



WILLIAM BURTT ADDRESSING THE MONTHLY MEETING OF SOUTH-WEST DIVISION OF LINCOLNSHIRE,  
held at his house at Welbourn North End, 1692. (See p. 83)

*Frontispiece*

# THE JOURNAL

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### Our Quotation—23

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*"All scientific history nowadays must start from investigation of 'sources.' It cannot be content to quote 'authorities' simply at their face value, but must press back behind the traditional statements to the evidence on which they, in turn, rest, and examine it independently and critically . . . how far the statements are removed from the events which they claim to discuss, and how nearly they are contemporary or first hand."*

F. R. BARRY, in *The Study Bible*, St. Luke, 1926

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### Quakerism on Moor and Wold

Being the presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Historical Society on the 3rd March.

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**T**HE President of the Historical Society has two duties and privileges during his year of office: the first to preside at this meeting, the second to give an address.

I cannot offer the charm with which Reginald Hine delighted us a year ago when he discoursed on the Quakers of Hertfordshire in the regrettable absence of the President; nor can I offer a subject of general interest, such as Quaker language, discussed by T. Edmund Harvey previously.

I have limited myself to a strip of land on the north-east coast of Yorkshire, on the confines of civilization, as some southerners may say. But we barbarians of the moors had yielded to the Quaker pioneers a couple of years before they ventured to launch their attack on London.

My main subjects are two : Quaker Pioneers on Moor and Wold; and An Organised Religious Society on Moor and Wold.<sup>1</sup> There will be some preliminaries and some post-scripts.

## I

The coming of the Quakers to this district must not be regarded as an isolated event ; rather as one of a succession of waves from the ocean of spiritual life that have broken over this region time after time during the last thirteen hundred years.

The first wave came when a little band of men met the King of Northumbria, and a wise alderman likened the life of man to the flight of a sparrow through the hall. The personalities of St. Hilda, St. Aidan and St. Chad left their mark in the north ; Whitby, Lastingham and Hackness were famous landmarks.

Five centuries later another wave broke over the district ; its high watermark is recorded by the beautiful Abbeys of St. Mary's at York, Fountains, Rievaulx, Byland, and by the Cistercian Church at Scarborough. Meanwhile the friars did their beneficent work in the towns at the edge of the moors.

Five more centuries and another wave brought the Quakers.

A century later John Wesley set off on his missionary journeys—eight thousand miles on horseback was his annual record for many a long year.

The strip of country that I have chosen is about twenty-five miles in length ; it stretches from Whitby to Scarborough and extends a few miles further south. In the main it is half-a-dozen miles in width, and now and then reaches twenty

<sup>1</sup> The chief sources are the Minute Books of Scarborough and Whitby Monthly Meeting, 1669-1704 and 1706-1744 ; and Minutes of the Select Meeting in that M.M., 1669-1752 and 1760-1786. Dates are quoted direct from the records ; that means Old Style until 1751.

miles inland. It was in the ancient Liberty of Whitby Strand and the ancient wapentake of Pickering Lythe. Most of the southern part belonged to the Manor of Falsgrave which is recorded in the Domesday Survey. Scarborough is not mentioned in the Survey.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there were small towns on the borders of our region: Whitby, Pickering, Kirbymoorside, Malton, Scarborough. The bulk of the acreage was open country; one part a wilderness of heath and turf and marsh, the other unenclosed ploughed fields. There were great tracts of brushwood and tall trees, wrecks of the old English forest. What paid best was beautiful; if fields were enclosed at all hedgerows were the cheapest form of enclosure; plentiful timber provided cowsheds and barns; gables, lattice-windows, oak beams, stone houses roofed with thatch or stone slabs—all these lent themselves to beauty and cheapness.<sup>2</sup>

The sanitary conditions were bad and the people lived in perpetual terror of plague. Lady Hoby was living at Hackness at the beginning of the century. In the autumn of 1603 her diary has references to the plague in London, Newcastle, Hull. Nearer and nearer it approached:

We hard that the plauge was spred in Whitbye—so great at Whitbie that those w<sup>ch</sup> were cleare shutt themselves up. [Then] the sicknes was freared to be at Roben Hood bay, not farr off. [And then] one in the towne [i.e. Hackness], havinge buine in Harwoodall at Mr. Busshills house whouse childrine were Come from whitbie, was fallen sicke w<sup>t</sup> 3 of his childrin more.<sup>3</sup>

The population was thinly scattered and closely packed in the houses; servants and apprentices slept in holes amongst the rafters.

In the North Riding there were many scattered hamlets and many Scandinavian place-names: the streams are becks, the valleys are dales, the sea-inlets are wykes. There were plenty of sturdy men and women of their own way of thinking; some of them would come under the terms of the Abbot of

<sup>2</sup> See *England under the Stuarts*, ch. ii, G. M. Trevelyan.

<sup>3</sup> *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, edited by Dorothy M. Meads. Routledge, 1930.

York a century earlier : " There be such a company of wilful gentlemen within Yorkshire as there be not in all England besides."

## II

We ask what the men and women of the hamlets on the moors and wolds were thinking at Christmas 1651 when George Fox was thrown down the steps of York Minster. Perhaps like some of us they did not think much. But York and Marston Moor were only forty miles away, and Scarborough Castle had stood its months of siege within sight of some of them. They may not have heard of Edwardes' long list of Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries in London ; and on moor and wold there may have been no Antinomians, Familists, Millenaries or Mortalists. But some of them had been soldiers in the Civil War, and they would talk in the hamlets of Cavalier and Roundhead, of Bishop and Presbyter, of Independent and Ironside. They would have heard of Dunbar fight last year and perhaps of the Battle of Worcester three months ago, both fought on Cromwell's lucky day.

Fortunately we can get some answer to our question what these men were thinking about if we turn to William Dewsbury, Roger Hebden and Thomas Thompson, earnest Seekers before ever they heard of George Fox.

