

Some Byways in Quaker Research

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The Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society,
1951

I. THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST

George Fox wrote in his *Journal* for 1653 :

“ The next day we came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a General Meeting of many thousands of people atop of an hill near Langlands.¹ A glorious and heavenly meeting it was ; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all ; & there were as many as one could well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were fixed on Christ, their teacher, & they came to sit under their own vine, insomuch that Francis Howgill coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words. . . A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishopric, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and the plants of God grew and flourished so, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them, that many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise ; yea, to babes and sucklings He ordained strength.”²

ELSEWHERE George Fox explained that he stayed and preached in the North-West for two years, and when he was satisfied the Meetings really understood how to have and feel Christ their leader, then he moved South. In no other part of England had he so far stayed for so long a time.

A Quaker historian has written that the remarkable success of George Fox in those several northern counties needs explanation. I have felt so, too, and this evening I venture to make some suggestions in explanation of this interesting fact.

My question would be, therefore : What kind of people did George Fox find in the North of England, and particularly in the North-West ? What of their race, history and condition in the mid-seventeenth century ?

I. As regards race, they were Angles or Norse, the earlier Celts having been pushed into the high fells, and

¹ Near Caldbeck.

² *Journal* (Bi-Cent.) I, 182-3 ; *Cambridge Journal*, I, 137.

largely died out. The two languages are interwoven. Place and family names are often Norse—thwaite, satter, how, gill, etc. Features of face and body often are Norse still. Even the Herdwick sheep are Norse, having been brought in a thousand years ago by these sturdy marauding Norsemen.

2. Over all life in the North, down to the Union of the Crowns in 1603, was the terror of Scots invasions. Destruction, death, poverty, brutality. Twice in the fourteenth century they poured even through Furness, once across the Sands to Lancaster. Behind my house in Far Sawrey, the lane over the fell to the north still bears the name of "Scots Lane," a relic of one of those raids. In their first attack on Furness, the Scots were delighted with the abundance of iron which they found. The reduction in taxation allowed to the whole North country shows how heavy were the ravages of the Scots. Not until the early seventeenth century was it possible to have any feeling of security, and then it was that the old pele-towers gradually were enlarged to become in many cases beautiful homes; many manor houses and stone farm-houses, with English oak panelling and furniture, often finely carved, came to be built. Such were Swarthmoor Hall, built about 1600, and Rydal Hall near Ambleside.

3. Another characteristic of the Northern scene was as follows:—after feudalism was established at the Norman Conquest, it never lay so heavily on the people of the North-West as it did on the southern part of England. There were of course, a few great noble families, but there were many lesser gentry, and below them in the social scale the yeomen or estatesmen who were the owners of small estates worked by themselves, and there were very few serfs. Probably this was due to the fact of the large numbers of the very independent Norsemen. This independence is a present-day characteristic. This loose form of feudalism, together with Roman Catholicism, was destroyed at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) in Henry VIII's reign, and the Rebellion of the Earls (1569) in Queen Elizabeth's reign. After these events the great noble families were destroyed or died out, and Roman Catholicism remained as a hidden religion. The tragedy was that the Protestantism put in its place was so meagre—churches in ruins, churches without clergy, the people's spiritual life neglected, the abbeys

closed. In the seventeenth century Puritanism came into the North-West to fill in the vacuum left by a Protestantism which had largely failed. The Puritans were Baptists and Independents chiefly—Presbyterianism was too Scotch! Schools, however, were increasing. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, eleven schools were founded, and between 1600 and 1660, seventeen were founded, including Judge Fell's at Ulverston. And there were others of older foundation, and also schoolmasters, often curates, had schools; Bampton school, for example, was "turning ploughboys into bishops."

"These figures show that our ancestors in these counties in the seventeenth century were not quite the wild untutored barbarians that they are often assumed to have been."¹

Bampton, Appleby, Hawkshead, specially, became famous schools; also Sedbergh and St. Bees, and Kendal.

