleasant walk home along the waterside from the mill and that the house was near to the Meeting House. He noted that the Meeting was "a very small meeting indeed; there are only about two female Friends...".¹³ He and his wife enjoyed a quiet life but they had "kind neighbours, a very pleasant habitation, and little society, plenty of books both of the religious and amusing kind and leisure to meditate...".¹⁴ In John Yeardley's time Low Bentham had its own Meeting House, although as his journal shows, larger Meetings and public Meetings were more usually held at High Bentham.

EDITORS NOTE: Sheila Wright's book, *Friends in York...1780 – 1860* limited its study to York Preparative Meeting i.e. the City of York 'and its immediate environs...which includes outlying suburbs such

as Fulford, Askham Bryan and Naburn' (pages 2 and 113).

Unless otherwise stated, the figures given for York in the text and in the tables refer to York Preparative Meeting between 1780 – 1860 as a part of York Monthly Meeting but NOT to the Monthly Meeting as a whole.

The Demography of York Preparative and Settle Monthly Meetings

Firstly, I wanted to explore the statistical analysis undertaken on York Monthly Meeting which forms the basis for comparisons with Settle Monthly Meeting. In the prize-winning seminal essay written by John Stephenson Rowntree in 1859 in response to the concern of the Yearly Meeting with the fall in membership numbers, Rowntree demonstrated that of all the Monthly Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, York was the only Meeting which had expanded its membership between 1780 and 1860.¹⁵ Critical to the maintenance of membership numbers were disownment figures. The figures produced by J.S. Rowntree for the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting disclosed that of all the Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting, York was the only Meeting which was disowning fewer members than any other Meeting. His figures gave the numbers disowned and the reasons for disownment and nationwide, his figures showed that the Society as a whole was losing members at an alarming rate.

TABLE 1. YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING - DISOWNMENTS (excluding marriage-out)¹⁷

Reason for Disownment	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1860
Business failure	6	3	5	3
Immorality	5	3	0	0
Drink	2	1	1	1
Miscellaneous	1	4	5	1
Resignations	0	1	5	13
Resignations as % of members	0	0.7	2.7	5.9
Disownment as % of members	11.6	5.4	6.0	2.3

Records of disownment kept by Friends show who contravened the rules and which rule they had broken. From the disownment records for York Monthly Meeting it was possible to construct a detailed

record of all disownments within the Preparative Meeting and the reasons for disownment. Within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting some Monthly Meetings were disowning nearly half of their membership; between 1800-1850 Marsden Monthly Meeting (in Lancashire Quarterly Meeting) disowned 40%, Brighouse Monthly Meeting 33.5% and Pontefract Monthly Meeting 34%, whilst York Monthly Meeting disowned 26% of its membership.¹⁶ The figures for the whole period 1780 and 1860 show that in total York Monthly Meeting disowned 20.8% whilst Bristol Monthly Meeting, a Meeting of similar size and demographic makeup, disowned 47.1% in the same period - nearly twice the rate of York. Bristol in fact, disowned 406 members over the eighty year period and admitted only 148.

York Preparative Meeting provided a strong contrast; although it disowned 112 members over the period from 1780 it admitted 98, in effect almost cancelling the shortfall caused by numbers disowned.

**TABLE 2 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING DISOWNMENTS
(excluding marriage-out)¹⁸**

Reason for disownment	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1853
Business Failure	3	0	0
Immorality	3	3	2
Drink	3	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	1	0
Resignations	1	0	3

Unlike York, because of a lack of reliable membership figures it has been impossible to construct accurate percentage figures for disownments but it is likely that Settle Meeting, in the period 1780-1810, disowned approximately 40% of its membership. Although, this figure did improve over the period from 1810 to 1853 when the Meeting disowned far fewer members, and the combined totals for the whole period are around 24%. It has been difficult to collate accurate figures on admissions for the Settle Monthly Meeting but it has been suggested by Raistrick, that the Monthly Meeting readmitted many of the members they disowned but what is clear from these figures is the highly detrimental effect disownment was having on all of these other meetings.¹⁹

Of all the regulations for which members could be disowned from the Society, marriage out was the most damaging in terms of membership loss. Marriage out, that is to a non-Friend and by implication until the introduction of Civil Marriage in 1837, by a priest, had a devastating effect on membership statistics.²⁰ Between 1780-1800 York Preparative Meeting disowned 18 members for marriage out; Bristol Monthly Meeting 45 and Settle Monthly Meeting 18 and over the whole period 1780-1860, York Preparative Meeting disowned 9.7%, Settle approximately 17% and Bristol 28.9%.²³ The figures for all three Meetings show that women were much more likely to marry-out than were men.

TABLE: 3

YORK PREPARATIVE AND BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETINGS MEMBERS DISOWNED FOR MARRYING-OUT-1780-1860

Date	York Meeting			Bristol Meeting		
	Male	Female	As % of members	Male	Female	As % of members
1780-1800	5	13	14.8	25	20	8.1
1781-1820	2	8	4.9	24	24	9.7
1821-1840	4	5	4.9	23	28	8.6
1841-1860	7	8	6.8	12	1	2.5*

(*the high number of female resignations in these years suggests that these women may have been 'persuaded' to resign before marrying-out; consequently this figure is misleading).

TABLE 4 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETINGS MEMBERS DISOWNED FOR MARRYING-OUT -1780-1863²²

Date	Male	Female
1780-1800	5	13
1781-1820	2	8
1821-1840	4	5
1841-1853	7	8

These figures are dispiriting but it has to be recognised that the chances of meeting a marriage partner who was a Friend in these small Dales Meetings was limited and the figures reflect this; whereas the larger, more integrated Preparative Meeting at York gave Friends

of marriageable age greater opportunities for meeting suitable partners.

Although it was apparent that York Preparative Meeting was not disowning members at the same high rate as some of the other Meetings, this did not explain the increase in membership. A further question had to be considered – was York Preparative Meeting's increase in members due to natural causes? Did the Meeting have a higher fertility rate, lower death rate or younger marriage age than the general population. To compare fertility and death rates of Quakers in York it was necessary to undertake a series of statistical comparisons with other populations in the City. For various reasons the parishes of St Mary's Castlegate and St. Michael le Belfry were chosen.

