EARLY QUAKER ACTIVITY AND REACTIONS TO IT, 1652-1664

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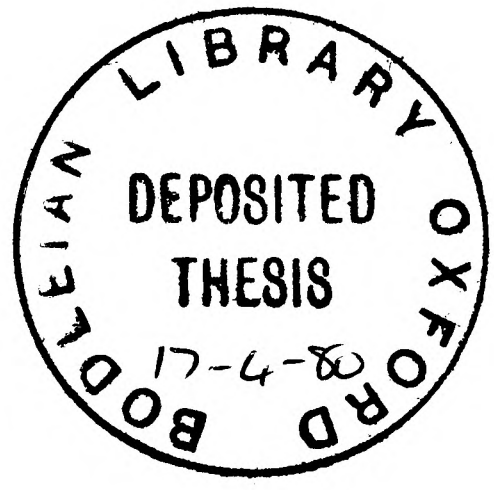
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Though this thesis has a section on Quaker numbers and distribution and impact at the local level (in Cheshire, Essex and Somerset) and it deals, in an appendix, with Quaker social origins, its main concern is with the impact of the sect during the period 1652-1664, with those aspects of the Quaker movement that brought it into conflict with the authorities and with the way in which the various authorities - local as well as central, in the Interregnum as well as the early Restoration period - dealt with the Quaker problem. The thesis both establishes and accounts for hostility towards the Quakers (at all levels of society), a hostility which during the 1650s intensified dissatisfaction with the Cromwellian regime, encouraging a more conservative religious settlement, and which during the 1660s had something to do with the repressive legislation and paranoia of those years. Fear and hatred of Quakers had clear political repercussions, contributing in part, in 1659, to the reaction that ended in the restoration of the Stuarts. Finally, it is argued that before 1660 the Quakers were not consistent pacifists and did not abstain from politics; that after 1660 the famous peace testimony was slower in developing and less universally accepted than most historians have assumed. For this reason and because of the sect's social radicalism - their opposition to tithes for example - the anxieties of the gentry and ministers were not without foundation.

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ABSTRACT

The object of this thesis has been to explore some non-theological aspects of the early Quaker movement, in particular the sect's impact during the period 1652-1664.

There is, of course, no shortage of studies on the early Quakers, but Quaker historiography does seem to suffer from two broad and interconnected defects. Few historians have bothered to make use of non-Quaker sources: namely the various court records (ecclesiastical as well as civil), State papers, newsbooks, diaries, and the tract literature which was directed against Quakers. No-one, as far as I know, has attempted to deal with what I would describe as the other side of the coin of Quakerism, how Quakers were perceived and treated by their contemporaries.

My concern has been with those aspects of early Quakerism that brought the movement into conflict with the authorities and with the way in which the various authorities, both local and central, dealt with the Quaker problem during the Interregnum and the early 1660s. The implicit question is: did the advent of the Quaker movement have its political repercussions?

The contents of the thesis can be summarized quite briefly. The introductory section, a general survey of early Quakerism, emphasizes the radical, enthusiastic and thaumaturgical nature of the movement, and hopefully establishes (and to some extent accounts for) the sect's widespread and successful penetration of the counties. The next section deals more specifically with Quaker impact during the Interregnum, in the Army as well as at the centre and in the provinces. It discusses the troublesome, and somewhat underestimated, Quaker campaign against tithes. And it deals with the Quaker role in the turmoil of 1659. In section three I discuss the fate of Quakers at the hands of the authorities during the early Restoration period and try to account for official hostility. Popular hostility is dealt with in section four. Finally, in an appendix, I examine the social origins of the early movement.

The Quakers were the most radical and uncompromising of the Interregnum sects. They were also the most successful,

and the gentry were alarmed by their contagious growth. Friends were not consistent pacifists before 1660 and did not abstain from politics; their concerns were social as much as religious. Nor did the famous peace testimony develop as quickly as most historians have assumed; in fact a few Quakers were involved in post-Restoration plotting, though they were often on the edge of the movement. The sect was greeted with hostility and fear - at all levels of society.

Fear and hatred of Quakers, I have argued, did indeed have political impact. In the 1650s it intensified dissatisfaction with the Cromwellian settlement, giving added impetus to conservative agitation for its revision. In 1659 it contributed to the reaction that ended in the restoration of the Stuarts. And the Quaker problem also had something to do with the repressive legislation and the paranoia of the early 1660s.

In conclusion, then, while I hope that I have had something new to say about a variety of subjects from Quaker pacifism to Quaker social origins, my main concern has been to establish and account for hostility towards the Quaker movement and to argue that this hostility contributed something to the restoration of Charles II.

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INTRODUCTION

The Quakers must surely be the most written-about of the seventeenth-century sects; the subject of works as diverse in concern, content and quality as L.V. Hodgkin's hagiographical A Quaker Saint of Cornwall and Professor Vann's admirable The Social Development of English Quakerism. The early twentieth-century German socialist Edward Bernstein was interested in their socio-economic side, including two chapters on the movement in his Sozialismus und Demokratie in der grossen Englischen Revolution, translated into English in 1930 as Cromwell and Communism. More recently Dr Nuttall has looked to seventeenth-century Quakerism in the hope that a recreation of the spirit of those early days, 'a fresh recognition of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit', would inject a greater emphasis on 'personal religious experience' into current religious thought and theology.[1] Their writings and journals have been edited and reprinted, their sufferings collected and collated. House-journals such as Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, despite, or perhaps because of, their often obsessive penchant for antiquarian or spiritual vignettes, have guaranteed a printed and accessible flow of material for the would-be historian of early Quakerism, and, occasionally, stimulating articles. Then there are general studies like W.C. Braithwaite's still formidable and as yet unsurpassed two volume work.[2] Professor Cole has overturned notions that Quaker pacifism predominated during the 1650s, as well as dealing perceptively with the sect's political ideas.[3] Dr Nuttall, Dr Hill, Professor Cadbury and Mr Thomas have shown us the movement's essentially

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1. G.F. Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm (Wallingford, 1948), p. 13.

2. The Beginnings of Quakerism (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1970); The Second Period of Quakerism (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1961).

3. W.A. Cole, 'The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660' (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1955), and his 'The Quakers and the English Revolution', in T. Aston (ed.), Crisis in Europe 1560-1660 (London, 1970 edn), pp. 341-58.

enthusiastic, radical and thaumaturgical nature.[1] And these are but a few examples. So any new attempt to tread the well-worn path of early Quaker historiography must require some justification.

Of course misconceptions remain, despite all this recent work. Thus Conrad Russell can still claim (in 1971) that most of the Quakers of the 1650s were pacifists; J.C. Davis, that to them 'the state was an irrelevance'; B.G. Blackwood, that 'in general' the early Quakers were not 'social or political radicals'. James Nayler one of the movement's more important members can still be unhelpfully dismissed as a 'sorry lunatic'.[2] Naturally too I do not agree with much that has been written on the early movement: my differences in emphasis and the extent of my disagreement should become clearer during the course of the thesis. It is rather ungenerous to seize upon individual sentences, asides in the work of others, but it should become obvious, for example, that I do not agree with Nuttall's claim (quoting W.C. Braithwaite) that during the Interregnum 'there was no special legislation directed against Friends'. Neither can I concur with Hill's suggestion that there is little evidence of popular hostility towards the sect. Professor Barbour's account of the growth and distribution of early Quakers, I will also argue, is impressionistic, and he is erroneous in his claim that no Quakers were involved in the Northern Plot.[3] However these are not my main concerns.

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1. Nuttall, op.cit., passim, his The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford, 1946), his James Nayler: a Fresh Approach (London, 1954), and 'Overcoming the World: The Early Quaker Programme', Studies in Church History, x (1973), 145-64; C. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), ch. 10; George Fox's 'Book of Miracles', ed. H.J. Cadbury (New York, 1973 edn); K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London, 1973 edn), index: Quakers.

2. C. Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments (Oxford, 1971), p. 367; J.C. Davis, 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Restoration of True Magistracy', Past and Present, lxx (1976), 83-4; B.G. Blackwood, The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion 1640-60 (Chetham Soc., 3rd series, xxv, 1978), p. 76; B. Worden, The Rump Parliament (Cambridge, 1974), p. 129.

3. Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p. 132; Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 188. For Hugh Barbour, see p. 42 below, and The Quakers in Puritan England (New Haven, 1964), p. 227.

The problem with many historians of Quakerism, particularly Friends and most notably and recently, Barbour, is that they have not adequately utilized non-Quaker sources. This is unfortunate, for seventeenth-century sources abound: State papers, newsbooks, Church court, quarter sessions, assize and Exchequer records, non-Quaker diaries and collections of correspondence, and a mass of anti-Quaker tract literature, all of which can often provide a more illuminating, fresher and less in-bred view of early Quakerism. Other than odd impressions here and there, we know virtually nothing of what can be described as the other side of the coin of Quakerism, of the image of the early movement, how Quakers were perceived by their contemporaries; nothing of their actual impact on seventeenth-century politics and society. There is, in short, a dearth amidst all this plenty.

When the Quakers burst rather dramatically on to the scene in the 1650s, reactions were mixed. John Locke thought them either 'madd or jugglers', the object of mirth and derision rather than rancour. Cromwell and his council suggested in 1657 that Quaker perversity arose from a defect in understanding rather than 'malice in their wills'.[1] Others were more charitable. Radicals like Henry Marten treated with contempt notions that Friends were disguised Jesuits;[2] and indeed we shall see that in several borough and county communities Friends were able to enrol radical and influential support. The movement's success during the initial decades of its existence (and what is known of its social composition) suggests that the Quaker message was able to attract substantial numbers of what were known as the middling and poorer sort of people. There is evidence too, at the popular level, of community support of Quakers, particularly over the sect's vehement opposition to tithes. Yet it would still be true to say that the general reaction was one of hostility and fear rather than sympathy or mirth - at all levels of society.

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1. The Correspondence of John Locke, ed. E.S. De Beer (Oxford, 1976), i. 41-2, 83-4, 126; Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), p. 34.
2. C.M. Williams, 'The Political Career of Henry Marten' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis 1954), appendix c, no. 4.

There were frequent mob attacks. In some areas of England evidence of a man's Quakerism was enough to have him turned out of the Army, out of his home, to lose him his tenancy, even to have his vote disputed.[1] In New England it was enough for him to be disenfranchised, or for him and his female co-religionist to be fined, whipped, branded, mutilated, banished, or executed.[2]

My concern in this thesis, then, is with the impact of Quakerism during the period 1652-1664. Hostility towards Quakers, unlike fear of Catholics, is a phenomenon that I feel has been sadly neglected by historians, and a phenomenon that, I will argue, had its own political repercussions, contributing in part (in 1659) to the reaction which ended in the restoration of Charles II. I hope, therefore, both to establish and account for this fear and hostility, concentrating on those aspects of the early Quaker movement which brought it into conflict with the authorities, looking at the way in which the various authorities - local as well as central, in the Interregnum as well as the early Restoration period - dealt with the Quaker problem. Each chapter will, I hope, stand on its own, but all contribute to the same central theme.

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1. J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), i. 762, ii. 96; Notts Rec. Office, DD/SR 221/96/4.

2. G.D. Langdon, Pilgrim Colony (New Haven, 1966), pp. 69, 72-3, 75, 88; K.T. Erikson, Wayward Puritans. A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York, 1966), pp. 107-136.

PART I

QUAKERISM: A GENERAL SURVEY

CHAPTER ONE

QUAKER THOUGHT

Quakerism was very much a creature of its age, part of the radicalism and enthusiasm, the tremendous flux, of the revolutionary years. It was successful - and its success during the early days was phenomenal - because it responded to the needs of that society. Some discovered in Quakerism the answer to the simple question 'how can I be saved?' They found relief at last from the fears of death and damnation inculcated by the Puritan pulpit and pamphlet. After the defeat of the Levellers, the Diggers, the downfall of the Rump and Barebones Parliaments, the Quakers seemed the only group to embody the spirit of earlier years. Spiritual regeneration, moral integrity, would achieve the political, social and religious millennium. This time there could be no compromise, duplicity or defeat. The sect became the conscience of the 'Good Old Cause': 'Wilstandley [ie. Gerrard Winstanley] sayes he beleeves we are sent to perfect that worke which fell in their handes hee hath bene with us', the Quaker Edward Burrough reported in 1654 after his meeting in London with the Digger leader.[1] Like all millenarian movements (I use the term in its broadest sense) Quakerism was a response to upheaval,[2] significantly a product of the second and not the first decade of the Revolution. The rising expectations which civil war had unleashed were frustrated, halted midway, and Quakerism was one of the forms which disillusionment took. For some, no doubt, Quakerism transmuted social inferiority into religious superiority;[3] Quakerism could be the opium of the people in Marx's original sense of the term. Some may well have sought mystical union with God in 'an effort to transcend their immediate selves and environment', 'to seek compensation for their suffering in a sense of nearness to their Maker.'[4] For others it was more straightforward. The sect espoused a powerful egalitarianism, an often virulent class hatred of the gentry and aristocracy, the

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1. Friends' House Library (hereafter F.H.L.), William Caton MS. iii. 147

2. Cf. M. Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium (New Haven, 1974).

3. Cf. W. Stark, The Sociology of Religion: Sectarian Religion (London, 1967).

4. D.W. Petegorsky, Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War (London, 1940), p. 64.

producer's hatred of the parasite, for although they championed the cause of the 'poor' they were predominantly the voice of the middling sort and the lower class elite.[1] Those puzzled and disorientated by the dislocations and upheavals were provided with a Weltanschauung; the sect became the new family ('the royal seed of God'), providing unity, community, advice even for those 'troubled with wind'.[2]

Eventually, I suppose inevitably, the movement ossified. Thomas Ellwood, once the scourge of tithe gatherers, spent his final years scrubbing George Fox's more enthusiastic reminiscences out of his edition of the Journal.[3] George Whitehead quietly dropped perfectionist claims (and the names of his schismatic co-authors, Christopher Atkinson, James Nayler and John Harwood) from reprints of earlier work.[4] Warlike and anti-Royalist passages were suppressed from collections of early Quaker writings.[5] By the end of the seventeenth century fasting was forbidden, dreams and 'pretended visions' had to be passed and approved by meetings.[6]

But our concern is with the earlier, more exuberant phase of Quakerism; and this chapter attempts, by way of introduction to the thesis, a general survey of the ideology of the early movement: its religious, political, social, and thaumaturgical concerns.

Religion and the Church

Like other seventeenth-century radicals, the Quakers were virulently anti-clerical. Opposed to the whole idea of a State Church, they called for a laicization of the ministry. Men and women should hire their own ministers or else ministers should labour to support themselves. In the new spiritual age 'traditions

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1. For Quaker social composition, see appendix 2 below.
2. F.H.L., MS. Portfolio xxxiii. 104: 'it is an evill wind, wch ariseth from ye airy Spirit'.
3. See The Journal of George Fox, ed. N. Penney (2 vols, New York, 1973 edn), i, introduction. Apart from fasts and miraculous healings, the passages relating to Fox's meeting with Henry Vane and his obvious sympathy with the Cromwellian cause, were suppressed.
4. See F.H.L., tract volume 268, for the original tracts with manuscript alterations made by Whitehead in 1703. For the change in the Quaker doctrine of perfectionism during the period 1655-70, see also P.M.C. Oliver, 'Quaker Testimony and the Lamb's War' (Univ. of Melbourne Ph.D. thesis 1977), esp. p. 246.
5. Cf. J. P[ennyman], The Quakers Unmask'd (London, 1691), pp. 8-13, 21, 22.
6. E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire 1648-1780'

and Humane inventions' were being overturned. God was no longer the preserve of the 'learned men brought up at Universities'; he had 'chosen the foolish things, and weak things, and base things, and despised things, to do his works by'. 'Silly men and women', those whom 'the Scribes called illiterate', wrote Priscilla Cotton and Mary Cole (Quaker wives of a Plymouth merchant and a shopkeeper) 'know more of the Messiah, then all the learned Priests and Rabbies'. Women, too, could preach: 'we are all one both male and female in Christ Jesus'.[1]

According to the Quakers the whole ecclesiastical edifice was rotten. The clergy were more concerned with their bellies than with their parishioners' souls. When a priest dies, Fox wrote, his colleagues scramble for his benefice; 'they are like a company of crowes when a rotten sheepe is deade they all gather togeather to plucke out his puddinges'.[2] The insides of churches, like the fields, were enclosed: 'lined Stalls for the rich, with a lock and key to keep the poor out'.[3] Moreover, the wealth of the Church was derived from the people - accumulated 'by the sweate of other mens Browes'. Ministers

> have the Gleab-Lands, Tythes, Stocks, Estates and Incombs (they get from you) altogether free to maintain them in ease and idleness ... when many of the poor amongst you (labouring and toiling hard) must pay Contributions and Taxes over and above what may, or can be well spared from the thin backs, and hungry bellies of their Wives and Children 4

The universities, likewise, were parasitic, Edward Cook likened them to two great woods full of black trees,

> and they stand as it were in a quagmire, which is made up with the fat of the Nations, and the Exactings of poor people, and wringing of them, like a great heap of miery soft Earth 5

Quakers thought that the clergy had kept the people in ignorance; indeed 'the People have been so foolish to give their money to be

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(University of Nottinghamshire Ph.D. thesis 1968), pp. 153-4; S.H.G. Fitch, Colchester Quakers (Colchester, 1963?), p. 42.

1. W. Tomlinson, A Word of Reproof, (3rd edn, London, 1656), pp. 7, 24; P. Cotton and M. Cole, To the Priests (London, 1655) pp. 3, 6.

2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 195.

3. W. S[mith] and [E. Burrough], The Reign of the Whore (London, 1659), p. 17.

4. H. Clark, A Description of the Prophets (London, 1655), pp. 2-3; R. H[ubberthorne], The Common-Wealth's Remembrancer (London, 1659), p. 12.

5. E. C[ook], Here is somthing of Concernment in Ireland (n.p., n.d.), p. 3.

made blind, and to be led into the ditch'. Not only spiritual blindness was involved, for the priests were agents of political reaction and had, said Joseph Fuce, persuaded many a deluded individual to vote for an 'unfit' parliamentary candidate.[1]

The Quakers also pressed for religious toleration. Liberty of conscience for Edward Pyott and George Bishop, both ex-New Model officers, was a 'Naturall Right' and they quoted Cromwell to support their view: 'had it not been for the hopes of Liberty of Conscience, all the Money in the Nation would not have tempted men to fight'.[2] For John Whiting the Quakers' demand was 'so reasonable, that one would think none should be against it'.[3]

Quakers rejected the theory of predestination and ~~demanded~~ proclaimed salvation for all: 'God woulde have all men to bee saved Marke all men'. Predestinarian doctrine, they argued, rendered God 'the most Cruel of all Beings'. Christ had died 'for the Redemption of Mankind'.[4] Yet they preserved election and reprobation so congenial to the middle sort's hatred of the very rich and the godless multitude. As Samuel Fisher explained,

> we talk of an universal Redemption by Christ's coming intentionally to save All men, though (through their own default) All are not, but few only actually saved 5

They could still talk in terms of the 'generation of Cain' and the seed of 'righteous Abel'.[6] But the important point is that the accent was on human effort in what Dr Hill has called a sort of left-wing Arminianism.[7] Though many Quakers tended to the passive, ~~if you like~~, spiritualist,[8] belief that men and women must wait to receive regeneration from above - the Waiter as opposed to the Seeker: 'in patience wait, and keep in the living

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1. J. Braithwaite, The Ministers of England (London, 1660), p. 12; J. Fuce, A Visitation (London, 1659), p. 2.
2. F.H.L., MS. Portfolio ix. 3; G. Bishop, The Warnings of the Lord (London, 1660), pp. 5ff.
3. J. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd (London, 1715), p. 46.
4. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 149; W. P[enn], The New Witnesses Proved Old Hereticks (London, 1672), pp. 27, 33.
5. S. Fisher, Rusticus Ad Academicos (London, 1660), sig. B3.
6. Cotton and Cole, To the Priests, p. 1; G. Fox, Newes Coming up out of the North (London, 1654), pp. 3-17.
7. C. Hill, Milton and the English Revolution (London, 1977), ch. 21.
8. Cf. M.B. Endy, William Penn and Early Quakerism (Princeton, 1973).

principle of life, and things will open in you' - the ultimate emphasis was voluntaristic.[1] Turn to the light within, they urged their readers;

> we call All men to look to the Light within their own consciences ... by the leadings of that Light, if they will, they may come to God, and work out their Salvation ....[2]

They held, then, the unorthodox view that man could attain perfection (as Thomas Brown said of the Shakers) 'on this side of the grave'.[3] 'Sinne'? said Fox, 'Hee hath Taken away my sinne'. They rejected all mediators. Christ was 'all, in all'; and by turning to the portion of Christ within (the spirit within) man could be saved.[4] It was, Dr Nuttall has argued, a logical conclusion to the Puritan emphasis on the Holy Spirit.[5] There was a strong sense of unity with God. Not all were as outspoken as Thomas Holme who declared he was 'above St Peter & equall wth god', but most would have agreed with Fox when he said 'He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are of one, and the Saints are all one in the Father and the Son'.[6] God spoke directly to his people and through his people: 'I would faine have omited words in them Both', William Gibson said of some papers he had written, 'but I durst not For ye power of ye Lord wch Rose in mee was triable agt them'. Quaker schismatics were said to have forsaken 'the devine sap & vertue of Crist Jeesus'.[7]

The sect dispensed with orthodox beliefs in the Trinity, denying the concept of three persons.[8] There were seeds of

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1. F. Howgil, The Inheritance of Jacob (London, 1656), p. [21]; R.F[arnworth], Antichrists Man of War (London, 1655), Sig A2v.
2. Fisher, op. cit., sig. B3.
3. T. Brown, An Account of the People Called Shakers (Troy, 1812), p. 203.
4. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 2; J. Nayler, A Salutation to the seed of God (3rd edn, London, 1656), p. 2.
5. G.F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford, 1946).
6. Cheshire Rec. Office, QJF 82/4/39 (Quarter Sessions Files); G. Fox et al, Saul's Errand to Damascus (London, 1654), pp. 10-11.
7. F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. iv. 22; Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc. (hereafter J.F.H.S.)
8. R. Farnworth, A True Testimony (London, 1656), p. 17.

scepticism. Howgil disregarded notions of 'God at a distance'.[1] The Quakers, Cotton Mather wrote, 'scoffed at our imagined God beyond the stars'. They minimized the importance of heaven and hell, claiming like Winstanley that no-one really knew anything about them. The emphasis was very much on the present. Quakers are 'nourished at the eternal Table, in the everlasting Mansion-house of my Father which is in Heaven', Francis Howgil explained. The Baptist Matthew Caffyn reported that when he had asked a Quaker 'where that Heaven was that Christ ascended up into', the Quaker replied, 'clapping his hands upon his breast', 'WITHIN MEE, WITHIN MEE'.[2] Nathaniel Smith said that he was attracted to Quakerism because of its belief that 'the Kingdom of Heaven was in Man'.[3] The crucifixion, 'Judgement and Mercy', 'Redemption and Salvation', were also internalized. While they did not deny the existence of a historic Christ, the implication was that his role had been no greater than the role of any leading Quaker. When pressed they did not deny the idea of a final resurrection, but the pivot was the 'first Resurrection', the resurrection within each Quaker.[4] Nathaniel Smith claimed that some leading Quakers were mortalists.[5]

The Quakers were millenarian in the broad sense of the term. Again the stress was on the immediate: Christ had come in the Quakers and would come in others. Thus in this sense his reign was internalized, though as we shall see they expected political and social change to emanate. Their suffering at the hands of the authorities reinforced the conviction that Christ's kingdom was at hand.[6]

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1. Howgil, Inheritance of Jacob, p. 6.
2. Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p. 135; Fox et al, Saul's Errand, p. 14; E. Burrough and F. Howgil, To the Camp of the Lord in England (n.p., 1655), p. 11; T.L. Underwood, 'The Controversy Between the Baptists and the Quakers in England 1650-1689' (University of London Ph.D. thesis 1965), p. 183.
3. N. Smith, The Quakers Spiritual Court (London, [1668]), p. 1.
4. E. Burrough, A Trumpet of the Lord (London, 1656), p. 33; Endy, William Penn, p. 82; Fox et al, Saul's Errand, p. 17.
5. Smith, Quakers Spiritual Court, p. 8.
6. Cf. T.L. Underwood, 'Early Quaker Eschatology', in P. Toon (ed.), Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel (London, 1970), ch. 5; P.M. Oliver, 'The Quakers and Quietism' (Univ. of Melbourne M.A. thesis 1972), ch. 4.