Dewsbury was born in the East Riding thirty years before the date we have chosen ; he was a shepherd boy, then apprentice to a cloth weaver near Leeds, where he met with much speaking of God and of professing Him in words, but he met with none who could tell what the Lord had done for their souls. He served in the Parliamentary army ; a few months after the Battle of Naseby he married one Anne, who was associated with the Anabaptists. The marriage took place in their congregation in York. His mind turned more and more from outward things ; he looked within, he left the army, felt a call to declare to others the Lord's goodness and then a call to wait for a future period. Five years later when Fox paid his first visit to Yorkshire, Dewsbury recognised unity of sentiment in him ; and Fox tells in his *Journal* that William Dewsbury, James Nayler and Thomas Goodyear were convinced.<sup>4</sup> Then he began his travels in the work of the Gospel.

<sup>4</sup> *The Journal of George Fox*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1911, i, 16.

In 1652 Dewsbury was in these parts. The first fruits of his preaching include Joseph Allatson of Harwood Dale, Roger Cass of Hutton Bushel, John Whitehead and his wife and four others at Scarborough Castle, Christopher and James Hedley and others in Scarborough, Richard Cockerill of Hackness.

The Hackness Parish Register gives a picture of a curious kind of funeral service over this Richard Cockerill who died on

Wednesday the xiii day of September, 1653, and was buried the next day, being Thursday. And there was many of them they call Quakers at his buryell. And Mr. Proude did exhort and argue with them at the grave, and they held out that that work which they had in them was not wrought by the Word, which I was sorry to heare, but they said they mayd use of the Word only to try whether it were right or noe.<sup>5</sup>

Dewsbury spent seventeen years in gaol: some of his letters are written from Newgate, from the Tower, from Warwick gaol, from York Castle. After his death a friend wrote of him: "He was an extraordinary man in many ways, and I thought, as exact a pattern of a perfect man as ever I knew."

Roger Hebden was born in 1620, the year that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed, son of John Hebden of Appleton-in-the-Street; he was apprenticed to a draper in Malton and began to realise that his religious profession had been wanting. When he was about thirty, Richard Farnsworth was with him in his house at Malton when suddenly on a clear moonshine night unexpected visitors were welcomed. But this must be told by Thomas Thompson of Skipsea. At the close of 1652 Thompson attended a precious meeting at Great Driffield where William Dewsbury declared the truth in much power. He was returning homeward when

a desire rose livingly in me to go with William to Malton (he having told me of his going thither the next day). . . . So in much fear I acquainted my master

<sup>5</sup> *Essays and Addresses*, 1905, John Wilhelm Rowntree, contains three lectures on "The Rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire." (See p. 16.)

. . . with my desire of going to Malton, offering to pay wages to another young man, of the same trade, to serve in my place till my return. This request my master readily granted, at which my soul rejoiced and praised the Lord. . . . So I returned, and staid with William that night. The next morning it was with Thomas [Stubbs] to part with William and go towards Beverley ; so before they parted we continued together in supplication and prayer to the Lord from morning till it was near night, William labouring to strengthen Thomas and encourage him in the exercise and service for the Lord till about the third hour of the afternoon. So the day being far spent Thomas took leave and departed towards Beverley. Then William and I made ready for our journey towards Malton ; but William's care and travel being great for the prosperity of Sion, we got not from Friends there till after the setting of the sun ; then having twelve or thirteen miles to go, we set forwards, and many times run upon the Wolds ; and it being a clear moonshine night, we got to Malton about the 8th or 9th hour of the night. There we found brethren and Friends assembled in the house of Robert [Roger] Hebden ; Richard Farnsworth (another travelling Friend in the Ministry being there with them) : so we were greatly comforted and refreshed in the Love of God with our Friends that night. There I first see dear John Whitehead, who was then a soldier at Scarbrough, and was come thither to meet with R.F. or visit friends ; his mouth was there opened in prayer to the Lord. There we stayed the next day, which was mostly spent in waiting upon the Lord and exhortation, prayers and praises unto Almighty God.<sup>6</sup>

Braithwaite places the famous auto-da-fé at Malton two or three months before this visit ; when the men of Malton, possibly with the sturdy woollen draper at their head, burned their ribbons and silks and other fine commodities " because they might be abased by pride."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *The Written Gospel Labours of John Whitehead*, London, 1704 ; quoted from Thomas Thompson's Testimony at the beginning of the volume. A MS. of T.T.'s 'Writings of Early Friends' in the Reference Library at Friends House has verbal variations.

<sup>7</sup> *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 1912, pp. 71-72. W. C. Braithwaite.

Roger soon gave up his trading and followed Truth's service. Of course he suffered imprisonment; he was in Aylesbury gaol and York Castle. There is no date to this short letter to Friends of Truth :

Friends, Brethren and Sisters in that which is Eternal I doe you salute, in which we meet and are sweetly refreshed. Dear hearts, al of you I exhort in tender love and have running forth toward you and over you, to dwel in love . . . that not only the continuance thereof you may have, but A growth find.<sup>8</sup>

The Thomas Thompson of Skipsea who tramped over the wolds in clear moonshine had been an enquirer as a young man and is later the author of 'Writings of Early Friends.' At the age of 21 he was told that George Fox had been near Skipsea. His familiars and acquaintances told him that Fox was, in his behaviour, very reserved, not using any needless words or discourses, very temperate in his eating and drinking, who especially directed people to the Light of Christ in their consciences.<sup>9</sup> He came under the influence of Dewsbury and travelled in the ministry in nearly every county and suffered imprisonment.

In the year of Fox's death, Thompson speaks of "a blessed meeting at Staintondale, the Lord owning us with his love and the sweet enjoyment of his heavenly presence."<sup>10</sup>

We find a pathetic note in the Monthly Meeting Minute Book (2 ii. 1704) :

Collection for the relief of Tho. Thompson of Skipsey in Holderness.

Scarborough	£6 : 12 : 0
Staintondale	11 : 6
Whitby	£6 : 7 : 6

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£13 : 11 : 0

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In the same year, the year of Blenheim, Thompson died.

<sup>8</sup> 'Writings of Early Friends,' T. Thompson.