And so in the North-West George Fox in and after 1652 met two very contrasting types of people. One was the independent, but ignorant man, easily given to violence, on sight of a stranger suspicious to the point of "heaving half a brick at him"—such Fox met in Ulverston and on Walney Island. Probably these were still showing their descent from Norse sea-reavers in qualities accentuated by centuries of poverty and isolation. The other was the Puritan minister and his flock, such as Thomas Lawson of Rampside, near Barrow, and the Independent John Wilkinson of Brigham, near Cockermouth, and particularly the Seekers in Sedbergh, Preston Patrick and Kendal. These presumably had developed through the centuries from the same Norse stock, but by education, and the working of the Spirit of God and the spread of ideas of a purer religion than formerly, they had become ready for still further development. I would suggest that the characteristic which the people of the North-West had pre-eminently was a love of liberty, and a love of independence, and it was this particularly that helped Fox to win so many followers, that it was said that in some parishes none but the minister and his clerk continued to attend the parish church; and again the Earl of Carlisle was able to say (many years later) that Fox and the Quakers had done more to destroy the moss-troopers than any army had

¹ Bouch: *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties*, 241-2.

done. Studying the history of this interesting and beautiful part of England, and living in it for many years, I can still see—and am not alone in this—the proud independence of its people, and I feel this is due largely to two closely related facts—to the settlement of the Norse people one thousand years ago, and the lack of severity and thoroughness of the feudal system established 850 years ago but destroyed after four and a half centuries. It is not without significance that we see in the spread of Quakerism throughout the world, that it thrives best where there is a spirit of liberty and a love for it. One of the early missionary Friends who travelled through Poland to Danzig reported to George Fox, that the Truth in those parts could make no headway as the people were so enslaved to their feudal princes that they could not believe other than their feudal lords.

II. DANIEL FLEMING¹

Another byway in my Quaker research took me to the study of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, near Ambleside. He it was who after the Restoration was the chief persecutor of Friends in Westmorland. In 1663 after the Kaber Rigg Plot he was the leader of all those justices of Westmorland and Lancashire who attacked George Fox, Margaret Fell and many others. Fleming presided at the sessions in Lancaster in January 1664, at the first of the series of trials of George Fox which ended in his imprisonments at Lancaster and Scarborough. It is not my purpose to tell here the story of the persecutions by Daniel Fleming and the two Kirkbys, Colonel Richard of Kirkby Hall, and Justice William of Ashlack Hall. That has been done elsewhere. I should like this evening to give a picture of Fleming, taken largely from his own memoirs, the remarkable collection of manuscripts he left at his death in 1701, and the extracts of his accounts, published some fifty years ago by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. These accounts are comparable to Sarah Fell's of Swarthmoor Hall—hers from 1673-1678, his from 1656 to 1688. The two homes are about twenty miles apart.

Daniel Fleming was born in 1633 at Coniston Hall, being the son of William Fleming and Alice Kirkby his wife. He came of a family which had owned land and castles and halls

¹ He was knighted in 1681.

in Furness, and other estates in Westmorland and Cumberland for some centuries. His mother, an able woman, belonged to the Kirkbys of Kirkby Hall, near Margaret Fell's birthplace on the Duddon estuary. The Kirkby family had some members with a streak of wildness and wickedness in them which did not seem to occur in the Fleming family. H. S. Cowper wrote about Richard Kirkby (who died in 1681) "a man at once ambitious, unfeeling and mean." After schooling locally, Daniel Fleming went to Queen's College, Oxford, and later was a member of Gray's Inn. He was there about the time Judge Fell's son George was. In 1655, at the age of 22, he married Barbara, daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher, and soon afterwards he restored Rydal Hall where he and his wife now went to live. During this time of the Commonwealth, Fleming (whose father had been a Royalist, and who had compounded for his estates after the defeat and death of the King) held of course no public positions. His time was chiefly occupied in winning and then improving his home and estate, and living the life of a country gentleman, by no means wealthy. Thomas Fell, as a barrister, helped him to get possession of Rydal. It was not until the Restoration had come about, that he was able to hold office, and soon he was appointed Commissioner for Westmorland, Deputy Lieutenant of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, sheriff of Cumberland for one year, and lieutenant of the train-bands, later becoming colonel. It was while he was carrying out those duties—and they were arduous in the days following what the Royalists looked upon and described as the years of rebellion—that he came across the Quakers, and, of course, other so-called fanatics, and did his best to break up their meetings and impoverish them. I believe the main reason for this persecution—it was different from the imprisoning for non-payment of tithes and church dues—was fear. The authorities lived in a panic. Reading Daniel Fleming's letters to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, and to others, one can see that clearly. They feared particularly plots against the King, and they also feared the possibility of the return of the Scots. They had had quite enough of the Scots during the Commonwealth—not as bad as the former raids, but bad enough! Fleming and his friends also feared new ideas in the realm of religion. Till lately the Flemings and Kirkbys had been Roman Catholics—