These records made it possible to compare death rates, birth rates, literacy rates, age at marriage, socio-economic status etc. They showed that York Friends were more middle class than the inhabitants of both parishes chosen and more literate, and that Quaker men and women married later than men and women in both parishes, as well as nationally. It also showed that Quaker children under 14 had a higher mortality rate than children in both parishes but having survived 25 years could expect to live a long life. Most of all, from these statistics it was possible to show that a higher fertility rate, younger age at marriage or lower death rates were not the cause of the expansion of York Preparative Meeting.²³

Birth rates for the three main Meetings within Settle Monthly Meeting show Bentham Preparative Meeting's birth rate was slightly lower than either York or Lothersdale Preparative Meeting over the whole period. Whilst Lothersdale was higher in the period 1780-1800 than either York or Bentham it became very similar to York in the other three periods. Vann and Eversley's figures for all Friends show that both York and Settle Monthly Meeting were experiencing a higher birth rate than any of the cohorts in their study. Unfortunately birth and death records for Settle Meeting cover only the period 1837-53 which reduces their validity as a source.²⁴

**TABLE 5 BIRTH RATES - YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING
(as a percentage of membership)**

	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1860
York Preparative Meeting	22.6	23.5	13.7	14.2

**BIRTH RATES - BENTHAM AND LOTHERSDALE
PREPARATIVE MEETINGS (as a percentage of membership)²⁵**

Meeting	1780-1800	1801-1820	1821-1840	1841-1853*
Lothersdale (1780-1845)	38.8	21.5	13.1	2.0
Bentham (1780-1845)	21.7	11.5	8.9	0

*Settle Monthly Meeting was merged into Brighthouse Monthly Meeting in 1853

BIRTH RATES - ALL FRIENDS (children ever born)³⁶

	1750-1824	1824-1849
Southern English	4.3	3.7
Urban	3.5	3.4
Irish	6.1	5.6

Adult mortality rates for Lothersdale and Bentham are significantly different from York. They show that unlike York, both Meetings were seeing considerably lower death rates between the ages of 16-55 than York Preparative Meeting and a longer general life expectancy than within the Quaker population as a whole.²⁷

These findings are confirmed by Eversley's work on the southern rural Quakers, which concluded that once Friends had overcome the perils of childhood "they could expect to live to what was then considered a ripe old age" and even more surprisingly that "by and large the Quakers had the same sort of life expectation as English people of all classes more than a century later".²⁹ However, when compared with Quaker men in the countryside, men in the cities enjoyed an inferior life expectancy.³⁰

**TABLE 6 YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1860**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-74yrs. %	75+yrs. %
1776-1800	16.7	10.6	18.2	37.9	16.6
1801-1839	16.7	12.7	7.8	37.3	25.5
1839-1852	8.2	24.3	10.8	43.3	13.5
1853-1860	0	14.7	8.8	50.0	26.5

**BENTHAM AND LOTHERSDALE MEETINGS
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1853²⁸**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-74yrs. %	75+yrs. %
Bentham Meeting 1776-1800	2.5	5.1	2.5	12.8	15.3
1801-1839	2.5	2.5	7.6	17.9	25.6
1840-1852	0	0	0	0	2.5
Lothersdale Meeting 1776-1800	4.1	3.1	7.2	18.5	14.4
1801-1839	1.0	3.1	6.2	16.5	15.4
1840-1852	1.0	0	0	4.1	6.2

Although it is speculation until population statistics are collected from the parishes within Settle Monthly Meeting, it is likely that they will coincide with Edwin Chadwick's figures of 1841 which showed that a life-style which combined rural with middle-class was likely to lead to a longer life expectancy.³¹ Within the country Meetings, the majority of Friends lived past their 56th birthday and in Bentham 46% and Lothersdale 36% lived beyond the age of 75 and many died in their eighties and a few well into their nineties, one even reached 101.

Infant and child mortality rates are equally surprising. Out of a total of 142 live births in both Meetings there were only 19 infant or child deaths in the period.³² Whilst Eversley in his study of southern English Rural Quakers found that within these rural populations of Friends the mortality rate in children over the age of four was low, the figures for Settle remain exceptional. As Eversley says, these figures "do not fit into the historical experience of developed countries" and the implications of factors such as good diet, fresh air and exercise or inoculation cannot be calculated.³³ This high survival rate cannot be explained by either better or different childcare as Friends in both York Meeting and in the countryside followed similar child rearing practices. The only factor which may explain these differences is the healthier environment of the countryside where pollution and consequential health hazards may have been lower. Again this suggestion will only be confirmed by comparison with the general population of the parishes but in an age of high infant and

child mortality rates these figures are anomalous.

Both Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings record the births and deaths of Attenders in their birth and burial records, marking each 'not in membership'.³⁴ The infant and child mortality rates amongst those who were Attenders at the Meetings but were not in membership have been compared with Friends. In Lothersdale the infant and child mortality rates amongst Attenders children across all age groups are higher than Friends in the first period but slightly better in the later period. Whilst in Bentham there is no significant difference in the period 1776-1800, except that Attenders lost fewer children in the age group 1 to 4 years than did Friends, mortality rates were very similar between 1800-1853. The overall higher birth rate amongst Attenders outweighed the slightly higher death rate. The differences in the figures are so small that it has not been possible to form a clear distinction between Attenders and Members in relation to these statistics.

