

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Our Quotation—10

“Peace will be your companion, and success will crown your labours. May the SUCCESS as well as the PEACE be kept in view, for, if we judge from what some ministers say, their object in preaching and other religious services appears to be almost exclusively to relieve their own minds, as if with very little view towards the benefit that the visited ought to reap thereby.”

JAMES MOTT, of New York, to Hannah Field, then on a religious visit in Europe, 1817, printed in Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*, ix. 364.

Among articles in preparation for future issues are :

Hands Across the Sea, or Correspondence between Carletons in Ireland and America, with copious notes.

Some Account of the Society of Friends in St. Austell, Cornwall.

The Brewin Brothers of Cirencester.

The Usshers of Co. Waterford.

Joseph Sams, Schoolmaster and Antiquarian Book-seller.

Priscilla Green's Visit to Lord Mount Edgcombe.

Letters from Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, to Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, 1772-1776, descriptive of the youthful and gay life of prosperous Friends.

Love-making in Ireland. A letter from James Carroll in 1825.

The First Publishers of Truth

A STUDY¹

WE are accustomed to think of the First Publishers of Truth virtually in terms of their missionary service only—as Seekers who became Finders, as men called to and sustained in great enterprises by the Divine Spirit, as those who spread the Truth through severe but joyfully accepted suffering.

In some instances the daily lives of these Publishers—their occupations, their financial resources, and the extent to which they were dependent upon the contributions of others whilst travelling or in prison—have been presented to readers in great detail; but, speaking generally, no such study has yet been made of this heroic band of missionaries. It is the object of this essay to indicate some of the material likely to be of help to the future historian. For this purpose the writer has used information placed at his disposal by the Librarians at Devonshire House, by individual Friends with a first-hand knowledge of farms once occupied by some of these Friends, and the published writings of Quaker and other historians.²

It is not possible to decide finally either the exact number or the personnel of the first Publishers of Truth, but we can distinguish fairly accurately between those itinerating Friends with the gift of ministry living in the North West of England whose gospel service had begun by the Spring of 1654,³ and the main body of Publishers whose names and work are described in that invaluable

¹ Being portions of the presidential address given to the Friends' Historical Society in 1921.

² *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, 1920 (Penney); *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 1919 (Clark); *Seventeenth Century Life in a Country Parish*, 1919 (Trotter); and *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, are specially helpful books in this connection.

³ *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912 (Braithwaite), 132. *Camb. Journal*, i., 141.

record *The First Publishers of Truth*.⁴ The first named, from sixty to seventy in number, will be referred to here as the Seventy. The whole body of Publishers, amounting to two hundred and eleven persons (one hundred and seventy-eight men and thirty-three women), I shall speak of as the Publishers.⁵

A list of the Seventy follows, giving the chief page of reference in *F.P.T.*, with the place of residence and the occupation so far as discoverable (any subsidiary occupation being given in brackets).

The questionnaire of the Yearly Meeting contained a direction that the trade should be recorded, but this information was not always supplied.⁶

THE SEVENTY. ⁷				<i>F.P.T.</i>]
Airey, Thomas	..	Yeoman (Husbandman)	.. Birkfield	.. 266
Aldam, Thomas	..	Yeoman	.. Warmsworth	.. 320
Atkinson, Christopher Kendal	250
Audland, Ann	..	Wife of Shopkeeper	Preston Patrick	.. 244
Audland, John	..	Linen Draper (Farmer)	Preston Patrick	.. 254
Banks, John	..	Glove Maker (Fell-monger & Husbandman)		486
Bateman, Miles	..	Husbandman	.. Underbarrow	.. 245
Benson, Dorothy	..	Wife of Yeoman	.. Sedbergh	.. 251
Benson, Gervase	..	Yeoman (Husbandman)	.. Sedbergh	.. 251
Bewley, George	..	Yeoman (Gentleman)	Haltcliffe Hall	.. 48
Birkett, Miles	..	Miller	.. Underbarrow	.. 265-7
Blaykling, Anne	..	Sister of Yeoman	.. Drawwell	.. 254
Blaykling, John	..	Yeoman (Husbandman)	Drawwell	.. 250
Braithwaite, John	..	Shorthand Writer	.. Newton-in-Cartmel	222
Briggs, Thomas	..	Husbandman	.. Newton, Cheshire	222
Burnyeat, John	..	Husbandman	.. Crabtree Beck	.. 38
Burrough, Edward	..		Underbarrow	159,263

⁴ "The First Publishers of Truth," being Early Records (now first printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales. Edited by Norman Penney, with Introduction by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, 1907, 410 pages.