Like Winstanley the Quakers thought that the spirit was above the scriptures. Again it was the uneducated man's rejection of the learned spiritual aristocracy. When Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire Baptists turned Quaker they said that the 'light in their consciences was the rule they desire to walk by', not the scriptures.[1] The emphasis varied. Barbara Siddall said that the Bible was 'not the word of God but onely a dead letter'; Katherine Crook, 'Shee had Knowne ye Lord if Shee had never seene nor read ye Scriptures'.[2] Others would not have gone as far, but they would have agreed with Fox that it was 'not the letter, nor the writing of the Scripture, but the ingrafted Word is able to save your soules'.[3] Samuel Fisher argued that the Bible was a book pretty much like any other. So, as Christopher Hill has suggested, they were on the road to rationalism.[4] 'The conscience was above the scriptures; and the scriptures ought to be tried by it, and not that by the scriptures': their light within often sounds like Winstanley's 'Reason'.[5] In fact it seems only to have been after Nayler and Perrot showed that the light within said different things to different Quakers that they stopped equating it with 'pure conscience', 'something in your conscience'.[6]

Politics and Society

Though convenient, the distinction between the sect's religious and socio-political ideas is in many ways an artificial one. Political and social change would be concomitant to the achievement of the inward millennium. The 'light in your consciences' (we are back again to rationalism) tells you to 'deal the bread to the hungry', it is 'Equity', 'breathings in you after righteousnesse, true liberty and freedom'.[7] Quakerism,

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1. Records of the Churches of Christ, ed. E.B. Underhill (London, 1854), p. 115.
2. P.R.O., Assi 44/6 (Assizes, North-East Circuit Indictments); Swarthmore MS. iv. 52.
3. G. F[ox], A Declaration of the Difference (London, 1656), p. 12. Cf. R.F[arnworth], The Holy Scriptures (London, 1655), pp. 53-4.
4. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, ch. 11.
5. Underhill, op. cit., pp. 115-116.
6. Cotton and Cole, To the Priests, pp. 3-4; Farnworth, Antichrists Man of War, p. 8; G. Fox, The Vials of the Wrath of God (London, 1655), p. 1; Clark, Description of the Prophets, p. 17.
7. G.F[ox], A Warning from the Lord (London, 1654), p. 1; G.F[ox], This is to all Officers (London, 1657), p. 1; G. Fox the younger, This is for You (London, 1659), p. 3.

at least in the 1650s, was not a force akin to Methodism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, saving the nation from the 'spectre of radicalism' as Professor Vann has suggested.[1] The conversion of the Leveller Lilburne, usually cited to support this kind of argument,[2] is a bad example, for ironically he was one of the few Quakers to achieve fully-fledged pacifism prior to 1660. Nor were converts to Quakerism merely seeking consolation in religion after their political defeat as Professor Trevor-Roper has suggested.[3] Indeed Quakerism, as Professor Cole has pointed out, was 'a movement of protest against the suppression of the "good old cause"'.[4] Nathaniel Smith joined the sect partly because of their belief 'that men should not Lord it over one another, by reason of their great Estates'.[5]

Quaker political allegiances were relatively uncomplicated. The civil wars, according to Fox the younger, had been fought between those 'accounted the wisest, richest, noblest and stoutest men' who 'did glory in their Wisdome, Riches, Nobility ... and vaunted themselves over them that were made of the same Blood' and the 'contemptible Instruments, (as to outward appearance) as in Tradesmen, Plough-men, Servants, and the like, with some others'. The Quakers left no doubt that they were against 'the tyrannicall Kings and bloody Bishops'.[6] The Revolution had gone smoothly with the execution of the King, destruction of episcopacy and abolition of the House of Lords. As Edward Burrough explained in 1659, 'my Lord looked down again ... he overthrew that oppressing power of Kings, Lords, and Bishops, both in Church, and Civill State'.[7] But it had halted mid-way - Joseph Fuce seems to suggest with the defeat of the Levellers - mainly because those at the helm had become self-seeking and corrupted by power.[8] Cromwell had been

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1. Cf. R.T. Vann, 'From Radicalism to Quakerism:Gerrard Winstanley and Friends', J.F.H.S., xlix (1959), 45-6.
2. M.R. Watts, The Dissenters (Oxford, 1978), pp. 207-8.
3. H.R. Trevor-Roper, Historical Essays (London, 1957), p. 224.
4. A. Cole, 'The Quakers and the English Revolution', in T. Aston (ed.), Crisis in Europe 1560-1660, (London, 1970), p. 348.
5. Smith, Quakers Spiritual Court, p. 2.
6. G. Fox the younger, A Noble Salutation (London, 1660) p. 5; The Lambs Defence Against Lyes (London, 1656), p. 21.
7. E. Burrough, A Message to the Present Rulers (London, 1659), p. 6. The passage containing this quotation was partially omitted from Burrough's works: The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder ([London], 1672), p. 586.
8. Fuce, Visitation, pp. 3 et seq.; T.Z [achary?], A Word to the Officers of the Army (London, 1657), passim; G. Fox,

God's instrument: 'Made he not thee his Sword? Did he not execute by thee'? George Bishop asked the Protector in 1656.[1] And despite some muffled complaints that 'to be ruled by a few councell men and one man is tyranicall',[2] Quakers served in Cromwell's commission of the peace and the Army and navy until they were purged. Just as in our day the Left will support an unsatisfactory Labour Government as the only alternative to the Conservatives, the Quakers though dissatisfied with the Protectorate would do nothing to bring it down if that meant the return of the Royalists. The Restoration, when it came, was viewed as divine retribution for the prevarication of the revolutionaries, and only then did the predominantly non-pacifist sect become predominantly pacifist.[3]

Yet Quakerism is devoid of any coherent and identifiable political philosophy. In a sense they were political eclectics: partly the democrat, partly the theocrat. On the one hand we have Billing's Leveller-like Mite of Affection with its call for annual parliaments, decentralization, rationalization of the electoral system, trial by jury, reform of local government; Christopher Cheesman's complaint that corporations are the 'greatest slavery that ever was imposed on the English Nation, at first granted by the Tyrant to gratifie some Favourite'.[4] We have Quaker support in the parliamentary elections for candidates likely to be sympathetic to their cause: the regicide John Bradshaw in Cheshire, John Lambert, possibly Robert Lilburne, and their own aspirant William Bradford, in Yorkshire.[5] On the other we have Quaker support for the Barebones Parliament, the Protectorate, the restored Rump, the Committee of Safety. (Their attitude to Charles II was more pragmatic but their

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To the Councill of Officers (n.p., n.d.), pp. 6-7.

1. F.H.L., John Penington MSS., pp. 243-4; Bishop, Warnings, pp.4-5.
2. P.R.O., Assi 45/5/1/79 (Assizes, North-East Circuit Depositions).
3. For the Quakers and pacifism, see chs 5, 6 below.
4. E.B[illing], A Mite of Affection (London, 1659), passim; C. Fowler, Daemonium Meridianum ... the second Part (London, 1656), p. 59.
5. For Quakers and elections, see Notts. Rec. Office, DD/SR 221/96/44 (I owe this reference to D. Hirst, The Representative of the People? (Cambridge, 1975), p. 14); F.H.L., Temp. MS. Box 98/1; J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974), pp. 289, 298; Mercurius Politicus, 324 (21-28 Aug. 1656), p. 7192.

appeals to him were essentially theocratic.) We have Burrough's call for a government of virtue instead of one of birth and wealth. We have the Quaker tendency to rely more upon personal representations to judges and justices and to the centre than any appeal to juries and the people. Finally, there is Fox the younger's castigation of the parliamentary system as an agency of the propertied, in which he advocates reform not by an extension of the franchise but by benevolent dictatorship. We have arrived at the revolutionary's problem of forcing people to be free: 'you are not like to see your desires [equity & justice] fulfilled by a Parliament that's chosen by the voyces of the people'.[1] Mob attacks had a tendency to reinforce these Quakers' lack of faith in the people.

This dichotomy lingered long after our period of interest. Professor Barbour suggests that with William Penn democracy triumphed, but I have my reservations.[2] The 'Number of Knowing men is ever least in any Country', Penn replied to Quaker criticisms that his Pennsylvania Assembly was a mere cipher. He wanted to avoid 'ye confusion of a multitude'. In 1683 a new constitution provided the colony with an assembly and council composed of men 'of most Note for their Virtue, Wisdom and Ability'.[3]

The Quakers' social comment was less schizophrenic. Like Gerrard Winstanley many had a developed sense of where the real power lay and were merciless in their condemnation of the governing classes and the rich. The 'Clargey & ye gentry, hath ye lande betwixt them', wrote Elizabeth Hooton.[4] The social structure was the result of a tripartite conspiracy. The nobility and gentry either owed their position to the Conquest, when their Norman ancestors 'killed an English man, and took his possession', or they had founded their families on 'Tyranny, Cruelty, Oppression'.

> Woe unto you that are called Lords, Ladies, Knights, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, in respect to your persons, who are exalted in the earth ... who are called of men

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1. E. Burrough, To the Parliament of the Common-wealth (London, 1659), 6 Oct., passim; G.Fox the younger, A Few Plain Words (London, 1659), pp. 1-3.
2. H. Barbour, 'From the Lamb's War to the Quaker Magistrate', Quaker History, lv (1966), 3-23.
3. The information on Penn is taken from Endy, William Penn, pp. 361-2.
4. MS. Portfolio iii. 5.

> Master, and Sir .... because of your much earth, which by fraud, deceit, and oppression you have gotten together, you are exalted above your fellow-creatures, and grind the faces of the poore, and they are as slaves under you, and must labour and toyle under you, and you must live at ease 1

Edward Billing approved of the sentiments of those who had 'said it would never be a good World so long as there was a Lord in England', and in 1658 and 1659 he berated those same persons' subsequent apostacy: 'for the whole rabble of Duke, Marquesse, Lord, Knight,Gentleman by patents; I find no room, place or example or allowance for in Scripture'.[2] The Church, likewise, owed its riches to the labour of others. 'From whence I pray were these squeezed?' Thomas Ellwood asked, 'was it not from the people?'[3] And it kept the people in ignorance so that they could the more easily be robbed. The third partner in the conspiracy, the law, 'the badge of the conquerour' according to Billing, also kept the 'poore people in bondage'. For the poor 'the remedy is frequently worse then the desease', and like property protection of the law was the prerogative of a few. Instead of 'covering the naked, and feeding the hungry, you set out Laws to punish them', Benjamin Nicholson complained in an address to the magistrates of England.[4]

We can get some idea of the sort of society the Quakers envisaged. There would have been some redistribution of wealth. Quakerism, wrote Fox, was opposed to those who 'have long cumbred the ground'; 'such are harlotted from the truth, and such gets the earth under their hands, Commons, Wastes and Forrest, and Fels, and Mores, and Mountaines, and lets it lye wast, and calls themselves Lords of it, and keeps it from the people, when so many are ready to starve and begg ....'[5] The patrician Penn

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1. E.B[illing], A Word of Reproof (London, 1659), p. 73; W.T[omlinson], Seven Particulars (London, 1657), p. 21; J. Parnell, The Trumphet of the Lord (London, 1655), p. 1.

2. Billing, Word of Reproof, pp. 10, 77-8.

3. T. Ellwood, The Foundation of Tythes Shaken (London, 1678), p.446.

4. Billing, Word of Reproof, p. 20; MS. Portfolio iii. 5; E.B., A Declaration of the present Sufferings (London, 1659), pp. 27-8 (E.B. is possibly Edward Billing: see Worcester College, Clarke MS. 31, fos 81v-82); B. Nicholson, A blast from the Lord (London, 1653), p. 10.

5. G.F[ox], A Declaration Against all Profession and Professors (London, 1655), p. 12.

thought it 'horrible injustice' 'that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandman ... should be converted into the pleasure ... of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be ... laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed ... the twentieth'.[1] As was once said of Gerrard Winstanley, we are almost approaching the labour theory of value, especially when the Quakers talked about tithes. It 'is unjust for any Prince or Ruler, to give away the labour or Inheritance of his Subjects unto them that never laboured for it'; 'it is most just, that the Labourer should in peace, injoy the fruits of his labours, and such idle drones as you (who neither labour for God, nor for the good of man ...) should not eat'.[2] Richard Hubberthorne criticised the formation of the committee for plundered ministers 'while thousands of poor ... not onely want Bread, but Imployments whereby to labour for the relieving of themselves, Wives and Children.'[3]

The Quakers, then, looked to an age in which the light within would lead men to 'do unto all men as they would be done unto', Winstanley's golden rule.[4] Some approached a kind of communitarianism. 'You wallow your selves in the earths treasure like swine in the mire', Nicholson warned the gentry, 'and never consider that the earth is the Lords and the fulness thereof, and that he hath given it to the sons of men in general, and not to a few lofty ones which Lord it over their brethren'.[5] They looked to the Bible. Francis Howgil was on dangerous ground when he explained (Acts 4. 34)

> the unity of heart among them about Jerusalem was such, that all was in common, and none wanted; And as many as were possessors of lands and houses, sold them, and brought the price of that which was sold, and laid it at the Apostles feet, and it was distributed to every man according as he had need. 6

But the Quakers were no communists, and probably had in mind a nation of small producers. Thus Hubberthorne was to condemn

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1. Barbour, Quakers in Puritan England, p. 170.
2. Parnell, Goliahs Head (London, 1655), pp. 24, 25.
3. Hubberthorne, Common-Wealth's Remembrancer, p. 11.
4. J. Crook, An Apology for the Quakers (London, 1662), p. 2; Whiting, Persecution Expos'd, preface; T. Adams and R. Farnworth, An Easter-Reckoning (London, 1656), p. 31.
5. Nicholson, Blast, p. 10.
6. F. H[owgil], The Great Case of Tythes (n.p., 1665), p. 12.

monopolies and the protective practices of corporations - 'not permitting such as have served the Common-Wealth in their Wars, to exercise their Trades freely there'.[1]

Friends were strongly egalitarian. God was the great equalizer, as was the Devil: 'Lord and Lady, and beggars shall be all turned into Hel without respect of person, then shall it be with the Mistriss, so with the maid'.[2] Those who 'are taught of Christ' must make themselves 'equall with them of the lower sort'.[3] The Quakers' refusal to remove their hats before social superiors, their theeing and thouing, anticipated the French revolutionaries in affirming human equality. Obsession with 'breeding', respect of those 'that hath a gold Ring, and fine Apparel', had caused 'all the earthly Lordship, Tyranny, and oppression'.[4] Quaker 'non-respect of persons' was a testimony against the class structure.

The sect's sympathy towards the poor, though some had in mind the impoverished husbandman and artisan rather than the labourer and servant, was reflected in their own organization and the numerous bequests in Quaker wills. Meetings to provide for the poor were among the first meetings established. By the late 1660s quarterly meetings were helping the children of less fortunate non-Quaker families into apprenticeships (some became Quakers but there was no obligation).[5] In 1659 Fox suggested that old monastic properties and glebes should be given to the poor, that 'great houses', churches, even Whitehall, should be converted into alms-houses.[6] Thomas Lawson echoed Samuel Hartlib and presaged Robert Owen and his labour exchange with his call for a 'Poor mans Office'. Benjamin Furly anticipated the Welfare State with his suggestion that a form of income tax could finance hospitals, free schools and alms-houses.[7]

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1. Hubberthorne, Common-Wealth's Remembrancer, p. 6; R.H[ubberthorne], The Good Old Cause (London, 1659), p. 11.
2. Parnell, Trumpet, p. 4.
3. F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 167.
4. J. Parnell, A Shield of the Truth (London, 1655), pp. 20-29; Billing?, Declaration, p. 27.
5. Narrative Papers of George Fox, ed. H.J. Cadbury (Richmond, Indiana, 1973), pp. 89-90; Berks. Rec. Office, D/F 2A1/1, unfoliated; A. Lloyd, Quaker Social History (London, 1950), pp. 34-10.
6. G.F[ox], To the Parliament ... Fifty nine Particulars (London, 1659), p. 8.
7. T.L[awson], An Appeal to the Parliament concerning the Poor

Tithes were the Quaker bête noire, mainly because they affected tenant and freeholder alike, but some members of the sect voiced other agrarian grievances. Edward Billing's sixth demand in his manifesto of 1659 was for reform of all 'servile tenures or copyholds', 'the badge or yoke of the conquest'. Future Lancashire Quakers waged a war against feudal remnants, food rents, labour services and excessive fines; indeed Richard Hubberthorne's father was on a jury which in 1651 declared against servile dues. Hubberthorne himself complained of 'slavish Tenures of Land held at the will of the Lord, (so called)'. Fox thought that all the fines should be given to the poor ('Lords have enough') and spoke out against enclosure.[1] Friends condemned Sir John Lowther and Lord Saye and Sele as those "that would lay field to field, and house to house, till there be no place for the poor'. Margaret Braidley warned the former: 'the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ will be dreadful to thee, for oppressing the poor'.[2] Others were vituperative in their condemnation of rack-renting, in fact of all 'oppression' that went under the name of 'Improvement':

> you shall .... see, that they who have tilled the ground, and by industry and labor helped forward the fruitfulness of it, were the improvers, and you who wrung from them what they had sweat and laboured for, were the Rackers and Oppressors, and the Grinders of the Faces of the poor. 3

But this sort of protest was generally muted, presumably because it would have cut little ice with the numerous Quaker yeomen.

Fox and Nicholson pointed to the social origins of crime.

> O You great men of the earth, it is long of you that there is so many thieves, for you hold the creation in your hands, and by all means go about to defraud the poor, more every day then other 4

(London, 1660), p. 2; M. Cranston, John Locke (London, 1957), p.281.

1. Billing, Mite of Affection, p. 2; B.G. Blackwood, 'Agrarian Unrest and the Early Lancashire Quakers', J.F.H.S., li (1965), 72-6; Hubberthorne, Good Old Cause, p. 11; Fox, Fifty nine Particulars, p. 8; Fox, Newes, p. 41.

2. [C. Tayler et al], Certain Papers (n.p., n.d.), pp. 10, 13; [W. Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele], Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest ([Oxford], 1659), p. 28.

3. A.R. Barclay MS. 125; Tomlinson, Seven Particulars, pp. 1-3.

4. G. Fox, To the Protector and Parliament (London, 1658), p. 12; Nicholson, Blast, p. 10; cf. P.S. Belasco, Authority in Church and State (London, 1928), p. 95.

Quakers advocated the abolition of the death penalty for theft, partly for the reason just mentioned, partly on humanitarian grounds, but also because it did little to restore the stolen article to its rightful owner. Law, they thought, served the interests of the privileged - 'the rich bears with the rich, and the poor have been trodden underfoot' - and in tracts which occasionally evoke quite movingly the alienation and helplessness of the poor man faced by a league of intermediaries when all he wants to do is to plead his cause, they called for an end to legal mumbo-jumbo. The answer lay, they argued, in the simplification of the law, abolition of lawyers' fees and hence lawyers, and trial by jury.[1]

Finally, in the sphere of education, the Quaker emphasis was utilitarian: arithmetic, navigation, botany, agriculture, languages (with merchants in mind), medicine (with an emphasis upon herbal remedies), a smattering of the law, and 'profitable Arts' like history.[2] They wanted to unlock the secrets of education so that it would no longer be the preserve of a favoured few, so that it would produce tradesmen instead of clergymen and lawyers. George Fox contemplated placing the radical William Tomlinson in charge of a school of language, herbalism and botany.[3] John Stubbs wrote a primer, apparently never published though it reached the printers, which he intended should replace the old Horn Book. Words were divided into syllables to make it easier for children to understand, while teachers were offered what was, for the seventeenth century, some enlightened advice:

> be very tender over thy Schollers, remember that thou thy selfe was once a child; and come downe to know the nature and Strength of each childs disposition, and according to their strength so proportionate your Task and none above it, and whipping children about their lessons is not the way (unless it be in obstinate and carless natures) but gentle and sweet allurements, must be used to ym 4

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1. Tomlinson, Seven Particulars, pp. 11-12; Fox. Fifty nine Particulars, p. 4; G.F[ox and P.M.], An Instruction to Judges & Lawyers (London, n.d.), passim, esp. pp. 27-8, 31-9; Fisher, Rusticus, part ii, p. 13; Billing, Mite of Affection, pp. 2, 3, 5.
2. R.L. Greaves, 'Early Quakers as Advocates of Educational Reform', Quaker History, lviii (1969), 22-30 (marred by his apparent belief that Henry Stubbe was a Quaker); Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 174.
3. F.H.L., MS. Six Weeks Meeting Minutes (1671-82), p. 24.
4. J. Stubbs, 'A Primmer for children to Read': Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D. 397, fos 45-129v (the quotation comes from fo. 46v).

Enthusiasm and Thaumaturgy

The Quakers of the 1650s were a far cry from their respectable counterparts of the eighteenth century. Indeed it is all too easy to forget that the early Quakers were essentially an ecstatic movement and that like the Shakers their name derived from their unusual behaviour, their trembling and shaking. Successful meetings were invariably accompanied by trembling and weeping; 'allmost all ye Roome was Shaken' Richard Farnworth reported after a meeting in Malton in 1652. In London in those heady days of 1654 when Quakers first visited the city, women cried while Hubberthorne spoke and Edward Burrough trembled.[1] The Quaker stood face to face with his God. Salvation was no longer dispensed by an academic and social elite. All that was needed was the will to be saved and the results could be potent:

> it [the light within] smote like a Hammer at the whole Body of Sin, & in my Bowels it burned like Fire, yea, so dreadfully it burned that it made [my] Bowels boyl, it pierced as a Sword, it broke as a Hammer: And then the Pangs of Death I felt in my Members which did make me to roar, yea, and to Quake and Tremble: for this Fire, when it burned, it gave Light 2

This kind of enthusiasm is not difficult to explain. For the Quakers, quaking was an outward manifestation of the inward workings of the power of God. It was self-reinforcing: they were working out their salvation by their trembling while confirming their belief in direct communion with Christ (the Prophets had trembled, Fox and Nayler explained). It was a sign that 'the power of the Lord is come', but also an apocalyptic warning that the powers of the earth would be shaken and the lustful destroyed.[3] We can speculate on the possibilities of nervous lesion, mental disorder, provoked perhaps by fasting or general vitamin deficiency.[4] Like modern ecstatic movements the 'madness' may have been a response to upheaval, in this case the civil war years with the accompanying dislocation of the physical and social environment.[5] Perhaps. But it is

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1. Swarthmore MS. iv. 83; F.H.L., William Caton MS. iii, pp. 143-4.
2. The Welsh Quaker Thomas Wynne, quoted in G.H. Jenkins, 'Welsh Books and Religion 1660-1730' (Univ. of Wales Ph.D. thesis 1974), p. 280.
3. G. Fox and J. Nayler, A Word from the Lord (n.p., 1654), pp. 9-10.
4. Cf. J. Barkas, The Vegetable Passion (London, 1975), p. 174.
5. Cf. Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium, passim.

striking testimony to the incredible stress imposed by Puritan predestinarian theories. Quaking (and its trappings) was an outlet for the tension, a therapy, and what the sociologists call a 'bridge-burning act', as the liberated Quaker shook away all the old traumas and became the new man or woman. Group pressure and emotionalism, a hyper-aroused mental state (possibly fast-induced: it was said that Quakers fasted for up to forty days to render themselves 'willing and pliable to the will of God in the travel of their Spirit'), the power of auto-suggestion, the tendency of Quaker preachers to talk for several hours: all helped.[1] Clearly John Gilpin, who attended Quaker meetings and then wrote a warning against Quakerism, willed his quaking upon himself.

> I .... was very much troubled apprehending my condition to be very bad, finding nothing but blindnesse and hardnesse; yet I still expected the appearance of that light within me and earnestly desired that I might fall into quaking and trembling, apprehending that I should thereby attaine to the immediate discoveries of God unto me. 2

For the more impressionable, steeped in biblical imagery and plagued by Puritan preoccupations with the Devil, the experience could be more bizarre. Gilpin crawled up a street in Kendal 'thinking that I bore a Crosse upon my neck'. John Toldervy's self-inflicted sufferings were likewise a somewhat distorted allegory of the crucifixion. The spirit within moved him to put his hand in a pan of boiling water, to burn his leg by the fire, and 'moved' him to thrust a needle into his thumbs to the bone. Some looked, according to anti-Quaker writers, for signs from heaven in the form of stones or flies, or they thought that the Devil was being cast out, metamorphized into a 'Knat or a Flie'.[3]

Extravagant behaviour and perfectionist claims became the badge of divine approbation, setting the Quakers apart from the

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1. Cf. W. Sargant, 'The Physiology of Faith', British Journal of Psychiatry, cxv (1969), 505-518; A.I. Klibanov, 'Problems in the Psychology of Religious Sectarianism', Soviet Sociology, ix (1971), 505-566.

2. J. Gilpin, The Quakers Shaken (Newcastle, 1653), p. 5; G. Emmot, A Northern Blast or the Spiritual Quaker (London, 1655), pp. 5-6; J. Toldervy, The Foot out of the Snare (London, 1656), p. 8. There is scope for further work on the mechanics of enthusiasm: the group of Quakers at Malton (Farnworth says two hundred of them) were together in the same building for three or four days - an ideal situation for group pressure and suggestibility. At one of the Kendal meetings which John Gilpin attended, the Quaker Christopher Atkinson spoke from 9 am to 3 pm (see Swarthmore MS. iv. 83; Gilpin, op. cit., p. 5).

3. Toldervy, op. cit., pp. 32, 35-7; Gilpin, op. cit., p. 9;

ungodly. Thus George Emmot, a gentleman from Durham, tore off his fine clothes and ribbons and dressed himself in plain garb and a hat with a piece of string in place of a hatband. 'In this same garb I thought my selfe not worldly, but all spiritual'; he was the new man, the very archetype of the sectarian who severs himself from society.[1] For some, perfectionism was accompanied by painless childbirth, and it led several married Quakers in New England into a sexual abstinence which lasted for up to four years ('some weare neare besids them selves about it').[2]

Many of the early Quakers, including Fox, fasted. Some Quaker women fasted for seven, twelve and even twenty days. Samuel Watson lived for some time on apples, nuts and water. Richard Hubberthorne was so weak after a fast 'people thought hee was dead' (though Thomas Ellwood was later to omit this information from his edition of Fox's Journal). James Parnell was less successful and died in Colchester prison after taking nothing but water for ten days. The practice, as Mr Thomas has pointed out, was partly a subjective test of God's existence. It was also a means of demonstrating divine approval in a more objective sense: endurance would prove the veracity of the Quaker faith. Hence Solomon Eccles's challenge to Baptists, Presbyterians and Papists to prove their God by foregoing food, drink and sleep for seven days and nights: 'he that tires by the way shall be counted a member of a false church and a heretic.' Hence too Fox's ultimatum in 1658:

> I will challenge all the Papists upon the earth, let them come out and go thirty days together without either bread or water ... and see if his belly be not his God; and the Quakers is known that they never had more strength than when they have fasted two and twenty, and thirty days together. 3

As the prophets of the new age, those in 'the power and spirit of God' were expected to have visions and revelations, for God manifested his power through 'his servants'. We do not have to look too far for the causes. Some were straightforward dreams;

Quakers are Inchanters (London, 1655), p. 6; G.F. Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm (Wallingford, 1948), pp. 61-2.

1. Emmot, op. cit., p. 6.
2. Swarthmore MSS. iii. 158, iv. 107, 108; George Fox's 'Book of Miracles', ed. H.J. Cadbury (New York, 1973 edn), pp. 22-3.
3. F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. iv. 267; F.H.L., MS. Samuel Watson Collection, p. 278; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 105, 107; K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London, 1971 edn), p. 145; Book of Miracles, ed. Cadbury, pp. 32-5.

and Toldervy's visions, for instance, were clearly the product of his self-abusive diet, lack of sleep, and sheer suggestibility.[1] George Fox enjoyed many dreams and revelations, one of the more interesting of which, omitted from the first edition of his Journal, was a vision experienced in 1671, about the time the Quaker leader was in Kingston (not far from the site of the Digger experiment in Surrey):

> I was walkeinge in ye feildes & many frendes was with mee & I bid ym digge in ye earth: & they did & I went doune: & there was a mighty vault toppe full of people kept under ye earth rockes & stones: & soe I bid ym break open ye earth & lett all ye people out 2

When James Milner the Furness Quaker, a tailor and a bit of a prophet, declared in 1652 that Wednesday 1 December would be the Day of Judgment, that Thursday 2 December would be the first day of the new creation, and that a sheet would float down from heaven with a sheep in it, he was criticized by Fox, principally, we must assume, for his lack of subtlety and impolitic precision, since Fox and others among his co-religionists claimed at one stage or another to have predicted the downfall of the Rump, the death of Cromwell, the Restoration, the Dutch War, the Plague and Fire of London.[3] Apart from their self-validating function, ecstatic pretensions provided status, glory and (in the case of women) a chance for self-expression, denied by the social and sexual structure of the seventeenth century.[4] As Sabine once put it, echoing Winstanley: 'Tradesmen will speak by experience the things they have seen in God, and the learned Clergy will be slighted'.[5] Moreover, this in effect irrefutable 'evidence' of divine sanction increased self-confidence and perhaps, almost paradoxically, helped to undermine the intense fatalism of the common man and woman.