As Table 7 shows, the adult mortality rates amongst Attenders also show variations. Attenders did not enjoy the same longevity as Friends and in all periods and all ages the death rate amongst Attenders was higher and this is reflected in the lower numbers reaching the older age groups. They also experienced a higher death rate amongst their young people in the second period, a rate which is similar to those experienced by the urban Quakers of York. One factor which may influence these statistics is that Attenders were almost entirely drawn from the lower social groups and as Vann and Eversley have shown in Bristol, the poor had a considerably lower life expectancy than either the general population of the city or Friends.³⁵

**TABLE 7 LOTHERSDALE MEETING ATTENDERS
- ADULT MORTALITY RATES 1780-1853³⁶**

	16-25yrs. %	26-40yrs. %	41-55yrs. %	56-75yrs. %	75+yrs. %
1776-1800	4.4	9.1	4.4	3.3	2.2
1801-1839	15.5	13.3	5.5	15.5	6.6
1840-1852	3.3	1.1	5.5	5.5	1.1

Throughout this period, both Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings had a large number of Attenders - Lothersdale 88 and Bentham 37. By comparison York had no more than 15 over the whole period. Whilst some were members who had been disowned, there were many who

were attending the Meeting in preference to churches or chapels of other denominations. Attenders in both Bentham and Lothersdale were almost uniformly drawn from social Class IV - the partly skilled and Class V - the unskilled - reflecting the sources of employment available in these small mill towns for workers in these categories.³⁷ It has to be considered what the attractions of Quaker Meetings were, especially since in each village and often almost next door, there was a Methodist Chapel with its more enthusiastic and charismatic style of preaching. The lack of enthusiasm to take Attenders into membership can only be attributed to the potential drain these new members might have had on the limited resources already available for poor relief and the education for poor Friends' children in the poorer Meetings.

Several of the Meetings which formed Settle Monthly Meeting were poor Meetings with many members in receipt of poor relief.³⁸ The minutes repeatedly show Lothersdale and Bentham Meetings in particular having to ask the Monthly Meeting or Quarterly Meeting for additional funds for the relief of their poor.³⁹ These Meetings also struggled to find funds for the many collections made by the Monthly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting for causes such as Ackworth School, repairs to Sheffield Meeting House or the building of two Meeting houses in London.⁴⁰

An analysis of the social status of the membership of Settle Monthly Meeting show that although the social profile was different from York Preparative Meeting, it was not as different as might have been expected. The large number of manufacturers and merchants gave Settle Monthly Meeting a solid middle-class but whereas in York only 13.2% of its membership were in classes IV (partly skilled) and V (unskilled), in Settle Meeting 38.5% of the membership were in these lower social groups, reflecting the large number of weavers and agricultural workers in the Meeting. It is interesting to note that both Settle and York had a larger percentage of members in the Class I - professional and Class II - manufacturing/merchant occupations - than did Bristol and that Bristol also had a significantly larger artisan/skilled class (Class III) than either Meeting. When compared with the censuses of 1841 to 1861, all the Meetings had a larger proportion of their membership in Class II than the general population. These differences in social status in Settle Monthly Meeting may led to differences in Friends involvement within their communities.

TABLE 8

**YORK PREPARATIVE MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1860**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
13.5	41.0	32.1	9.5	3.7

**SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1853⁴¹**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
9.5	33.7	18.2	23.6	14.9

**BRISTOL MONTHLY MEETING MEMBERSHIP:
BY SOCIAL STATUS 1780-1860**

Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
7.6	21.0	63.7	5.5	2.2

**NATIONAL FIGURES SHOWING
SOCIAL STATUS FROM CENSUS 1841-1861⁴²**

	Class I %	Class II %	Class III %	Class IV %	Class V %
1841	9.40	12.30	20.00	44.10	14.20
1851	8.50	14.00	20.10	43.20	14.20
1861	9.10	13.80	21.00	41.80	14.30

Friends and their Neighbours

Friends living in the socially and politically tight-knit community of York had a history of a high level of involvement in their local neighbourhoods.⁴³ From the middle of the eighteenth Century Quakers had served in the parishes in York as Overseers of the Poor, as Constables, as tax collectors, as Auditors of various Church accounts and even in the case of one family, provided successive generations of Church Wardens. The parish was at the base of the political pyramid and gave the 'good and Godly' access to the regulation of their local community. For Friends the parish provided a forum for local activism and in many cases, it was often the only

arena within which they could have any effective influence. It was recognized from earliest times that it was 'the most substantial', 'the principal', 'the most discrete' inhabitants who formed the basis of parochial administration.⁴⁴ Good standing within their local community was of benefit to Friends, especially when it came to the collection of Tithes and Church rates.

The large geographic spread of Settle Monthly Meeting included nine different parishes and unlike York, a study of these parishes has shown that Friends in general contributed little to the governance of their local communities, although they did collaborate as 'good citizens'.⁴⁵ Surprisingly, in view of the acrimony surrounding the case of the 'Lothersdale Prisoners' in Carlton in Craven, Friends took an active part in governance of this parish. As in York Monthly Meeting, Lothersdale Meeting had several prominent families including the Conyers, the Wormalls, the Duckworths and the Stansfields and it appears that members of these families had been active in the parish throughout the eighteenth century. Carlton in Craven's Constables Accounts show that between 1784 and 1794 both William Conyers and William Wormall served as Constables. Until the arrival of George Markham as vicar in 1779, relationships between Friends and the Established Church in Carlton appear to have been tolerable but they broke down completely between 1794 and 1805 and during this period no Friends were involved in the management of the parish. Despite Markham continuing to collect Church Rates and Tithes, after 1805 relationships began to improve and in that year William Conyers' name reappeared on the Church Wardens Accounts as a member of the Vestry.⁴⁶ Between 1805 and 1819 David Duckworth, a farmer from Lothersdale, Daniel his brother, John Wormall, a grocer and Slater Stansfield, a woolstapler all served as Overseers of the Poor and as Auditors of the Poor Rate and in 1811 David Duckworth was responsible for undertaking the census.⁴⁷ Friends also served the Parish of Barnoldswick and John and Joseph King were members of the Vestry from 1816 to 1823, signing the Vestry minutes and the accounts.⁴⁸ Overall, these low levels of social and political involvement and influence, left Friends vulnerable in countryside parishes to the apparent more rigorous enforcement of distraint for Tithes and Church Rates. In York Preparative Meeting, relationships between individual clergy and Friends were generally harmonious and whilst Friends were pursued for Church Rates, frequently the collection of Church Rates was haphazard and apparently chasing a Quaker for a 2p rate was not worth the trouble when you had already collected £20; only five warrants for distraint of goods were issued between 1780 and 1855.⁴⁹

The same cannot be said for Friends in the countryside. The Great Book of Sufferings records all the Sufferings for Truths Sake i.e. the non-payment of Church Rates, Tithes and fines for refusal to enlist for military or naval service endured by Friends each year throughout all the Meetings in England and Wales.⁵⁰ This can be used to gauge the steadfastness of Friends with regard to the non-payment of tithes and to understand the effect that this non-payment had on their incomes and importantly, their relationship with their neighbours and with local parsons. An analysis of the figures indicates that in general, Friends living in rural areas were more likely to suffer higher and more persistent distraint of goods in lieu of tithe payment than were urban Friends. In almost all the periods, Settle Monthly Meeting Friends suffered higher distraint for Church Rates and for Tithe Rent than did Friends in York Preparative Meeting, although they almost always managed to avoid being fined for non-compliance with call-up for military service. Although my work on York Preparative Meeting did not include rural Friends, I did note that they suffered in a similar manner.