<sup>9</sup> T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

John Whitehead, the Puritan soldier of Scarborough Castle, a short, thick-set man, had met Fox at Balby and had been convinced. He was destined to be the bearer of the order for Fox's release from Scarborough Castle. He lived in Holderness and later in Lincolnshire. From Northampton gaol in 1655 he wrote a letter "For Friends stationed on the Wolds to be read in the fear of God at your Meetings": and from Salisbury prison, 1661, one to "Dear friends in Holderness, the Wolds and that ways."<sup>11</sup>

He was at the beginning, [says Thomas Thompson] a soldier at Scarbrough, that was called forth into the works of the Lord and made a soldier of the Lamb in the morning of the day. I first saw him at Malton when I went thither with William Dewsbury in the 10th mo. of the year 1652, being the same time that Richard Farnsworth was there, where many of the Lord's people were sweetly refreshed together in the inflowings of the Love of God. Not long after, William Dewsbury had a meeting at Butterworth in the Wolds, whither John Whitehead also came. . . . The next summer he left the army and settled in Holderness, but was soon called forth into the work of the ministry and travelled much in the works of the Lord. . . . Manysouls were joined to the Lord through his Ministry. . . . He travelled much into unbroken places.

He held a meeting at Bainton-on-the-Wolds, where there had not been any before: and one Colson stood by in a busy mind to oppose the truth with John. But Colson was not able to gainsay what was spoken. "He got him out of the Meeting. And after he was gone the people heard the truth with much attention. And so truth reigned."<sup>12</sup>

John Whitehead was the first that gave a public testimony unto the Truth in the steeplehouses at Scarborough and Hull; "and was the first that through the power of the Lord prevailed to gather and settle a meeting in Whitby." He also gathered and settled meetings in Cleveland, declaring the truth through their markets.<sup>13</sup> He spent many years in

<sup>11</sup> T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> T. Thompson, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Beginnings*, p. 122.

prison; later he lived at Fiskerton, near Lincoln, where he was a pillar of the Church, "so tender a father and furnished a minister . . . love-worthy because the love of God dwelt in him wonderfully."<sup>14</sup>

It would be tempting to halt with Richard Sellars, of Kilnsea, pressed for the navy in Scarborough Bay for the Dutch War, "a brave and good man who would not take life but was swift to save it"; and with Robert Fowler, of Bridlington Quay, one of the first fruits of Dewsbury's pioneer work, master mariner, who ventured his ship and his life on the perilous mission to New England.

We saw the Lord leading our vessel as it were a man leading a horse by the head, we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line which was and is our Leader, Guide and Rule.

We can see from Fox's *Journal* and other records the simple way in which these men went to work: into the market and streets warning people to repent; speaking through the market against deceitful merchandise; preaching righteousness and truth which they should all walk and live in and feel after; holding meetings in schoolhouses; finding service in the towns at night amongst the people and in private houses; going to the fairs and declaring the day of the Lord.

Within a few months of the coming of these men we find Quakers in the hamlets round about: Hackness in its well-timbered valley, Langdale End in the midst of dark moors, Harwood Dale with beck and pasture.

For some years a band of preachers whose names we hardly know tramped over the bare chalk wolds and the heatherclad moors, amongst the spring flowers where the cry of plover and curlew was heard, alongside fields where the ploughmen did their work whilst the seagulls circled round, now hidden on the moor by the sea-roke which blotted out everything until a sudden rift revealed bowery hollows crowned with summer sea, or through the bracken that reddens in autumn—all through this country trudged these men telling in their lives and their teaching of the Light that they had found.

<sup>14</sup> *The Second Period of Quakerism*, 1919, p. 465. W. C. Braithwaite.

## III

Before proceeding to the Organised Religious Society we linger in the neighbourhood with four people.

When George Fox was a prisoner in Scarborough Castle he was visited by Sir Francis Cobb, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, Lord Fauconberg, who had married Cromwell's daughter Mary, and the old Lord Fairfax. He had two discussions on religious subjects with Dr. Wittie, who had just published his first book on the Spa waters at Scarborough. The two men were sturdy controversialists—Wittie spends seventy pages denouncing a medical opponent of his treatise on the waters as an unstable upstart bespattering with rude language and words stuffed with bombast, a writer who crows fiercely like a cockerell newly-hatched out of his shell. And Fox records of the great doctor of physicke: "hee went away in a great rage & came noe more att me."<sup>15</sup>

When Fox came out of Scarborough Castle he went about three miles unto a large General Meeting (perhaps at Burniston) "& all was quiett which meetinge was att a ffrends house y<sup>t</sup> had beene a Cheife Constable."<sup>16</sup> And later there was a large meeting at Peter Hodgson's house in Scarborough.

In 1672 when George Fox was in America, Margaret Fox journeyed from Guisborough to Liverton and Lythe:

to Whitbee 3 milles a meetien there from thence to  
Carbroe [Scarborough] 12 milles had ameeien theare—  
from thence to Borlinton Key a metien there 12 miles.<sup>17</sup>

Thence she passed to Malton, Thornton and York.

William Edmondson was in these parts before the century closed. He attended a meeting at Burlington in 1697: "from thence to Scarborough and had a Meeting there. Friends were tender and well refresh'd. Then I went to Whitby and had a Meeting."<sup>18</sup> A letter written to his son from York (7 vi. 1697) has this beginning: "Son Tryal," and this ending: "This being what offers at present from a

<sup>15</sup> *Journal*, ii, 96.

<sup>16</sup> *Journal*, ii, 106.

<sup>17</sup> *Journal Friends Historical Society*, xi, 112.

<sup>18</sup> *Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmondson, 1715.*

Tender Careful Father William Edmondson." Edmondson was an old Ironside and the apostle of Irish Quakerism. He had named one of his daughters "Hindrance" and his youngest son "Trial."<sup>19</sup> This reveals the yawning gulf of family custom that separates the seventeenth century from the twentieth. No parent to-day would venture to face his children after the age of three if he had named them Hindrance and Trial.