The sect was heavily influenced by the great Puritan historical determinant: providence. God was expected to act on their behalf, sometimes by plague, sometimes by fire, sometimes by fits of the stone. Thus they assiduously recorded judgements upon persecutors as vindication of their religiousity, proof that God was a Quaker.

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1. Cf. Toldervy, op. cit., passim.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 175.
3. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 147; Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 166.
4. Cf. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 156, 163, 177.
5. The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, ed. G.H. Sabine (Ithaca, 1941), p. 90.

One persecutor, for example, met his nemesis in the form of a large bull which gored him to death. The power and appeal of the belief lay, as Thomas has explained, in the tendency of its adherents to select episodes which would confirm the original hypothesis, in its flexibility.[1] In the case of the Quakers the doctrine of providence provided rationalization for political defeat and saved them from total despair: the Restoration was a judgement against equivocating revolutionaries. But it had its pitfalls, as the sect discovered when Quakers perished in large numbers during the Great Plague (making it difficult to see the episode as another example of judgements upon persecutors) and when two of their number, Thomas Loe and Josiah Coale, died after they had been cursed by the sectary Lodowick Muggleton.[2]

Another aspect of the early extravagance of the sect which marked them off from many other enthusiasts, although it has been argued that Winstanley's digging experiment may have been an eschatological sign ('a prophecy of what God will do'),[3] was what they called their testimonies or 'signs'. Quakers went naked, as a sign of the spiritual nakedness of the world, as a forewarning that all pride would be cast aside in the last judgement, and as a sign of their regenerate nature (Adam and Eve had gone naked before their fall).[4] In one sense this sort of behaviour was a test of the tenacity of their faith; they were becoming 'fools for God'[5] and in one fell stroke setting themselves apart from society in true sectarian fashion. It was also, as Hill suggests, an effective form of self-advertisement, part of the charismatic quality of the early movement. More, these 'signs' were highly symbolic and clearly intended to shock in an almost Dadaist manner. Sarah Goldsmith, for example, walked through Bristol market in 1655 with her 'haire about her eares', bare legged, clad only in a 'long hairy coat'. Richard Sale, a Quaker tailor from Hoole (not far from Chester), stood clothed in sackcloth with flowers

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1. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp. 123-4.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 397; W.C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism (Cambridge, 1961 edn), p. 246
3. W.S. Hudson, 'Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley', Journal of Modern History, xviii (1946), 8.
4. For going naked, see K.L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', Quaker History, lxvii (1978), 69-87.
5. Cf. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, ch. 13.

in one hand and weeds in the other and ashes sprinkled in his hair. Yet another, Solomon Eccles, a former music teacher from London who had burned his instruments and some books when he turned Quaker, walked through Smithfield naked with a pan of burning coals upon his head.[1] With the Quaker Thomas Ibbott, who, Fox reported approvingly, untied 'his briches knees & lett his stockens fall' and then scattered his money up and down the streets, we are entering the realm of social symbolism. Their burning of ribbons and expensive material was intended as a testimony against extravagance, as a ritual rejection of hated values. There was no justification for luxury, Fox argued, while people remained poor and unclothed.[2]

Like others among the sectaries and pseudo-messiahs,[3] Quakers believed that they were endowed with the power to heal and work miracles. As Richard Farnworth explained, God manifested his power in 'his servants' so that they could 'lay hands on the sick, and recover them, as the Apostles did'.[4] There are traces of the Hermetic tradition, the belief that man has fallen out with the creation but that in a state of perfection unity can once more be achieved and nature's secrets revealed.[5] Fox claimed somewhat tautologically that he had been shown

> that the physicians and doctors of physic were out of the Wisdom of God, by which the Creatures were made; and so knew not the virtues of the Creation, because they were out of the word of Wisdom, by which they were made.

He apparently had some medical nous, a copy of Nicholas Culpeper's The English Physician Enlarged, and an awareness of the powers of faith-healing. In all some 150 cures were attributed to Fox: smallpox, scrofula (the King's evil), dumbness, ague, convulsions, scabs, headache, ulcers, gout, blindness, paralysis, toothache, the stone, even a broken neck (and he hinted to Muggleton that the lack of miracles performed by Muggletonians was a sign of

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1. Bristol Rec. Office, 'Orders of the Mayor and Aldermen 1653-1660', fo. 18v; Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, p. 35; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 428.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 286, ii. 90. Shopkeepers in Malton burned silks and ribbons in 1652: Swarthmore MS. i. 373.
3. For healing, see Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp. 146-51.
4. Farnworth, Antichrists Man of War, p. 62.
5. G.F. Nuttall, 'Unity with the Creation: George Fox and the Hermetic Philosophy', Friends' Quarterly, i (1947), 134-43.

the falsity of their commission).[1] But Quakers were not always successful. Francis Howgil failed in his attempt to cure a lame boy ('the boy stode up but .... he fayled and sat downe agayne'), while hostile sources reported with some satisfaction that when Fox had urged a Kendal cripple to throw away his crutches the man had done so - 'but the Criple remained a Criple still'. Some made more ambitious attempts to raise the dead, the most notorious example being that of Susanna Pearson, a Quaker from Worcester, who in 1657 dug up the corpse of a Quaker apprentice and 'commanded him in the name of the living God, to arise and walk'. It was said that members of the sect travelled to Colchester to see the resurrection of their martyr James Parnell after his death in prison in 1656. But the only reputed success was enjoyed by James Nayler, said to have resurrected Dorcas Erbery in Exeter gaol in 1656, shortly before his ill-fated procession into Bristol.[2]

The belief that they had been endowed with miraculous power led some towards the world of magic and witchcraft. Many Quakers were <u>said</u> to be witches, suggesting that the crime was more in the eye of the beholder than the Quaker himself or herself. We will look more closely at the sect's image when we come to the final chapter, but it is worth mentioning that Fox did little to discourage the aura of magic that surrounded him, rumours that he was a witch who knew peoples' thoughts and brought the rain.[3] Farnworth considered wizards and witches to be in 'the Devil's counsell'. Yet his co-religionist John Farmer consulted a cunning-man concerning the prospects of borrowing money from some relatives; and we know that another Friend John Roberts had something of a reputation as a wizard who was able to recover lost goods.[4]

It was much the same with astrology. The sect wrote against the practice but individuals either consulted astrologers or

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1. <u>Book of Miracles</u>, ed. Cadbury, pp. 21, 45-63, 101-49; G.F [ox], <u>Something in Answer to Lodowick Muggleton's Book</u> (London, 1667), p. 22.

2. <u>Book of Miracles</u>, ed. Cadbury, pp. 12-15, 21; F.H.L., A.R. Barclay Ms. 21; Thomas, <u>Religion and the Decline of Magic</u>, pp. 149-50.

3. <u>Journal of George Fox</u>, ed. Penney, i. 38, 104, 273.

4. R. F [arnworth] <u>et al</u>, <u>Witchcraft Cast out</u> (London, 1655), pp. 5, 14; D. Roberts, <u>Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts</u> (London, 1973 edn), pp. 56, 60.

studied the art. Thus, in the late 1660s, at least one London Quaker was in trouble with a monthly meeting for studying astrology. The astrologer Henry Coley drew up a horoscope for the Quaker shipmaster James Strutt (Coley thought him 'no better then a Madman ... but by fitts very sensible and will talk rationally'), and there is reference later in the century to two Sussex Quaker weavers by the name of Reynolds who were practising the art. A Kingston-upon-Thames Quaker was said to have cured above a hundred of the ague through a mixture of chemistry and astrology. William Lilly's second wife was probably a Quaker, as, at one stage, was George Parker a fellow practitioner.[1]

As in Methodism[2] there was always tension between the authoritarian and democratic tendencies of Quakerism, between the radical and the conservative, the enthusiast and the embryonic rationalist. They were a series of seeming contradictions: the brotherhood and sisterhood of all believers, egalitarian social protest, on the one side; the holier-than-thou scorn of the godless multitude, on the other. The maxim 'love of money is the root of all evil' lay uncomfortably beside the Quaker merchant and clothier's apparently unselfconscious pursuit of wealth. Innate conservatism, legalism, bureaucratic constipation, ultimately triumphed. Social protest was transmuted into paternalism. The Irish Quaker Anthony Sharp was soon able to claim that creation of employment was an incentive to his expansion as a prosperous wool merchant. John Perrot and many others whose light within told them to keep their hats on, even before their God, were consigned to the dust-heap of early enthusiasm. But we must not forget that the movement which produced Barclays and Lloyds also provides tenuous links with the radicalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: communalism and co-operation led to the Shakers and in turn Robert Owen, radicalism to Thomas Paine.[3]

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1. This paragraph relies on Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp. 444, 445, 448-9 and British Library MS. Sloane, 2282 (Henry Coley's schemes), fo. 26; MS. Sloane 2280 (Astrological notes), fo. 36, references which I owe to Thomas, ibid; J. Aubrey, Miscellanies (London, 1890 edn), p. 137 (I owe this reference to Dr Hill); Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 253.

2. Cf. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1974 edn) pp. 43-4, 50.

3. Cf. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 39, 51; E. Bernstein, Cromwell

If in this account I have often stressed the radical rather than the reactionary tendencies of the movement, it is because I believe that it was the radical (not always rational) side of Quakerism that predominated in the early years of its existence, and because this was how Quakers were perceived by their contemporaries.

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and Communism (London, 1963 edn), pp. 251, 268.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS, COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUAKER MOVEMENT

Origins and composition

The ideological roots of the Quaker movement lie in the religious enthusiasm generated during the English Revolution; that curious amalgam of Puritan spiritualism, continental mysticism, lower-class scepticism, and the more outward-going, soul-conquering, ethical, dignity-of-labour side of conventional Calvinism. It is a milieu yet to find its taxonomist (despite Mr McGregor's gibes).[1] We have yet to discover, for example, how much the so called Puritan spiritualists owed to a radical emphasis on the Holy Spirit, how much to the mystic Jacob Boehme and kindred spirits. In a sense the exercise is futile: was the Quaker idea of the new covenant and the light within, for instance, an espousal of the Joachimist dialectic of continuous revelation culminating in the 'Age of the Spirit', or was it simply a position arrived at by like-minded people reading the Bible and coming up with similar conclusions? The Quakers, however, appear to have drawn upon both traditions. William Penn commended the writings of John Saltmarsh, Joshua Sprigge, William Erbery, John Everard, William Dell, Thomas Collier and Giles Randall. George Fox owned tracts by Dell and Collier and a translation by Randall. Another Quaker Henry Clark, a friend of the Leveller John Lilburne, quoted from Dell's Testimony Against Divinity. Richard Farnworth was affected by the writings of Saltmarsh. We know too that Benjamin Furly had in his library copies of Dell, Saltmarsh, Everard, Randall and Erbery; that others were influenced by John Webster, Peter Sterry, Walter Cradock and Morgan Llwyd.[2]

But the libraries of Furly and Fox also contained the work of Boehme; Fox's a copy of Sebastian Franck's The Forbidden Fruit. Dr Nuttall has quite correctly (gently) chided Rufus Jones for

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1. Cf. J.F. McGregor, 'Ranterism and the Development of Early Quakerism', Journal of Religious History, ix (1977), 349.

2. M.B. Endy, William Penn and Early Quakerism (Princeton, 1973), p. 121; Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (hereafter J.F.H.S.), xi (1914), 70-73; xxviii (1931), 3-21; xxx (1933), 9-19; H. Clark, A Rod Discover'd (London, 1659), p. 36; J. Stalham, The Reviler Rebuked (London, 1657), sig. D2; G.F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford, 1946), pp. 13, n.2, 184 addendum.

overemphasizing the continental origins of Quaker doctrine, but perhaps he has allowed the balance to tip too far.[1] While Lodowick Muggleton may have exaggerated when he suggested that 'Jacob Behmont's Books were the chief Books that the Quakers bought', his observations were first hand and cannot be completely ignored. Indeed as Nuttall has himself pointed out, Boehme was read by the Quakers Thomas Taylor and William Smith and others quoted him with approval. Rice Jones, the Quaker schismatic from Nottingham, preached to groups of Behmenists as well as fellow Quakers. The Quaker position was probably best summed up by the London morning meeting when they said that the ideas of the German mystic were a 'great mixture of light & darkness'.[2] There are also links with Familism: Thomas Bancroft the Grindletonian, Robert Wilkinson and others, meticulously traced by Nuttall.[3] At least one Weigelian became a Quaker.[4] And we have the suggestion that in the diocese

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1. R.M. Jones, Studies in Mystical Religion (London, 1909); Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1914); Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth (New York, 1965 edn), emphasized the mystical-continental roots of Quakerism. Since then the shift in emphasis has been towards Puritanism: Nuttall, Holy Spirit, passim; H. Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England (New Haven, 1964), ch. 1; R.T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755 (Harvard, 1969), pp. 19-32. Professor Endy has recently argued that the sect owes much to what he calls 'spiritualists' (Saltmarsh, Dell, Erbery etc.), whom he distinguishes from the Puritans. It looks like a movement back to the old position, yet despite Endy's claims for 'the revisionist nature' of his interpretation (Endy, William Penn, p. 7), the distinction seems essentially a matter of semantics. He provides no new evidence of continental influences, and his 'spiritualists' are Dr Nuttall's Puritans of some 27 years before.

2. L. Muggleton, A Looking-Glass for George Fox (London, 1756 edn), p. 10; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp. 16-18; F. E[llington], Christian Information Concerning these Last times (London, 1664), pp. 10ff; J. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd (London, 1715), p. 187; 'Morning Meeting Minutes, 1673-93' (transcript by E. Milligan, Friends' House Library, London), pp. 1-2. A twentieth-century devotee of Boehme has described Fox's Journal as 'full of Boehme's ideas and terminology': Anonymous, 'Some Notes on Books', Jacob Boehme Soc. Quart., i, no. 8 (1954), 32. Fox's one-time protector Justice Durrant Hotham wrote a life of the mystic: C. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), p. 141.

3. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, pp. 65-8; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, pp. 178-80; Nuttall, James Nayler: a Fresh Approach (London, 1954), passim.

4. J.F.H.S., xvi (1919), 3.

of Ely Quakerism took hold in areas previously receptive to the Family of Love.[1] In any case, the relationship between the two traditions had become interdependent rather than independent. Thus William Erbery was influenced by the work of Boehme, and Morgan Llwyd translated him into Welsh. Erbery's wife and daughter and members of Llwyd's congregation turned Quaker.[2]

Quakerism grew out of the Puritan milieu, whether by adoption or adaptation of Puritan principles.[3] But one of the greatest Puritan influences was by rejection and reaction, striking testimony to the incredible dissatisfaction with orthodox teaching and discipline. Quakers, claimed George Whitehead, wrote 'for the simple ones sake, who are groping in the dark, whether in forms, or out of forms'. George Bateman was attracted by their rejection of formalism.[4] But their main doctrinal (and psychological) contribution was to save men and women from Calvinist fatalism by proffering the simple expedient of potential salvation for all. And in this sense Muggleton was near the mark with his claim that Quaker rejection of predestination

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1. F. Heal, 'The Family of Love and the Diocese of Ely', Studies in Church History, ix (1972), 213-22; M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 256-7, 284, 351.

2. E. Lewis Evans, 'Morgan Llwyd and the Early Friends', The Friends' Quarterly (1954), 50, 54; Lewis Evans, 'Morgan Lloyd and Jacob Boehme', Jacob Boehme Soc. Quart., i, no. 4 (1953), 13, 14, 15; Hill, World Turned Upside Down, pp. 154ff; T. Richards, Religious Developments in Wales (1654-1662) (London, 1923), pp. 265-6. Boehme's works appeared in their entirety during the 1640s and 1650s, and Giles Calvert, the Quaker's publisher and brother to the Quaker Martha Simmonds, printed translations of Franck, Valentin Weigel and Henry Niclaes (Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 302; Endy, William Penn, p. 53). Both Llwyd and Erbery preached in Bristol in the early 1650s the latter being seen by the Presbyterian Ralph Farmer as a 'preparer' of the Quakers' success there: Farmer, Sathan Inthron'd (London, 1657), pp. 17, 46-7. The same was said of Erbery: 'he was the forerunner to the Quakers, as John the Baptist was to Christ' (Stalham, Reviler Rebuked, sig. D 4v.)

3. Doctrinally, or psychologically, the Puritan connection is indisputable; statistically it is harder to substantiate. However, of the forty-eight Cheshire parishes and chapelries for which I have found evidence of Quakerism, twenty-four (50 per cent) had had a Puritan background (according to R.C. Richardson's list of Puritan parishes in his Puritanism in north-west England (Manchester, 1972), p. 8) compared with forty-three (31 per cent) of the 137 parishes and chapels in the county as a whole.

4. G. Whitehead, Jacob Found in a desert Land (London, 1656), p. 10,

derived from a failing to 'make their own calling and election sure'.[1] George Fox, it is well known, spent his pre-Quaker days sitting in hollow trees and was offered tobacco, psalm singing and blood-letting in the hope of curing his despair. George Rofe, a Quaker glazier from Essex, was 'smot by the hand of the Lord into many fears of what should become of me hereafter, and have often wept exceedingly in secret and in my bed, so that I have wetted much clothes with teares.' Quakerism eventually saved John Crook from his fear of the Devil: 'I was so possessed with fear, that I looked behind me lest the Devil stood there to take me'. It rescued Elizabeth Stirredge from her 'fear and doubts' of what would become of her when she died.[2] The intensity of this Calvinist-provoked malaise of despair should never be underestimated. Apart from the Quakers, it produced various pseudo-messiahs, the Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men, Muggletonians, and it gave impetus to the Baptist movement - a multiplicity of gathered churches all providing their followers with assurance of salvation.[3]

The evidence for the sectarian origins of early Quakerism is overwhelming. We know that some Quakers carried with them lists of advanced separatists in the areas in which they were proselytizing. George Fox, Professor Vann has reminded us, used to enquire in each town after those 'disposed towards God'.[4] Thus when John Audland and his companions arrived in Bristol in 1654 they were directed to one Abraham Morris's house and told that they 'would find a people there who would discerne us, whether we were of God or no'.[5] Again and again the Quakers captured sectaries, sometimes whole meetings: Independents, many Baptists

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quoted in O. Watkins, The Puritan Experience (London, 1972), p. 161; G. Baiteman, An Answer to ... A Discourse concerning the Quakers (n.p., [1653]), p. 35.

1. L. Muggleton, The Answer to William Penn (London, 1835 edn), p.118.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. J. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 4-9; G. Rofe, The Righteousnes of God to Man (London, 1656), pp. 14-15; A short History of the Life of John Crook (London, 1706), p. 9; Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, p. 28.
3. Cf. McGregor, 'Ranterism', 354-5; Hill, World Turned Upside Down, pp. 137-9; B.S Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men (London, 1972), p. 94; B.G. Reay, 'The Muggletonians: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Sectarianism', Journal of Religious History, ix (1976), 35-6, 45.
4. Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, pp. 10-11.
5. 'Swarthmore MS Letters of John Audland', ed. C. Horle (typescript, Friends' House Library, 1975), no. 18.

and Seekers, some Ranters and Fifth Monarchists.[1] When Dennis Hollister, Bristol Baptist and ex-member of the Barebones Parliament, turned Quaker he took nearly twenty of his congregation with him. Often converts had run 'through all professions', the whole gamut of enthusiasm, lending credence of course to the view that Quakerism was the 'sink of all heresies', a logical conclusion, depending upon which side you stood, to the rejection of Rome, the Church of England, or Presbyterianism.

Future research may show a correlation too between Quakerism and areas which had experienced sequestration (in which a minister had been deprived of his living). If so, this may indicate, as Dr Spufford has suggested, a link between nonconformity and lay independence at the grassroots level.[2] But it should be remembered that sequestration could indicate all sorts of other things: gentry influence for example. And it is difficult to know whether the radicalism which presumably fed Quakerism was a cause or a consequence of the sequestration. The notion is a tempting one; at the moment the statistical connection seems slim so far as Quakers are concerned.[3]

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1. Cf. G.F. Nuttall, The Welsh Saints (Cardiff, 1957), ch. 4; Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, pp. 23-7; Endy, William Penn, pp. 57-8, 60-2. For Baptists, see G.F. Nuttall, 'Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS. to 1660' (typescript, London, 1952), index: Baptists; C.W. Horle, 'Quakers and Baptists 1647-1660', The Baptist Quarterly, xxvi (1976), 345-7; Records of the Churches of Christ, ed. E.B. Underhill (London, 1854); Records of a Church of Christ, ed. E.B. Underhill (London, 1847), p. 50. For Seekers, see W.C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1970), index: Seekers. For Ranters, see Nuttall, 'Early Quaker Letters', index: Ranters (cf. McGregor's warning that what the Quakers described as Ranter may have been 'a convenient description of the unwelcome by-products of their missionary activity, rather than an autonomous movement or an endemic religious mood.': McGregor, 'Ranterism', 354). For Fifth Monarchists, see Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, pp. 76-80, 223-4. (His conclusions about the lack of correlation between Fifth Monarchist and Quaker areas may have to be revised. We know of links in Wales; and there were Quakers in Norwich, Nantwich and Budworth (Cheshire), and Reading, for instance, of which Dr Capp is apparently unaware.)

2. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp. 315-6.

3. Using Harold Smith's lists of sequestrations and my own files of Essex Quakers (see p. 218 below), I have calculated that in that county 37 per cent of Quaker parishes were from sequestered backgrounds compared with 35 per cent for parishes in the county as a whole. In Cheshire (based on Walker Revised and my lists) the ratio is 31 per cent/26 per cent; and in Somerset (based on the same) 22 per cent/22 per cent, ie. exactly the same. (H. Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex (Colchester, n.d.), pp. 125-8; A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised (Oxford, 1948), pp. 88ff, 308ff.)

Also worthy of further consideration is the growing evidence that many groups reached the Quaker position before Quaker proselytizers arrived in their particular areas. The groups of Seekers in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, London, Sussex and Kent, would provide one example of this phenomenon; the overemphasis on the spirit (in a manner inconsistent with the Baptist position) in Baptist areas of Cambridgeshire destined to become Quaker, provides another.[1] The evidence for Essex is also suggestive. Several years before the Quakers arrived, the vicar of Earls Colne was reporting the 'unreverent carriage' of several parishioners who sat with their hats on during the singing of psalms, and the opinions of one Robert Nichols of Colne Engaine who spoke out for adult baptism yet claimed (like the Quakers) that he had not been baptized himself 'because baptizers give not the holy ghost'. By 1656 there were Quakers in Earls Colne, Robert Nichols had joined the sect, and Colne Engaine was being described as 'the quakers nest'.[2]

Finally, we may have to look to a Quaker's family for the roots of his or her nonconformity, an exercise which should become easier as the current interest in reconstructing historical communities begins to bear fruit.[3] The Earls Colne Quaker and yeoman/saymaker Henry Abbott certainly came of good nonconformist stock. His grandfather, also called Henry, feuded with the local gentry family, the Harlakendens, and was in trouble for not paying his church rates, refusing to attend church, and for interrupting a minister. (Henry was also accused of saying, in drunkenness, that 'his privities or prick was longer by four inches than one Clerke's there passing' but we do not know whether his grandson inherited this particular complex.)[4] The yeoman John Minshall of Great Budworth (Cheshire)

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1. Spufford, op. cit., pp. 282-3 (based on Underhill, Records of the Church of Christ, pp. 41, 46-7, 48, 74).

2. A. Macfarlane, The Family Life of Ralph Josselin (Cambridge, 1970), p. 26; The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683, ed. A. Macfarlane (London, 1976), pp. 271, 348. For Nichols, see p. 90 below.

3. For the importance of the family in the transmission of dissent, see Spufford, Contrasting Communities, pp. 257, 279-80; Richardson, op. cit., pp. 90-7.

4. For the grandfather, see A. Macfarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities (Cambridge, 1977), 140-150 and the kinship diagram on pp. 138-9.

who was presented in 1630 for 'having private meetings ... tending to conventicles' may have been related to the Quaker of that name who was also a yeoman.[1] Budworth, however, was an extremely large parish. But we do know that Isaac Penington's father, a future M.P. and a lord mayor of London, was a zealous Puritan and opponent of the Laudian regime in the 1630s.[2] Richard Hubberthorne, we have seen, had a respectable radical background.[3] And the Kentish Quaker Dorothea Scott was the grand-daughter of the Canterbury radical Thomas Scott.[4]

Apart from religious radicals, what sort of people became Quakers? First, as a later appendix will show, the Quakers were drawn mainly from the middle and poorer sort of people, the social groups who played such a decisive role in the Revolution: yeomen, merchants, wholesalers, husbandmen, artisans, petty traders; from the thoroughly bourgeois to the lower class elite, with few of the high or the very low.[5]

Indeed Quakerism often seems to reflect the occupational interests of these groups, though the exact relationship between ideology and practice remains elusive.