Figures for the Meetings of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting for 1834 (Appendix 1) show a similar pattern - rural Meetings suffering more than urban meetings. I should add a note of caution here. These figures may well be distorted by the size of the Meeting as well as internal cohesion and steadfastness to refuse to pay tithes. Analysis of sufferings for York Preparative and Settle Monthly Meetings over the period from 1780-1853 show that in all the last period, 1841-1853, York Preparative Meeting suffered a much lower level of distraint for non-payment of both Church Rates and Tithes than did Settle Monthly Meeting.⁵¹ The figures clearly reflect the more zealous pursuit of Quakers for non-payment by country parsons, as well as the collection of Tithe Rent by local landowners, such as the Duke of Devonshire who owned vast tracts of lands in and around Carlton in Craven and Lothersdale.

In Settle Meeting, there is hardly a year goes past without local parsons distraining Quakers for goods in lieu of tithes and they are quite willing to take court action against them, the cost of which incidentally fell on Friends.⁵² The Rector of Bentham, Thomas Butler regularly collected Great Tithes from Friends in his parish between 1780-1800, as did Henry Wilson and his successor Henry Wigglesworth, as Rectors of Slaidburn.⁵³ This kind of action very rarely occurred in York. In small rural communities pressure to conform and non-compliance with custom and regulation become emphasised and the lack of integration into most of these parishes meant that Friends were more susceptible to persecution. It also has

to be recognised that in many of these parishes there were large numbers of Friends and Attenders whose refusal to pay Tithes and Church Rates not only undermined the influence of the local parson but also reduced his income. Several parishes in this area - Kildwick, Carlton in Craven, Settle Slaidburn and Bentham all had several Quaker families and many Attenders.

In 1795 eight members of Lothersdale Meeting, which is in Carlton in Craven parish, were imprisoned in York Castle for non-payment of tithes on a warrant issued by Rev. Dr. George Markham.⁵⁴ Although his predecessor Richard Withnell had always collected his dues from Friends he had never taken them to Court, preferring to send the constable to collect the Tithe which meant that Friends although out of pocket, could continue to pursue their livelihoods.⁵⁵ By 1781 the total debt of the Lothersdale Friends was £297 6s 4d.⁵⁶ One prisoner, John Wilkinson died in prison and Friends considered that Markham was deliberately prolonging their imprisonment, Joseph Brown one of the prisoners commenting that he thought Markham "...manifest[ed] a spirit of persecution and bitterness...".⁵⁷ Whilst undoubtedly Markham's actions were both provocative and callous it is likely that as a non-resident Rector, he had little sense of the reality of life in a comparatively poor Dales village. His relentless pursuit of the collection of his dues and the subsequent court case caused an outcry. An article published in the *Analytical Review* in March 1796, condemned Markham's actions in no uncertain terms stating that in the future he hoped "the Laws...will no longer leave it to the power of imperious priests, to trample on the rights of humanity and not on the spoils of the good".⁵⁸ *The Monthly Review* and *The British Critic* also weighed in with support and both condemned Markham's actions, as did a correspondent to *The Gentleman's Magazine* who commented that "It could never be the principle of the Church of England to persecute" but acknowledged that because the 'offenders' were Quakers, they had "excited [more] notice" than "innumerable other farmers" who also suffered from distraint for Tithes.⁵⁹ Markham was not only chasing Quakers, he was also pursuing others through the Ecclesiastical Courts for tithes, including disputes which appear to have had more to do with custom than with non-payment of the Tithe itself.⁶⁰ Ultimately, the prisoners were released in 1797 under Clause 60 of the Insolvent Debtors Act of 1796. Ironically, this clause ordered that the Quakers' property was to be sold to pay their debts and then paid to Markham but that the property was then to be re-conveyed or assigned back to the prisoners.

Being a Member of the Society of Friends in the Countryside

The agricultural, largely upland nature of the landscape which comprised Settle Monthly Meeting meant that Friends frequently lived isolated lives and inevitably suffered from a sense of dislocation. This was exacerbated by the small size and isolation of some Meetings, resulting in a lack of cohesion and a lack of a sense of belonging to the larger Monthly and Quarterly Meeting body. At Settle Women's Monthly Meeting in August 1784 it was noted that "...the very few Friends that frequently attend this meeting, evince the great shortness of the attendance of our Monthly Meeting which ought to be considered a branch of our duty as well as those for worship".⁶¹ In these small Meetings the responsibilities and duties of the Meeting fell on a very few shoulders and many of them struggled to send representatives to the Monthly Meetings. Between January 1793 and March 1795, there were no representatives at all from Rilstone Meeting and over the same period Newton in Bowland (Bolland) Meeting only sent three individual woman to the Women's Monthly Meeting on a regular basis, Alice Shaw being by far the most frequent attender. In the winter even the larger Meeting at Lothersdale sometimes failed to send representatives to Monthly Meeting.⁶² Quarterly Meeting frequently minuted the failure of appointed representatives to attend. This failure to attend resulted in the authority of the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting being diminished and control and discipline being reduced, as Friends became more isolated and removed from the organisation and benefits of the Society. In 1784 a Quarterly Meeting Committee was formed to ensure that 'weighty' Friends visited Rilstone, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) and Airton to oversee the well-being and discipline of the membership and over the next sixty years numerous members of this Committee visited every three months offering spiritual support and pastoral care.⁶³