When Celia Fiennes was riding through England on a side saddle in the reign of William and Mary she went from Agnes Burton to Scarborough "crossing the wouls or high hills so called in this county in thick mist." She was a lady of means, sister of the third Viscount of Saye and Sele. She was a dissenter and attended the Friends' Meeting, the only dissenting place of worship in Scarborough at the time. She says :

The town has abundance of Quakers in it, most of their best Lodgings were In Quakers hands, soe in Private houses in the town by way of ordinary, so much a Meale and their Ale. Every one finds themselves—there are a few Inns for horses only. . . . In this town we had good accomodations and on very Reasonable terms. They drye a large ffish Like Codlings and salt them. . . . I was at a Quakers meeteing in the town when 4 men and 2 women spoke one after another had done, but it seem'd such a Confusion and so inCoherent that it very much moved my Compassion and pittty to see their delusion and Ignorance and no less Excited my thankfullness for the Grace of God that upheld others from such Errors. I observ'd their prayers were all made on the first person and single, though before the body of people ; it seems they allow not of ones being the mouth of Ye Rest in prayer to God tho' it be in the Public Meetings.<sup>20</sup>

#### IV

If we had tried in the year 1651 to forecast the future of those Pioneers of Quakerism we should have failed badly ; but our knowledge of human nature and daily life, and our

<sup>19</sup> *Second Period*, p. 260.

<sup>20</sup> *Through England on a Side-saddle in the time of William and Mary*, being the diary of Celia Fiennes.

reading of social and ecclesiastical history would have guided us into a reasonably correct prophecy for the work of an organised religious society on moor and wold in the coming years. A father will die, perhaps a shoemaker or carpenter, and the widow and child must be provided for ; the Quaker head of a family will be sent to gaol, and the family must be tended ; young men and maidens will talk of marriage and arrangements must be made ; there will be pamphlets about Truth in an age of pamphleteering ; scattered farms must be visited and itinerant ministers will walk or ride over hill and dale. The early fervour will pass away and minds will concentrate on discipline : but we might fail to forecast the lengths that some business meetings would go in pursuing the details of dress.

At the Quarterly Meeting at York (18 i. 1668/9) :

It was then seen necessary to divide the Monthly Meetings (which was appointed for the ordering of Church affairs and to consider of the necessities of the poor) into several Monthly Meetings and at convenient places : by which division Whittby and Scarbrough freinds were joyned together to meet at some convenient place to consider of the things above mentioned.

The convenient place chosen was William Worfolk's house at Staintondale : a mile from the sea, close to the edge of the moor, half way between Scarborough and Whitby. Every Monthly Meeting was held there for half-a-dozen years.

And so at Staintondale the 5th day of the 3rd Month, 1669 :

Freinds being met at the house of Wm. Worfolkes in the dale aforesaid gave in those names underwritten as being all they know needful of present relief in or belonging to either meeting.

The necessitated of Scarbrough meeting is Mary Beswick and Ann Lowson. Testified unto by Peter Hodgson, John Graham, Jonathan Robinson, Christopher Sheppard, Wm. Worfolk, Robert Trott. The necessitated of Whitby meeting are two children left by Ann Stonas. Testified unto by William Hoslam, Wm. Lotherington, William Harrison, George Vaughan, Richard Thornhill, John Hall.

Next month collections are brought in from Whitby, £3 12s., and Scarborough, £2 13s. 6d. The disbursements are :

	s.	d.
To widow Beswick of falsgrave for two months	8	0
To the widow Stephenson's child for clothes	4	8
To Ann Lowson for 1 mo.	2	0
To the children of Ann Stonas for one mo. that is past	5	0

At a Meeting at Staintondale in 1670, 2s. 4d. is granted to Christopher Sheppherd for to buy hemp for E. Stevenson. And she is to shew to Christoph Shepherd how she bestows it, that an account may be given to Christo Shepherd and Priscilla Camplin by her how the hemp is wrought, whether she hath made deepings<sup>21</sup> that are vendable and account given of it to the Monthly Meeting.

In 2 mo. 1671 the Monthly Meeting heard from the Quarterly Meeting at York that they had received £80 from "our dear friends and brethren at London," which is divided amongst the several Monthly Meetings according to the proportion of their sufferings.

At Staintondale the Monthly Meeting met from 1669 to 1675. A minute of the Monthly Meeting held there, 2nd month, 1675, runs :

We have ordered that if God permit the next Monthly Meeting, which shall be the first third day in the third month 1675 shall be at Scarbrough.

So the next is held in our Meeting House at Scarborough, the next at Whitby in the house of Thomas Linskill, and the next in rotation at Staintondale again.

<sup>21</sup> Deepings are strips of twine-netting that are laced together to form a drift-net. In the Scarborough wills of about this date I find that four people owed nine deepings to Eliz. Clarke, widow ; that Margaret Hall, widow, bequeathed a dozen deepings to a dozen children, and that Eliz. Hodgson, widow, bequeathed deepings. These are the only places where I have met with the word.

The cottage now occupied by Frank and Edith Sturge, the property of the Monthly Meeting, is marked on maps as Quaker Cottage,<sup>22</sup> and the large field across the road now belonging to Tofta farm is still called Quaker's Field. The farm below is marked "Meeting House Farm." A neighbour of the Sturges who has known the dale a long time says that the old Meeting House farm (the present building is modern) was known through the dale as one of the smugglers' hiding places. Run goods were stored under the cow-shed; and the stone that led down to the store was usually concealed by the cow that stood upon it. William Worfolk must have lived in this house, a man of substance who made the largest contribution to the building of York Meeting House, £100.

No doubt meetings were held first of all in the large farm kitchens of these villages; as numbers grew, barns were used, and then in some places Meeting Houses were built. The one at Staintondale was built in 1709 where the Sturge cottage now stands, and the burial ground adjoined. One gravestone remains to-day.

We may assume that Friends held their Meetings in Scarborough from 1652 onwards, often in the midst of persecution: for a few years probably in Peter Hodgson's house. In 1661 there were weddings at Public meetings in his house; and the Meeting House is mentioned in 1675.

The leaders of Quakerism had shown a sound instinct in creating a minimum of organisation, allowing free development to the spiritual life. In Fox's view the right joining in marriage was the work of the Lord, not of the priest; and those who were present were witnesses. He advised Friends to publish their intention of marriage at the end of a Meeting; and when all things were found clear "they might appoint a Meeting on purpose for the taking of each other in the presence of at least 12 faithful witnesses."

In 11 mo. 1670 there was laid before the Monthly Meeting an intention of marriage by two Friends. The Monthly Meeting gave them liberty and had unity and fellowship with their proceedings.