⁵ According to list in *F.P.T.* In 1658, George Taylor of Kendal mentioned seventy-three Publishers (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, 155).

⁶ See Preface to *F.P.T.*

⁷ This list was discussed with the late W. C. Braithwaite, who, whilst approving generally, said: "There must be a considerable doubtful margin." The late John Handley, of Sedbergh, supplied the writer with a list of seventy-four Friends, used in the preparation of the present list.

Camm, John	..	Yeoman	..	Preston Patrick	256
		(Husbandman)			
Camm, Mabel	..	Wife of Yeoman	..	Preston Patrick	254
Caton, William	..	Secretary	..	Swarthmoor Hall	138
Clayton, Richard	..	Yeoman	..	Gleaston-in-Furness	97
Dewsbury, William	..	Shepherd (Clothier)		Allerthorpe	.. 197
Farnsworth, Richard		Yeoman (Gentleman)		Tickhill	.. 274
Fell, Leonard	..	Husbandman	..	Baycliff	.. 30
Fox, George	..	Shoemaker (Shepherd)		Drayton	241-251
Goodaire, Thomas	..	Yeoman (Gentleman)		Selby	.. 239
Halhead, Miles	..	Husbandman	..	Underbarrow	.. 263
Harrison, George	..	Gentleman	..	Sedbergh	.. 250
Holmes, Thomas	..	Weaver	..	Kendal	.. 257
Howgill, Francis	..	Tailor (Farmer)	..	Grayrigg	.. 265
Howgill, Mary	..	Sister of Tailor	..	Grayrigg	.. 263
Hubbersty, Miles	..	Husbandman	..	Underbarrow	.. 263
Hubbersty, Stephen	..	Husbandman	..	Underbarrow	.. 263
Hubberthorne, Richard		Yeoman (Soldier)	..	Yealand Redmayne	160
Kilham, Thomas	..	Gentleman	..	Balby	.. 120
Lancaster, James	..	Husbandman	..	Walney Isle	.. 33
Lawson, John	..	Shopkeeper	..	Lancaster	.. 234
Lawson, Thomas	..	Gentleman (School- master)			234
Leavens, Elizabeth		" Lower ranke "			260
(who married Thomas Holmes)					
Nayler, James	..	Husbandman (Soldier)		Ardsley	.. 10
Parker, Alexander	..	Butcher	..	Bolton Forest	.. 227
Patrickson, Anthony				Cumberland	.. 33
Pearson, Anthony	..	Gentleman	..	Rampshaw Hall	.. 88
Pinder, Richard	..			Wath	.. 272
Rawlinson, Thomas	..	Gentleman	..	Graythwaite	.. 247
Rigge, Ambrose	..	Schoolmaster	..	Grayrigg	.. 265
Robertson, Thomas	..	Yeoman	..	Grayrigg	.. 266
Robinson, Richard	..	Yeoman	..	Countersett	.. 311
Salthouse, Thomas	..	Husbandman	..	Dragglebeck	.. 28
Scaife, John	..	Day-Labourer	..	Hutton	.. 269
Simpson, William	..	Husbandman	..	Sunbricke	.. 235
Slee, John	..	Husbandman	..	Mosedale	.. 51
Stacey, Thomas	..	Yeoman	..	Cinder Hill	.. 5
Story, John	..	Husbandman	..	Preston Patrick	.. 256
Stubbs, John	..	Husbandman (School- master & Soldier)			.. 137-8
Stubbs, Thomas	..	Soldier	..	Pardshaw	.. 39
Taylor, Christopher		Schoolmaster	..	Carlton	.. 291
Taylor, Thomas	..	Schoolmaster (Bene- ficed Minister)		Carlton	.. 214
Tickell, Hugh	..	Yeoman (Gentleman)		Portinscale	.. 45
Waugh, Dorothy	..	Servant	..	Preston Patrick	.. 258
Waugh, Jane	..	Servant	..	Preston Patrick	.. 255
Whitehead, George	..	Schoolmaster (Grocer)		Orton	.. 252
Whitehead, John	..	Soldier	..	Holderness	.. 297
Widders, Robert	..	Husbandman	..	Over Kellett	.. 34-36
Wilkinson, John	..	Husbandman	..	Preston Patrick	.. 269