and a modern Roman Catholic writer states that Richard Kirkby was a Catholic until 1678.

George Fox and Margaret Fell and Quaker prisoners and their wives might write to Daniel Fleming as much as they had strength for, and they might explain how peaceable they were, but how could he believe them? To us it seems unintelligent and inhuman, but where fear and panic exist, many virtues disappear. Perhaps some chord in his heart was touched, for he kept the letters, and there they are still in his collected MSS.

Aug. 10, 1663. The Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland and Westmorland to Sir Henry Bennet. Concerning the militia. The Quakers and other separatists are numerous, and their meetings weekly are apprehended dangerous, if by any insurrection an opportunity to do mischief should be offered to them. Although we have lately proceeded according to law against some of them, they abate nothing of their obstinacy.¹

Letter from William Wilson of Stangend, Little Langdale, to Daniel Fleming, Dec. 9, 1663.

"Oh fye, Justice Fleming, that ever this report should be sounded in our ears that within thy liberties such plundering should be amongst thy neighbours. We never had the like in our parish since the Scots was amongst us, nor never expected that our own justices should have made such work as set men of robbing & spoiling true men's goods who dare not spoil themselves, nor do any hurt to any man. . . My friend William Grave is this day lying in the peril of death, & one prisoner is lying dead this day upon the checker table. . . Thy cousin William Kirkby reported that night that you had done that wicked act of casting us all into prison, that you had had an honourable bench, & that thou was such a man as was not in many parts, & your whole service had almost been taken up about Quakers, & that you had holed the Fox, & stayed his Hambrough Quaker from travelling. . . I have heard thy name honoured among men where I have been both for courage and understanding."²

Yes, Fleming was a very intelligent man. He was one of the pioneer local antiquaries and historians; he was a genealogist, a scholar, a careful collector of old documents, and keeper of accounts. Above all, his marriage was an extremely happy one, and the relations with his large family of children were wise, affectionate and generous. Three things he wrote throw light on his character as husband and father.

¹ From *The Le Fleming MSS. at Rydal Hall* (Historical Manuscripts Commission), 1890, no. 561.

² With editorial addition: "A very long letter in the usual Quaker style." From *The Le Fleming MSS. at Rydal Hall* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), 1890, no. 580.

1. In the Accounts :

Aug. 6. 1665. Paid for my loving & lovely son John's coffin, 2/6. Given to the poor at Hutton church, being threepenny dole, £3/0/6. Item to the servants at Hutton, 10/-, & to a guide 6d., in all . . . £3/13/6.

The little boy, aged nearly three, had been sent "to accompany his cousin, Henry Fletcher" at Hutton Hall, and died there, away from father and mother.

2.

"April 15, 1675. Memorandum. My dearly beloved wife was delivered of a boy the 3rd day of April 1675. . . . It pleased God to call to his mercy my Dear Wife upon Tuesday, April 13 . . . at Rydal Hall, who was buried at Grasmere Church the next day in the evening, to the great loss of me her afflicted husband & of fourteen children, all living, whom God preserve."

A measure of the love felt by others for her is the entry that her husband gave at her funeral to the poor at 4d. apiece, the sum of £30/10/4.