<sup>22</sup> See Ordnance Survey, 1848-9 (6 inch scale), "Quakers Meeting House disused" (where the garage now stands). See also, A Plan of the Liberty Manor and Royalty of Stainton-dale, 1829 (in custody of Bell Hill Farm, Staintondale).

In 1 mo. 1671/2 we read of two Friends who

had at several meetings already declared their intention of taking each other in marriage and did appear again this day : so Friends give their consent that in the fear of the Lord they may have liberty to take each other in marriage according to the example of the Ancient Christians.

Next month Robert Wilson of Whitby and Ann Witham of Scarbrough, widow, appeared at the Meeting and declared their intention of taking each other in marriage. They are advised to appear again next Monthly Meeting. They did so, and the Monthly Meeting declared "we are satisfied therewith."

The streams of true love seldom run smooth : that is hardly a reason for erecting barriers in the streams. Looking forward a hundred years we find that in 1 mo. 1772 Margaret Grey applied for membership. By next month the Friends had discovered that she was in love with William Hill, a member, and that was one inducement to her for applying for membership. A year later she still desires to be admitted, and William is to be visited. Six months later more visits are paid. And William says that his apprehending Margaret to be a sober, religious young woman was the occasion of his making an offer of marriage to her ; he had not considered its being contrary to the rules of Friends. Now being sensible that it was contrary he is willing to give Friends any satisfaction they desire (short, I suppose of giving up Margaret). Three months later Margaret is received into membership ; after another three months they formally declare their intention of being married. Next month they are liberated ; and the marriage is accomplished two years and three months after Margaret had applied for membership.

In 6 mo. 1673 there is a minute from the Quarterly Meeting encouraging the distribution of all books printed for Truth's service ; and the Monthly Meeting makes its records :

1 xii. 1680, ffor a book called the Christian Quaker written by George Whitehead and William Penn sold and added to the stock. 00 = 03 = 00. But it was sold to ffrancis Brorton for 5s. out of which paid to James Marshall binding it 00 = 02 = 00.

2 xi. 1682. 1 Wm. Penns noo Cross noo Crown. 00 = 02 = 04.

In 1725 the Christian Progress, a book written by our deceased Friend George Whitehead is this day brought from Whitby to this Meeting and delivered to Friends of Scarborough for reading.

It seems that at Scarborough in the reign of Charles the Second, there was a pretty custom of men going through the town at night, telling the hour and what quarter the wind is in, and playing with their instruments of music. A minute on the subject appears in the records with a curious mixture of denunciation and compromise :

Att a yearely meeting, the 26th day of the 10th month, 1681, at freinds meeting house in Scarbrough it was agreed upon, by friends at the said meeting whose names are hereunder written as followeth : [fourteen names are given.]

Whereas freinds have taken notice that the men that goe through the Towne in the night season doth call at some freinds' houses, playeinge at their dores or windows saying " God morrow " to some freinds and to their children, playing with their Instruments of musick, etc., ffreinds of this meeting weightily considering of it doth give their sense and Judgment conserning the said practice vizt. that it is altogether unbecoming freinds to allow on or countenance the same : yet if some freinds may plead that it may be of service to them in some particulars as to heare what hour in the night or morning it is, and also where or what quarter the winde is in, and to thrust or try if their dores be fast ; may be condensed to and allowed of.

But, however, friends should limmet them to this restriction, that they only call them by their names, without saying " God morrow," and calling on their childrens names, nor playing on their musicall instruments, at freinds dores or windowes ; as to these things freinds should forbid them and not at all encourage them. And we do desire and hope that all faithful freinds in Scarbrough will be unanimus in this particular as well as in other things of like nature that is out of Truth and the ancient practice of faithfull freinds

elsewhere, who hath and doth beare testimony all along against all such wanton, brutish practices, tending onely to satisfie and please vayne and wanton minds with their ffoolysh musick.

A very different note is struck about the same time, a note of tragedy.

In 10 mo. 1681 there is a record of money which had been collected for the "redemption of John Easton of Stockton from the Turks' captivity" being returned as Easton was not to be found. The money was then set apart for the redemption of "Henry Strangwis from Turkish slaverie"; but two years later the money was returned, "both being dead."

In 1688 report was made that Joseph Lotherington of Whitby had been liberated from galley slavery at Marseilles where he had been chained to an oar and fed on black bread; he had returned £20 to the Quarterly Meeting which had been advanced for his manumission, less 3s. 9d. postage.<sup>23</sup>

The number of Quaker prisoners in the galleys was at one time large enough to support a Meeting in Algiers.

Persecution and Pennsylvania prompted some Friends to emigrate.

In eighth month, 1681, a certificate was drawn up and shewed to this Meeting concerning Stephen Keddy and other Friends removed out of this meeting and gone into Maryland and sent to Friends there for their Monthly Meeting where he and they do belong.

In third month, 1682, Robert Wilson and Mathew Watson with their wives and families do intend shortly to pass from here to some part of America to inhabit, and certificates are granted.

And Robert Robinson of Hexham, glover, intends to go with Mary his wife to Pennsylvania if God permit, w<sup>th</sup> Robert Hopper of Scarbrough, maister of the ship called . . . .<sup>24</sup>

Emigration was a fruitful cause of the decline of members in England. It has been estimated that in the last quarter

<sup>23</sup> *Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting of Friends, 1650-1900*, John Stephenson Rowntree, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> *J.F.H.S.* v, 109.

of the seventeenth century five hundred Friends left these shores annually, and large numbers between 1700 and 1775.<sup>25</sup>

Travelling over the moors was no easy matter whether on foot or on ponies. The tracks were rough, sea-rokes were thick, blinding sleet and wintry weather were encountered. So in 1st month 1683, we decide that two friends from Scarborough shall attend one Quarterly Meeting at York and two from Whitby the next. In the winter of 1684 two women Friends, desiring to announce their intention of marriage, were unable to reach the Meeting at Scarborough from Whitby and Ugthorp on account of severe weather; but their "intentions" were published in their absence. Later it was agreed that one appearance of the two partners intending marriage before a full Monthly Meeting should suffice, provided the intention of marriage had previously been laid before a Preparative Meeting. (xi. 1689.)