Their espousal of the anti-tithe cause (dealt with in a later chapter) doubtless explains the strong rural following and the high numbers of husbandmen and yeomen in the Quaker ranks. The apparent appeal that notoriously anti-deferential Quakerism held for independent yeomen and tradesmen may be support for the idea that dissent provided, as a Baptist leader explained in the eighteenth century, a harbour for 'those willing to affirm their social emancipation from the hegemony of squire and parson.'[6] Their anti-sabbatarianism may also have proved agreeable to shopkeepers,

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1. See Richardson, Puritanism in north-west England, p. 88. The identification of the Quaker is based on my file, see p. 218 below.
2. Cf. V. Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1961), pp. 176-84.
3. See p. 18 above.
4. P. Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution (London, 1977), p. 394.
5. See appendix 2, pp. 220-35 below.
6. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England (London, 1976), p. 84. (The words in the quotation are Gilbert's.)

farmers, and artisans chafing under the Puritan rhythm of enforced rest every seventh day. By turning Quaker they could succumb to the temptation of trading or labouring for seven days, without any sense of sin. (In fact the Quaker position, if the number of people prosecuted in church courts and quarter sessions for profanation of the sabbath is any indication, was probably a rationalization of widespread practice in town and country.) Their idea of the fixed price, the ethic of honesty, at first sight curiously out of place in a climate of nascent capitalism, was, if Fox and others can be trusted, another tremendous draw-card in attracting both trade and members.[1] They were soon being described as 'generally merchants or merchanicks ... very punctual in their dealings .... singularly industrious'.[2] Then there was the sect's emphasis on works, not in the Roman Catholic sense of justification and propitiation but, in the Weberian sense, as a mark of divine favour; works flowing from grace, an exaggeration and development of a tendency already implicit in Calvinism.[3] 'Your works, Your works, they are your discovery.' 'A good Tree cannot bring forth evill fruit, nor a corrupt Tree bring forth good fruit.'[4] Frugality (and thus accumulation), productivity, industry, were signs of divine approbation: extravagance, luxury, idleness, non-productive and destructive wealth, were the marks of Cain and Lucifer. '[B]e not churlish, cross, stubborn, nor slothful in business; but fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord ... knowing that of the Lord you shall receive a reward'.5 Nathaniel Smith, a Quaker apostate, said that the 'simple People' saw Quaker prosperity as a sign of divine favour.[6] Yet despite a noticeable petit bourgeois aversion from drunkenness, idleness, 'the

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1. Narrative Papers of George Fox, ed. H.J. Cadbury (Richmond, Indiana, 1972), p. 23; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 138; N. Smith, The Quakers Spiritual Court (London, [1668]), [sig. A4v.]
2. J.F.H.S., viii (1911), 26.
3. For Weber, see A. Giddens, Capitalism and modern social theory (Cambridge, 1978), ch. 9; M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London, 1976 edn), passim.
4. W. Tomlinson, A Word of Reproof (3rd edn, London, 1656), p. 6; J. Parnell, A Shield of the Truth (London, 1655), pp. 2-3.
5. T. Adams and R. Farnworth, An Easter-Reckoning (London, 1656), pp. 25, 28.
6. Smith, Quakers Spiritual Court, pp. 35-8.

unprofitable servant', indeed any laxity not conducive to good work discipline, the Quakers seem to have avoided the harsh corollary to the Calvinist position. Poverty for them was not what D.W. Petegorsky has described as 'the yellow badge of damnation', but more the responsibility of unjust government and clerical oppression.[1]

Perhaps more important, and once again reflecting the sect's social origins, was its wide ranging network of trading connections. The sect provided established contacts, Mr Marshall has pointed out, of almost certifiable reliability, integrity and probably solvency.[2] The advantages and attractions are obvious. Furthermore, Quaker organization provided backing for the small trader during hard times (persistent failures were weeded out). It was a system based on a certain amount of co-operation and investment but it was tinged with a whiff of economic natural selection. People were helped to help themselves. Thus the network helped Quaker youths into trades, whereby, Fox explained to the Berkshire quarterly meeting, the apprentice concerned would eventually be in the position to 'helpe his Mother and father, and Reare up the familye that is decayed ... and be a meanes to take off Incumberance off your Selves.'[3]

Women were another social group who seem to have joined the Quakers in large numbers. By 1662 they comprised 44.9 per cent of Buckinghamshire Quakers, 50.0 per cent of Norwich Quakers, and 43.3 per cent of Norfolk Quakers; and Vann's figures, based as they are on Quaker sufferings records with their inbuilt bias against women, must be an underestimation.[4] Several wives of well known members of the gentry and aristocracy (not all of them radicals) joined the movement: Lady Abigail Darcy, Lady Ann Montagu, Lady Isabella Lawson (Sir John Lawson's wife), Isabel Hacker (wife

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1. D.W. Petegorsky, Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War (London, 1940), p. 24.
2. The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster 1665-1752, ed. J.D. Marshall (Manchester, 1967), p. 13.
3. A. Lloyd, Quaker Social History (London, 1950), p. 37; Berks. Rec. Office, D/F 2A 1/1 (Berks. Q.M. Sufferings 1655-1680), no pagination.
4. Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, pp. 81-2. Because they are weighted by lists of tithe sufferers and arrests in 1660/1 (the Fifth Monarchist scare when only men were arrested), sufferings records naturally emphasize male membership.

of Col Francis Hacker the regicide), Col Richard Ashfield's wife, Lady Anne Conway, and Lady Rhodes. The wife of Col Robert Overton and Sir Henry Vane's widow both seem to have been sympathetic. The reasons for this phenomenon are unclear and there is clearly room for further work in this area.

The light within led to spiritual equality: 'Christ in the Male, and in the Female is one'. Quaker women preached, proselytized, wrote tracts, printed tracts, participated in church government (admittedly in separate meetings and mainly in the area of welfare), and, in the early days, played a militant role in the sect's various campaigns. Of 360 Quakers in trouble for disturbing ministers during the period 1654-9, 124 or 34 per cent were women.[1] Mary Dyer, an old follower of the notorious Mrs Hutchinson, was executed as a Quaker in New England for her persistent flouting of the harsh laws of Boston.[2] The Yorkshire Quaker Anne Blaykling cast off social restraints and tramped about the country, appearing before the York authorities in 1654 for disturbing a minister, as a vagrant in Cambridge later the same year, in London in April 1655 when she spoke to the Protector, as a vagrant in Norfolk in 1655, in Cornwall then Suffolk in 1656 (once again in trouble with the authorities), and as a prisoner in Suffolk in 1659.[3] And she was not untypical. Fox believed that the subjection of women was the result of the Fall of man; 'in the restoration by Christ ... they are helps meet, Man and Woman, as they were before'.[4] Again the attractions need little explanation. The woman's position in the seventeenth century was an unenviable one. Denied a position in Church or State, she was considered innately subservient: 'a weak creature not endued with like strength and constancy of mind' as the male, as the Homily on Marriage put it.[5] Even the sects

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1. These figures are based on my calculations from Friends' House Library (hereafter F.H.L.), MSS. Great Book of Sufferings, i, ii.
2. R. Thompson, Women in Stuart England and America (London, 1974), p. 88.
3. For Blaykling: York City Archives, F7 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1638-42), p. 353; F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. i. 161; R. Hubberthorne, The Immediate Call (London, 1654) passim; Cornwall Rec. Office, DD/SF 285 (Papers of Sufferings 1655-1685), no. 64; Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), pp. 20-1; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 461.
4. K. Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', in T. Aston (ed.), Crisis in Europe (London, 1970 edn), p. 324.
5. L. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London, 1977), p. 198.

generally accepted as having more advanced attitudes towards the status of woman did not question her basic inferiority. 'When Miriam began to perk it before Moses', wrote John Bunyan, 'God covered her face with a leperous scab'. The Muggletonians, whose female followers enjoyed more independence than most, thought that all would be male in heaven.[1] Friends did not avoid the familial patriarchalism so congenial to the middling sort. Fox, for instance, urged his female co-religionists 'submit your selves first to your Husbands as unto the Lord: the Husband is the head of the Wife, even as Christ is the head of the church'. Richard Farnworth advised Quaker women to 'stay at home'. But they were able to offer more than many: not actual equality, but at least a voice in the church and an end to the old precept 'Let your women learn in silence, with all subjection'.[2]

Finally there were the radical connections, a recurring theme of this thesis: sympathy, support, often success, among radical J.Ps, ex-members of the Barebones Parliament, and the wives of influential figures. The New Model was a major source of Quaker recruitment, but we will deal with that later. Others had been in the Navy: Daniel Baker and Anthony Mellidge had been officers for example. Several had been county committee men and sequestrators: Robert Wastfield, James Pearce, Jasper Batt and Christopher Pittard in Somerset; George Lamboll, Thomas Curtis and the troublesome Christopher Cheesman, in Berkshire; Humphrey Lower in Cornwall; Francis Comberford in Staffordshire; John Fallowfield and Gervase Benson in Westmorland. Anthony Pearson was a one-time sequestrator in Durham, and clerk and registrar to the northern committee for compounding.[3] There were others in

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1. Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 107; Association Records of the Particular Baptists, ed. B.R. White (Baptist Hist. Soc., 1971-4), pt i. 28; Reay, 'The Muggletonians', 47; Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 253.

2. G. Fox, The Woman learning in Silence (London, 1656), pp. 1, 2; Adams and Farnworth, Easter-Reckoning, p. 25. For Quaker women, see Lloyd, Quaker Social History, ch. 8.

3. D. Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum (London, 1973), p. 186; M.A.E. Green (ed.), Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding (5 vols, Kraus reprint, 1967), pp. 171, 194, 196, 201, 211, 226, 247, 281, 289, 369, 381, 395, 488, 517, 524, 679, 815, 3025; Bodleian Lib., MS. J. Walker c. 4, fos 65, 65v, 67, 68, 69v. Cheesman carried out a crusade against the Berkshire committee and the committee for compounding, accusing one of corruption and the other of negligence: Cal. Comm. Comp., index: Cheesman.

Wales.[1]

It was said that Levellers had become Quakers. 'Wast thou not at Burford among the Levellers?' the Quaker leader James Nayler was asked. 'Several Levellers setled into Quakers', wrote John Ward vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon.[2] The suggestion is plausible; Leveller ideas do recur in Quaker literature and the Quakers were successful with the regiment of Robert Lilburne, a force notorious for its rebelliousness at the time of Leveller agitation in the Army. We know that the Quaker Christopher Cheesman, a friend of the Leveller activist William Bray, was an old Leveller. In 1649 he denied the accusation that he had been 'one of the chief in the late mutiny of the Army', but was outspoken in his defence of Bray and condemnation of the military elite and Cromwell ('one of the Achans that trouble the Peace of Israel') whom he saw as the betrayers of the revolution. Cheesman appealed to the people:

> And, shall you true-hearted people of England, be wise, and do justice upon all the Achans, send them after the late King, and then stick close to the Agreement put forth by our friends in the Tower 3

Yet apart from his conversion and those of John Lilburne the Leveller leader, Lilburne's friend Henry Clark, and George Bishop, there is no evidence of any influx.[4]

Francis Harris thought that many Quakers had been Diggers as well as Levellers. John Ward claimed that the 'draught and bodie' of Quakerism was 'to bee found in ye works of Gerard Winstanley'. Francis Higginson a Westmorland minister, Thomas Comber a dean of Durham, Thomas Bennet, and Thomas Tenison a future archbishop of Canterbury, also commented upon the similarities between Quaker and Digger ideas: 'Winstanley published the principles of Quakerism, and enthusiasm broke out'.[5] But again plausible contentions turn sour

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1. A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 113-4,147-8.
2. G. Fox et al, Saul's Errand to Damascus (London 1654), p. 30; Diary of the Rev. John Ward, ed. C. Severn (London, 1839), p. 141.
3. C. Cheesman, The Lamb Contending with the Lion (London, 1649), passim.
4. Cf. P. Gregg, Free-born John (London, 1961), pp. 327, 341, 342-4, 347; H.N. Brailsford, The Levellers (London, 1976 edn), pp. 637ff.
5. F. Harris, Some Queries (London, 1655), p. 23; 'Transcripts of John Ward's Diary 1648-1679' (5 vols, typescript, Medical Society of London), iv. 1119. F. H[iggins]on, A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers (London, 1653), p. 26; W.S. Hudson, 'Gerrard Winstanley and the early Quakers', Church History, xii (1943), 183; [T. Tenison], An Argument for Union (London, 1683), p. 8.

when it comes to actually establishing continuity. If Vann was not entirely convincing either with his argument that Winstanley became a Quaker or with his suggestion that individual Diggers were converted,[1] both are now more believable in the light of Winstanley's comments quoted on the first page of the preceding chapter, the recent work of Dr Alsop,[2] and if we note that there were Quakers in the former Digger parishes of Dunstable (Bedfordshire), Enfield (Middlesex), Wellingborough (Northants.), Walton-on-Thames (St Georges Hill, Surrey) and possibly Husbands Bosworth (Leicestershire). We could add Coggeshall if 'Cox Hall' is Coxall (Coggeshall) in Essex and not Cox Hall in Kent.[3]

Numbers and distribution

The demography and geography of early Quakerism has yet to be written, and indeed will come only after years and scores of local studies. Our knowledge of the distribution of Quakerism in its early years, such as it is, tends to be derived from the conclusions of Professor Barbour; and his impressions appear to be based on a Quaker petition of 1659 (useful for several areas as an indication of minimum and not maximum populations)but mainly upon the geographical origins of Quaker ministers and tract and letter writers.[4] Yet this approach merely shows the northern

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1. R.T. Vann, 'From Radicalism to Quakerism: Gerrard Winstanley and Friends', J.F.H.S., xlix (1959), 41-6; 'Diggers and Quakers - A Further Note', J.F.H.S., l (1962), 65-8; 'The Later Life of Gerrard Winstanley', Journal of the History of Ideas, xxvi (1965), 133-6.

2. J. Alsop, 'Gerrard Winstanley's Later Life', Past and Present, lxxxii (1979), 73-81. I am grateful to Dr Alsop for allowing me to read his article before publication.

3. Continuity in areas, of course, means very little, and we really need to get down to individuals. For Digger areas, see K. Thomas, 'Another Digger Broadside', Past and Present, xlii (1969), 59, 65; Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 99,n. 79 (the suggestion about Cox Hall). For continuity with Quaker areas, see Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 194, ii. 32, 167, 169, 310; The First Publishers of Truth, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907), pp. 6, 7; R.H. Evans, 'The Quakers of Leicestershire 1660-1714', Trans. Leicests. Archaeol. Soc., xxviii (1952), map facing p. 63 . In the 1660s there were Quakers called John (a joiner) and Henry Winstanley in Wigan (probably Gerrard Winstanley's birthplace): J.F.H.S., ii. (1905), 100; Manchester Central Lib., M85/1/4/1 (Hardshaw M.M. Sufferings 1654-1730), no pagination: Blackrod Meeting Sufferings, Jan. 1660/1.

4. For Barbour, see his Quakers in Puritan England, pp. 41, 42, map facing p. 42, pp. 58, 86.

origins of Quakerism and its proselytizers, not the relative successes of the sect throughout the nation. Barbour may be correct in his claim that the heartlands of the early movement were the North, the West and London, but it has yet to be shown. Indeed his approach leads to some unusual conclusions. Whereas early Quakerism in Cheshire was remarkably widespread, Barbour seems to suggest that it was limited mainly to Malpas and Frandley, though he does include Chester, wrongly, in his map of Quaker strongholds. He claims that Essex (as a Puritan region) was cold to Quakerism, but my own work, and that of Dr Watts for a later period, suggests no significant numerical under-representation in this area. (In fact by the early eighteenth century Essex may have been one of the leading Quaker areas.[1]) Finally, while in fairness it must be admitted that he says that it is a strong Quaker region, Somerset is not represented in Professor Barbour's rather misleading map of Quaker centres. And these are only areas for which I have done some work at the local level.

It is extremely difficult to determine the actual number of Quakers at the end of their first decade, and any conclusions must be tenuous. The Quaker Samuel Fisher thought in 1660 that there were seven thousand of the 'people of Christ' in England, but he was almost certainly hopelessly out of touch unless he was referring to adult males only. Opponents put their strength higher: forty thousand according to a report in the Papal archives in Venice, dated 1658; 'above thirty thousand' according to John Gaskin. Thomas Underhill, a rabid anti-Quaker, rashly put the figure at 150,000, though he seems to have been thinking of other sectaries too, for at times he used the word 'Quaker' rather vaguely.[2]

Subsequent estimations have tended to be based on the anti-tithe petition of 1659, signed by seven thousand Quaker females (including children),[3] the arrest of about 4,700 male Quakers at the time of the Fifth Monarchist scare early in 1661,[4] and Friends'

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1. M.R. Watts, The Dissenters (Oxford, 1978), pp. 285, 509.
2. S. Fisher, Rusticus Ad Academicos (London, 1660), part iv, p. 3; H.J. Cadbury, 'Friends and the Inquisition at Venice, 1658', J.F.H.S., lii (1968), 41; J.G [askin], A Just Defence (London, 1660), sig. A2v; T. Underhill, Hell broke loose (London, 1660), p. 14.
3. These Several Papers ... sent to the Parliament (London, 1659), passim.
4. For a break-down of the arrests, county by county, see ch. 6, appendix B below.

registers of births, marriages and deaths. Historians have more or less agreed with the more conservative estimations of contemporaries: between thirty and forty thousand at the Restoration, according to Mr Braithwaite; about forty thousand by the end of the century, according to Watts.[1] My own calculations suggest numbers slightly higher: certainly between thirty-five and forty thousand by the early 1660s, possibly fifty and perhaps sixty thousand.[2] Future local studies may push this figure up. There were probably as many Friends as there were Catholics; they certainly outnumbered Fifth Monarchists and probably Baptists, but still comprised less than 1 per cent of the total population of England.

We can have no precise idea (again) of regional distribution until more work has been completed at the local level. In Derbyshire there may have only been about four hundred Quakers by 1665, though Dr Forde's figures, based mainly on one church visitation, are probably an underestimation.[3] Vann's calculation of under two hundred Buckinghamshire Friends is certainly wide of the mark, for the number of female signatories to the 1659 petition indicates a total Quaker population in excess of five hundred.[4] In Norfolk and Norwich the number of Quakers was at least around the five hundred mark;[5] in Cambridgeshire about six hundred.[6] In Leicestershire there seem to have been more, probably a thousand by the end of the seventeenth century but less during our period of interest;[7] similarly in Wiltshire for which Mr Williams has estimated a total of one thousand Friends by 1665.[8] There were perhaps a thousand Quakers in Bristol during the early

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1. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 512; Watts, Dissenters, p. 270.
2. See appendix, p. 55 below.
3. H. Forde, 'Derbyshire Quakers 1650-1761' (Univ. of Leicester Ph.D. thesis 1977), pp. 30-31.
4. Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, p. 93.
5. Ibid.
6. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p. 228 (though she seems to use the 1669 Episcopal returns which are helpful for distribution but totally irrelevant for numbers).
7. Evans, 'Quakers of Leicestershire', 69-71.
8. B. Williams, 'The Church of England and Protestant Nonconformity in Wiltshire 1645-1665' (Univ. of Bristol M. Litt. thesis 1971), pp. 222-3 (though the 1669 census is used once again).

1660s,[1] 1,300 each in Essex and Cheshire, as many as 1,600 in Somerset, and from eight to ten thousand in London by the 1670s.[2]

At the moment it is virtually impossible to rank counties according to Quaker strength. Traditionally the North is assumed to have been the stronghold of the Quaker movement, and indeed when we look at actual numbers this might appear to be the case: populations of around four thousand in Yorkshire and two thousand in Lancashire, if we go by the arrests in 1661 and allow for those not detained. But if we express Quaker totals as a percentage of the general population we get some unexpected results.[3] True the probable one thousand Quakers in Westmorland (or 222 families) out of a total population of about 6,600 households, that is 3.4 per cent, does support the theme of a northern sect; so, to a lesser extent, does the Cheshire total of 299 families, about 1.2 per cent of the population at large and still higher than the national average of about 0.8 per cent. Yet if Dr Hurwich is correct in estimating a total of nine hundred Quaker adults for Warwickshire[4] (and the 240 arrests at the time of the Fifth Monarchist revolt tend to reinforce her view) that would mean that 1.6 per cent of that county's total population was Quaker compared with 0.8 per cent in Yorkshire and 1.0 per cent in Lancashire. While in Worcestershire my own calculations (again using the arrests at the time of the Fifth Monarchist scare as a gauge) suggest a figure of 1.4 per cent. Finally, in Bristol, where there were four thousand houses according to hearth tax returns and a total of around one thousand Friends (222 households), 5.6 per cent of the inhabitants were Quakers. We may have to revise our ideas concerning the relative success of Quakerism in the

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1. 191 Bristol men were picked up at the time of the Fifth Monarchist rising. Allowing for women and children and those who escaped the net, numbers could quite feasibly have been in the vicinity of a thousand.

2. See appendix, p. 56 below. The London estimations are based on W. Beck and T.F. Ball, The London Friends' Meetings (London, 1869), p. 32.

3. For the method used, see appendix, p. 56 below.

4. J.J. Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', Jl of British Studies, xvi (1976), 31.

North.[1]

Of course concentrations varied enormously within counties - and local inhabitants' experiences of the so called Quaker threat would vary accordingly; from parishes where there were no Quakers whatsoever to Puddimore Milton (Somerset) and Steeple (Essex) where, respectively, it appears that at least 15 and 20 per cent of the population were Friends.[2] The sizes of Quaker communities also differed. To take some Essex examples, Colchester probably had from two to three hundred Quakers by the early 1660s, Great Coggeshall perhaps fifty or sixty, Stebbing about forty, whereas villages such as Sandon and Stanway had only one or two.[3]

Though a movement claiming tens of thousands of adherents at the end of a span of only ten years was not to be taken lightly and indeed did alarm contemporaries, Quakerism was remarkable not for its total membership but its widespread distribution - for the sheer scope of its impact. The only really effective way of

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1. Watts, using episcopal visitations and burial registers, has calculated Quaker populations for each county for the early eighteenth century and has drawn up a map of Quaker distribution, expressing Quaker numbers as percentages of the population in each county. He has found that the Quakers were strongest in three areas: (1) Cumberland, Westmorland and the Furness district of Lancashire; (2) Bristol; (3) London, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Essex. Some of his populations and percentages are remarkably similar to those which I have calculated for the earlier period - Yorkshire 4,100 (0.82 per cent of the county's population), Lancashire 1,460 (0.74 per cent), Essex 1,730 (1.02). And his figure of 1,720 Bristol Quakers or 6.11 per cent of the population supports my estimation for the 1660s. But I have my doubts about the 880 Quakers he allocates for Cheshire and the 740 for Somerset, for example, although numbers could have declined by the end of the century. However, his estimations for Warwickshire are far short of Hurwich's calculations for that county at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as are his figures for Staffordshire (for Staffs, see E.J. Evans, '"Our Faithful Testimony"', J.F.H.S., lii (1969), 112). And my own experience of Quaker registers is that they tend to concentrate on a few families rather than the sect in general and that the quality from county to county varies tremendously. In short, his attempt seems premature. His map may merely plot a mixture of the relative recording efficiencies of Quaker meetings and the zeal of church officials. (Watts, Dissenters, pp. 276, 285, 505-7, 509).

2. Of a total of twenty households listed in the Steeple hearth-tax returns (Essex Rec. Office, Q/R Th/1/9v; Q/R Th/5/49), four can be identified as Quaker; four in Puddimore Milton, out of a total of twenty-six (Public Rec. Office, E179/256/16, book 13; E179/343 (exemptions)).

3. These observations are based on my file (see appendix 1, p. 218 below). Like Dr Glines, I place little reliability in the

demonstrating this is by plotting distribution at the local level. I have chosen Cheshire, Essex and Somerset for these purposes, partly because of the survival, quality and accessibility of the sources (mainly quarter sessions, church court and assize records in the case of the first two, Quaker and quarter sessions records in the case of Somerset), partly because they do differ economically and geographically, representing the North, East Anglia and the West respectively. The maps on pages 47-49 below, based on my Quaker files,[1] give an idea of Quaker distribution at the end of a ten year period, but they must be used with caution and in conjunction with the maps and keys at the end of the thesis (pages 266-71). I have reference to only one Quaker family in Mottram in Longdendale (Cheshire), for instance, yet the whole parish is shaded in on the map. While no one county is typical of the nation as a whole, together they provide a fair cross-section. From the point of view of Quaker penetration, we have seen, none have had the reputation of being exactly Quaker Canaans, and Essex was thought by Barbour to have been positively cold to the Quaker message. So the Quaker impact in terms of distribution, shown in my maps of these three counties, is all the more remarkable.

As Watts has pointed out, not one county escaped the effects of Quaker proselytizing; all were affected.[2] Nor did Friends concentrate on the towns and cities; they demonstrated, as Dr Capp has suggested, that sectarianism could flourish in the villages.[3] In contrast with the stereotypes of early nonconformity, including Fifth Monarchy Men and Ranters, all the indications are that Quakerism was an essentially rural movement.[4] At least 56.7 per cent of my list of Essex Quakers, 60.2 per cent of Somerset Quakers, and 80.3 per cent of Cheshire Quakers came from a non-urban environment - an average for the three counties of 65.7

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estimations of a thousand Quakers in Colchester during the seventeenth century: T.G. Glines, 'Politics and Government in the Borough of Colchester, 1660-1693' (Univ. of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis 1974), p. 106.

1. See appendix 1, pp. 218-19 below.

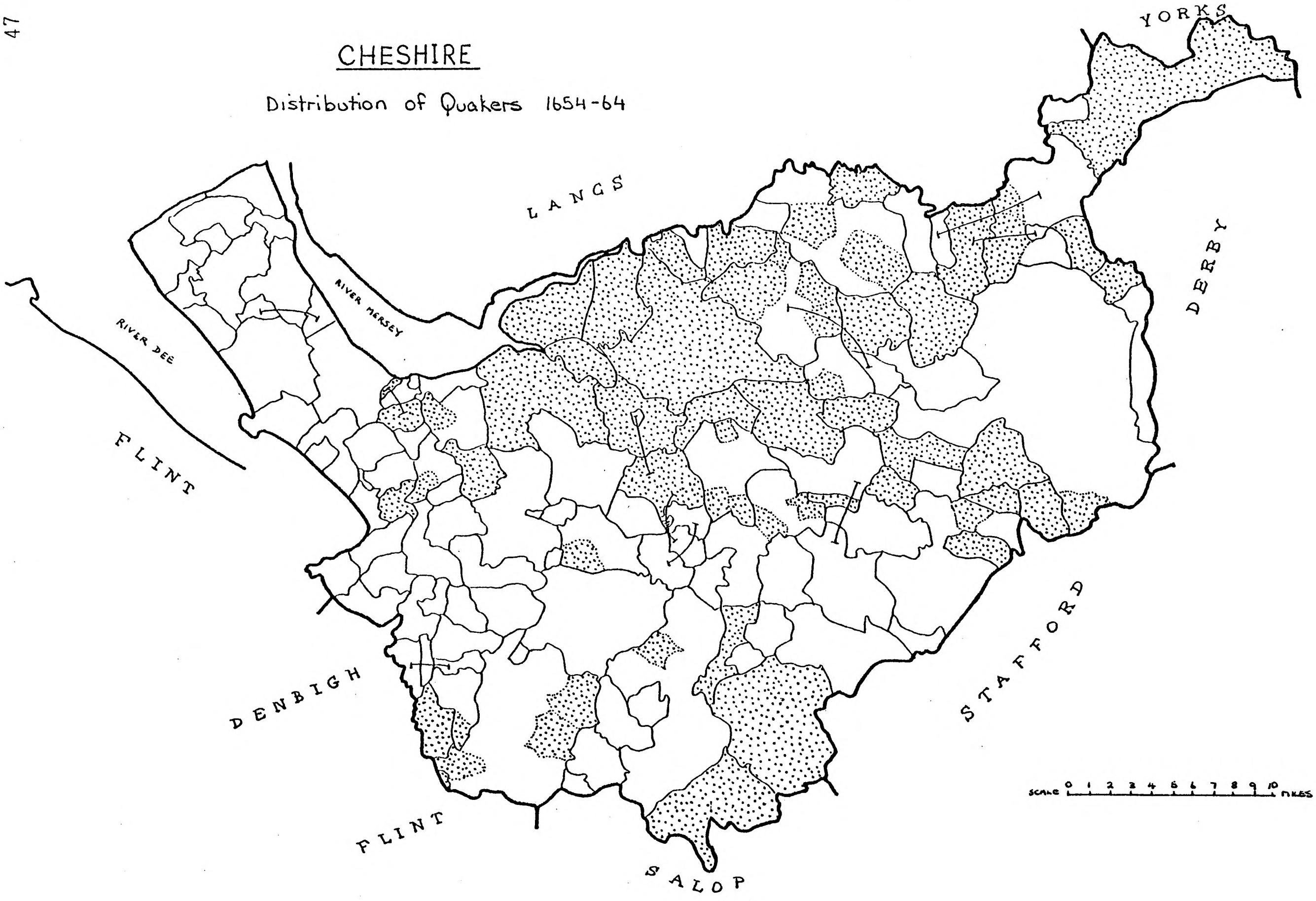
2. Watts, Dissenters, pp. 284-5.