Women's Monthly Meeting reported on the "desolate state" of Airton Meeting "from which we have had no later accounts as a Body" and it was requested that "they may come under the sisterly Notice of Friends in this".⁶⁴ In October, the Meeting sent Mary Birkbeck to Airton and having visited on First Day she reported on the dismal state of the Meeting:

only two men and two women in membership, two of these through indisposition and infirmity, together with the distance of 10 miles do not attend, that it appears to be sometimes dropped on 1st days, and also on weekdays, at others, there are several

who are not Members who attend it particularly on 1st days, they appear very low.⁶⁵

Sustaining a Meeting with two people was unlikely to be either spiritually uplifting or to encourage steadfastness to maintain the Quaker lifestyle. Over the next few years Airton continued to be watched over and by August 1800 the Meeting was under consideration for closure but it was decided that it should continue and "Friends latterly appointed [were] to visit them, occasionally to sit with them, also that any other Friends who feel their minds drawn towards that Meeting, may join them".⁶⁶ The Meeting survived and in February 1822 a visit found the Meeting to be "satisfactorily kept up" but to continue "under the care of Friends".⁶⁷

Another Meeting which had problems maintaining its membership was Newton Bowland (Bolland). The Women's Meeting continually failed to send representatives to Monthly Meeting, especially in winter but more usually due to a lack of suitable representatives. Ultimately in December 1796, Anne Huddleston reported that there was now no Women's Meeting at Bolland and therefore, there would be no representatives to Monthly Meeting.⁶⁸ The loss of the women's meeting meant that Bolland now had no representation at either the Women's Monthly Meeting or at the Women's Quarterly Meeting and therefore no influence over decisions or ability to raise awareness of problems existing within their own Meeting. It was inevitable that a Meeting was one of the most geographically isolated within the compass of Settle Monthly Meeting increasingly became dislocated from the main body of the Meeting.

Failure to attend Meeting for worship and 'dullness' was also a frequent problem in these Meetings and, some such as Rilstone Meeting did not have a Minister for considerable periods.⁶⁹ To augment the spiritual welfare of the Meetings, visits from a succession of ministering Friends gave support and encouragement to the Meetings and to the families within the Meeting.⁷⁰ Many of these visiting Ministers were from the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting but many others were from further afield, including Sarah Shackleton from Ireland; Phebe Speakman and Sarah Talbot from America; Elizabeth Coggleshaw from Newport, Rhode Island in December, 1800 and Sarah Abbott and Sarah Fox from Plymouth in 1814.⁷¹

By the beginning of the nineteenth Century Settle Monthly Meeting was increasingly suffering from a decline in its membership and the membership figures for the period 1813 to 1837, show a steady decline in the number of members. At the beginning of the period the

**TABLE 9 SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING:
REMOVALS IN/OUT 1813-1837**

	Males in	Males deceased	Males out	Females in	Females deceased	Females out	Gain/ shortfall
1813- 1820	10	21	22	9	15	20	-59
1821- 1830	16	6	16	25	10	17	-8
1831- 1837	13	10	17	22	13	13	-18

Meeting had 73 male members and 69 females giving an overall total of 142 members. By the end of the period 1837, there were only 84 members over the whole Meeting despite its relative success in attracting a steady flow of new members. This decline in overall membership was to have a serious effect, especially on smaller Meetings.

In July 1809, Rilstone Meeting was declared inoperative and Quarterly Meeting agreed to dispose of the Meeting House and burial ground.⁷³ In 1822, Newton in Bowland (Bolland) Meeting was discontinued when the only family moved out of the village and despite two new families moving into the Meeting in 1823, the Monthly Meeting refused permission for the Meeting House to be reopened and Friends were advised to hold their Meeting in the School House.⁷⁴ Lack of members and members moving away from a Meeting could have a considerable impact on the ability of the Meeting to function and even the comparatively large Meeting at Settle complained in 1814 that "In consequence of the removal of several from this monthly meeting, the office of Clerk and Overseer is left vacant".⁷⁵ Over the next twenty Years Quarterly Meeting continued to express concern for the state of Settle Monthly Meeting and members of the Quarterly Meeting Committee continued to visit the Meetings for Worship and families within the remaining Meetings. But despite their efforts these Meetings continued to shrink and in 1831 Settle Women Friends Preparative Meeting was amalgamated with the Men's Preparative Meeting due to the lack of attendance by women members.⁷⁶

Returning briefly to York Preparative Meeting - the main statistical reason for the expansion of York Preparative Meeting was its ability to attract new members. Many Friends moved in and out of the Meeting several times. This was especially true of the lower echelons

of the Society, in particular servants. There were several unique factors within York Preparative Meeting which attracted members from other Meetings. The Retreat, opened in 1796, attracted not only patients but also staff and provided employment for servants, nurses, doctors and general assistants. Trinity Lane School was opened in 1785, and although it was mainly staffed by existing members of York Preparative Meeting, extra servants were employed by Esther Tuke to help with its management. Castlegate, later the Mount School provided employment for at least fifteen female servants and assistants between 1832 and 1860 and Bootham School, established in 1823 was a continual source of employment for a succession of Quaker male teaching assistants and several Headmasters. The increased prosperity of members also ensured a steady growth in the number of servants employed within Quaker homes and a steady increase in shop assistants, apprentices and other employees in their businesses. Friends always tried to employ Friends and many young men from wealthy Quaker families for example, Richard Barrow Cadbury, were sent to York as apprentices.⁷⁷ By far the most fluid sector of the Quaker population in York Preparative Meeting were shop assistants, servants and apprentices and they comprised the largest number of Removals. Families and individuals account for only a small percentage of these total Removals. In contrast, a preliminary analysis of Removals into and out of Settle Monthly Meeting, shows that families were the largest groups on the move whereas apprentices and servants accounted for a smaller percentage. This difference reflects the very different social makeup of the Monthly Meeting and reveals the depleted economic prosperity of its membership.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to show how different the life experience of Friends living in the countryside of the Yorkshire Dales was to the urban lifestyle of Friends in York. Despite the efforts of their Monthly Meeting and the Quarterly Meeting, country Quakers were likely to be less integrated into the communities within which they lived, suffered from dislocation within the organisation of the Society of Friends and generally, were disadvantaged by the isolation created by the dispersed nature of the Meetings and the geography and topography of the area in general. This is not to say that these Meetings were totally devoid of spirituality or cohesion but that the maintenance of Meetings was difficult and consequently it became more of a challenge to retain existing members and to attract new members. The very nature of the urban environment of the City of

York created for Friends a lifestyle which encouraged integration within their neighbourhood communities and created bonds within the Meeting, which were enhanced by the close proximity of Friends to each other. At the same time, the schools, the Retreat and Friends' increasing prosperity positively encouraged the migration of new members into the Meeting in search of work.