Of the Seventy (actually sixty-five Friends) fifty-seven were men and eight women. Of these men Friends the occupations of fifty-three are fairly clear, as follows :

Gentlemen	5
Yeomen (or Statesmen)	14
Husbandmen	16
Wage Earners	2
Millers	1
Craftsmen	4
Shopkeepers	3
Schoolmasters	4
Soldiers	2
Other Professional Men	2
Not ascertained	4
	—
	57
	—

Thus, it will be seen that of the men members of the Seventy band, thirty-eight were closely connected with agriculture, seven with trade, and eight with the professions. Of the two soldiers no other occupation is recorded.

Of the eight women two were wives of yeomen and one a sister ; one wife of a shopkeeper ; one the sister of a craftsman ; two serving maids (at Camsgill) ; and one is described as of “ the lower ranke.”

Taking into account women Friends, we may therefore say that forty-three of the sixty-one whose occupations are known belonged to the land, leaving nine only to the trading class, eight to the professions, and one doubtful.

This conclusion is confirmed by many general statements in early Friend writings. Thus, William Spurry, referring to the happenings in London in 1654,⁸ says that the popular view was that the City was invaded by “ Plaine north Cuntry Ploughmen.” Ellwood thought Nayler looked like a “ plain, simple Country-man.”⁹

If these general descriptions err it is in their lack of recognition of the good education possessed by many of the Seventy. Specific mention is made of this in individual cases, whilst the writing of the missionaries is a rough indication of the same fact.

Penn’s *Rise and Progress of the Quakers* states that the first Friends were of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, “ many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men. . . . Some of them wanted not for parts, learning or estate, though then, as of old,

⁸ *F.P.T.* 163.

⁹ *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, sub anno 1659.*

‘not many wise or noble, etc., were called’ . . . because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity.”¹⁰

In the larger number of Publishers the occupations are clear in one hundred and twenty-five cases as follows :

Gentlemen	12
Yeomen (or Statesmen)	17
Husbandmen	28
Day Labourers (men)	6
Women connected with the land	11
Merchants, Craftsmen, etc.	17
Shopkeepers	11
Schoolmasters and Ministers	10
Soldiers and Sailors	8
Other Professions	5
Not ascertained	86
	—
	211
	—

Thus, of the Publishers whose occupations are known, seventy-four were engaged in agriculture, twenty-eight in trade, and twenty-three in the professions.

If we may assume that these proportions would hold in the whole body of Publishers, we have this interesting comparison between the Seventy and the larger band :

	The Seventy	The Publishers
Connected with the land	68%	59%
Connected with trade ..	13%	22%
Connected with professions	12%	18%

In other words, the Seventy were drawn more exclusively from the land than were the Publishers, a considerably larger proportion of whom were actively engaged in trade.

These pioneers of a new way of life, the earliest of them resident mainly in Cumberland, Westmorland, North Lancashire and West Yorkshire, experienced a remarkable release of spiritual, intellectual and physical powers as they received God into their hearts,¹¹ and, impelled by His spirit, left their homes and occupations in journeys perilous throughout England, then an open country, one part a wilderness of heath, turf or marsh, the other part unenclosed ploughed fields like those of France to-day. The cities were

¹⁰ Penn's *Works*, v., 228.