3. Sir Daniel Fleming's Advice to his Son.

"Son,

"The vertuous Inclination of thy matchless Mother, by whose Godly and tender Care thy Infancy was govern'd, together with thy Education under so zealous and excellent a Schoolmaster, puts me rather in Assurance than hope, that thou art not ignorant of that summary Bond, which is only able to make thee happy, as well in thy Death as Life ; I mean the true Knowledge and Worship of thy Creator and Redeemer, without which all other Things are vain and miserable ; so that thy Life being guided by so all-sufficient a Teacher, I make no Doubt but he will furnish thy Life both with divine and moral Documents ; Yet that I may not cast off the Care beseeching a Parent towards his Child, or that thou shou'dst have Cause to derive thy whole Felicity and Welfare rather from others than from whom thou receivedst thy Birth and Being, I think it fit and agreeable to the Affection I bear thee to help thee with such Advertisements and Rules for the Squaring of thy Life, as are gather'd rather by long Experience, than by much Reading ; to the End that thou, entring into this exorbitant Age, may be the better prepar'd to shun those ill Courses, whereinto this World and thy Lack of Experience may easily draw thee. And, because I will not confound thy Memory, I have reduced them into Ten Precepts, which if thou imprint in thy Mind, thou shalt reap the Benefit, and I the Comfort and Contentment.

"When it shall please God to bring thee to Man's Estate, use great Providence and Circumspection in the Choice of thy Wife ; for from thence may spring, as thy future Good, so thine Ill ; and it is an Action like unto a Stratagem of War, wherin a Man can, for the

most Part, err but once. If thy Estate be good, match near Hand and at Leisure, if it be otherwise then far off and quickly. Enquire diligently of her Disposition, and how her Parents have been inclined in their Youth. Let her not be poor, how generous¹ soever, for a Man can buy nothing in the Market with Gentility, nor chuse a base and uncomely Creature altogether for Wealth, for it will cause in others Contempt and Loathing in thy self. Neither make Choice of a Dwarf, nor a Fool, for by the one thou shalt beget a race of Pigmies, and the other will be a daily Disgrace, and it will irke thee to hear her talk, for thou shalt find, to thy great Grief, that there is nothing more fulsome than a She-fool. And touching the Government of thy House, let thy Hospitality be moderate, and according to the Measure of thy own Estate, rather plentiful than sparing, but not too costly ; for I never knew or heard of any grow poor by keeping an orderly Table ; but many consume themselves through secret Vices, and then Hospitality bears the Blame. But banish all swineish Drunkards out of thy House, which is a Vice that impaireth Health, consumeth Wealth, and makes no shew but of Beastliness. And I never heard any Praise ascrib'd to a Drunkard, more than the well-bearing of his Drink, which is a fitter Comendation for a Brewer's Horse or a Drayman, than for either a Gentleman or Serving Man. . . .

"Bring thy Children up in Learning and Obedience, yet without Austerity ; praise them openly, and reprehend them secretly ; give them good Countenance and convenient Maintenance according to thine Ability, otherwise thy Life will seem their Bondage, and then what Portions thou shalt leave them at thy Death, they will thank Death for it and not thee ; and I am persuaded that the foolish Cocker-ing of some Parents, and the over stern Carriage of others, makes more Men and Women to take ill Courses, than their own vicious Inclinations.

"Marry thy Daughters in time lest they marry themselves ; and suffer not thy Sons to pass the Alpes, for they shall learn there nothing but Blasphemy, Swearing and Atheism ; and if by Travel they chance to get a few broken Languages, they will profit them no more than to have one Meat serv'd in divers Dishes.

"Neither by my Consent shalt thou train them up to Wars, for he that sets up his Rest to live by that Profession, can hardly be an honest Man, or a good Christian ; for every War is of it self unjust, unless the Cause make it just ; besides it is a Science no longer in Request than there is use for Soldiers ; for in the time of Peace, they are like to Chimneys in Summer. . . ."²

What a pity it was that Fleming and the Quakers did not know each other better !

The rest of Sir Daniel's advice to his son refers to hospitality, lawsuits, relations with friends and relations, credit, and jesting.

¹ "Well-bred."

² Printed in *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming* (Cumb. & Westm. Antiquarian & Archaeol. Soc. Tract series, 11, 1928), 92-95.

III. HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

Can we get a picture of the man and his life from his accounts, contrasting these with Sarah Fell's entries? And possibly giving a sideways glance from time to time at the elaborate accounts kept for the Earl of Bedford at Woburn about the same time?

Both at Swarthmoor and at Rydal, and far more than at Woburn, the households were practically self-supporting as regards food and some of the clothing. Wheat and wheaten bread were bought sometimes, but oats, making porridge and clap-bread were home-grown. Beef and mutton, pork and bacon were largely home-grown—although Sarah Fell did spend 7s. 6d. on a sheep when William Penn stayed with them. Venison is often mentioned by Daniel Fleming, usually sent as a present from one of his gentleman neighbours, when a tip was given to the carrier. Twenty geese cost 13s. 4d. at 8d. each. Fish, if not from the nearby rivers Rothay and Brathay which supplied them abundantly with char and trout, came sometimes from Morecambe Bay. At other times, salmon was bought, five for 9s. 6d. in 1657. They must have been large, for Sarah Fell says a "little salmon" cost 9d. One hundred herrings cost 3s. Fruit was not entirely home-grown at either house—apples, strawberries and blayberries (bilberries) are bought for Rydal; cherries, strawberries, currants, raisins and prunes (plums) appear in the Swarthmoor Hall accounts. Wines, spirits and ale are in both accounts, bought locally or in London or Newcastle. Home spinning and weaving by local craftsmen make the clothes of children and servants, but best dresses, wedding dresses and the like, are bought in London and sent by carrier.

In both households local craftsmen are employed to make large pieces of furniture like tables, bedsteads, and chests, and to put in the panelling. Looking-glasses (10s.), clocks and watches, are bought elsewhere, as are silver spoons and pewter plates. Wages are the same in both places, 1d. or 2d. a day for women workers in the fields, together with about 8d. for food provided; and house servants varied from £1 to £3 a year. A Rydal milkmaid had £1 a year. Both Daniel Fleming and Sarah Fell banked savings for their servants, and sometimes borrowed from them. Ten pounds were once borrowed from the Rydal shepherd. There are

some payments made by Daniel Fleming which do not appear in Sarah Fell's accounts—many times the father pays "cockpennies and barring out." "Given to the 3 boys for cock-pennies 2s. and to bet 6d. 2s. 6d." The barring out was 1s. or 1s. 6d. According to Miss M. L. Armitt who made a most exhaustive study of the Fleming MSS. and accounts, the cockpennies were in practice a tribute or fee for the schoolmaster. The custom was based on an authorised cock-fight, held in every school at Shrovetide. (Is the modern pancake struggle at Westminster School, a civilized version of it?). Possibly the boys' captain supplied one cock, and the schoolmaster the other. A pit was dug, and at Hawkshead that was in the floor of the school-room. The amount of cockpennies varied with the school. The Amble-side master had 1s., the one at Hawkshead 2s. 6d., at Kendal 5s., and at the last school the Fleming heir gave 10s. "Barring out" was a very ancient custom, generally done before the Christmas holidays. Sometimes school charters made rules for it—"scholars should bar and keep forth the school and the schoolmaster in such sort as other scholars do in great schools"—was written by the founder of a Cheshire school. It is a kind of mock rebellion, the scholars seizing the school, barring the doors, and refusing to open them until the schoolmaster outside had been brought to terms in the matter of holidays or hours of study. The money was used on a feast.

Daniel Fleming had nine surviving sons to educate, and Kendal and Hawkshead were the chief schools, but they had a schoolmaster at the Hall for a time at a salary of 40s. a year and diet. "A Hornbook and wire" cost 3d., primers, a grammar bought for the children cost 10d. The daughters were taught at home, special mention being made of their music on virginals and other instruments ("harpsicalls and manicords" at £1 a month). You may remember how Margaret Fell records how, on the return of her husband after the first visit of George Fox, her children, astonished at their father's silence, "were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their music that they were learning." That was in 1652—twenty years later there is no record of the purchase of musical instruments for the Quaker grandchildren at Swarthmoor.