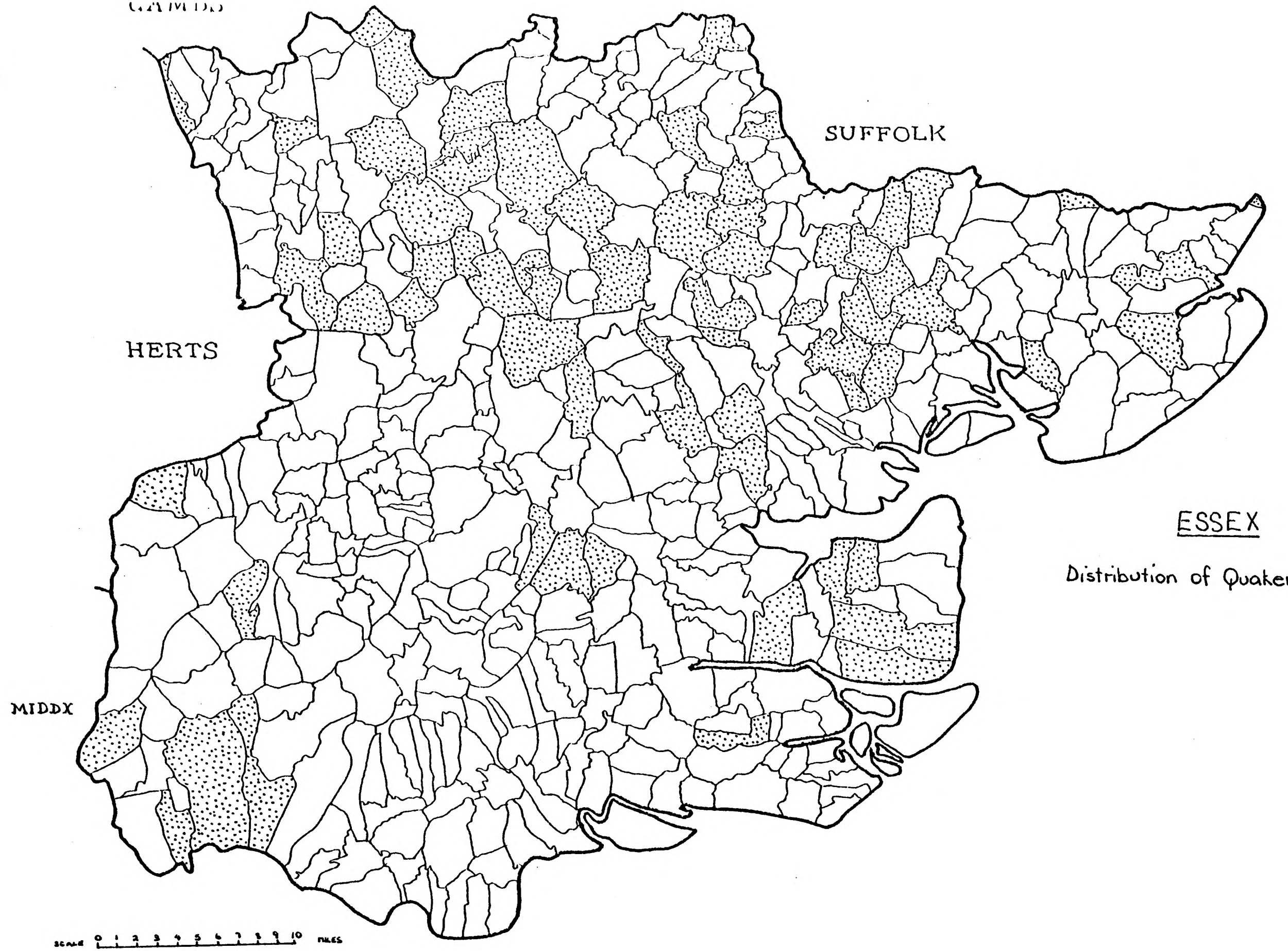
3. Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 79.

4. For the idea that dissent was essentially an urban affair, see P. Clark and P. Slack, English Towns in Transition (Oxford, 1976), 150-1, 152; Watts, Dissenters, pp. 285-6.

CHESHIRE

Distribution of Quakers 1654-64



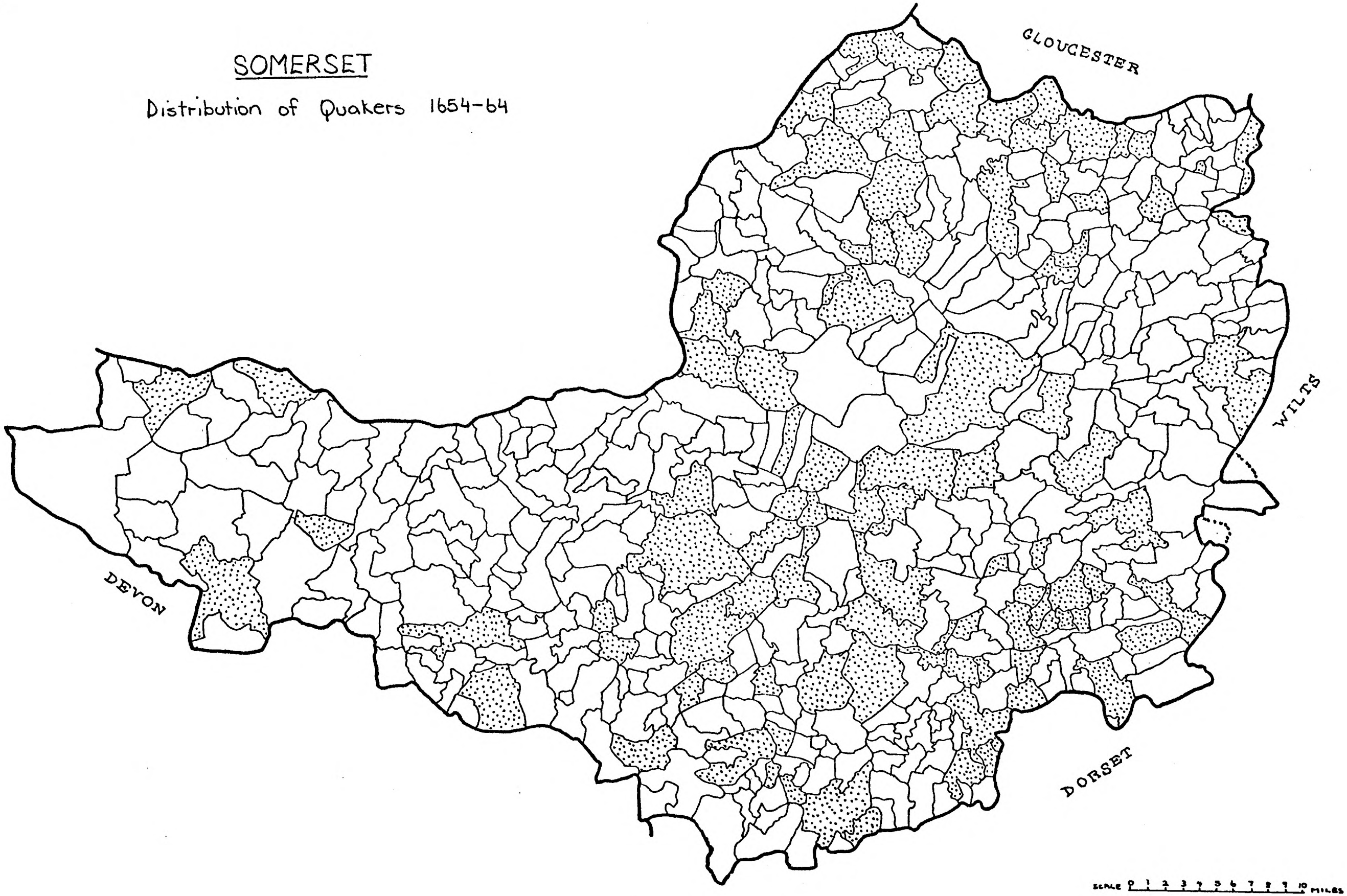


ESSEX

Distribution of Quakers 1654-64

SOMERSET

Distribution of Quakers 1654-64



per cent.[1] In Leicestershire and Warwickshire, too, Quakerism was basically rural.[2]

How do we account for Quaker distribution? Can we in fact use Quakerism to test some of the theories about the possible determinants of dissent? Some ideas are attractive but hard to prove. We shall see later that the Quaker message struck a resonant chord among old tithe resisters in Somerset and Essex, but the sources are too limited either to determine effectively the main tithe-opposing areas in those counties or to correlate them with regions of Quaker success.[3] We know that tithe-opposing areas did turn Quaker and can suggest that perhaps this accounts for Quaker rural success; we cannot prove it.

The suggestion that there is a connection between nonconformity and the road systems does however derive some comfort from intra-county Quaker distribution patterns.[4] Wiltshire Quakerism, Williams has argued, was linked to the main London to Bristol road.[5] In Somerset Quakers did seem to live in parishes directly off the roads from Bristol, south-west to Huntspill (a continuation of the London-Bristol road), south to Wells (the Bristol to Weymouth road), and east to Bath (the London-Bristol road). More significantly, they were strong in what can roughly be described as the south-east portion of Somerset, just off the main post-roads to London (the London-Land's End route) which cut across the south-east edge of the county, and where the roads coming from Devon (the Bristol-Exeter road) and Dorset intersected near Street, also a strong Quaker parish. In Cheshire the correlation between road communications and Quaker distribution can only be described as striking, for the heartland of Cheshire Quakerism, lying in an

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1. Of my list of 362 known Somerset Quaker families, 144 came from parishes containing a market town, that is either listed in Index Villaris or in A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', in J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), ch. 8; in Essex 124 (21.3 per cent of whom were from Colchester) out of 286 came from basically urban parishes; while in Cheshire only 59 out of 299 families were from towns. Moreover, my figures for the rural population of Essex and Somerset are underestimations because many of the families from urban parishes were in fact farmers who lived outside the predominantly urban sector.
2. Evans, 'Quakers of Leicestershire', 71; Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society', 44.
3. See ch. 4 below.
4. Cf. Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 78.
5. Williams, 'Protestant Nonconformity in Wiltshire', p. 220.

inverted V from Chester, through Frodsham, Runcorn, Daresbury, then south-east through the villages and chapelries of Great Budworth and the parishes from Witton Chapel to Congleton, corresponds perfectly to the roads from Carlisle to Chester and the London-Carlisle route. But in Essex, with the important exceptions of Colchester and Barking, Quaker areas were well away from the main London to Yarmouth road which cut diagonally across the country.[1] Roads, then, seem to be an important though not crucial factor in explaining Quaker distribution.

Another theory is that nonconformity was linked in some way to land use, that dissent tended to be concentrated in pastoral areas where manorialization was weak and where parishes either consisted of farmsteads and small hamlets or were large and thus free from many of the restrictions of gentry and clerical control.[2] To an extent this was true of the Quakers. For example, they were successful in Cumberland and Westmorland, both pastoral areas of isolated and scattered farmsteads and absentee landlords, and also in the Wealden parishes of Kent, the region for which Dr Thirsk and Professor Everitt originally posited the thesis. From Spufford's work on Cambridgeshire it seems that the strongest area of Quakerism in that county was north-west of Cambridge, in the fens.[3] Forde has found a remarkable correlation in Derbyshire between Quaker parishes and the wastes, moorland and forest regions. Here Friends were concentrated in the larger parishes of the north and north-west, for as one observer noted in 1701: 'the Quakers as well as other Dissenters ... make many Proselytes among the Poor People of the Peake who live remote from Churches which from want of Tythes cannot be supplied as they ought' (though as Forde explains, the Derbyshire Quaker tended to be an independent and substantial yeoman rather than a poor cottager).[4]

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1. See my maps (pp. 47-49). For the roads, see J. Ogilby, Britannia (London, 1675). I have also used maps by R. Morden, Magna Britannia (London, 1720) (Bod. Lib., Gough. Gen. Top. 203) and H. Moll (Bod. Lib. MS. Top Somerset b1 (2)), which plot major roads and market towns.

2. See Thirsk (ed.), Agrarian History, p. 112; A. Everitt, 'Nonconformity in Country Parishes', Agricultural Hist. Rev., xviii, Supplement (1970), 189ff; Richardson, Puritanism in north-west England, p. 94; Spufford, Contrasting Communities, ch. 12.

3. Cf. Spufford, op. cit., p. 283 and her maps on pp. xxiv, 224.

4. Forde, 'Derbyshire Quakers', pp. 1-4.

Elsewhere the pattern breaks down. True there were Essex Quakers in some of that county's larger, more lightly populated dairying parishes of the south-east. But the sect's main strength lay northwards, in a band from Colchester westwards, in the area of the new draperies and predominantly arable smallholdings. At first sight, the counties of Somerset and Cheshire - pastoral and strongly Quaker - would seem to support the hypothesis. Yet on closer scrutiny the connection is less impressive; in fact it is difficult to discern any real correlation between geography and Quaker settlement patterns. By 1664 Quakers were strong, certainly, in the south-east of Somerset, the wood-pasture region, among the small hamlets and farmsteads of the dairy farmers, and there were Quakers both in the grazing areas of the Mendips (Somerset) and the pastoral areas of Cheshire. Yet there were Quakers too in the arable areas of the Somerset levels and in arable pockets on the coast, while Cheshire Quakerism was strong in the arable north (though noticeably not in the Wirral).[1] Of twenty-one Somerset Quakers in trouble with the Exchequer in the 1650s for not paying tithes, twelve had arable holdings. Like roads, agrarian zones would seem to go some but not all of the way to accounting for the growth of dissent.

Market towns are also thought to have played a special role in the spread of nonconformity, drawing people out of the purely rural and isolated mould and providing, Everitt has argued, a forum for the exchange and interaction of ideas.[2] The Quakers certainly realized the possibilities of this captive audience drawn from the surrounding countryside, and often reported successes in market towns on market days. When Francis Howgil and his companions toured through Norfolk, Suffolk, Ely and Cambridgeshire, they simply travelled from market town to market town, boasting that they drew people from twenty miles around.[3] When the Essex glazier George Rofe first encountered the Quakers, they were preaching in

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1. See my maps (pp. 47-49). And for agrarian divisions, see F. Hull, 'Agriculture and rural society in Essex' (Univ. of London Ph.D. 1950), pp. 5-7 (map 1), 73, 76, 79, 98-9 (map 5); A. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1970), p. 146; Thirsk (ed.), Agrarian History, pp. 71-80, 80-4.
2. Everitt, 'Marketing of Agricultural Produce', pp. 488, 562-3, 573.
3. Swarthmore MSS. i. 27, 86, iv. 247.

Halstead market place.[1] Many of the early Quakers were wholesalers, both mobile and articulate, so it would be reasonable to suggest, as Vann has, that it was often men like these, travelling between markets, who spread the Quaker message.[2] On the whole, Quaker distribution in Somerset and Cheshire does correspond to this view. Quakers tended to be in the parishes around market towns, though it should be remembered that these towns were strategically placed anyway (that is it would be hard not to be in a parish near a market town) and that the south-east bulge of Essex, an area with many markets, had a singular lack of Quakers.

The distribution of Quakers in our three counties permits some final observations. It does, for instance, seem to correspond to the idea that nonconformity flourished in border areas. As the maps show, many Quaker parishes were on county boundaries, presumably enabling Quakers to slip into the adjoining jurisdiction to avoid apprehension. The concentration of Quakerism in north Somerset, near Bristol, may also reflect this phenomenon, but it is probably more convincing support for contemporary complaints that Quaker Bristol was infecting the surrounding countryside.[3] A few Quakers lived in coastal parishes, where, like the market towns, there was geographical mobility and an interaction of ideas.

Finally, more specific factors may help to account for Quaker strongholds. Frodsham, for example, with Friends in all its villages and hamlets, had the Baptist James Cockayne as its minister during the Interregnum. He kept a fairly loose reign on his flock, allowing Quakers to debate with him in the church, whereas others would have had them thrown out, and finding it impossible to collect tithes because at one stage he had rather unwisely preached against them. The Quakers, for their part, took full advantage of the situation, and it was said of Cockayne that when he left Frodsham most of the parish were 'either of his own Perswasion, or the Quakers'.[4]

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1. Rofe, Righteousness of God, p. 16.
2. Cf. Vann, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers: a rejoinder', Past and Present, xlviii (1970), 163. See also my appendix 2, pp. 220-35 below.
3. Cf. W. Thomas, Rayling Rebuked (London, 1656), sig. A2v.
4. Cheshire Rec. Office, EDc5(1662)/89 (Diocese of Chester, Court Papers, 1662); J. Walker, An Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy (London, 1714), ii. 261.

We know from a Privy Council report that one of the reasons for the large number of Quakers in London during the mid-sixties was harassment in the provinces. The actions of over-zealous local authorities had, in effect, pushed Friends and other sectaries towards the city, where, as the Muggletonian leader Lodowick Muggleton had once observed, 'a man may go in a crowd and never be missed'.[1]

Then there was the influence of figures at the local level. Not so much the effects of proselytizers from the North (or Midlands), though the efforts of someone like Thomas Salthouse in Somerset, Thomas Holme in Cheshire, and James Parnell in Essex, go a long way in explaining in a purely logistical sense the widespread success of Quakerism in those counties, but the efforts of local men who nurtured the movement after it had struck its often shallow roots in a particular region: William Gandy of Over Whitely in Gt Budworth (Cheshire), Jasper Batt of Street (Somerset), the Furlys of Colchester, to take a few examples from our counties. Men (or women) like them, usually 'greate ones in the outward', became what one Quaker pragmatically described as 'good harbers for Frends'.[2] Non-Quakers could also help during the early stages of the sect's growth. John Herring who represented Herefordshire in the ill-fated Parliament of Saints and Henry Smith an ex-Rumper for Leicestershire and a radical republican associate of the Levellers, for example, allowed Friends to meet in their homes, and doubtless thus helped the growth of Quakerism in their areas.[3]

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1. P.R.O., PC 2/57 (Privy Council Register, 1664), p. 180; Reay, 'The Muggletonians', 48.

2. F.H.L., MS. Original Records of Sufferings, 610.

3. Cf. F.H.L., Luke Howard MS. 7; 'Swarthmore MS. Letters of John Audland', ed. Horle, no. 18.

Appendix

Quaker Numbers c. 1664

(1) England

During the Fifth Monarchist revolt of 1661 about 4,700 Quakers (all males) were arrested (for a break-down of numbers according to counties, see chapter 6, appendix B). If we assume, admittedly not very accurately, that a household stood behind each Quaker and multiply by 4.5, the probable average size of a family,[1] we get a figure of 21,150; and if we assume, possibly more accurately, that there was a woman for every man arrested we arrive at a figure of 9,400 adult Quakers or (using Gregory King's estimation of 45 children for every 55 adults)[2] a total population of 17,091. In other words we have a population range of between 17,091 and 21,150. But we have to allow for Quakers who did not get arrested. Only sixty-one Buckinghamshire Friends were netted, yet we know from a Quaker petition of 1659 (These Several Papers) that there were at least 415 female Quakers (including children) in that county. In Cumberland thirty-five Friends were arrested but we know, from the same petition, that there were at least 439 female Quakers, suggesting approximately two hundred adult women and a minimum of the same number of men. These are extremes of underestimation, however, and it is possible to approach the problem a different way. In Somerset if we take the number of Quakers detained in 1661 as a gauge, we arrive at 764-958, in Cheshire 614-760, Essex 364-450. Now I have, as we shall see, calculated rough Quaker populations for those counties, based on other sources, and have arrived at ranges of 1,000-1,600, 1,000-1,300, 800-1,300 respectively. In other words the arrests underestimate the known population by about one half. So I would place Quaker numbers certainly between thiry-five and forty thousand, possibly fifty or even sixty thousand.

(ii) Somerset, Essex and Cheshire

In Somerset I know of 362 Quaker families for the period

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1. Cf. Macfarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities, p. 174.
2. Cf. P. Laslett, The World we have lost (London, 1971), p. 108.

c. 1654-1664 and 594 adults (for the sources of my files, see appendix 1, p. 218 below). The population range is calculated as follows. The upper limit can be calculated by assuming that everyone in the 362 Quaker families (i.e. families with at least one adult Quaker) was Quaker and thus multiplying by 4.5 to arrive at the upper limit of 1,600. The lower limit is arrived at by simply multiplying 594 (the number of adults) by 45/55, the proportion of children to adults according to Gregory King, and adding the result to 594, thus arriving at 1,000. The same procedure can be followed for Essex, where there were 286 families and 443 adults, and Cheshire, where there were 299 families and 530 adults, so that we get ranges of 800-1,300 and 1,000-1,300 respectively.

(iii) County population percentages

To calculate percentages of county populations I have (like Watts)[1] relied on Davenant and Houghton's estimations of the number of 'houses' by counties, listed in D.V. Glass, 'Two papers on Gregory King', in Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (eds), Population in History (London, 1965), p. 218, and have taken an average of the two estimations. For Bristol, however, I have followed Gline's estimation of c. 4,000 households.[2] If we know the number of Quaker families it is merely a case of expressing this as a percentage of the 'houses' in the county; if we know the number of Quaker adults then it is a matter of calculating the number of children, adding that to the number of adults and then dividing by 4.5 to get the number of families. Then we can proceed as before.

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1. Watts, The Dissenters, p. 507.
2. Glines, 'Politics and Government in the Borough of Colchester', p. 20.

PART II

THE INTERREGNUM

CHAPTER THREE

THE AUTHORITIES AND QUAKERISM, 1652-1658

In 1652 George Fox and fellow itinerants moved through the rural areas of the North linking together groups of Seekers and other separatists. This marked the birth of Quakerism. Within a year critics were looking askance at the sect's success; there was a warning that the nation was sliding into a morass of anarchy and madness.[1] But it was not until 1654 and 1655 with the great Quaker invasion of the south that the movement really made its impact at the national level. Jeremiah 1. 14 had finally been vindicated: 'That out of THE NORTH AN EVILL SHALL BREAK FORTH UPON ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE LAND.'[2] The new threat had to be faced at all levels: in the Army, in the counties, at the centre. It was to contribute to the growing unease over the Cromwellian settlement and give added impetus to conservative agitation for its revision.

The Army

The impact upon the Army was impressive. Impressive, though not surprising, for the New Model was a hothouse of radical ideas. James Nayler, Richard Hubberthorne, Edward Billing, John Crook, Gervase Benson, Edward Cook, Amor Stoddart, William Morris, Thomas Curtis, George Bishop, Edward Pyott, Francis Gawler, Joseph Fuce, all Quakers whom we will encounter later, were at one time officers in the New Model. George Fox the younger, William Dewsbury, Benjamin Nicholson, William Edmundson, John Whitehead, John and Thomas Stubbs, and William Ames served in the ranks. There were many more.[3] All had received that necessary apprenticeship of radicalization. '...when we first engaged in the Wars', some Quaker veterans wrote in 1657, 'Liberty of Conscience, and the true Freedom of the Nations

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1. T.D., Englands Anathomy (London, 1653), p. 13; see also The Querers and Quakers Cause (London, 1653) passim; T. Philadelphus, Exceptions Many and Just (Oxford, 1653), p. 22.
2. W. Prynne, The Quakers Unmasked (2nd edn, London, 1655), p. 36.
3. For a somewhat incomplete list of ninety soldiers or ex-soldiers who became Quakers, see M.E. Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War (London, 1923), pp. 527-9. Richard Vann has counted forty-two Quaker army officers, six of whom were colonels and twenty-five of whom were captains: R.T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism (Harvard, 1969), p. 14.

Cambridge, Mass.

from all their oppressions, was the Mark at which we aimed'.[1] By becoming Quakers they felt that they were continuing the struggle. Nor was this form of Quaker activity accidental; they knew all the advantages of support from a sympathetic officer or garrison commander.