¹¹ *Beginnings of Quakerism*, xxxvii.-xxxviii.

so small and isolated that they scarcely affected the lives of the majority of Englishmen. The development of agriculture (common cultivation giving way to individual responsibility for enclosures) brought to the front the tenant farmer and yeoman, and the advance in methods at this period was due chiefly either to the yeomen, or to gentlemen, who, like Cromwell, worked their own land. The social standing of the yeoman was in advance of that of the ordinary tenant-farmer, who in the Stuart period "was neither wealthy, independent, nor interesting."¹² Whilst the labourers were very poor the general body of farmers were prosperous, but the fact that men knew one another better than now mitigated those ills which followed this faulty economic condition. The records of the Publishers as a whole contain many concealed references, and some open ones, to the operation of the Law of Parochial Settlement (1662), the effect of which was "not only to annex the labourer to the parish of his residence and to make him a serf," but "also to enable the opulent landowner to rob his neighbours and to wear out prematurely the labourer's health and strength."¹³

Industry was conducted under what is now known as the "domestic," or "home-system," as distinguished from that of the factory.

The whole of the North West of England was in a backward state. Cumberland was the poorest county in the country, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire coming next, in this order. Middlesex was the wealthiest county.¹⁴

Carlisle and Kendal were two of those provincial capitals which formed social as well as trading centres. In 1617 Carlisle is described as "a simple, honest and independent Community who helped one another, were fond of simple pleasures and kind to the poor," but this, of course, was before the Civil War came with its disrupting influences.¹⁵ Seven of the English turnpike roads in Westmorland passed

¹² Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, 1904, 38.

¹³ Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 1908, 434.

¹⁴ Traill, *Social England*, 1893, 384.

¹⁵ Ferguson, *History of Cumberland*, 254.

through the old town of Kendal, spread out "like a windmill Saile," remarked a traveller in 1634.¹⁶

Gregory King, the chief authority for the vital statistics of this period, gives the population during the century as about five million persons, and adds information regarding the different grades of society and their incomes from which, after comparing with other figures given in *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, and *Social England*, I give the following table:

1. <i>Engaged in Agriculture</i> (or deriving main income from land):		
†Esquires, income of £450	}	16,600
†Gentlemen, income of £280		
Yeomen, income of £50—£90	..	160,000
Husbandmen, income of £42 10s. od.	..	150,000
Farm Labourers, income of £10 8s. od. to		
£15 12s. od.		364,000
Cottagers, income of £6 10s. od.	..	400,000
		<hr/>
		1,090,600 (21.8%)
2. <i>Trade and Commerce</i> :		
†Merchants and traders, £200—£400	..	8,000
Shop-keepers, £45	..	50,000
Craftsmen and Artisans, £38	..	60,000
		<hr/>
		118,000 (2.3%)
3. <i>Professions</i> :		
Office-Holders, £120—£200	..	10,000
Lawyers, £154	}	5,000
Naval and Military Officers, £60—£80		
Arts and Sciences, £60	..	16,000
Clergymen, £45—£60		10,000
		<hr/>
		41,000 (.82%)

Note †Thorold Rogers thinks under-estimated.

Having now surveyed the position in society of the Seventy and of the Publishers, and having glanced at the general condition of the country and its people in the seventeenth century, we are in a position to return to the Quaker missionaries in order to consider additional information affecting their economic position.

The classification of the Seventy and the Publishers connected with the land, made on pages 69 and 70, cannot be exact, the terms used in records not being uniform, even throughout the history of one individual.

Usually "gentleman" may be taken to represent a small to medium "rentier," living on income generally

¹⁶ Curwen, *Kirkbie Kendall*, 12.

derived from the land, but not himself farming, and possibly in a profession. With this definition should be compared the description of Cromwell by Trevelyan,¹⁷ and that of the Publishers, Richard Farnsworth, and Thomas Goodaire—"Yeomen or Gentlemen."¹⁸ Mr. John Fell has pointed out that the gentry in Lonsdale North of the Sands were principally employed in agriculture¹⁹; and Mr. Brownbill has noted that in the same district all engaged in agriculture were a compact body.²⁰

A yeoman was a small landowner—one of a "body in antiquity of possession, and purity of extraction, probably superior to the classes that looked down upon it as ignoble."²¹ In the seventeenth century yeoman was a common description of testators, and esquire rare.