A rough account book shows the expenses of Whitby Meeting for horse-hire in connexion with May Drummond's visits:

1749, 3 of 11th. To ye man that came from Scarborough with May Druman paid for 2 nights expens for him & Hors as per Bill; he Cared her Back to Scarbrough.

s. d.

6 : 0

1754, 8 mo. 26. Paid Timo: Watkins for the 2 Frds. horses that came with May Drumond from Scarboro.

1 : 10<sup>26</sup>

During the reigns of William and Anne Friends practised itinerant ministry with zeal—they were the most active home missionaries in the kingdom.<sup>27</sup> And careful thought was given to the ministry; the advice on the ministry that came down from the Yearly Meeting of 1702 includes a warning "against hurting Meetings towards conclusion by unnecessary additions when the Meeting was left well before."<sup>28</sup>

At the close of the seventeenth century Public Friends agreed to meet once a quarter, eight days before the Quarterly

<sup>25</sup> *Quakerism Past and Present*, John Stephenson Rowntree, p. 74.

<sup>26</sup> *J.F.H.S.* iv, 113.

<sup>27</sup> *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> *Select Meeting Minutes, 1760-86*, at the beginning.

meeting at York. And frequent intentions are recorded in the minutes of Friends desiring to travel in the Ministry.

In 1707 our Quarterly Meeting of ministering Friends was held at Staintondale, "where the Lord's power did appear to our comfort. So we agree our next Meeting be at Whitby." Later the Meeting consists of Ministering Friends and others, Ministering Friends and Elders, Ministers and Elders. In Queen Anne's reign the Quarterly Meeting of Ministering Friends was meeting in York at 6 o'clock in the morning, except in winter when it was at 7 o'clock.<sup>29</sup>

In 1745 a Meeting of Ministers and Elders was appointed to be held at Staintondale "on first day come a week the 15th instant." (3 vii.) And in 1796 "it is for prudential reasons thought proper to omit holding select meetings for the present." (5 ix.)

In 1700 a meeting in William Worfolk's house again decided that a minute shall be made in the Monthly Meeting book the first opportunity against any certificate being granted to Friends intending to travel unless the said Friends appear in person at the Monthly Meeting.

In 8th month at the same house :

Dear friend Mary Ellerton did this day lay before us the concern of her mind in Truth's service to visit Friends in Wails and the S. & W. parts of this nation. And likewise Eliz Pennit did lay before us a weighty concern upon her mind to accompany her. We express our unity with them.

In 1747 we read that pursuant to a resolution of Yearly Meeting a collection is to be made for the benefit and relief of those that suffered by the late Rebellion, both in England and Scotland.

It is very much desired and advised that friends of good ability may be generous and liberal in the said collection, that those of lower circumstances may be spared. (6 viii.)

In 1725 it is agreed by this meeting that for a more expeditious method of keeping the accounts in the Monthly Meeting Book, and for quicker despatch our former way of

<sup>29</sup> *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 11.

introducing business and every particular member signing the book for the future may be left out and only in lieu thereof to have the Representatives' names from each Meeting inserted. Next month there are two representatives from each of the three Meetings—Scarborough, Whitby, Stainton-dale.

In spite of Toleration Acts, Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts and the like, Quakers were at a disability for two centuries. Slowly and painfully did men learn the wisdom of Cromwell's words: "In things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

Besse's *Sufferings* tells the story for long years:

For a Meeting held in the ground of Roger Hebden (1684). Beasts and Sheep worth £23 :  
from a dozen other people £50 worth.

John Hird, constable, and his assistants took from Whitby Friends more than £100 of stuff.

Amongst Friends connected with Staintondale Meeting when it was the centre of the Monthly Meeting :

Robert Miller fined	£9 : 11 : 3
Chris. Shepherd „	£2 : 19 : 4
Peter Hodgson „	£26 : 14 : 0
Rich. Hopper „	£2 : 13 : 0
Isaac Scarth „	£7 : 4 : 6
Scarth family „	£44 : 0 : 0

In 1683 the Scarborough Friends being kept out of their Meeting House met near the door in the street when Nicholas Saunders one of the Bayliffs men came and dispersed them: after which he with Timothy Ford the other Bailiff granted a warrant for distraint by which were taken goods of the following value:

From Rich. Nash, Thos. Sedman, Robt. Hopperton	£1 : 0 : 0
Margt. Hodgson, Wm. Cant, Thos. Bush	18 : 0
Franc. Breckon, Jas. Marshall, Thos. Russell	15 : 6
Grace Slee, Mary Bush, Joseph Wetherill	14 : 6
	<hr/>
	£3 : 8 : 0

Details are preserved of the sufferings of Friends in the Monthly Meeting from 1793 to 1856. Distraint was made for warden's rates, tithes, navy rates, army of reserve and so forth. Goods taken include black pepper, leather, wheat, oats, wool, spoons, Scotch oxen, hams, oak chairs, handkerchiefs, hay, cash from the till. The value of articles taken from Friends in the Monthly Meeting (of Pickering) during the ten years 1793-1802 amounted to £500; in the years 1821-30 it amounted to £600.

In early years the common phrase at the beginning of the Meetings whether in Staintondale, Scarborough or Whitby runs :

We whose names are underwritten are met together to consider of the necessities of them that may stand need of supplies and for the further service of Truth's affaires.

And at the beginning of the eighteenth century we still ask in our Meetings if

ffriends are ffaithful in their several Testimonies for Truth in Relation to Tythes and Steeplehouse Rates. Are you careful about the education of your children? Is the poor taken care of in each Monthly Meeting that no Widdows, Fatherless nor poor Aged or Indigent people may be neglected? Are your sufferings being brought up, being first recorded in a book?

When the early fervour had passed much energy was expended on details of discipline. If they are not profitable for practice they are often amusing and serve as a warning against the attempt to limit individuality.