Another payment in the Rydal book which does not

appear in the Swarthmoor one is for losses at playing at cards. Mrs. Fleming is a rather frequent loser, though her husband lost also at times. He lost 8d. to his wife's 5s.—but higher sums at other times. Another time—"paid my wife which she had lost at cards, etc. £2 10s." Another time £1 10s. 6d.—and fairly frequently 5s.

Then there are entertainments—fiddlers at Kirkby Hall (before they went to Rydal) 2s., the waits at Penrith had 1s., the waits at Kendal, players from Ambleside, players of Cartmel, a fiddler at Christmas, shovel-board, cards and hunting. A football was once bought for the children.

Presents are mentioned in both books, of course, tips to servants of a host, tips to servants bringing presents of venison, and so on. Once in the Rydal book is recorded a present of 2s. to the Kendal schoolmaster and some scholars "for cakes and ale." Sarah Fell sent potted char to Guly Penn, but Daniel Fleming sent char pies and potted char frequently to his friends, particularly to Sir Joseph Williamson in London. This was a famous dish of the Lake District. The char, a relic of the Ice Age, still lives in deep lakes like Windermere and Coniston, and is very good eating. The char-pie appears in the first known accounts of the Fleming family in 1632, and in Daniel Fleming's accounts it appears frequently down to about 1674, when pots and tins began to take the place of the pastry. The pies, covered, of course, with pastry, were huge in size, weighing (together with wooden case for packing) up to nearly 8 stone. They were sent to Carlisle, London and elsewhere by packhorse. The earthenware pots were cheaper than the tins, and both were more reliable than the pastry. The fish were cooked in and seasoned by cloves, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, pepper, pounds of butter, wheaten flour—a whole pie might come to £3 in cost, in addition to the chars, and the carriage to London was at the rate of 2d. a lb.

As regards charitable gifts, both Halls gave to Bedlamers, to men calling whose houses had been burnt down, and shipwrecked people. Fleming gave 5s. for the poor of London for the late fire, 6d. "unto a Portugall," 5s. to the rebuilding of St. Paul's church in London; in 1686 he gave £1 to the collection for the French Protestants in England.

There seems to be more mention of medicines for men and beasts by Sarah Fell than by Daniel Fleming. The latter

however, records the services for his eldest son, of a bone-setter, and for a Dr. Dykes who "laid plasters to Will," and another for medicine for him, and on another occasion he gives his brother Roger £10 "towards his charges in going unto London to get the King's touch for the evil." The medicines mentioned by Sarah Fell are all from herbs. I have mentioned them elsewhere.¹

Smallpox, of which there were a number of cases in the Fell family (among the grandchildren), and also in the family of the Earl of Bedford, did not visit the Flemings.

In the Bedford family, the 2nd Countess died of it in the sixteenth century, the 3rd Countess had had her beauty ruined by it, the 5th Countess had been desperately ill with it in 1641, after her father-in-law had it. In 1659 the Earl had it, and there were a number of other cases too in that family. Smallpox was not only a disease of the poor.

An unusual glimpse into something very close to negro slavery is given us by the following entry by Daniel Fleming, 1685:—"Given to my Lady Thanet's page and to a Black, at Skipton Castle. 1s."

As regards books, though there are none among Sarah Fell's purchases (except a primer for young William Yeamans and *The Young Clerk's Tutor* for herself) we know that Margaret Fell had a library which was valued at £10 (=£100-120 now) in the inventory of her will. A number of books were bought by Daniel Fleming, chiefly historical and philosophical. The Earl of Bedford had about 400 volumes in his library, chiefly Puritan theological works, no drama or poetry, and very few literary works of any kind. It is interesting to compare these with the variety of books in George Fox's library. One contrast between these three accounts struck me very forcibly. We know how Margaret Fell had visitors constantly staying at her home; sometimes, as William Caton said, "Friends from 5 or 6 Counties at the same time;" and how Judge Fell found his hay being eaten at an alarming rate by Friends' horses. The Flemings must have entertained their friends, as there is frequent mention of their staying with their friends, and giving the servants little presents; this hospitality must have been reciprocated. But when they had visitors who stayed a long time, sometimes money was paid in return, as the following

¹ I. Ross: *Margaret Fell*.

memorandum shows: "May 1688, my daughter Wilson came to Rydal May 12, 1688, and her husband, May 15, and they returned home with their two sons, May 17, 1688, who had been at Rydal ever since Dec. 28, 1687. Their father paid me five guineas for their table, and without pocketing of the same I gave the five guineas unto my daughter Wilson."