Of these yeomen some were freeholders, others copyholders, or customary freeholders.

The copyhold estates, held by the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor, had acquired the essential quality of ownership in Elizabeth's reign.

The customary freehold was a species of copyhold tenure, but, unlike it, was not expressed to be at the will of the lord. Yet being according to the custom of the manor, the holder had to perform certain duties and services to his lord, who in some cases (*e.g.*, in the manor of which Richard Hubberthorne was a tenant) exacted from his tenants far more than was their due.²²

A special type of tenure (known as "Border Tenant Right"), varying in important particulars from those just defined, prevailed in North Yorkshire, Lancashire Over Sands, the S.W. portions of Durham and Northumberland, and over the whole of Cumberland and Westmorland—in fact, wherever moss troopers and marchmen had been bound to Border Service. The services of these tenants were fixed,

¹⁷ *England under the Stuarts*, 38.

¹⁸ *F.P.T.*, 274-5.

¹⁹ *Illustrations of Home Life in Lonsdale*, 1904, 5.

²⁰ *Swarthmoor Account Book*, xiii.

²¹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. iii.

²² J. Rawlinson Ford, *The Customary Tenant-right of the Manor of Yealand*, 1909.

and certain of their estates varied by ordinary deed of conveyance, the name of the tenant being placed upon the court roll for purposes of registration only, and not to complete the conveyance. The rents were small, but the holders were under an obligation during forty days in the year to provide horsemen, bowmen and javelin men for war against the Scots if so required. Fixed payments were made by them on the death of the lord, and there were regulations designed to prevent the breaking up of the estates. These customary estates were considered equal to freehold.²³

Generally speaking the statesman was the equivalent of the customary freeholder. His tenancy, however, was probably allodial—not feudal—(e.g., freehold, without being subject to any rent, service, or acknowledgment to a superior).²⁴

An outward and still visible indication of the relative positions of those early Quakers who were connected with the land is afforded to the present-day visitor who looks over carefully such Quaker homes as those of Swarthmoor Hall (Margaret Fox), Camsgill (John Camm), Drawwell (John and Thomas Blaykling), Low Brigflatts (James Baines), and High Thackmore Head, Grayrigg (almost identical with Francis Howgill's house of Todthorne, which now is only represented by a portion of one wall).

The circumstances of the Swarthmoor Hall household are fully described in *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, which shows that the family income was derived from several and varied sources; that Margaret Fox and her daughters shared the tasks of the house and farm; and so forth.

Probably, at any rate, nine of the whole band of Publishers belonged to the group of which the Fell family stood at the head, namely Isaac Penington, William Penn,

²³ Ferguson, *History of Westmorland*, 1894, ch. x.

²⁴ In *Former Social Life in Cumberland and Westmorland*, the author argues that these estates were mainly held by "customary tenure," adding that several statesmen could trace what was virtually ownership back to the time of Richard II. In 1603, James I. laid a claim to all small estates in the two counties on the plea that the possessors were tenants of the Crown, not of a feudal lord, on which they met near Kendal in large numbers to protest that they had "won their lands by the sword and felt themselves able to defend them by the same means."

John Crook, Christopher Holder, George Harrison, Thomas Lawson, George Bewley, and Thomas Rawlinson.²⁵

It was from this class that Justices of the Peace were selected.²⁶

The yeoman, or statesman, was not in so good a material position as that occupied by Judge Fell; yet the prosperous member of this class was of real account in the community. "He wears russet clothes, but makes golden payment, having tin in his buttons, but silver in his pocket," wrote Thomas Fuller.