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28 May 2006.*

**APPENDIX 1 YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING - SUFFERINGS FOR CHURCH RATES, TITHES
AND MILITARY/NAVY - 1834**

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	Monthly Meeting			Tithe in Kind			Church Rates			Tithe Rent			Total		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Brighouse	1	6	0	64	17	3	33	7	6	66	3	3			
Balby	18	0	0	57	8	11	33	7	6	108	16	5			
Pontefract	28	0	0	33	3	5	45	9	1	106	12	6			
Pickering				33	11	10				33	11	10			
Settle	3	7	0	27	18	0				31	5	0			
Hull				22	8	3				22	8	3			
Guisborough	20	18	0	105	7	6				171	5	6			
Knaresborough	1	0	0	8	7	1				9	7	1			
York		10	0	32	7	11	7	10	9	40	8	8			

TOWN AND COUNTRY

Compiled from: *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 39 and 42, 1832-1848, Friends House Library.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars & Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324* (Penguin, 1894)
- 2 S. Wright, *Friends in York: The Dynamics of Quaker Revival 1780-1860* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995).
- 3 W.J. Allinson, (ed) *Memorials of Rebecca Jones* (Gilpin, London, 2nd ed. 1848), pp.85-86.
- 4 Morris Birkbeck, a farmer from Settle Monthly Meeting, became the first man in England to raise and breed merino sheep. He left Settle Meeting in August 1821 and went to New York.
- 5 Friends accounted for 14% of flax spinners, 15% of the oil merchants and dealers and 19% of the linen manufacturers in the county. D.H. Pratt *English Quakers and the First Industrial Revolution: A Study of the Quaker Community in Four Industrial Counties: Lancashire, Yorkshire, Warwickshire and Gloucester 1750-1830* (Garland, 1985), p.105. G. Ingle *Yorkshire Cotton: The Yorkshire Cotton Industry, 1780-1835* (Carnegie, 1997).
- 6 Linton Mill had originally, like many mills, been a corn mill but in 1786 it was for sale and the advertisement suggested that "Linton Mill is the most advantageous situation for a cotton mill, being supplied with water by the great river Wharfe...and within half a mile of the several populous towns and villages of Grassington, Threshfield, Linton, etc. where from the ring of a bell upwards of three hundred children may be collected in less than half an hour". The Birkbecks installed Arkwright spinning frames in their mills and the young workers (children) were sent to Winstanley's mill in Lancashire to be trained. The early machinery was difficult to use and produced low quality yarn but the children were also blamed for some of the problems. Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*, p.7; 58 & 68.
- 7 For many weaving was an additional source of income. John King the schoolmaster at the Friends School in Lothersdale, taught for 6 or 7 hours and then put in six or seven hours weaving at home. E. Delater, Schools. In: K. Wilson *The History of Lothersdale* (The Parish Council of Lothersdale, 1972), p.202.
- 8 D.T. Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry 1770-1835: A Study of Fixed Capital Formation* (Edington, 1975.)
- 9 Boundaries were redrawn again in 1924 and Settle Monthly Meeting was reinstated but now included Keighley Meeting.
- 10 The lack of formal membership statistics make it impossible to know exactly how many members there were in each meeting. This relates especially to Settle Monthly Meeting, consequently these figures have been extracted from a range of records including birth, death, marriage records and Removals lists and are approximate.
- 11 C. Tylor, (ed) *Memoir and Diary of John Yeardley* (London, 1859), p. 37

- ¹² Bentham Mill was built by William, John & Joseph Birkbeck (Quaker bankers of Settle) as a cotton mill. In 1799 their tenants were Thomas Danson & Co. (Thomas Danson was also a Friend) who employed 52 people at the mill, including several Friends and Attenders as spinners. It was converted sometime after 1804 to a flax spinning mill. Charles Parker appears to have taken the mill over in January 1813 and may have been in partnership with two other Friends, Issac Waithman and Jonathan Stordy whose Certificates of Removal give their occupations as linen manufacturers. They brought with them several employees, including two flax dressers and Anthony Thistlethwaite, spinning master and his son John, warehouseman. Anthony Thistlethwaite and his son moved to Stockton Meeting in November 1818. Later the mill traded as the Bentham Joint Stock Flax Mills, the partners included Joseph Rowntree of York, Joseph Dymond of Bradford and John Wilson of Thornton, nr. Skipton. His brother, Richard was apprenticed to Joseph Rowntree in November 1824. The mill existed until sometime after 1911, since when it has been demolished. Constructed from Bentham Meeting Register of births, deaths & marriages, 1625-1835, D. 7; Settle Monthly Meeting List of members, 1813-37, D.2. Friends' Carlton Hill Collection, held at University of Leeds, Brotherton Library (hereafter ULBL). Ingle, *Yorkshire Cotton*. p.205. The Birkbecks also appear to have owned Low Mill, Addingham in 1809 when it was converted from a worsted mill to a flax mill. See: Jenkins, *The West Riding Wool Textile Industry*, p.222.
- ¹³ J Tylor, (ed) *Memoir and Diary of John Yeardley*, pp.37-38.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.45-46.
- ¹⁵ J.S. Rowntree, *Quakerism Past and Present*, (London, 1859).
- ¹⁶ These statistics have been calculated using Rowntree's figures.
- ¹⁷ Wright, *Friends in York*, p.125.
- ¹⁸ Full membership figures were not kept in Yorkshire until 1813 and those for Settle only exist in any reliable form from 1813-1837.
- ¹⁹ A. Raistrick, The Society of Friends. In: K. Wilson, *The History of Lothersdale*, p.78-79. My analysis of the Minutes of the Meetings has been unable to confirm this statement. I only found 26 admissions throughout the Monthly Meeting but in some cases the records are incomplete.
- ²⁰ From July 1837 a couple could be married in specially designated buildings or in their local registry office. Friends abandoned the marriage rule in 1860.
- ²¹ Wright, *Friends in York*, p.128. Settle Women's Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4; Settle Men's Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1767-1787, H.6; 1809-1834, SE1; Letters of Contrition, SE9/1-75; Letters of Disownment, SE8/1-129, All Carlton Hill Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (hereafter ULBL). Figures for Settle are approximate due to problems with reconstruction of accurate membership figures.