Though we know more of Quaker activity in the forces in Scotland and Ireland, probably because it was there they provoked the greatest opposition, there is evidence of success in some of the English garrisons. There were meetings in the home of Robert Overton, the Fifth Monarchist governor of Hull.[2] Robert Lilburne, the governor of York, seems to have been sympathetic: 'we have great friendshipe, and love from ye governer of the Towne', Thomas Aldam reported in 1652, 'and many of ye souldiers are very sollid'.[3] Lilburne's regiment, one of the most mutinous regiments at the time of the Leveller agitation in the 1640s, was receptive to the Quaker message. Two troop commanders, William Bradford and George Watkinson, turned Quaker, and a cornet, George Denham, was sympathetic. Edward Hickhorngill, Lilburne's apostate Baptist chaplain, thought the Quakers midway between his own sect and a 'higher dispensation'.[4] In Bristol too, the corporation's Presbyterian chaplain complained, the sect was 'upheld, countenanced, maintained, and propagated ... by the strength and power of these Souldiers'.[5] As we shall see later, the governor Colonel Adrian Scrope was not unsympathetic and several of his men became Quakers. Captain Henry Phillips in charge of Holy Island (Northumberland) and Lawrence Knott commander of Sandgate castle, Kent, became Quakers and allowed meetings to be held among their soldiers.[6] Though the attitudes of commanders were not always so encouraging, Friends reported progress among troops in Lancaster in 1652, in Carlisle and Chester in 1653, in Berwick

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1. To the Generals, and Captains, Officers, and Souldiers of this present Army (n.p., [1657]), p. 2.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. N. Penney (2 vols, New York, 1973 edn), i. 32, 402.
3. Friends' House Library (hereafter F.H.L.), Swarthmore MS. i. 373.
4. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 423; F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 17; F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. iv. 141; Records of the Churches of Christ, ed. E.B. Underhill (London, 1854), pp. 330-1.
5. R. Farmer, Sathan Inthron'd (London, 1657), p. 56.
6. G.F. Nuttall, 'Early Quaker Letters from the Swarthmore MSS. to 1660' (typescript, F.H.L., 1952), pp. 108, 135; G. Whitehead, The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant (London, 1725), p. 125; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 183.

in 1654, in Kent, Northamptonshire, Norfolk and London in 1655, and in Shrewsbury in 1656.[1]

But the Quakers were most successful in Ireland. Here the movement made astonishing progress in the garrison towns, particularly in south Munster. The governors of Cork and Kinsale were impressed. Colonel Robert Phayre was reported as saying 'more is done by the Quakers than all the priests in the country have done in a hundred years'.[2] The governor of Kinsale, Richard Hodden, kept a Quaker to preach to his troops and even hinted to Henry Cromwell that he should encourage Quaker settlement in Ireland: 'wee looke for a new heaven and a new Earth wherein Dwells Righteousnes. And it hath bien & is hoped that in this wast Lande may be Comfortable habitations for Religious English men, if thereunto incouraged'.[3] By early 1656 both the Quakers and their opponents were reporting the sect's successes in Cork and Kinsale and the interest shown by 'moste of the chief officers thereabouts'.[4] Other areas of Munster felt the effects of Quakerism. In Youghal Captain James Sicklemore and Lieutenant Robert Sandham became Quakers. Limerick Quakers met in the homes of Captain Robert Wilkinson and Captain (possibly Thomas) Holmes. In Bandon there was Edward Cook, 'a man of great parts' and cornet in Oliver Cromwell's troop of horse before he was cashiered, as a Quaker, for insubordination in 1655.[5]

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1. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 52, 110, 114-5, 181, 183, 189; F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. i. 179, iii 80, 151, iv. 69, 141, 170.
2. F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 61.
3. A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe (hereafter Thurloe), ed. T. Birch (7 vols, London, 1742), iv. 508; British Library (hereafter B.L.), Lansdowne MS. 821, fo. 68.
4. Thurloe, iv. 508; Mercurius Politicus, 306 (17-24 April 1656), p. 6910. Hodden and his wife appear to have become Quakers; she was later imprisoned for disturbing a minister. (See J. Crook et al, A Declaration of the people of God in scorn called Quakers (London, 1659); T. Holme et al, To the Parliament of England (London, 1659), p. 5.) Phayre is an interesting character. He was a Ranter in 1653 and a Muggletonian after the Restoration. One of his daughters married a Quaker. (See D.N.B.: Phayre; National Library of Wales, MS. 11440 D., fos 131, 133. (I owe this last reference to T.C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (Oxford, 1975), p. 110).)
5. Lansdowne MSS. 821, fo. 127, 822, fo. 17-17v; T. Wight and J. Rutty, A History ... of the People Called Quakers in Ireland (Dublin, 1751), pp. 94-5, 139; Holme, To the Parliament, pp. 1-2, 6. For Wilkinson, see also G. Nuttall, James Nayler: a Fresh Approach (London, 1954), p. 6.

Quaker activity was by no means limited to Munster. We know that in Ulster the governor of Londonderry was attending meetings in 1655, showing himself 'kind and affectionate'. Major William Barcroft and Captain William Morris were 'convinced', the latter a governor of the garrison near Belturbet, a commissioner of revenue and a J.P. Though apparently never a Quaker, Ludlow's brother-in-law Colonel Nicholas Kempson appears to have been sympathetic, encouraging Quaker settlement on his land in Cavan and 'promising he would build a meeting-house and do great Matters to promote Truth'. In Dublin (in 1655) meetings were held at the homes of Captains Rich and Alland, once again sympathizers not Quakers; and the Quaker Edward Burrough visited the outgoing Lord Deputy, Charles Fleetwood, who showed himself to be 'moderate'.'[1] Later events were to show that the sect had been active in other parts of the province of Leinster and in Connaught.

Henry Cromwell was alarmed. 'Our most considerable enemy nowe in our view are the quakers', he wrote to Thurloe in February 1656.

> I thinke their principles and practises are not verry consistent with civil government, much less with the discipline of an army. Some thinke them to have noe designe, but I am not of that opinion. Their counterfeited simplicitie renders them to me the more dangerous. 2

Cromwell may have been misguided about the designs of the Quakers, but he was accurate about the threat of their 'principles and practices'. Quakerism and the Army could be a troublesome combination. There are several examples. In Limerick officers and soldiers attending a Quaker meeting resisted attempts by the governor's troops to break it up. In Belturbet soldiers sided with the Quakers in a dispute with the local authorities. In Kinsale troops and civilians clashed when the former supported a Quaker during his interruption of a church service by preventing the congregation from leaving the church. (Henry Cromwell predicted that the enquiry would reveal the complicity of Governor Hodden.)

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1. W.C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1970), p. 218; Wight and Rutty op. cit., pp. 90, 115-6; The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ed. C.H. Firth (2 vols, Oxford, 1894), ii. 444; A Journal of ... William Edmundson (London, 1715), pp. 16-36; A.R. Barclay MS. 118.

2. Thurloe, iv. 508.

There are vague suggestions too of a Quaker mutiny in Phayre's regiment.[1]

The future Lord Deputy of Ireland must have realized that the sect's mere presence threatened his alliance with the Anglicans and Presbyterians. He was also concerned about Quaker subversion of the Army. Refusal of 'hat honour', 'non-respect of persons', the Quaker soldier's refusal of the customary compliments due to a superior, and the Quaker officer's deeming of such compliments to be unnecessary, were certainly not conducive to military discipline. At this time of Fifth Monarchist agitation, Henry was terrified of being left with a fractious army, plagued by visions of a Henry Vane enrolling all the armed disaffection.[2] So he acted quickly. Quakers were cashiered, 'not barely for beinge Quakers' as would happen in Scotland in the following year, 'but for theire disobedience to theire officers, & things off yt nature'.[3] But Colonel Henry Ingoldsby's subtle distinction would have been lost on the Quakers, particularly since cashiering was accompanied by a general move against the sect, lasting throughout Henry Cromwell's term as Lord Deputy.

During 1656 Quaker tracts were seized at Dublin, examined by a committee of divines, and burned. Visiting Quakers were apprehended, then banished from the island; others were imprisoned (ninety-two in 1655 and 1656) and many were cashiered from the Army. Although the efficiency of Henry Cromwell's purge depended on the various garrison commanders, there seems to have been little reticence on their part. In Limerick Ingoldsby weeded out troublesome Quaker soldiers, barred the sect from the town (unless they were residents), threatened any harbourer of Quakers with expulsion, and broke up all but the smallest meetings. Elsewhere in Munster similar precautions were taken: in Cashell, Waterford and Youghal. Phayre's threatened dismissal from the commission of the peace probably brought him into line. Hodden lost his commission and was eventually demoted or cashiered. In the other provinces the pattern was much the same: in Connaught, in Galway; in Leinster, in Wexford, New Ross,

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1. Lansdowne MS. 822, fo. 17v; Journal of William Edmundson, pp. 28-30; Thurloe, iv. 672, 757; Mercurius Politicus, 307 (24 April - 1 May 1656), p. 6940.
2. Thurloe, iv. 509, 530-1; Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland, p. 111.
3. Lansdowne MS. 822, fo. 17.

Mountmellick and Kilkenny county.[1]

In 1657 the Quakers repeated their success in Scotland. They were welcomed by soldiers in Glasgow where Colonel Richard Ashfield, probably the governor of the town, was 'very loving' and his wife and chaplain sympathetic.[2] A captain of horse accompanied by his troops attended one of Fox's meetings in Dunbar. Officers in Aberdeen and Inverness showed interest. And Lt Colonel William Osbourne of Edinburgh and Captain Samuel Poole of Burntisland turned Quaker and held meetings in their homes.[3] Certain regiments acquired a notoriety. Major-General James Berry's regiment of horse had several Quaker officers, one of whom was the well-known Edward Billing, another, Cornet Ward the man who protected the Quaker John Hall during his proselytizing circuit of the English garrisons.[4] Monck's order books give some clues. If not particularly numerous - George Monck was to purge about forty Quaker soldiers in all - Quaker converts were widespread, and if Monck had not acted Quakerism could have been a contagious success. Of his five regiments of horse three were affected, five of his eleven foot

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1. Society of Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, MS. B20 (Leinster Quarterly Meeting Sufferings), pp. 1-2; Ireland under the Commonwealth, ed. R. Dunlop (2 vols, Manchester, 1913), pp. 557, 563, 637-8; A. Fuller and T. Holms, A Compendious View of Sufferings of the People Call'd Quakers in Ireland (Dublin 1731), pp. 100, 102, 123; Lansdowne MS. 822, fos 17-17v; J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), ii. 459-61; A.R. Barclay MS. 61; Diary of Thomas Burton, ed. J. Towill Rutt (4 vols, London, 1828), ii. 113, 114; Holme, To the Parliament, pp. 1-2, 4-9, 11-12.

2. A Journal of the Life of ... William Caton (London, 1689), pp. 28, 32-3; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 303; Thurloe, vi. 136. For Fox's claim that Ashfield became a Quaker, see p. 12 below. Ashfield's wife later became a Quaker: Caton, op. cit., p. 33.

3. W. Sewel, The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of ... Quakers (London, 1722), p. 171; Thurloe, vi. 167-8, 208; The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, ed. D. Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1842), iii. 323; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 292, 304-5. Doubtless Poole was the captain who told Monck in August 1659 'there could never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these nations, so long as there was a parish-priest, or a steeple-house left': C.H. Firth and G. Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army (2 vols, Oxford, 1940), p. 504.

4. Scotland and the Protectorate, ed. C.H. Firth (Scottish Hist. Soc., xxxi, 1899), pp. 350-1; Thurloe, vi. 136, 145-6, 162, 208; Worcester College Library (hereafter W.C.L.), Clarke MS. 51 (Letters from and to Gen. Monck 1657-9), fo. 9v; Clarke MS. 48 (Abstracts of orders etc. by Gen. Monck 1656-8), 6 Oct., 16 Oct. 1657.

regiments, and his regiment of dragoons. Not surprisingly Ashfield's regiment of foot was among them, as was Col Reade's (the Leveller Edward Sexby's old regiment). In keeping with Leveller patterns the two most notorious Quaker regiments were both cavalry. Of the soldiers who became Quakers none had been in the Army for less than seven years; the majority had service records of fourteen years, which would have meant that they had joined up at the beginning of the Civil War.[1]

From March 1657 onwards Monck moved against the sect. At first under instruction from Cromwell only the ranks were purged. Monck persisted, however, and eventually, in October, the Protector gave his assent for the cashiering of all Quaker officers.[2] More Friends were dismissed from Robert Lilburne's regiment towards the end of the year.[3] The General's action - reinforced by the far-from-'rusty sword' of Scottish Presbyterianism and the power of the landlords[4] - was effective. Scotland gained a place in the Quaker annals as a 'dark and an untoward nation'. Thus Alexander Parker discovered a general reticence among the soldiers when he was there in 1658; they knew the consequences if they showed any enthusiasm for Quakerism.[5]

Monck's actions are not hard to account for. As in Ireland, military protection of Quakerism invariably ended in conflict with

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1. Clarke MS. 48, 2 March, 13 March, 27 March, 9 May, 15 May, 18 May, 20 May, 25 May, 29 May, 6 Oct., 16 Oct., 26 Oct., 27 Oct., 31 Oct., 2 Nov., 20 Nov., 21 Nov., 23 Nov. 1657.

2. Clarke MS. 48, 22 April, 25 April. 16 Oct. 1657; Clarke MS. 51, fos 5-6v, 9v-10; Thurloe, vi. 215, 241.

3. Clarke MS. 48, 26 Oct., 31 Oct., 2 Nov., 20 Nov., 21 Nov. 1657; The Clarke Papers, ed. C.H. Firth (4 vols, Royal Hist. Soc., 1899), iii. 122-3; Swarthmore MS. iv. 237; Thurloe, vi. 635. Cornets Ward and Edward Billing, Lt Davenport, Cpt. George Watkinson, Lt Mathew Foster and Lt John Dove were among the Quaker officers cashiered in 1657. Monck vetoed a promotion for George Denham because he was a Quaker 'favourer'. (Aldam was probably responsible for the conversion of Lilburne's regiment, see p. 58 above.)

4. Quakers were automatically excommunicated by the classis, and a general synod in Glasgow decreed that upon pain of excommunication no Presbyterian was to employ, trade or associate in any way with a Quaker. The sect claimed that this stopped many tradesmen and craftsmen turning Quaker; others were afraid they would be turned out by their landlords. See W. Stockdale et al, The Doctrines and Principles of the Priests of Scotland (London, 1659), pp. 2-3; W. Osbourne et al, To You the Parliament sitting at Westminster [London, 1659].

5. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 231; Swarthmore MS. iii. 140; F.H.L., MS. Portfolio ii. 77 (wrongly dated).

the civilian population. The Quaker Lt John Dove, for instance, had threatened to bring his troop of horse against the townspeople of Paisley if they molested the Quakers.[1] But there were other reasons. The Fifth Monarchist plots of 1654 and 1655, a riot in Ayr in 1656, discontent over pay in 1657 at the very time of Quaker agitation, all had worried Monck. Quaker disaffection, therefore, seemed but the latest on the roll-call of subversion. 'Truly I thinke they will prove a very dangerous people, should they increase in your army', he wrote to Cromwell, 'and be neither fitt to command nor obey, but ready to make a distraction in the army, and a mutiny uppon every slight occasion.'[2] The Scotsman Robert Baillie thought that if permitted to grow without check the Quakers would engage in 'unmercifull killing (with their predecessors) of all their opposers'.[3] Others must have felt the same way.

The spectre of levelling also raised its ugly head. For Monck, like Henry Cromwell, the experience of Quaker activity in the Army was a form of déjà vu, a repetition of the unrest and Leveller agitation of 1647-9. Quaker insubordination reminded Col William Daniel of 'that factious temper of the army about the tyme the levellers appeared at the first'; 'the levellinge principle lyes at the bottome' he warned Monck. Daniel was frightened for the future of the Army (and society):

> My Captain Lieutenant ... is much confirmed in his principles of quakeing, makeing all the soldiers his equalls (according to the Levellers strayne) that I dare say in [a] short time his principles in the army shall be the root of disobedience. My Lord, the whole world is governed by superiority and distance in relations, and when that's taken away, unavoydably anarchy is ushered in .... I doe professe I am affraid least by the spreading of these humours the publique suffer, for they are a very uncertayne generation to execute commaunds, and liberty with equality is so pleasing to ignorance that proselytes will be dayly brought in..., and when I thinke of the Levelling designe that had like to have torne the army to peices, it makes mee more bold to give my opinion that these thinges be curbed in time; otherwise wherever this principle remaynes there will be great factions.... 4

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1. Stockdale, Doctrines and Principles, p. 5.
2. Thurloe, vi. 136.
3. Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, iii. 323.
4. Thurloe, vi. 168; Scotland and the Protectorate, ed. Firth, pp. 362-3.

The county communities

Ultimately the future of Quakerism had to rest with the local communities, and not surprisingly there were great differences in approach. The willingness, indeed the ability, of the authorities to act varied from county to county, from borough to borough, and presumably from parish to parish. It is difficult - probably impossible - to generalize, but we know enough to venture some suggestions.

Towns and cities, because of their size and governing structures, because of the very fact that many were walled, were better equipped to cope with troublesome visitors, particularly when there was determination and unity of purpose. In Newcastle the corporation, clergy and Merchant Adventurers all banded together to deal with the Quaker menace; meetings were barred from the town and forced across the river to Gateshead, and a prohibition was clamped on the employment of Quaker apprentices.[1] Movement in and out of York was limited (perhaps not too effectively) by stipulations against the harbouring of strangers; while, with the support of the corporation, the Presbyterian Edward Bowles did much to counter the growth of sectarianism.[2] When Quaker itinerants arrived in Norwich at the end of 1654 they were promptly escorted out of the town.[3] In Chester from 1653 onwards a succession of mayors ensured, often brutally, that Quaker progress in this city was limited.[4] Much the same happened, though with less success, in Plymouth (Devon),[5] Evesham (Worcestershire),[6] and in

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1. R. Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967), pp. 258-61.

2. York City Archives, MS. B37 (City of York House Book 1650-1663), fo. 32; York City Archives, MS. F7 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1638-1662), p. 367; C. Cross, Church and People 1450-1660 (London, 1976), p. 206.

3. Norfolk Record Office (hereafter N.R.O.), 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1654-70', 1 Jan. 1654/5.

4. Swarthmore MS. i. 189; The Cheshire Sheaf, 4th series, v (1970), 11 et seq.; Chester City Record Office, MF 75/11,32,66,71, 76/42, 77 (2)/55-7 (Mayors' Files 1653-6); Chester City Record Office, ML 3/375 (Mayors' Letters 1651-1673); F. H [owgil], A. Hutchins et al, Caines Bloudy Race (London, 1657), passim.

5. A.D. Selleck, 'Plymouth Friends: A Quaker History, The Devonshire Association, xcviii (1966), 292; M. Halhead and T. Salthouse, The Wounds of an Enemie in the House of a Friend (London, 1656), passim.

6. H. Smith and T. Woodrove, The Cruelty of the Magistrates of Evesham (London, 1655), passim; H. Smith, Something further laid open (London, 1656), passim.

Harwich (Essex), where in 1656 the mayor ordered Quaker proselytizers to leave the town and threatened to revoke the licence of an inn-keeper who had harboured them.[1] Finally, Presbyterian domination of Maidstone (Kent)[2] and Arundel (Sussex)[3] guaranteed Friends short shrift when they arrived there during the 1650s. Small islands were easier to control too; when Quakers descended upon the Isle of Wight the governor sent them back to the mainland.[4]

Yet it was not always like that, especially when the sect was able to gain radical and influential support. This was the situation in Bristol, for instance, where members of the garrison and the radical party embraced the Quaker message in 1654: George Bishop, brewer and merchant, ex-secretary to the Intelligence and Examinations Committee (1650-3), and unsuccessful radical candidate for the First Protectorate Parliament; Dennis Hollister, grocer and Baptist ex-member of the Barebones Parliament; Henry Roe, ironmonger, old army man, and councillor; Thomas Speed a wealthy merchant and former lay preacher in the New Model; Captain Edward Pyott, merchant; Captains Beal and Watson in command at the fort and castle. Another early convert was the coppersmith Richard Jones, also an ex-soldier, who said in 1655 that 'ye Maior of Bristol was a Cavalier & not fit to be Maior & that he cared not a turd nor a fart for him, & that he was more like a horse or an asse then a Maior'.[5] Influential figures were sympathetic: Col John Haggatt, married to a Quaker, judge on the Welsh circuit and, like his cousin Bishop, unsuccessful in the 1654 elections; Col Adrian Scrope the regicide, an old member of Hollister's congregation, who had supported the radicals in the election and who was later said to have petitioned on behalf of Nayler. The 'priests and magistrates of the city begin to rage', the Quaker John Camm wrote towards the end of 1654, 'but the soldiers keep them down'. Scrope, it was reported, had told Hollister 'that if the Magistrates

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1. G. Fox the younger, A True Relation (London, 1660), pp. 1-2.
2. M.V. Jones, 'The Political History of the Parliamentary Boroughs of Kent, 1642-1662' (Univ. of London Ph.D. thesis 1967), pp. 473-5.
3. East Sussex Rec. Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), SOF 5/1 (Sussex Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-1751), pp. 7-8, 12-13, 24-5.
4. Somerset Rec. Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR 8/1 (Somerset Q.M. Sufferings Book 1655-1672), pt i, fo. 22.
5. Bristol Rec. Office (hereafter B.R.O.), 'Orders of Mayor and Aldermen 1653-1660', fo. 26.

did put them [the Quakers] in prison one day, hee would put them out the next'.[1] In short, the common council was eager to rid the city of Quakerism but they felt inhibited by the sect's influential allies.[2]

In Colchester where there were conversions among the rich merchant and clothier community and the radical Barrington faction in the corporation, the story was much the same. The Baptist weaver Steven Crisp; the merchant John Furly Jr, the grocer Thomas Bayles, the baymaker William Havens, all common councillors; the linen-draper, alderman and sometimes mayor, John Furly Sr: all turned Quaker. Quakers were still imprisoned by Presbyterian members of the council, so reaction was by no means extinguished. But, as in Bristol, it may have been dampened by this important support.[3]

Though the details are obscure, the Quaker physician John Raunce may have played a similar role in his capacity as a radical member of the High Wycombe common council.[4]

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1. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 169; R. Farmer, The Impostor Dethron'd (London, 1658), p. 43 (Newberry Library, Chicago). The Scrope family's connection with the Quakers continued after Adrian's execution at the Restoration; in 1675 his grandson was apprenticed to the Quaker merchant Thomas Speed: Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers, ed. P. McGrath (Bristol Rec. Soc., xvii,1952), p. 37; D.N.B.

2. The sources for early Bristol Quakerism are copious: R. Mortimer, Early Bristol Quakerism (Bristol, 1967), pp. 2-7; G.E. Aylmer, The State's Servants (London, 1973), pp. 272-4; J. Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century (Bristol, 1900), pp. 239, 250-1, 262; The Deposition Books of Bristol 1650-1654, eds H.E. Nott and E. Ralph (Bristol Rec. Soc., xiii, 1948), pp. 179-83; B.R.O., 'Orders of Mayor and Aldermen 1653-1660', fos 14-14v, 18v, 28-28v, 67v, 70v, 71, 81; B.R.O., 'Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1653-1671', fos 5-5v, 6v, 11, 23, 32v, 34-34v; F.H.L., mic. 30, Bristol MS. v. 80; Farmer, Sathan Inthron'd; Farmer, Impostor Dethron'd; G. Bishop et al, The Cry of Blood and Herod (London, 1656), passim; Thurloe, iii. 117, 170, 171, 177, 268.

3. J.H. Round, 'Colchester during the Commonwealth', English Hist. Rev., xv (1900), 641-664; T.G. Glines, 'Politics and Government in the Borough of Colchester, 1660-1693' (Univ. of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis 1974), ch. 2; Colchester Borough Records, T/A 465/3 (Assembly Book 1646-1666), fos 46v-47, 92, 147v, 164; F.H.L., MS. Great Book of Sufferings, i , p. 406; unfortunately there are no sessions rolls extant for Colchester for the period 1656-8. (It is not clear when Furly Sr became a Quaker, though he did die one.)

4. L.J. Ashford, The History of the Borough of High Wycombe (London, 1960), pp. 135-141; The First Ledger Book of High Wycombe, ed. R.W. Greaves (Bucks Rec. Soc., 1956), pp. 153, 157-8, 162-3.

Other important allies aided the sect at the county level. Judge Thomas Fell's sometimes strained sympathy is well known. Lancashire justices were reluctant to act against meetings held by his wife Margaret (later to marry the Quaker leader George Fox) in their Furness home. When Fox appeared before Fell and another well-wisher, Col William West, at the Lancashire sessions in 1652 the latter 'stoode uppe .... & saide George if thou hast anythinge to say to ye people thou maist freely declare it in ye open sessions.' He later spoke out on behalf of Fox at the assizes.[1] Fell also rode the Cheshire assize circuit (with the regicide John Bradshaw). And we know that in 1655 - at the very time Cheshire justices were trying to combat Quakerism - Fell and Bradshaw ordered the release from prison of twelve members of the sect. Others were discharged by the same court later the same year and again in 1656.[2]

Furthermore the effectiveness of the law depended upon its enforcement in the parishes, and there are some suggestions that at times the consensus could break down. This possibility occurred in Herefordshire in 1656 when four Ross constables turned Quaker, in Cumberland in 1655 when two constables refused to execute a warrant of distress for tithes, in Yorkshire in 1658 when the same happened with another Quaker constable, this time for profanation of the sabbath, and in Somerset in 1659 when the tithing-man of Street refused to serve a warrant on an erring Quaker.[3]

But these were the exceptions. My general impression is that in the nation at large there was little reluctance to act. In fact in several counties there was a concerted drive in mid-1656 to limit the spread of Quakerism. The Essex quarter sessions ordered the suppression of 'all unlawfull tumultous Assemblyes' and the arrest of all members of the sect found 'within this County wandring and haunteing from place to place'.[4] Similar directions were issued by

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1. I. Ross, Margaret Fell Mother of Quakerism (London, 1949), pp. 35-6, 115-24; W. Penn, A Collection of the Works (2 vols, London, 1726), i. 880; Journal of George Fox, i. 70-1, 77.
2. Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), Chester 24/131/2,4 (Cheshire Assize Rolls); P.R.O., Chester 21/4 (Cheshire Assize Order Book), fo. 326; J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974), p. 231. Cf., also, Swarthmore MS. i. 195.
3. The First Publishers of Truth, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907), p. 125; Besse, Collection, i. 127; Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), pp. 47, 59; S.R.O., Q/SR (Quarter Sessions Rolls), 98 pt 1/31.
4. Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-1661, ed. D.H. Allen (Chelmsford, 1974), p. 88.

the courts in Devon and Cornwall, where watches were set up on highways and bridges 'for the preventing of this great contagion, that infects almost every corner of this Nation.' In Devon, where 'psons of estate' with 'sufficient weapons' were engaged to apprehend those 'styled by ye name of Quakers disaffected to ye psent govmt', over a score of itinerants were netted in a matter of weeks.[1] Clearly Cromwell's toleration was only what the local communities would make of it. Finally, in Wiltshire and Somerset justices were urged by their grand juries to do something about 'the increase of persons known by the name of Quakers'.[2]

Where the records survive (and where I have been able to consult them) the evidence is that, with the exception of Staffordshire where they seem rarely to have been troubled by the magistrates, Quakers were appearing before the courts quite regularly: at the north-eastern assize circuit from 1652 onwards and the Oxford circuit in 1656; at the Cheshire, Devon, Suffolk, Sussex and Somerset quarter sessions from 1655, in Essex from 1656, Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire in 1657, Wiltshire and Hampshire in 1658.[3] According to the Quaker sources at least three hundred of 360 cases of disturbance of ministers (1654-9) found their way into the courts.

Quakers fell foul of the authorities in a variety of ways -

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1. Cornwall Record Office, DD/SF 285/64 (Papers of Sufferings 1655-1685); A.H.A. Hamilton, Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne (London, 1878), pp. 164-5; [G. Bishop], The West Answering to the North (London, 1657), pp. 69-70, 76-8, 107; Devon Record Office (hereafter Dv.R.O.), 'Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-1661', July 1656.