As a rule the statesmen were remarkable for independence of thought and action—"people of good repute and esteem."²⁷

Adam Sedgwick, writing of his native dale of Dent (once peopled by Quakers), said: "The Statesmen, it must be understood, were the aristocracy of the dale; they stood somewhat aloof from their fellow dales-men, and affected a difference in thoughts, manner and dress. It used to be said of a lad who was leaving his father's home: 'He's a deftly farrand lad and he'll du weel, for he's weel come, frae statesmen o' baith sides,' i.e., 'He is a well-mannered lad, and he will prosper for he is well descended, from statesmen on both sides.'"²⁸

To this class belonged the Camms of Camsgill, the Blayklings of Drawwell, Richard Hubberthorne, and several other members of the band of the Seventy.²⁹

²⁵ Consult *Household Account Book of Sarah Fell; Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, ch. ii.; and for a delightful picture of how a gentleman should spend his time, *A Quaker Postbag*, 1910, 1-7.

²⁶ See *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, 13, 114.

²⁷ Testimony to John Blaykling.

²⁸ *Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick*, 1890, i. 9. The same writer records that "a statesman's house in Dent had seldom more than two floors, and the upper floor did not extend to the wall where was the chief fireplace, but was wainscotted off from it. The consequence was, that a part of the ground floor, near the fire-place, was open to the rafters; which formed a wide pyramidal space, terminating in the principal chimney of the house. It was in this space, chiefly under the open rafters, that the families assembled in the evening." This assists us to picture the groups of "Seekers" helped by George Fox.

²⁹ The original address proceeds to give descriptions of houses and farms (the latter averaging 50 acres with large extent of fell land suitable for sheep) of these statesmen farmers.

The Husbandman³⁰ was the most numerous class among respectively the Seventy and the Publishers. He possessed a small holding at a fixed customary rent and with rights of grazing on the common, and could maintain a position of independence.³¹ As a matter of fact the husbandman might be better off than a landowner in the same district. The holdings generally varied from about half an acre to seven acres or more, and when cows were kept the family was definitely above the poverty line. The husbandmen I am describing were among the most prosperous of their class and might possess an apprentice; the smaller ones had to depend for their living partly upon wages paid by neighbouring yeomen which probably averaged 4s. per week.

The wife of the husbandman did a labourer's work on the holding whilst her husband was working for others.³² In spite of this toil, these wives were the type selected by the wealthy to act as wet nurses for their children.³³

As already noted, this husbandman class contains the greatest proportion of the whole body of Publishers engaged in agriculture, thus differing from the general position in the country in which the freeholders were still more numerous. On the other hand, whilst there were said to be twice as many farm labourers as husbandmen in England and Wales, the Publisher husbandmen were almost five times as numerous as the labourers—a fact confirming the view that the early Quaker leaders were substantial men.

It is also a significant thing that few of the Seventy or of the whole body of Publishers were ordinary labourers or servants. John Scaife was one of these "being of low estate in the world, so for a livelyhood was a servant or day labourer."³⁴ Probably Edward Edwards, who lived

³⁰ The term "husbandman" was applied in early times in the North to a manorial tenant—the villein of other districts. Occasionally he was a peasant owning his house and land, and it would appear that in our Quaker records many men assuming this title, or given it by others, were substantially of statesmen rank. According to some authorities, "husbandman" meant originally a holder of "husband-land," a manorial tenant who held two ox-gangs or virgates, and ranked next below the yeoman.

³¹ *Working Life*, 50.

³² *Ibid.*, 58.

³³ *Ibid.*, 305.

³⁴ *F.P.T.*, 269.

for a time with Gervase Benson, was another ; and Thomas Lorrimer a third. The petitions to Magistrates and Parliament and Justices infer that the main body of Friends contained many labouring men, and it is possible that three or four of those Publishers I have referred to as husbandmen might with equal correctness be included in the lower class.

As regards women, two serving maids living at Camsgill in 1652, Jane and Dorothy Waugh (eventually Jane Whitehead and Dorothy Lotherington), are the most interesting examples of this class to be found among the Seventy, indeed among the Publishers as a whole. Helped from the Kendal fund, they went on Gospel journeys, and endured imprisonments. Dorothy was one of the passengers in the *Woodhouse* on its voyage to America in 1657.