It is recorded in 1703 that Ellener Hobson married someone not in membership, and her mother, a member of the Meeting, aggravated the disorder by giving a supper at which the guests "behaved themselves very rudely by getting Fiddlers into her house and singing and dancing."<sup>30</sup>

In 1712 we read :

Frances Beck hath been educated amongst us has married a man that is not of us . . . we cannot henceforth have fellowship with her . . . except

<sup>30</sup> J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

she come by sincere repentance to seek forgiveness of the Lord for the dishonour and reproach such disorderly practice brings upon the blessed Truth which we make profession of. (6 xi.)

In 1745 no mention of the Young Pretender's Rising appears in the book ; but the outrunnings of divers persons belonging to Whitby are perturbing. This Meeting wants to know why they have not been proceeded against ; and later appeals to the Quarterly Meeting " considering the ill consequences that are inevitably like to attend such forbearance and seeming partiality."

In 1709 it was reported that Elizabeth Williamson of Whitby had gone to a priest to be married with a young man that was her own cousin. When Friends went to speak to her she either absconded or absented herself. Nor would she come to the Monthly Meeting, but her mother came, reflected upon Friends and justified her daughter. So we can have no unity with her for her said outrunnings nor with the parents who are also " highly faulty " till it may please the Lord to bring them to a true sense of their guilt. (5 vi.)

A couple of years later the Monthly Meeting received a paper of condemnation given forth by the parents and daughter " for clearing Truth and satisfaction of friends and is to be kept upon the file." (5 iv. 1711.)

In 1709 the Monthly Meeting heard that

Elizabeth Pennitt once a member of this Meeting, who had a part in the ministry before she went to London where she was servant to Mary Bannister for some years, had been led away from the guidance of the Holy Spirit and had run into ungodly and vain practices, going with those that pretend to be fortune-tellers. Since she returned we have laboured in love with her, but she has not responded. We have no fellowship with her but disown her until she come under a godly sorrow. (6 vii.)

A year-and-a-half later the Monthly Meeting received her note of repentance from Whitby Preparative Meeting:

For whereas I have been drawn aside and out of the way of Truth I am willing to condemn it all so to own that I oto [ought] not to a been of a spiring mind to

[have] known more than was the mind and will of God and Unconsistent with Truth so I own it as a great evill to ax councell of man or woman to know what may befall one in this life so I sonsoarely condemn it in my hart and truly desire that the Lord may presarve me and everyone for the time to com out of the same evill and that I may be a warning to others that they may not be caught in the same snare.

ELIZABETH PENNIT. (3 ii. 1711.)

A Meeting had been established at Robin Hood's Bay in 1690, but Friends seceded when they were forbidden to serve in ships which carried guns.<sup>31</sup>

In 1706 dissatisfaction arose because some members carry guns on their ships, contrary to the teaching of Truth, and having weightily discussed the matter at this time with them it is decided they may be further admonished. The Minute was continued month by month for thirteen months, after which "The matter about guns is referred to Quarterly Meeting."

In 1713 Joseph Linskill brought in a paper of condemnation against himself for carrying guns in his ship and "using them in heat and passion to defend myself with the arms of the flesh."<sup>32</sup>

In 1758 a Quarterly Meeting Committee was appointed to speak to the Scarborough sea-faring Friends about arming their vessels. And in 1784 a Scarborough Friend was disowned for arming his vessel; he expressed sorrow and applied for re-instatement. But as he did not sufficiently conform to the standard in dress and deportment, he was not to be employed by meetings for discipline, nor was his subscription to be received until he "shewed more tenderness."<sup>33</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century William and Robert Tindall joined the Society. In 1828 the Tindal barque "Morning Star" was taken by pirates, and William and Robert insisted on their ships being properly armed with guns. Arraigned before Scarborough Meeting their biographer says that "they stuck to their guns and were disowned."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Victoria County History*, Yorkshire, N. Riding, ii, 535.

<sup>32</sup> J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, 52.

<sup>33</sup> *Yorks. Q.M.*, J. S. Rowntree, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> *The Tindalls of Scarborough*, Christian Tindall. Printed for private circulation.

We come now to dress. We wonder if Friends had lost their sense of beauty. We read in eighteenth century writings of the fear of Nature—the poet Gray dreaded the sight of mountains and precipices. And the call of natural beauty made a limited appeal. A cultivated clergyman was installed in Northumberland in the middle of the century and wrote to his friends in the south that in the summer the moors around him were covered by the purple flower of a plant called ling which made the landscape “indescribably hideous”.<sup>35</sup> It looks as if they had to wait for Wordsworth’s love of the primrose and Scott’s call of the heather to bring them back to a love of flowers, hills and moors.

From 1710-1720 we find a series of Minutes on dress, some addressed to women and some to men. It would seem that the women’s gowns were made indecently, one part over-long and the other over-short with lead in the sleeves. It is desired that “Friends should come to a stability and be satisfied in the shape and compass y<sup>t</sup> Truth leads into without changing as y<sup>e</sup> World changes.” And Friends’ judgment goes out against putting on handkerchiefs according to the fashion of the World leaving the neck bare behind, and against cutting and powdering the hair.<sup>36</sup>

The Women’s Preparative Meeting at Kirbymoorside takes up the question of dress and also pronounces against eating cakes at neighbours’ funerals. And Women Friends testified against members imitating the fashions of the world in their head cloths, some having four long pinner ends hanging down, some wearing “scarlet or purple stockings, and petticoats made short to expose ’em.”<sup>37</sup> Time would not suffice for Monthly Meetings to deal with short petticoats to-day.

About the year 1719 Isaac Scarth, one of the Trustees of Staintondale Meeting House property, attended the Quarterly Meeting that sent a long Minute to Monthly Meetings advising Friends to

refrain from wearing unnecessary and extravagant wigs such as are set out with many curls, reaching

<sup>35</sup> *The Call and Claims of Natural Beauty*, p. 14. Lecture by G. M. Trevelyan in the Rickman Godlee series.

<sup>36</sup> J. W. Rowntree, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>37</sup> *Quaker Byways*, W. F. Harvey, p. 53.

down upon their backs longer than is needful for warmness and decency becoming the Truth.