2. Wiltshire Rec. Office, Quarter Sessions Great Rolls, Trinity 1656; Somerset Assize Orders 1640-1659, ed. J.S. Cockburn (Somerset Rec. Soc., lxxi, 1971), pp. 46-7.

3. Precise documentation would be tedious. The records consulted were: Staffs Rec. Office, Q/SO6 (Quarter Sessions Order Book 1654-9); Staffs Rec. Office, Q/SR (Quarter Sessions Rolls 1654-9); P.R.O., Assi. 44/5-6, 44/5/2, 45/4/3, 45/5/1 (North-East Circuit Indictments and Depositions); Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. f. 47 (Oxford Circuit, verdicts and sentences 1656-1660); Cheshire Record Office (hereafter C.R.O.), QJF 82-87 (Quarter Sessions Files 1654-59); C.R.O., QJB/10a (Quarter Sessions Indictments and Presentments); Dv.R.O., 'Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-1661'; Dv.R.O., Quarter Sessions Bundles; Suffolk Record Office, B 105/2/3 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1652-1656); Suffolk Rec. Office, B 105/2/4 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1656-1662); E.S.R.O., QO/EW3 (Quarter Sessions Order Book 1655-60); E.S.R.O., QI/EW2 (Quarter Sessions Indict. Book 1652-1662); Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset,

from the Kendal shearman prosecuted for selling Quaker tracts in Beverley (Yorkshire) in 1653, to the Coggeshall glover, Robert Ludgater, presented for refusing the oath of constable in Essex in 1656.[1] Fox was imprisoned in Derby for six months under the provisions of the Blasphemy Act of 1650. The Wellingborough upholsterer Francis Ellington suffered for the same offence in Northamptonshire in 1657; others were presented in the same county and in Oxford, but the charges were either dropped or thrown out at the assizes.[2] The Blasphemy Act's use, then, does not appear to have been widespread. Justices were increasing their repertoire. Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse, two North Country Quakers detained in Plymouth in 1655, were prosecuted under Cromwell's proclamation against provoking duels.[3] Then there were the obvious cases of harassment. Christopher Bacon, a Somerset Quaker, was fined 10/- for travelling on the sabbath after he had been found off the direct route to his place of worship.[4] The oath of abjuration, intended originally for Papists, was used against the sect in Banbury in 1655 and Devon in 1657, while a note book from the Oxford circuit suggests that it was being tendered to suspected Quakers in that county at the beginning of 1658.[5] Yet I know of no cases where it was pursued vigorously, for refusal could entail the confiscation of two-thirds of the offender's estate, as a Popish recusant. In most counties J.Ps were taking summary action (that is out of court) against Quakers who refused to pay church-rates - tithes we will deal with later - with goods seized to cover the

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ed. E.H. Bates Harbin (Somerset Rec. Soc., xxviii, 1912); Essex Record Office (hereafter E.R.O.), Q/SR 369-76 (Quarter Sessions Rolls); Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton, ed. J. Wake (Northants Rec. Soc., i, 1924); Hertfordshire County Records: Sessions Books 1619-1657, ed. W. Le Hardy (Hertford, 1928); Sessions Books 1658-1700 (Hertford, 1930); Wiltshire Rec. Office, 'Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1653-1660'; Hampshire Rec. Office, 'Quarter Sessions Indictments 1646-60'.

1. P.R.O., Assi. 45/4/3/103,108; E.R.O., Q/SR 369/27.
2. Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton, pp. 155, 186; A. Audland et al, The Saints Testimony Finishing through Sufferings (London, 1655), pp. 2-3, 4, 8, 24.
3. Halhead and Salthouse, Wounds of an Enemie, p. 62.
4. S.R.O., Q/SR 95 pt 2/52 (Quarter Sessions Rolls).
5. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 344; Dv.R.O., 'Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-61', Oct. 1657; Bod. Lib., MS. Top. Oxon., f. 47, fo. 18v.

amounts due, though usually the number of Quakers involved and the amounts owed were minimal.[1]

Several justices wielded the Vagrancy Act (39 Eliz. c.4) before its extension in 1657, bending the spirit if not the letter of the law in an effort to contain the sect. Again there was the theme of the northern invasion. Ralph Farmer referred to Friends as 'Northern locusts', 'Morice-dancers from the North'.[2] 'Those that come out of the North', observed the M.P. for Southwark in 1656, 'are the greatest pests of the nation.'[3] Fear of Quakerism, Mr Clark has reminded us, was a fear of 'militant banded migrancy',[4] and indeed for many justices the distinction between vagrant and Quaker seems to have been a fine one.[5] When the sect moved southwards in 1654 North Country women were whipped out of the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge.[6] William Caton and John Stubbs suffered the same fate at Maidstone while spreading the word in Kent in 1655.[7] Thomas Laycock, 'taken vagrant and wandring' in Sussex, was given the choice of either being set to work by the mayor of Arundel or being sent back to Yorkshire.[8] A Lancashire Quaker, William Simpson, was proceeded against as a vagrant after he had been picked up in Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire.[9] Fox, for his part, hinted that the magistrates were frightened that their communities would be inundated by indigent Quakers clamouring

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1. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 103, 138, 148, 189-90, 324, 460, 540, 559, 590, ii, Norfolk, p. 6, Northants, p. 20, Suffolk, p. 16, Surrey, p. 2, Sussex, p. 3. In Somerset during the period 1655-1659 49 Quakers had goods distrained for not paying church rates. (See S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i , fos 13 ff.) Although the sums owed were usually only a matter of a few pence, principles were involved; the Cheshire Quaker Thomas Janney said that 'bfore he would pay the repaire of the Idoll Church, hee would loose both life & limbes': QJF 82/4/49.
2. R. Farmer, The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse (London, 1655), sigs A2, A2v.
3. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 155.
4. P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish towns 1580-1640', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (London, 1972), p. 162, n. 105.
5. Cf. Cornwall Rec. Office, DD/SF 285/17,64,67.
6. The First New Persecution (London, 1654); R. Hubberthorne, A True Testimony (London, 1654); R. Hubberthorne, The Immediate Call (London, 1654), passim.
7. F.H.L., MS. Original Records of Sufferings, 277; [J. Stubbs and W. Caton], A True Declaration of the bloody Proceedings of the Men in Maidstone (London, 1655), passim.
8. E.S.R.O., QO/EW3, fo. 27v.
9. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 421.

for poor relief (the vagrancy motive).[1] This must have worried some, but others were more concerned with the trade in ideas. As Sir Hugh Wyndham said to the Yorkshire Quakers William Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr when they appeared before him at the Northamptonshire assizes in 1655: 'Could thou not stay in thy owne Country & keep thy opinions to thyselfe, but thou must goe abroad into the Country, & in these ptes to delude the people & make disturbance'.[2]

The offence which most commonly found its way into the courts of quarter sessions was disturbance of ministers. Few counties escaped this form of disruption - as I have said, at least 360 cases in six years[3] - and the problem became in effect one of civil disorder. Some incidents were bizarre. The Quaker Solomon Eccles climbed into the pulpit at Aldermanbury Church and 'with a needle and thread sewed a pocket until he was pulled down'.[4] Others were merely good humour. The Sussex Quaker John Snashford interrupted a minister, and when the offended party offered 'to return home' John asked him 'if he would flye'.[5] But many of the incidents resulted in conflict of some kind. When the Quaker Thomas Stubbs interrupted a minister at Dean in Cumberland in 1654 his victim retorted by urging the congregation to 'fight for the Gospell'; 'wch thing', explains our Quaker source, 'his Flock was very ready to p.forme, for they forwith fell upon Thomas, & beat him sore'.[6] Mercurius Politicus reported another incident in which Quaker disruption resulted in a mob setting about one another.[7] The courts could deal with the problem in several ways. If there was a clash they could proceed against the offender for disturbance of the peace

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1. Narrative Papers of George Fox, ed. H.J. Cadbury (Richmond, Indiana, 1972), pp. 22-23.
2. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Northants, p. 5.
3. My figures for disturbance are based on cases for the following counties listed in 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, ii: Berks, Bristol, Cambs, Cornwall, Cumberland, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Hants, Kent, Lancs, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northants, Oxford, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wales, Wilts, Worcestershire, Yorks. I have counted 361 cases, 307 (85 per cent) of which were taken to the courts. In 87 (24 per cent) cases some sort of violence or conflict resulted.
4. S. Eccles, In the yeare 59 (London, 1659) (Haverford College, Pa.).
5. W. Albery, A Millennium of Facts in the History of Horsham and Sussex (Horsham, 1947), pp. 415-6.
6. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 169.
7. Mercurius Politicus, 191 (2-9 Feb. 1653/4), p. 3248.

(common law). They could employ the old Marian Act (1 Mar. St.2 c.3) which provided for committal until the offender repented - it was used against the Kendal Quaker Christopher Atkinson by the Norwich authorities in 1655 and he repudiated Quakerism in open court.[1] Or after February 1655 there was Cromwell's proclamation which gave the go-ahead for Quaker disturbers of a minister in the course of his duties to be treated as 'disturbers of the public peace'.[2]

Sometimes Quaker offenders were dealt with leniently, sometimes vindictively. It is virtually impossible to gain any overall impression other than the obvious one of diversity. Penalties varied: sometimes a fine, sometimes imprisonment. Fines for disturbing ministers were seldom less than £3, usually about £5 with imprisonment until paid. The assizes were more severe, fining up to £20. James Parnell was fined 60 marks, a substantial sum, by the south-eastern circuit, but that was for 'seditious words'.[3] Quakers were frequently committed for refusing to find sureties to be of good behaviour. Others were given straightforward prison sentences - penalties of up to three months with hard labour were normal.

We have, however, some evidence that the law was pursued without the precision so dear to the hearts of the English legal establishment. Indeed at times its application was downright shaky. Although there is room for further research here, it is hard to get at the truth because the sessions records are often vague and the Quaker records mistaken in their identifications of various charges. But we do know that an enquiry into the detention of Quakers by the Sussex authorities revealed that imprisonments had been illegal and the mittimuses faulty.[4] In short, the affair was a case of religious prejudice. We know too that justices were encouraged in their laxity by an awareness that failing all else they would be able to detain a Quaker offender for contempt of court -

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1. N.R.O., 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Minute Book', 6 Aug. 1655.
2. A Proclamation Prohibiting the Disturbing of Ministers (London, 1654).
3. We can get some perspective of the fines being levied if we remember that about this time the yearly wage of a bailiff in husbandry was £4; a maidservant was paid £1.10.0: H.M.C. Various Collections I (1901), p. 323.
4. Extracts from State Papers, pp. 14-20.

either for refusing to remove his hat, for example, or for saying in open court, like Mary Fisher, that 'all the gentlemen Justices & ministers on earth are theives & robbers'.[1] Thus in 1658 a committee of the Council of State was to suggest that Quakers' hats be removed before they entered court.[2]

What are we to make of all this? First, the variation itself is significant; it is impossible to talk in terms of universal Quaker suffering. With radical protection the Quaker lot was not necessarily a hard one. But the price paid was an increase in tension in the local community. In Bristol this took the form of conflict between the radicals and the military on the one hand, the predominantly Presbyterian corporation on the other.[3] And surely John Bradshaw's intervention in Chester on behalf of socially divisive sectaries would have smelled of the wrong sort of interference into the affairs of the county community, the assizes being the courts of the central government.[4] Tensions like that were to produce the Presbyterian, Cheshire-based rising of 1659. Generally, however, there was little disinclination to act. While the Newcastle and Chester authorities largely succeeded in banishing the sect to the surrounding countryside, others were less efficient. There was still a widespread desire for more concerted action to be taken against the Quakers.

The Nayler episode and its results

The Quaker impact had been both dramatic and widespread. A 'strange judgement of God upon our nation', the Presbyterian minister Giles Firmin thought the sect. '...Oh many feare the Quakers to ruine, Cromwell', the vicar of Earls Colne wrote in July 1655 .(though he was personally less sure of the gravity of the situation).[5] Readers of tracts and newsbooks were treated to tales of the bizarre effects of rejection of priestly and biblical mediators, the fruits of the Quaker overemphasis upon the spirit

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1. P.R.O., Assi. 44/5.
2. Extracts from State Papers, p. 91.
3. For the trouble in Bristol, including apprentice riots, see p. 66 above and pp. 208-9 below.
4. For Bradshaw, see p. 68 above.
5. Dr Williams's Library, MS. 59 (Baxter's Letters), iii, fo. 106v. The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683, ed. A. Macfarlane (London, 1976), p. 349.

within . There was 'a credible report' of the attempted sacrifice of children, accounts of the self-destructive antics of John Toldervy, John Gilpin, James Parnell and others, allegations of incest, buggery and general immorality. Woodcut prints and ballads would presumably have conveyed a similar message to the illiterate. Oft-repeated suggestions that Quakers were in reality disguised Jesuits undermining the Church and preparing the way for a return to Rome, pandered to a virulent anti-Catholicism.[1]

'Wast thou not at Burford among the Levellers?' a Quaker leader was asked in 1653.[2] For the Quaker movement also seemed like the Leveller movement writ new, and the conversion in 1655 of the Leveller leader John Lilburne must have caused alarm. Cromwell, for one, was concerned, thinking Lilburne's action a 'strange politick contrivance', an attempt perhaps to enrol a new party to replace the Levellers.[3] Henry Vane's sympathy and association with the movement was also unsettling.[4]

In the Autumn of 1654 the sect had had a dramatic effect upon London itself, with the Quaker Edward Burrough reporting successes among groups of Seekers and Baptists and meetings with Gerrard Winstanley the Digger leader, Joshua Sprigge and Col Nathaniel Rich - great meetings at which another Quaker leader, Richard Hubberthorne, spoke while Burrough trembled and women cried. '...our noyse and fame is much spread in this City', wrote Burrough, and he talked of spies attending meetings then reporting back to Whitehall.[5]

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1. Yet again a mass of material. For some examples, see: F.H[igginson], A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers (London, 1653), p. 31; J. Toldervy, The Foot out of the Snare (London, 1656), passim; J. Gilpin, The Quakers Shaken (Newcastle, 1653) passim; G. Benson et al, An Answer to John Gilpin's Book (London, 1655), pp. 5-7; The Lambs Defence against Lyes (London, 1656), passim; J. Clapham, A Full Discovery (London, 1656), p. 51; Quakers are Inchanters (London, 1655), passim; The Publick Intelligencer, 31 (28 April - 5 May 1656), pp. 513-6; R. Baxter, The Quakers Catechism (London, 1655), introduction; W. Prynne, A New Discovery of Some Romish Emissaries (London, 1656), pp. 4-10. For woodcut prints, see pp. 194-195 below.

2. G. Fox et al, Saul's Errand to Damascus (London, 1654), p. 30.

3. The Resurrection of John Lilburne (London, 1656), p. 9 (cf. Mercurius Politicus, 379 (27 Aug. - 3 Sept. 1657), pp. 1597-8). Henry Marten, a former champion of the Leveller cause, penned a defence of the Quakers, but we do not know whether this was widely known: C.M. Williams, 'The Political Career of Henry Marten' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1954), appendix C. no. 4.

4. Thurloe, iv. 508, 530-1. For Vane and the Quakers, see p. 120 below and Sir H. Vane, The Retired Mans Meditations (London, 1655), pp. 183-4.

5. F.H.L., William Caton MSS. iii. 137-47, 155-8; 'Swarthmore MS.

The city was indeed edgy. In December when John Tany (Theaureaujohn) drew his sword on the Keeper of the House, saying he was 'inspired by the Holy Spirit, to Kill every man that sate in the House' he was immediately assumed to be a Quaker and a committee was set up to prepare a bill against the sect.[1] In the following year Nayler continued the work of Burrough and Hubberthorne, but this time there were links with groups of upper-class enthusiasts. Over the next few years the sect was to make some inroads into well known families. Charles Fleetwood's family attended London meetings, as did the earl of Pembroke, and there were Quakers in Cromwell's household.[2]

Such successes reinforced hints of encouragement from influential circles. At the beginning of 1656 when the young Quaker James Parnell died in Colchester during a fast, it was rumoured that Fleetwood (Major-General for East Anglia) had sent orders for his release but they had arrived too late. Ralph Josselin's relief was symptomatic of the uncertainty: 'the triumph his partie would have made' if the Quaker had been freed.[3] The other major-generals (the Protector's agents in the counties from 1655 to 1656) differed somewhat in their responses, but one or two were either tolerant or sympathetic.[4] Cromwell's own intervention

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Letters of John Audland', ed. C. Horle (typescript, F.H.L., 1975), no. 18.

1. Mercurius Politicus, 238 (28 Dec. - 4 Jan. 1654/5), pp. 5033-4; Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 410; B. Whitelocke, Memorials of the English Affairs (London, 1682), p. 592.

2. Nuttall, James Nayler, pp. 10-13; Letters of Early Friends, ed. A.R. Barclay (London, 1841), pp. 37, 53-4, 59-60.

3. Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 367.

4. The fate of Quakers varied under the major-generals, and is a little more complicated than has been suggested by Dr Fletcher (cf. A. Fletcher, 'The Religious Motivation of Cromwell's Major-Generals', Studies in Church History, xv (1978), 265). William Goffe (Sussex, Hants, Berks.) was hostile. 'I have some thoughts to lay Foxe and his companions by the heeles, if I see a good opportunity' he wrote to Thurloe early in 1656. He seized several hundred tracts brought into Sussex by the sect. William Boteler (Northants, Beds, Rutland and Hunts), as we would expect of the bigotry he revealed during the Nayler debates, treated Quakers harshly, smashing meetings in Northants and detaining Quaker leaders illegally. The attitude of John Desborough (in the West) is something of a mystery, though he seems to have been fairly lenient and in any case was the object of rancour for releasing James Nayler. His wife was nursed by one of Nayler's followers, Martha Simmonds, and his secretary John Anderdon became a Quaker. Charles Worsley (Cheshire, Lancs and Staffs) was troubled by the sect but reluctant to act without specific instructions from the Protector. James Berry (Wales and the border counties) was more sympathetic, acting more than

always seemed to be on the side of sectarianism. Even his February proclamation directed specifically against Friends was greeted in some quarters with a certain amount of cynicism. As Josselin astutely suggested: 'perhaps the clause in his declaration not to disturbe the minister in exercise, was to hint to them, they might doe it after if they would, securely, for that is their practice.'[1]

Discontent radiated from the provinces. Petitions from the North warned of the dangers of Quakerism and called for action against meetings.[2] In Kent Dr Jones and Clark have found that the advent of the movement was splitting the radicals and giving a boost to the re-emergence of political moderation.[3] Even the mild William Sheppard was to recommend a ban, if persuasion failed, on assemblies of Quakers as 'Persons of dangerous Opinions'.[4] And we have seen that several counties had already worked out their own solutions. The Second Protectorate Parliament which met in 1656 contained men who had experienced Quakerism first hand at the county level and who were in no mood for prevarication.

In October 1656, the year for which many had predicted that the millennium would commence, James Nayler entered Bristol on a donkey, his hair and beard styled in the manner attributed to Christ. His companions, mostly women, walked beside him singing 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel'. They kissed his feet and laid their garments before him in the mud. This symbolic entry, 'a sign of the second Coming of Christ' ('Thy name is no more to be called James but Jesus' wrote one of his followers) was the culmination of a triumphant procession through Somerset after his release from Exeter prison. The Quakers were promptly arrested and eventually sent to London where Nayler was examined

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once to curb the over-zealousness of local officials. John Lambert (in the North) was probably lenient too if his tolerance towards Nayler and Quaker support for him in the 1658/9 elections are any indication. See I. Roots, 'Swordsmen and Decimators', in R.H. Parry (ed.), The English Civil War and After (London, 1974), ch. 5; Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 197, 447-9; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Northants, pp. 16-17; Extracts from State Papers, p. 8; Mercurius Politicus, 312 (29 May - 5 June 1656), p. 7012; Thurloe, iv. 315, 333, 341, 408, 531, 613, 642, v. 188.

1. Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 348.
2. Higginson, Brief Relation, pp. 73-5; Fox et al, Saul's Errand, pp. 1-2; P.R.O. Assi 45/5/2/113.
3. Jones, 'Political History of the Parliamentary Boroughs of Kent', p. 167; P. Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution (London, 1977), pp. 394, 396.
4. W. Sheppard, Englands Balme (London, 1657), p. 138.

by a parliamentary committee. During his detention the adulation continued. Dorcas Erbery (William Erbery's daughter) repeated her claim that she had been dead for two days and that Nayler had resurrected her; his followers still knelt before him.[1]

The reaction of M.Ps was intense. The debating continued throughout December. Like the Dreyfus affair or the trial of Dr Sacheverell, a single event had exposed fundamental fears and tensions. It raised questions both legal and constitutional; the whole issue of the respective powers of Protector and Parliament lurked behind the polarized discussion. The nation's image was also threatened. 'Consider how you stand in the opinion of the world', the Master of the Rolls warned the House. M.Ps were shocked by the extremity of the offence, the audacity of the 'blasphemy'. 'He that sets himself up in Christ's place', proclaimed the rigid William Boteler, 'certainly commits the highest offence that can be.'[2] Above all, as Hill has pointed out, it was the Quaker movement and the government's religious policy that were in the dock.[3]

The outburst revealed real concern at the dramatic increase in Quaker numbers. 'These vipers are crept into the bowels of your Commonwealth, and the government too', explained one member; 'They grow numerous, and swarm all the nation over; every county, every parish.' Nayler was a leading Quaker, some said the leading Quaker, so it was an ideal opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of savage punishment as a deterrent. 'Cut off this fellow, and you will destroy the sect', Dennis Bond argued. Richard Cromwell told the diarist Thomas Burton that he was convinced Nayler 'must die', and there were Mosaically inspired suggestions of stoning. In the end the death penalty was defeated - narrowly, by 96 to 82 - and a more 'lenient' punishment settled upon. Nayler was to be branded, bored through the tongue, whipped and pilloried; he was then to be

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1. For the Nayler episode, see Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, ch. 11; A True Narrative of the Examination, Tryall ... of James Nayler (London, 1657) passim; T. Collier, A Looking-Glasse for the Quakers (London, 1657), p. 16; W. Grigge, The Quaker's Jesus (London, 1658), passim; W.C.L., Clarke MS. 28, fos 120v-121, 122-122v, 123v, 125v-126; B.L., Add. MS. 37682 (P.A. Taylor Papers - Letters, Wills etc), fo. 59; The Correspondence of John Locke, ed. E.S. De Beer (Oxford, 1976), i. 43-4.
2. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 26-7, 67.
3. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 201.

confined, indefinitely, without relief or outside contact and at hard labour.[1] God was to be protected with a vengeance.

Others were less certain of the political wisdom of providing the movement with a martyr, though they agreed on the need for 'some endeavour to suppress the growth of them in general.' A few were wary about creating a precedent for action not only against other Quakers, which was precisely what many had in mind, but against M.Ps themselves: 'We may all, in after ages, be called Quakers.' There were voices for moderation - Lambert's was one - and Cornelius Holland, an M.P. with previous Leveller connections, spoke bravely for liberty of conscience. 'The opinions they hold', thought Colonel Sydenham, 'do border so near a glorious truth, that I cannot pass my judgment that it is blasphemy.' Yet even the more moderate were worried (like Cromwell) about the Quaker threat to 'civil peace'.[2]

So Nayler was punished. And it was decided - amid lobbying from the gentry and ministers of Northumberland, Durham, Newcastle, Chester and Cheshire, Bristol, Cornwall, Devon and Exeter - that a committee should prepare legislation against the sect.[3] The Cromwellian settlement had also been under attack. Its critics wept crocodile tears over the 'sad effects of Toleration'. There were subtle suggestions of official encouragement since Cromwell had, after all, been responsible for Nayler's release from Exeter. 'These Quakers, Ranters, Levellers, Socinians, and all sorts, bolster themselves under thirty-seven and thirty-eight of [the Instrument of] Government', Major-General Skippon complained not so subtly. 'I heard the supreme magistrate say, "It was never his intention to indulge such things"; yet we see the issue of this liberty of conscience.' Major-General Goffe agreed. 'I shall not entertain an irreverent thought of The Instrument of Government. I shall spend my blood for it. Yet if it hold out anything to protect such persons I would have it burnt in the fire.'[4]

> This poore nation is in a tottering condition, not so much (I make account) from the preparation of the enemies abroade, as from the contrivances of those within our bowells, and our unwillingnesse in Parliament, at least our delatoriness to obviat and prevent them.....

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1. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 25,96,98,126; The Devil turned Quaker (London, 1656), sig.A7; Journals of the House of Commons, vii.468.
2. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 33, 68-9, 78, 86, 97, 172-3.
3. Journals of the House of Commons, vii, 470.
4. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 49-50, 70, 110.

Thus wrote Boteler to Montagu in January 1657.[1] Dissatisfaction had been heightened by the Nayler affair; now concessions would have to be made. As Cromwell had been advised earlier, 'the Parliamt will take order about them If your Highnes will give leave'.[2] Though constantly tested in the counties, Cromwell's policy had been one of a fairly broadly based toleration, even if his radical critics said that he seemed all things to all men. Hence his release in 1656 of Quaker prisoners in Evesham, Exeter, Dorchester, Colchester, Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds. At the very time of the Nayler trouble he set up an enquiry into allegations of mistreatment of the sect by the Sussex authorities - Thomas Moore one of the J.Ps on the committee was a Quaker.[3] But the Protector was gradually succumbing, partly because of pressure from the provincial gentry, partly because he was (Professor Underdown has emphasized) the 'good constable'.[4] Quaker justices were weeded out: at least nine by mid-1657: John Crook (Bedfordshire), James Blackley (Cambridgeshire), Walter Jenkins (Monmouth), Peter Price (Radnor), Henry Pollexfen (Devon), Thomas Moore (Surrey), Morgan Watkins (Hereford), Anthony Pearson (Cumberland and Westmorland), and Gervase Benson (Westmorland). Edward Stoakes (Wiltshire) and John Leavens (West Riding) were ousted in 1658.[5] Quakers, we have seen, were purged from the Army and possibly the Navy too.[6] And in May 1657 the Protector gave his assent to the Petition and

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1. Clarke Papers, iii. 85-6, n. 3 (the emphasis is mine).
2. Bodleian Lib., MS. Rawlinson A. 34, fo. 377.
3. P.R.O., SP.25/77 (Council of State Order Book), pp. 422, 441, 673-4; P.R.O., SP.18/153/11, 14-16, 112. Cf. Extracts from State Papers, pp. 5, 14-20.
4. Cf. D. Underdown, 'Settlement in the Counties 1653-1658', in G.E. Aylmer (ed.), The Interregnum (London, 1972), ch. 7.
5. For the J.Ps, see P.R.O., C231/6 (Crown Office Docquet Book 1643-1660), pp. 328, 340, 343, 354, 360, 363, 371. We must assume that Pearson and Benson had been purged by 1657, for their names do not appear in P.R.O., C193/13/5 ('Justices of Peace in the year 1657'). Others do not seem to have been purged. Geo. Watkinson (West Riding), Nathaniel Cripps, Mark Grime, and Dennis Hollister (Gloucestershire), John Gawler (Glamorgan) were still justices in 1657 (P.R.O., C193/13/5) and I can find no reference in the Docquet book to their dismissal. For identification of these men as Quakers, see Journal of George Fox; First Publishers of Truth: indexes.
6. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, 1657-8, p. 410.