In the space at my disposal it is impossible to deal with those of the Seventy who were shopkeepers, and those who practised crafts. Interested readers may be referred to the autobiographies of William Stout of Lancaster (1665-1752), and Roger Hebden of Malton (d. 1695) for the former class ; and to the Journal of John Banks (1637-1710) for the latter. The *Swarthmoor Account Book* and *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* give valuable information regarding women's work in crafts.

Only eight of the Seventy can be reckoned as members of the professional class, although among those who received the Publishers several more are to be found, including a doctor,³⁵ physician³⁶ and publisher.³⁷

The different professions represented among the Seventy are these : Minister, Schoolmaster, Soldier, Shorthand-writer, Secretary, Commissary.

As further affecting the economic position of the Seventy, it is important to note that of the amounts granted by George Taylor and Thomas Willan,³⁸ treasurers of the Swarthmoor Fund, it is clear that some went to the Seventy—not to supply their own personal needs or expenses, but for them to dispense to others. Thus Thomas Rawlinson (“gentleman”) received 13s. for Friends in Scotland, and various

³⁵ *F.P.T.*, 220.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 318.

³⁸ THE JOURNAL, vi., 49, 82, 127.

amounts for Alexander Parker and others (another 10s. on his going southward); John Camm, £2, "to himselfe or others as he sees cause."

The following among the Seventy were helped personally by the fund: Christopher Atkinson, John Audland, James Lancaster, Edward Burrough ("a Kase of Knives"), Francis Howgill ("cariage of cloake"), John Lawson, Alexander Parker, Miles Birkett ("a pair of stockings"), Anthony Patrickson, William Caton ("a paire of shoes"), Thomas Holmes ("a paire of britches & showes"), Thomas Taylor, Richard Hubberthorne, George Whitehead, Richard Clayton (elsewhere described as "the owner of a small estate"), William Simpson, John Slee, James Nayler, Jane Waugh, Miles Halhead, Thomas Salthouse, Dorothy Waugh, John Scaife, John Stubbs ("ffor Cloathes"), John Story ("ffor Cloathes makeing and furniture and mendinge"), Elizabeth Leavens ("Clotheinge"), Thomas Lawson ("Wc^h he s^d hee wanted").

This list reveals that fourteen of the Seventy (two being women) I have listed as being connected with the land required assistance in their travels or imprisonments, four connected with trade (one woman), and five with professions.

When money was given to help in maintaining the families of those of the Seventy who were imprisoned, we may conclude either that the wife was unable to "carry on" satisfactorily alone (from incapacity or ill-health) or that the business had declined. C. Atkinson's mother "being sick" received 6s. in 1654; T. Taylor's wife 15s. in 1655; and later T. Taylor's wife and children 10s.

The writings of the early Friends contain little if any information regarding their married life, but in the few cases in which such information is given, this bears directly upon the subject now under review. Thus, the reader of John Banks's Journal will feel that the wife's share of the partnership in material things was too heavy for her to bear, what with the business of fellmonger, the small farm and the bringing up of the children; but it is easier for us to see the importance of these things than to feel the power of the concern which compelled the husband to labour away from his home. To Banks, his wife was a careful, industrious

woman, "a good support to me on account of my travels, always ready and willing to fit me with necessaries . . . decent for me in Truth's service."³⁹

Some of the Publishers, whether they wished it or not, much improved their economic position by their marriages, although it will be remembered that George Fox was a conspicuous example of those who took measures not to profit personally by such an event. William Caton, in the original and fascinating account of his courtship of Annekin Derrix, in Holland, began by submitting three questions for Annekin's consideration, the first of which was "whether she would condescend to the thing, he having little or nothing as to the outward." To which she replied: "She did not look upon means but upon virtue." The proceedings went forward, but not without a wonderful amount of consultation with other people, which the modern Quaker would think anything but romantic! Annekin Derrix belonged to a family possessing considerable means, and their short married life was a happy one. When Caton was in prison at Yarmouth in 1664 his wife wrote to him "to buy 20—30 lbs. worth of red Herrings" (presumably for trade), which the turnkey allowed him to do!⁴⁰