Against this fussy discipline respecting eating, drinking and dressing Margaret Fox had spoken her mind, twenty years before these Minutes were adopted. I think that she must have loved the hills about Ulverston, the play of sunshine and cloud over heather and bracken, the deepening colour as the sun sloped to the west, and the rich beauty of daffodil, bluebell and purple orchis. She writes :

Friends are the people of the living God, Who has shined into their hearts. . . . Let them beware of limiting the Holy One of Israel and meddling with the things of God otherwise than His Spirit leads and guides. . . . Christ testified against the Pharisees that said, "I am holier than thou". . . . Away with the whimsical narrow imaginations that would forbid us from going to a birth or a burial of the people of the world.

For it is now gone forty-seven years since we owned the Truth, and all things has gone well and peaceably, till now of late that this narrowness and strictness is entering in, that many cannot tell what to do or not do. Our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were set up for reproving, and looking into suspicious and disorderly walking . . . and not [for] private persons to take upon them to make orders and say, This must be done and the other must be done. . . . But Christ Jesus saith that we must take no thought what we shall eat or what we shall drink or what we shall put on ; but bids us consider the lilies, how they grow in more royalty than Solomon. But, contrary to this, we must not look at no colours, nor make anything that is changeable colours, as the hills are, nor sell them, nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one colour.

This is a silly, poor gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God's eternal Spirit and clothed with his eternal Light, which leads us and guides us into righteousness ; and to live righteously and justly and holily in this present evil world. This is the clothing that God puts on us, and likes and will bless. . . .

I see that our blessed, precious, holy Truth, that has visited [us] from the beginning, is kept under ; and these silly, outside, imaginary practices is coming up, and practised with great zeal, which hath often grieved my heart.

Now I have set before you Life and Death ; and desire you to choose Life and God and His Truth.<sup>38</sup>

## V

I come now to the postscripts.

In the middle of those twenty years, when Walpole was giving peace and prosperity to Britain, a gentleman told of his journey from London to Scarborough and of his sojourn there, in letters to a friend :

There is but one church, St. Mary's ; there is indeed a Presbyterian and a Quakers Meeting : but then I look upon it as unpolite, to deviate from the Established Church, as it would be indolent to live a whole Year at Scarbrough without going to the Spaw. The Church is situate on the Top of an exceeding high Hill, and of consequence difficult to get up to ; this may perhaps be the Reason of my seeing, one Sunday Afternoon, several Stars and Garters at the Quakers Meeting House, which is easier of access.<sup>39</sup>

The *Scarborough Miscellany* for the year 1733 breaks into verse over this incident. The song is called " The Scarborough Reformation " and is sung to the tune of " There was a young Grocer of London Town."

Have You heard in the North  
Of a strange Holding forth,  
That was made to ten Peers of the Nation,  
How they left Mother Church  
On a Time in the Lurch,  
To receive Sister *Ruth's* consolation ?  
Fall de rall, etc.

<sup>38</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 517-519.

<sup>39</sup> *A Journey from London to Scarborough*, in several letters from a gentleman there, to his friend in London, 1733.

Cause the way was too streight  
 Nor much used by the Great ;  
     They resolv'd on't for once not to stickle,  
 But to shun Sabbath breaking,  
 Would e'en go a Quaking,  
     With our Friends of the Conventicle.  
Fall de rall, etc.

Had they all been converted  
 Before they departed,  
     And to Town had hoy'd away straight,  
 What a World of each Sort  
 Wou'd have posted to Court  
     To have view'd the odd Change in the State.  
Fall de rall, etc.

When (instead of blue Garters)  
 With Coats plain as Martyrs,  
     And plaited Cravats, lilly-white,  
 They had stood to be seen  
 By our King and his Queen,  
     On a Ball or a Drawing Room Night.  
Fall de rall, etc.

Three or four years later the Quarterly Meeting issued a note of warning against "the vain sights and shows" of Scarborough. And in a couple of years the Friends of Scarborough ask for help to enlarge the Meeting House, as many visitors resort to it in the Season.

In these centuries "Quakerism on Moor and Wold" had produced a type of character with kindly sympathy for the sufferings of mankind, with a strong feeling for civil and religious liberty, and a recognition of the value of education, the development of the human mind and soul to its utmost capacity.

I must not spend more time over the quietist period of Quakerism. Wesley and his apostles revived the spiritual life of the dales ; and in the Evangelical period of Friends the towns bordering the moors and wolds provided spiritual energy that found work at home and abroad in Adult Schools and Foreign Missions.

We are living now in an age of Quakerism that was inaugurated by the Quaker Renaissance at the close of last century. The movement known as Evangelicalism was not great enough to cover the whole of life. The spirit of enquiry which showed itself in scientific discoveries and inventions is the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century, a spirit which must be comprehended in a religious re-awakening.

When the historian a hundred years hence writes of this Renaissance he will estimate how it was helped by the Scarborough Summer School of 1897, the first of the Friends' Summer Schools, and he will tell of a young prophet of the movement who lived again the experience of those Quaker pioneers. He was thrilled with a rediscovery of Christ, the Light, and of the high adventure of service. He recognised that that service called for all the God-given powers of man, intellect no less than emotion and will. Illuminated by that Light he dedicated himself to God's service in the house that he had chosen on the edge of the moors, in sight of the wolds.

ARTHUR ROWNTREE.

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### Allusion and Illusion

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In the "Advices on Ministry" we are advised to be careful not to misquote or misapply the Scriptures.

As to *misquotations*, if what is quoted does not sound familiar we are apt to think that it is taken from a rendering of the original by some individual translator.

There are some curious examples of *misapplication*. We have three in mind, each connected with the liberation of Ministers for service. One, quite familiar to Friends of last century, was the use of the words in reference to Christ's riding into Jerusalem on an ass, applied to the Minister and quoted as "Loose him and let him go."

In the Journals of Elizabeth Fry there are two curious examples of quotation and misapplication. When Elizabeth Fry came before the Morning Meeting with her concern to visit France, "Many Friends gave approval in Scripture reference and language. After meeting Carolina Norton said she believed as Jael was the means of destroying Sisera by running the nail through his head, so I should be helped to destroy the infidelity where I was sent that that which was said of Jael might be said of me, where it says she was blessed among women and showing what she had been enabled to accomplish"!

On a later similar occasion one Friend quoted the text: "Fear not, thou worm Jacob"!