In the case of the Earl and Countess of Bedford, Gladys Scott Thomson in her book *Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700*, writes:

"It is certain that, in spite of that expansion [after the Restoration], life at Woburn continued to be extremely quiet until towards the end of the sixties. No royal visit was paid to Woburn. There was remarkably little entertaining, probably because two of the daughters were married and for the greater part of the time all the sons were away."

But what is more surprising is the fact that when relatives came to stay at Woburn, they paid for their entertainment, as well as for that of their servants. For instance, in 1671, there is the entry:

"Received of Mr. Wm. Russell [a son], for the diet and entertainment of himself, his lady and retinue from Lady Day 1670 to the 9th of June then next following at £8 a week—£88 etc."

The cost of each servant was 10s. a week. When Lady Diana Verney, a married daughter, came with her little son and a company of servants, she paid £230. "These handsome payments," adds Miss Thomson, "reduced the cost to the Earl for his household to £1,038 for the year."

In another book on accounts, *A Seventeenth Century Country Gentleman*, by E. A. B. Barnard, it is stated that when Sir Francis Throckmorton was buried, relatives came to stay at his home, Chisfield Park, near Stevenage, and stayed there as paying guests. Their servants were included. Was this difference in custom due to difference between the North and the South, or was it due to the fact that the wealthy always brought many servants with them, and naturally enough they could not expect their friend-hosts to keep them without payment?

Now I have taken you along two of my byways, and hope that by the first of these I may have added something to your knowledge of a beautiful part of our country, whose people's

history and race gave them a love of freedom and independence which may well largely account for the fact that George Fox grew those spiritual roots essential for the success of his mission. I hope that along the second byway light may have been thrown on one of the most energetic persecutors of the early Friends, and that we can at the same time enter into his own mind to explain his action, and also learn from him that fear in the end is conquered by courage and by the consistent determination of those that suffer for conscience sake.

LAURENCE DOPSON has presented to the Library his article, *The bicentenary of John Sims, M.D., F.R.S. (1749-1831)*, reprinted from *The Practitioner*, Feb. 1950, vol. 164, pp. 156-170.

Son of a Canterbury Quaker doctor, John Sims followed in his father's footsteps at Edinburgh University, where his thesis was on the use of cold water *De usu aquae frigidae interno* (1774). In 1779 Sims came to London and soon became a leading obstetrical physician. He was called in by Sir Richard Croft just before the death of the Princess Charlotte when complications had arisen in her first confinement. Although Sims married outside the Society, he continued to move in Quaker circles and many Friends were among his patients. He had the Quaker interest in botany, and he was executor for and followed William Curtis in the editorship of his *Botanical Magazine* (1799). The editorial correspondence is preserved in the Library at Kew Gardens, and there are letters by Sims in the British Museum (Natural History) and in the Linnean Society's collections.

This well-documented review supplements the life by Joseph J. Green in an article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1913, p. 265.

CYCLONE COVEY writes on *Puritanism and Music in Colonial America* in the July 1951 issue of *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 378-388. The author reconsiders the Calvinist colonial evidence on which Percy A. Scholes worked for his *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (1934). The conclusions now reached are that Calvinism was lethal to music in proportion to its independence of other influences. Cyclone Covey considers Percy Scholes' attribution to Quakers of all the antipathy to music that is usually charged against the Puritans, and largely discounts it. He brings in as evidence the easy passage many worshippers made from the silent worship of Quakerism to the use of German and Swedish organs, the losses of Pennsylvanian Quaker Tories to Anglicanism, and the toleration in Pennsylvania of the music of other sects.