In the married life of Thomas and Elizabeth Holmes, the time came (1655) when a baby was born and the mother and the child were lodged in one room in Cardiff where, her husband stated, "shee Labores with hir hands and is not charginable, and as much as in hir lyes shee will keep from being borthensume to any. . . . Nether shee nor hir child must perish." He added: "It was never in us to ly the chargin of a child upon A company of new convinced Frinds."⁴¹ As the grey story of the lives of these two young people develops we find that the little child was given up to others, in order to save expense and to allow of its mother continuing her ministerial work. This fact preyed upon the father so much that he appears to have almost hoped that the call to the ministry which his wife had received would cease to exist. Both parents died young.⁴²

³⁹ *Journal*, 1712, 129.

⁴⁰ Swarthmore Mss., iv., 264.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, i., 203.

⁴² *Ibid.*, i., 196, and Brailsford, *Quaker Women*, 1915, 149-156.

Thomas Ellwood, a friend of many of the Publishers, explains in his *Life* that he and his future wife did not hasten marriage, but went on "deliberately," adding that he did not use those "vulgar ways of courtship by making frequent and rich presents," not only because his outward condition would not bear the expense but because he did not like to attempt to offer a bribe for his friend's affection.⁴³ After marriage, Thomas took care to secure to his wife what money she had as well as what he himself possessed, "which indeed was but little, yet more by all that little than I had given her ground to expect with me."⁴⁴

The spirit of perfect comradeship in spiritual as well as material things evident in the biographical records of, for instance, John Banks, John Camm, and John Audland (all of the Seventy), and their wives, is truly delightful. Their mutual respect, their common aim, the way in which they upheld one another throughout life's vicissitudes constituted a relationship which may be described in the ancient words: "Love is an excellent thing, a great good indeed, which alone maketh light that which is burdensome and equally bears all that is unequal. For it carrieth a burden without being burdened, and maketh all that is bitter, sweet and savoury."

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the First Publishers of Truth leads up to certain conclusions, of which I submit the following:

1. The great majority of the Seventy (namely sixty-eight per cent.) were connected closely with the land either as proprietors, tenants or labourers, or as the wives of these.

2. Next to these in number came the merchant and trader and then, very closely, the professional class, the respective percentages being thirteen per cent. and twelve per cent.

3. Eight of the Seventy were women. At the time of their setting forth on missionary service half were married and half unmarried, two of the latter being maid-servants.

⁴³ *Life*, 216.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 223.

4. Over half of the Seventy may be described as being in a good material position in life, as having a superior education, and as possessing widespread influence in the districts in which they lived.

5. Many of the Seventy and of the Publishers, with their families, followed "secondary" occupations, which proved exceedingly useful to them, especially during those times when the husband was travelling or in prison.

6. The effect of the persecution of the Publishers as a whole (including imprisonment and the spoiling of furniture and stock) was to place some families in a position of economic difficulty. This difficulty was, however, lessened in the case of married men owing to the efficiency of their wives in agriculture and trade, in accord with the general position of women in industry in the seventeenth century.

7. There is evidence to show the special effort made by individual Publishers to maintain themselves and their families in spite of long absences from home; also of the readiness with which the Publisher returned to his daily work after a period of Gospel service in order to provide the material means necessary to support his family, and to engage in further service should he be called to this.

8. A great effort was made by the Publishers who were in prison to maintain themselves and so avoid making any demand upon the funds raised by Friends.

9. Many of the Seventy (about thirty-eight per cent.) received help from the Kendal fund, in order to buy such personal belongings as breeches, shoes, clothes, hats, stockings knives; also Bibles. (In some cases this assistance was given to the wives. Certain members of the group received grants for service-expenditure in the course of travels in Ireland, Scotland, Holland and elsewhere.)

10. In the words of W. C. Braithwaite: "The fraternal joys of the early Franciscans were reproduced among the simple-hearted statesmen of Westmorland," and in surveying the economic position of any one of the Seventy or of the Publishers, it is necessary to remember that the spirit of practical helpfulness animating the whole body contributed to the material as well as to the spiritual welfare of each individual Publisher.

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