- ²² Constructed from Settle Monthly Meeting Women's Meeting Book 1793-1822; SE4; SE5, SE6; Settle Monthly Meeting Men's Minute Book 1809-1834, SE1; Letters of Contrition, SE8/1-125; SE9/1-175, (ULBL).
- ²³ Wright, *Friends in York*, pp.114-117.
- ²⁴ Bentham Preparative Meeting, Register of births, deaths & marriages 1652-1835, D7; Slaterforth & Lothersdale Preparative Meeting, book of births and burials 1776-1826, D14; Lothersdale Preparative Meeting, birth & burial notes, 1825-69, SE18, (ULBL).
- ²⁵ It has only been possible to approximate membership figures for these periods, therefore the figures may be misleading.
- ²⁶ R.T. Vann & D. Eversley, *Friends in life and death: The British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition*, (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.173.
- ²⁷ Ibid. p.228.
- ²⁸ Records for both Meetings cease when Settle Monthly Meeting was amalgamated into Brighthouse Monthly Meeting in 1853.
- ²⁹ D.E.C. Eversley, The Demography of the Irish Quakers, 1650-1850. In: J.M. Goldstrom and L.A. Clarkson, (eds.), *Irish Population, Economy and Society, Essays in honour of the late K.H. Connell*. (Oxford, 1981), pp.84-85. SRUR Quakers comprised the Quaker Meetings sampled by Eversley: Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Oxford Quarterly Meetings
- ³⁰ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p.231-232.
- ³¹ E. Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1997* (Arnold, 2nd edition, 1997), p.168-169.
- ³² It is unlikely but not impossible that these low figures are as a result of under recording.
- ³³ Eversley, *The Demography of the Irish Quakers*, p.81.
- ³⁴ Raistrick suggests that in both Meetings it was the custom to note those buried in the burial ground as Attenders, as most were Friends who had either left or had been disowned by the Meeting. Similarly in the births, when at least one parent still attended Meeting. Raistrick, *The Society of Friends*. In: Wilson *The History of Lothersdale* pp.78-79.
- ³⁵ Vann & Eversley, *Friends in life and death*, p.237.
- ³⁶ Salterforth & Lothersdale Book of Births & Burials 1776-1826, D.14; 1825-1869, SE18, (ULBL). The lack of age at death for many Bentham Meeting Attenders made it impossible to construct meaningful statistics.
- ³⁷ For a summary of these classifications, see: Royle, *Modern Britain*, p.168.
- ³⁸ In 1794 Bentham Meeting was supporting 24 members from its poor relief funds in the sum of £14. 00 per month. Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, entry for 1794. H.18, (ULBL).

- ³⁹ Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H.18; Lothersdale Preparative Meeting Minutes, SE13, (ULBL). These Meetings frequently sent very small amounts to Monthly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting for the poor. E.g. Bentham in March 1789 sent 6/6d to Quarterly Meeting and 7/6d to the poor of Monthly Meeting.
- ⁴⁰ Minute dated 11/1788 notes that Bentham had been unable to raise funds for Ackworth School and in December 1790, the collection for the two London Meeting Houses yielded £2. 2/-. Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H.18, (ULBL).
- ⁴¹ Settle Monthly Meeting was absorbed by Brighthouse Monthly Meeting in 1853.
- ⁴² Source: Banks, quoted in Royle, *Modern Britain*, p.89.
- ⁴³ See D.A. Scott, *Dissent, Politics and Quakerism in York 1640-1700*. Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of York 1990.
- ⁴⁴ W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge, 1969) p.18.
- ⁴⁵ In November 1743 several Friends in Giggleswick Parish, including William Birkbeck, Sarah Maud, John Tatham and John Shackleton, had agreed to provide monies to help pursue criminals through the courts. In the Dales members of the vestry were often elected on the basis of property ownership. It was inevitable that Friends were elected as Church Wardens, few chose to serve and others paid another parishioner to undertake their service. In Giggleswick Parish which included Settle, John Birkbeck was elected in 1786 and Phoebe Hodgson (a widow) in 1794. Both paid for another to do their service. Record of Churchwardens in Giggleswick 1638-1926, PR/GGW/2/1, North Yorkshire County Records Office (hereafter NYCRO). Parish records consulted were Carlton in Craven, Giggleswick (included Settle), Kildwick, Gargrave, Thornton in Craven, Barnoldswick, Bentham, Slaidburn and Bolton by Bowland.
- ⁴⁶ William Conyers's first wife Susannah died in November 1810. In October 1811, he was disowned for marriage out and fornication. He had applied to Lothersdale Meeting to marry Elizabeth Binns but Friends objected to the marriage because she was 19 and he was 63 and they were known to be co-habiting. They married in the Church of England and after his marriage he continued to be a regular member of the Vestry until 1817. Finally in May 1825 Elizabeth and William were readmitted to Lothersdale Meeting.
- ⁴⁷ Carlton in Craven, Overseers of the Poor, 1751-1820, BDP18/114, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (hereafter WYAS); Carlton in Craven, Constables Accounts, 1737-1812, BDP18/103 (WYAS); Census Return for the Parish of Carlton, 27th 5th mo.(called May) 1811, BDP88/149(WYAS).
- ⁴⁸ Barnoldswick Church Wardens Accounts 1775-1871. PR34440/4/2/1, Lancashire Records Office (hereafter LRO). John King was member of the vestry of the parish of Salterforth which was part of Barnoldswick parish.
- ⁴⁹ In York Friends frequently enabled the Constable to collect their Church Rate by taking money from the till or by turning a 'blind eye' whilst he collected

appropriately valued goods. This effectively allowed Friends to comply with the Law whilst claiming they were true to their Tithe Testimony.

- ⁵⁰ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 39 and 42, 1832-1848, Friends House Library (hereafter FHL).
- ⁵¹ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols: 28,29,36,37,38,39,40,41,42 and 43, 1780-1848, (FHL).
- ⁵² Tithes consisted of two types; Great Tithes which were the inalienable right of a Rector and included corn, grain, barley, lambs, calves and wool and Small Tithes which Vicars who were appointed by Rectors were allowed (usually assessed at 1/10 of a parishioner's income) which included honey, eggs, hay, milk, poultry, garden produce, bees etc. The value between the Rector's tithe and the Vicar's tithe was considerable; the major part frequently going to an absentee Rector.
- ⁵³ *The Great Book of Sufferings*, Vols. 28 & 29. Thomas Butler was regularly collecting oats, barley, wheat, wool, lambs, potatoes, oatmeal, cheese & bacon. The Rectors of Slaidburn were entitled to Great Tithes which included wheat, barley, oats, and other grains arising on Raingill Farm, in the township of Easington. Some Rectors were holders of land which formed part of their Living. Several Rectors in the Dales collected wool which was by far the most valuable of the items collected. G. Lawton, *Collections relative to Churches & Chapels within the Diocese of York and Ripon* (London & York, 1842), p.268-9.
- ⁵⁴ Rev. Dr. George Markham, was made a Deacon by the Bishop of Oxford, 11th June 1775 and Priest, 14th June 1778; died in 1816. He became the incumbent at Carlton in Craven 27th November, 1779 and it appears that Carlton was his first Living. He was also Rector at Tattershall, Cheshire from 1780. He was an absentee Rector visiting Carlton infrequently, residing at Christ Church, Oxford. Christ Church, Oxford was the rector and lay impropiator of the Great Tithes. As incumbent, he appointed several Curates to look after the Parish. Markham's Tithes included wool, lambs & calves and he was also entitled to milk from Carlton Hall Farm.. G. Lawton, *Collections*, p.252.
- ⁵⁵ Raistrick, *The Society of Friends*, p83.
- ⁵⁶ Approximately £17,000 in 2006.
- ⁵⁷ Letter from Joseph Browne to Margaret Marriot from York Castle, dated 12. 12. 1795, portfolio 19:105, Lothersdale Prisoners, (FHL).
- ⁵⁸ Lothersdale Prisoners Committee Book, Yorkshire Friends Archive, MFR 166, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter BIHR). Copies of these articles are included in the Minute Book.
- ⁵⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 67, part I, 1797, p.51.
- ⁶⁰ Church Court Cause Papers, CPI 2323, (BIHR). Several cases involved non-payment or disputed payment of Tithes.

- ⁶¹ Settle Womens Monthly Meeting Minute Book, 1771-92, SE3, entry for August 1784. (ULBL).
- ⁶² Monthly Meeting was usually held in Settle or Lothersdale on a rotational basis but in June each year they met at High Bentham.
- ⁶³ Visitors included Esther and William Tuke, David Priestman, John Hoyland, Benjamin North, William Sowrby, Ann Tuke, James Backhouse, Benjamin Seebohm, Joseph Priestman, John Rowntree, Samuel Tuke and many others.
- ⁶⁴ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entry for July 1796. (ULBL).
- ⁶⁵ Ibid, entry for November 1797.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, entry, for August 1800.
- ⁶⁷ Settle Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1809-1834, SE1, entry for February 1822, (ULBL).
- ⁶⁸ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entry for December 1796, (ULBL). Very occasionally these smaller Meetings might send a letter to the Monthly Meeting which was read out and noted in the minutes.
- ⁶⁹ There was no Minister between 1711 and 1802 and the Meeting relied solely on visiting Ministers.
- ⁷⁰ Settle Monthly Meeting did not entirely lack Ministers but compared with the urban Meetings within the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting a few were spread thinly across a large geographic area and in the whole period there were 5 male and 9 female Ministers. In the same period in York there were 10 male and 21 female Ministers. Helen Plant has shown that the distribution of Ministers across Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting was extremely uneven; urban Meetings have a far higher number of Ministers. H. Plant, *Patterns and Practices of Women's Leadership in the Yorkshire Quarterly Community 1760-1820. Quaker Studies*, 10/2 (2006), pp.223-242.
- ⁷¹ S.W.M.M. Minute Book, 1793-1822, SE4, entries for April 1798 to November 1814. Salterforth & Lothersdale Preparative Meeting Minute Book, 1779-1826, SE13, entries for October 1794 to 1791; Bentham Preparative Meeting Minutes, 1782-1811, H 18, entries for 1791-1806. All at (ULBL).
- ⁷² Settle Monthly Meeting List of members 1813-1837 (ULBL). Reliable membership figures only exist for this short period.
- ⁷³ Rilstone had sent no representatives to the Monthly Meeting for several years prior to this. The Meeting House was sold in September 1813 for £30 and the money invested in improving Settle Meeting House. Settle Monthly Meeting Minute Book 1809-1834, entry for 7/1809. SE1, (ULBL).
- ⁷⁴ Newton in Bowland School was established under the will of John Brabbin in 1767. He built the school and a house for the schoolmaster. It was run by Trustees who all had to be Friends, as did the schoolmaster who was appointed by the Monthly Meeting. The school provided an education for Friend's children but also for six poor children who were to be taught Latin, English and

Arithmetic for free. At times it appears that the only pupils came from the village rather than being Friends.

- ⁷⁵ S.W.M.M. Minute book 1793-1822, Carlton Hill Collection, SE4, entry for October 1814. (ULBL).
- ⁷⁶ Settle Monthly Meeting Book 1809-1834, SE1, entry for 12/1831 (ULBR).
- ⁷⁷ Between 1842 and 1859 Joseph Rowntree employed 51 shop-assistants and apprentices. Wright, *Friends in York*, p.129.