Advice which limited the toleration granted under the Instrument of Government. Quakers were clearly excluded by clauses relating to disturbance of ministers and by Trinitarian and scriptural stipulations advocated for the proposed national confession of faith.[1]

In June a new vagrancy act was published. It was the old Elizabethan act (39 Eliz. c.4) extended with the Quakers in mind. Indeed its most active proponents included West Country M.Ps who were still smarting after the sect's invasion of their counties. The old statute had been framed to deal with the movement of beggars, the unemployed, the vagrant and the migrant labourer. The new act was more insidious, giving a justice or officer of the corporation carte blanche to move against 'all and every idle, loose and dissolute person and persons ... found ... vagrant and wandring from his or their usual place of living or abode, and shall not have such good and sufficient cause or business for such his or their travelling ....' It was this question of definition, 'these terminis generalibus', which worried some M.Ps. 'If you leave it in the power of justices to judge who shall be wanderers, for ought I know I myself may be whipped'. But the critic, Major Audley, did not balk at the statute's use against Quakers; 'I could freely give my consent that they should be whipped.' Originally proposed stipulations of distance, allowing wandering of up to ten miles, were rejected by the House. Stipulations of wealth were not even discussed. All depended upon the vagaries of local justices; they had a weapon to restrict movement not only from county to county and parish to parish, but within parishes.[2]

An act for the better observation of the Lord's day was also passed in June. Henceforth a Quaker could be prosecuted for disturbing a minister at any stage during the course of his duties. The penalty carried a maximum fine of £5 or six months hard labour. Attendance at church became compulsory once again - at church or other 'Meeting-place of Christians', but the latter had to conform

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1. For the text of the Petition, see 'The Humble Petition and Advice', Somers Tracts (3rd collection, London, 1751), ii. 111, 116. The Instrument of Government had declared toleration for all who 'profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ', clearly a sop to anti-Trinitarians.

2. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660, eds C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (3 vols, London, 1911), ii. 1098; Diary of Thomas Burton, i.21-3, ii. 112-4; Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 439, 448, 450, 453, 464, 552.

to the 'Faith' expressed in the Petition and Advice, which, we have seen, excluded Quakers. So theoretically Quakers could now be prosecuted for not attending church. The half-a-crown fine was fairly small but the penalty was niggling. They could also be fined (10/-) for travelling on the sabbath, since, again, their meeting places were not considered places of Christian worship.[1]

Justices made use of their increased repertoire. Prosecutions for disturbing ministers reached a peak in 1658, though possibly revealing an increase in Quaker activity rather than heightened zeal among the magistrates.[2] The law against vagrants was 'made only for Quakers' an Ipswich J.P. told the Quaker George Whitehead;[3] and several employed it. We know that it was used against the sect in Suffolk, Somerset, Devon, Wiltshire and Dorset. Sometimes the offenders were taken only a matter of three or four miles away from their homes. They were often men of substance, merchants or tradesmen combining economic and spiritual business. It would be tedious to relate examples, but the case of John Evans, a wealthy Englishcombe yeoman taken at Plymouth in November 1658 and whipped back to his Somerset home, was fairly typical.[4] The Lord's Day Act had some impact as well. A few Quakers were presented in Cornwall, Suffolk, Essex and Northamptonshire for not attending church.[5] Justices in Gloucestershire, Devon, Essex, Suffolk and Yorkshire prosecuted other members of the sect for profanation of the Lord's day, usually by travelling on the sabbath. Some felt that the political climate permitted a tougher line.[6] In Devon in 1658 the Quarter Session ordered that Quaker itinerants were to be apprehended and their books burned.[7]

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1. Acts and Ordinances, ii. 1162-70.
2. The totals are: 40 in 1654; 50 in 1655; 46 in 1656; 48 in 1657; 70 in 1658; 30 in 1659. The figures are for the same counties as in p. 72 above but without Worcester, Essex and Bristol whose figures are grouped together thus making a yearly breakdown impossible.
3. G. Whitehead, The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant (London, 1725), p. 133.
4. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 340, 341, 356-7, ii. Wilts, pp. 3-4; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i, fo. 31.
5. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 151, ii, Suffolk, p. 14; Essex Record Office, Q/SR 375/18; Quarter Sessions Records of the County of Northampton, p. 173.
6. Extracts from State Papers, pp. 33, 47, 59; B.L., Add. MS. 38856 (Hodgkin Papers), 74; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 413, 414, 422, ii, Suffolk, p. 10, Yorks., pp. 15, 16.
7. Dv.R.O., 'Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-61', July 1658, Oct 1658, Jan. 1658/9.

But reaction had not been as complete as many would have enjoyed. It was too piecemeal. Indeed the legislation of 1657 was somewhat of an anti-climax after the uproar over Nayler, and some looked enviously at the way in which their transatlantic relatives were dealing with the movement. The Council of State still intervened to curb the zeal of magistrates, and Richard Cromwell's enquiry in 1658 into Quaker imprisonments would have smacked of old Oliverian liberty.[1] J.Ps continued to call for the 'timely suppressing' of Quaker activists; M.Ps grumbled about Quaker justices.[2] Yet a modus vivendi of sorts had been reached - Cromwellian toleration had been weakened. The events of 1659, however, were to destroy all that.

But before we deal with 1659 it is necessary to look in more detail at another aspect of Quakerism, a side of the movement that has been much neglected by historians and one that much bedevilled those in power: opposition to tithes.

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1. Extracts from State Papers, pp. 31-4, 89-91.
2. Besse, Collection, ii. 98; Diary of Thomas Burton, iv. 337.

CHAPTER FOUR
QUAKER OPPOSITION TO TITHES 1652-60

There are many indications that civil war brought with it in 1642 widespread resistance to tithes.[1] The minute books of the committees of Stafford and Dorset, for example, and particularly the Exchequer records for Somerset, Suffolk, Essex and Kent suggest that many people, encouraged by the upheaval of the 'forties, the sequestrations, and the downfall of church courts, simply stopped paying tithes; new incumbents inevitably faced intransigence.[2] Apparently the malady was nationwide: from the Essex woman who told her minister 'she would pay him Tith when the King & Parliamt were agreed' to the dalesmen of the North Riding who

> in the time of the warr did not submit to anie power, either Civill or Militarie but stood upon their guard, and for most of them refused to pay tythes. And their

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1. Apart from an article by M. James, 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution', History, xxvi (1941), 1-18, no specific work has been done on the conflict over tithes during the period 1640-60. For the period before and after the Revolution, see C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church (London, 1963 edn); chs 5-6; E.J. Evans, The Contentious Tithe (London, 1976); for two of the more significant theses dealing with tithes: D.M. Barratt, 'The Condition of the Parish Clergy between the Reformation and 1660, with Special Reference to the Dioceses of Oxford, Worcester and Gloucester' (Univ. of Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1949), chs 6-7; E.J. Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System in England, 1690-1850, with Special Reference to Staffordshire' (Univ. of Warwick Ph.D. thesis 1970).

2. The Committee at Stafford 1643-1645, eds D.H. Pennington and I.A. Roots (Manchester, 1957), pp. 166, 177, 206, 266, 274, 306; The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee, ed. C.H. Mayo (Exeter, 1902), pp. 108, 120, 353, 384, 419, 430, 438, 442-3, 448-9, 453, 475, 486, 495-6, 500, 523. For Somerset, see Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), Ind. 16827 (MS. Index of Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth), fos 110-29v, 235-40; and for a few of the many examples of non-payment in Somerset, see P.R.O., E112/330/13,54 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth); P.R.O., E112/331/76, 86,114. For Kent, see P.R.O., Ind. 16824 (MS. Index of Exchequer Bills and Answers, Charles I), fos 219-21v. See also P.R.O., Ind. 16826 (MS. Index of Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth), fos 174-90v, 277-83; No Age like unto this Age (London, 1653); [A. Wescot et al], The Afflictions of the Afflicted (London, 1653). For Suffolk, see P.R.O., Ind. 16827, fos 41-9v. For Essex, P.R.O., Ind. 16826, fos 128-38v.

was noe cours to be taken to compell them.[1]
In 1647 ministers in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Sussex and Devon complained that tithes were no longer being paid; and there is evidence, for instance, of opposition in parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Wales.[2]

Parliament responded in November 1644 with an ordinance ordering justices to take action against defaulters. This act facilitated the recovery of tithes but merely intensified conflict. Both Diggers and Levellers included abolition of tithes among their proposals, while anti-tithe petitioners continued the struggle with agitation reaching a climax in 1653 then again in 1659. Despite this virtually continuous opposition, despite a host of moderate as well as radical proposals for reform, tithes remained. The Rump discussed the question somewhat spasmodically from 1649 to 1652 but could reach no agreement. Barebones Parliament raised radical hopes and then destroyed itself over the issue. The restored Rump (1659), and the Committee of Safety after it, once more heightened radical hopes and conservative fears, but again retained tithes.

After the fall of the Barebones Parliament in 1653 the Quakers formed the vanguard of popular agitation against tithes. The Somerset evidence - to take one example - suggests they were merely the tip of a vaster iceberg of popular resistance. Many parishes in this county were racked by anti-tithe activity throughout the Interregnum, parishes which had no connections

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1. British Library (hereafter B.L.), Add. MS. 5829 (Acts of the Committee against scandalous ministers in Essex, 1644), fo. 59; North Yorkshire County Record Office, R/Q/R9/9 (Records of the Richmond Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends), quoted in North Riding Record Office Report (Northallerton, 1966), pp. 31-2.

2. James, 'Tithes Controversy', 10; Depositions from the Castle of York, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc., xl, 1861), pp. 54-5; P.R.O., Assi. 44/5 (Assizes North-East Circuit Indictments 1651-3), Yorks 1652; B.G. Blackwood, 'Social and Religious Aspects of the History of Lancashire, 1635-1655' (Univ. of Oxford B. Litt. thesis 1956), pp. 140-1; C.M. Williams, 'The Political Career of Henry Marten' (Univ. of Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1954), p. 374; W. Kennett, A Register and Chronicle (London, 1728), p. 404; Bodleian Lib., MS. J. Walker c. 4, fos 65, 67.

with Quakerism.[1] But Friends were the most vocal, the best organized, the most unrelenting participants in the controversy. More than any other group they became identified with the anti-tithe cause.[2] During the Irish tithe war of 1830 the sect was seen as the original proponent of resistance to tithes by non-payment.[3]

The aims of this chapter are to examine the origins, nature and impact of Quaker resistance to tithes; and to demonstrate the importance of the tithes issue for the early Quaker movement. I hope that this will add to our understanding of some non-theological aspects of early Quakerism and possibly suggest some directions for further work on this much neglected subject.

The origins

The Levellers failed to respond sufficiently to agrarian grievances - a neglect which may well have facilitated their eventual demise. But the Quakers, and their rough egalitarianism would have helped, ventilated the fundamental aspirations of husbandman and yeoman alike. Hence, perhaps, a rural following which dwarfed Leveller support on the one hand, the rural membership of all nonconformist sects on the other. As George Whitehead observed from the vantage point of the early eighteenth century, tithes had 'set tender People' against the priests and gentry so that Quaker numbers 'the more increased'.[4] In fact for many Quakerism became not only (as Professor Trevor-Roper has observed[5]) 'the ghost of deceased Independency' but also a possible haven for those involved in anti-tithe activity in pre-Quaker days. Dr Blackwood has shown that a number of early

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1. To get some idea of the extent of non-payment, see P.R.O., Ind. 16827, fos 110-29. And it must be remembered that the Exchequer figures are a conservative indication of tithe offenders, for they do not include those prosecuted by justices or the local courts.

2. Cf. Journals of the House of Commons, viii. 576, 578: a bill read in 1664 'to provide for the better collecting of Tythes from Quakers and other Sectaries'.

3. P. O'Donoghue, 'Opposition to Tithe Payments in 1830-1', Studia Hibernica, vi (1966), 73.

4. G. Whitehead, The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant (London, 1725), p. 12.

5. H.R. Trevor-Roper, Religion the Reformation and Social Change (London, 1967), p. 443.

Lancashire Friends (or their relatives) had actively opposed tithes, rising rents, manorial services and excessive fines in the 1640s before they became Quakers in the next decade.[1] My own work on Somerset and other counties suggests that in so far as opposition to tithes was concerned this phenomenon was more widespread.[2] Many Quakers had had backgrounds of anti-tithe activity.

Of course it is not the case that all the principal areas of opposition to tithes in Somerset, for instance, eagerly turned Quaker; indeed I have already suggested that Quaker opposition was only the tip of the iceberg. But certain regions and individuals who had actively resisted tithes during the 1640s and early 1650s did embrace Quakerism after it had come to the county in 1654. The parish of Burnham provides a good example. In Hilary term 1651 action was taken in the Exchequer against more than forty Burnham parishioners who had been refusing to pay tithes since 1649. Among those cited were Henry Moore, William Petheram and John Hilbert, all of whom became Quakers later and continued their intransigence. Burnham parishioners were in trouble once more in 1653, many for non-payment of tithes for five years. Moore and Petheram were again among the defendants, joined by another future Quaker, William Wride.[3] Burnham became a Quaker area during the 1650s; meetings were held at the home of the most obdurate of the tithe resisters, Henry Moore.[4]

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1. B.G. Blackwood, 'Agrarian Unrest and the Early Lancashire Quakers', Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc. (hereafter J.F.H.S.), li (1965), 72-6.

2. As should become clear, my method of establishing continuity was simply one of checking Quaker tithe records (Friends' House Library, MS. Great Book of Sufferings, 2 vols, c. 1653-80) against those of the Exchequer. Exchequer bills rarely refer to an offender specifically as a Quaker, but this information is provided by the names of tithe offenders, dates and places, listed in the 'Great Book of Sufferings'. In other words, the Exchequer provides details of anti-tithe activity in the offender's pre-Quaker as well as Quaker days, the 'Great Book of Sufferings' identifies the culprit as a Quaker.

3. P.R.O., E134 (Exchequer Depositions), Somerset 1654/5, Hilary 8; P.R.O., E112/330/13,67; P.R.O., E112/331/86,136, 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, pp. 3, 50.

4. The First Publishers of Truth, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907), p. 224 (hereafter First Publishers of Truth); Original Records

There are other examples. When Quaker preachers descended upon Somerset in 1654 and 1655 they were welcomed in Street, and held meetings at the house of John Pitman.[1] At this very time Pitman and two other future Quakers, William Sheppard and Edward Taylor, were leading a struggle against tithes in Street. Each of them, explained the incumbent Edward Thorpe in a bill before the Exchequer, had witheld his dues, and what was potentially more dangerous, 'each of them hath diswaded other p.ishioners wth in the [said Recto]ry not to pay their tithes'.[2] From at least 1651 Robert Bryan, rector of Limington, had problems with a group of parishioners who formed a combination against tithes; they resisted payment for five years, encouraging others to follow suit.[3] Once again the ringleaders - Richard Adams, William Parsons, John Andrews and John Munden - were early converts to the Quaker message; two (Adams and Andrews) held Quaker meetings in their homes in the 'fifties and 'sixties.[4] Trent was yet another centre of Quakerism with a history of hostility towards tithes. From an early date meetings were held in the home of John Allen[5] who was one of the more recalcitrant of a score of Trent parishioners resisting tithes in the early 1650s.[6] Other enemies to tithes became converts: John Baker of Evercreech, Robert Hilbourne of North Petherton, John Doggett of Saltford, and James Pearce of Keynsham.[7]

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of Early Nonconformity, ed. G. Lyon Turner (3 vols, London, 1911), p. 11 (hereafter Original Records of Early Nonconformity).

1. First Publishers of Truth, p. 226.
2. P.R.O., Ind. 16827, fo. 240; P.R.O., E112/333/297; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, pp. 1, 2, 5.
3. P.R.O., E112/331/108,139.
4. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, pp. 1, 5; First Publishers of Truth, pp. 224, 226; Original Records of Early Nonconformity, p. 12.
5. First Publishers of Truth, p. 224; Somerset Record Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR 8/1 (Somerset Quarterly Meeting Sufferings Book 1655-72), pt ii, fo. 13; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/2 (Somerset Quarterly Meeting, Collection of Letters and Sufferings 1659-95), Sufferings, fo. 56.
6. P.R.O., E112/331/76; P.R.O., E112/332/164,184; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, p. 2.
7. P.R.O., Ind. 16827, fo. 115; P.R.O., E112/331/98,118; P.R.O., E112/503/23; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, pp. 1, 4, 46.

Crewkerne and Stoke St Gregory had a similar background of anti-tithe activity (Crewkerne from as early as 1647).[1] Both were areas in which the Quakers were to establish meetings.[2]

The sources for other counties do not always permit as complete an analysis, but a similar pattern is evident in parts of Kent and East Anglia.

Quakers invaded Kent in the early Spring of 1655, shortly after gaining a foothold in London. They were successful in the old Lollard regions of Cranbrook and Staplehurst, where they were welcomed by what were probably groups of Seekers: 'a very open People, that were very ready to receive & imbrace ye Everlasting Truth, & severall large & pretious Meetings They had among them'. Both parishes became Quaker.[3] Both had had a background of anti-tithe activity. In 1652, for example, action was taken against several Cranbrook parishioners for refusing to pay tithes, in this case cash commutations. Among the culprits were Edward Couchman, Nathaniel Row who had been resisting payment since 1646, and William Green, all Quakers by 1660. Staplehurst was beset by similar troubles in the 1640s when a 'confedracy' of tithe opposers encouraged 'the most part of the generalty' of the parish to 'refuse to pay any Tyth whatsoever'. At least one future Quaker - Thomas Howsigoe - was among the 'confederates'.[4] Folkestone was another parish in which the Quakers seem to have capitalized

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1. Eg. P.R.O., E112/332/214; P.R.O., Ind. 16827, fos 110v, 117, 126v.

2. S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, index: meetings, and pt i, fos 2v, 16; First Publishers of Truth, pp. 224, 225.

3. W.C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (Cambridge, 1970 edn), p. 186; A. Rigge, Constancy in the Truth Commended (London, 1710), p. 9; First Publishers of Truth, p. 135; Kent County Archives Office (hereafter K.A.O.), N/FQZ1 (Kent Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-1759), introduction and pp. 4, 6, 23, 25; Original Records of Early Nonconformity, p. 17; P.R.O., SP.29/56/77 (State Papers, Domestic, Charles II).

4. P.R.O., E112/191/265,273,298 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Charles I - Kent); P.R.O., E112/305/56 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Kent); Braithwaite, op. cit., pp. 395-6; K.A.O., N/FQZ1, p. 23; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 538. Howsigoe wrote against tithes in 1659: G. W[hitehead] and [T. Howsigoe], An Unjust Plea Confuted (London, 1659), pp. 24-27.

on hostility to tithes. Meetings were established from an early date; indeed two of the main instigators of opposition to tithes in the early 'fifties, Mathew Franklyn and Thomas Tunbridge, became Quakers and of course continued their stand.[1] Finally there are hints that the area around Wingham conforms to the pattern. Wingham itself had experienced a little tithe trouble in 1646, while in nearby Elmstone Robert Minter was a stolid tithe resister from 1642 onwards. In the 1650s the Quakers held meetings at his home, and Wingham had a weekly meeting by the end of the century.[2]

Quakerism came to Essex in June 1655 and soon Thaxted became a principal Quaker centre; meetings were held at the home of Edwin Morrell in the early 1660s, until by 1667 a monthly meeting had been established.[3] Yet again the area had a background of anti-tithe activity - under the leadership of the future Quaker Edwin Morrell.[4] There are other examples of continuity, both in individuals and areas: the Quaker Moses Davy of Felsted (another stronghold of Essex Quakerism) had been in trouble for non-payment of tithes as early as 1643; two future Quakers, Thomas Chapman and William Fritton, were among the leaders of the Burnham tithe resisters; the Earls Colne Quakers Robert Nichols and Robert Abbot were refusing to pay tithes from at least 1652 onwards. Hadstock was also an area of tithe resistance destined to become Quaker, and although it is more difficult to establish continutiy, some

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1. P.R.O., E112/307/222; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 538; K.A.O., N/FM f 6/1 (Folkestone Monthly Meeting Sufferings 1660-74), fo. 93; Original Records of Early Nonconformity, p. 16.

2. P.R.O., E112/191/274; P.R.O., E112/308/299; K.A.O., N/FQZ2 (Kent Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-90), title page and p. 19; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 537-8. Minter wrote an anti-tithe tract in 1656 (see page 99 below).

3. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 189-90; F. Hull, 'Early Friends in Central and Northern Essex', Essex Review, lvi (1947), 66, 72; Steven Crisp and his Correspondents, 1657-1692, ed. C. Fell Smith (London, 1892), p. xviii.

4. P.R.O., E112/299/102 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Essex); 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 410, 415.

Hadstock Quaker surnames (Adams and Amy) appear among parishioners in trouble for non-payment of tithes during the 1640s.[1]

In Suffolk, too, there is evidence that when the Quakers arrived in the Spring of 1655, after possibly a brief visit by George Whitehead in the Winter of 1654,[2] they enjoyed a measure of success among tithe resisters. George Sherwyn of Debenham, Thomas Judy of Ashfield, William Warne of the vicarage of Brundish and Tannington, Arthur Goddard of Clopton, Arnold Nunn and John Caston of the villages of Aldham and Elmsett, were involved in anti-tithe activity before they became Quakers in the mid-fifties.[3]

It seems that the pattern was similar in the north of England. Blackwood has discovered continuity in the Lancashire parishes of Cartmel and Hawkshead;[4] the same was true of nearby Cumberland.

When Fox arrived in Cumberland in July 1653 one of his first areas of success was Brigham where 'abundance was convinced' and a separatist minister (John Wilkinson, possibly a Baptist) turned Quaker with most of his congregation. At this time eight Brigham parishioners were refusing to pay tithes to the impropriator Sir George Fletcher. One of them, Richard Whinney, was a Quaker by 1655, another five - William Richardson, John Gill, Richard Fawcett, John Fearin and Henry Johnson - were Quakers by 1657. All continued to oppose tithes and discourage other parishioners from payment.[5] Caldbeck, another area which welcomed Fox in

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1. P.R.O., E112/178/168 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Charles I - Essex); P.R.O., E112/299/132; P.R.O., E112/298/6; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 399, 408, 410, 411, 415; Essex Record Office, Essex Assize Files (typescript calendar), 35/93/2, Aug. 1652; Steven Crisp, ed. Fell Smith, p. xviii; Hull, 'Early Friends in Central and Northern Essex', 66-7, 70-1.

2. Cf. Braithwaite, op. cit., p. 185; Whitehead, Christian Progress, p. 31.

3. P.R.O., E112/336/67,69 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Suffolk); P.R.O., E112/337/82,106,107,109; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Suffolk, pp. 1, 3, 4.

4. Blackwood, 'Agrarian Unrest and the Early Lancashire Quakers', pp. 72-4.

5. P.R.O., E112/293/69 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Cumberland); 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 177, 182; Braithwaite, op. cit., pp. 116-7, 120; The Journal of George Fox, ed. N. Penney (2 vols, New York, 1973 edn), i. 111, 417;

1653, had previous experience of tithe trouble. Three of the principal tithe opposers, John Askew, Richard Nicholson and John Nicholson, were the Quakers' first converts in the parish. And there was Dacre. In this parish Charles I's Attorney General Sir John Bankes appears to have encountered vigorous opposition in 1639 when he attempted to change tithe commutation back to payment in kind. Among those resisting we find the names Dawson and Marke, both surnames of Quaker tithe resisters in the late 1650s, and Thomas Wray who may well have been the Quaker who was in trouble for non-payment of tithes in 1658.[1]

More detailed research in other counties may yield similar results. In Yorkshire, for instance, Swaledale gained a certain notoriety for resistance to tithes before its Quaker days. In Bedfordshire we know that in at least one parish the leader of tithe opposition, James Taylor of Aspley, was an early Quaker convert. There might be some significance in the fact that in the border region of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire the Quaker areas of Earith, Colne and Somersham had been regions of sharp conflict between landlord and tenant during the first decade of the Revolution; two Quakers in the parish of Bluntisham cum Earith, John Cranwell (he held meetings in his Earith home) and Thomas Parnell, led tithe resistance there before they turned Quaker.[2]

The arguments

H.N. Brailsford wrote some time ago that tithes was one of the more important issues of the English Revolution.[3] Today many historians would not agree, but the Quakers would have most

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First Publishers of Truth, p. 34; Original Records of Early Nonconformity, pp. 174, 640.

1. P.R.O., E112/293/35 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Charles I - Cumberland); P.R.O., E112/167/74; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 173, 174, 184-6; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 113, 417; First Publishers of Truth, p. 49.

2. North Riding Record Office Report, pp. 31-2; First Publishers of Truth, pp. 309, 316; P.R.O., E112/288/23 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Bedfordshire); 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 1-2; J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), i. 263; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 505-6, 513, iii, p. 591; B. Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1976), pp. 126-31; P.R.O., E112/304/14 (Exchequer Bills and Answers, Commonwealth - Huntingdonshire).

3. H.N. Brailsford, The Levellers and the English Revolution

certainly. In the 1650s abolition of tithes seemed to become a raison d'etre of the Quaker movement. Numerous arguments were made both for and against tithes, most of which laid bare the hopes and fears of Interregnum society. The Quakers lost little time in involving themselves in the debate.

It has recently been suggested that the Quakers' principal arguments against tithes were scriptural.[1] But this is misleading. It is true that the Quakers argued that the basis for tithes under Mosaic law had been abrogated by the coming of Christ and the new covenant. It is also true that Quakers claimed that compulsory maintenance of a ministry was in contradiction to Christ's command 'freely ye have received, freely give'. Such arguments, however, were the Friends' least convincing. They were surprisingly little used, often only in reply to those who looked to the Scriptures to vindicate tithes, and even then the Quakers were able to stress that under the old dispensation tithes had had a social function - the maintenance of the poor.[2]

As common as scriptural arguments was a wide range of economic and social objections to tithes and ministers' other exactions, grievances which reflected a deep hostility towards the social order and a rabid anti-clericalism. Milton condemned tithes because he believed that 'hire' could only corrupt and encourage greed. So did the Quakers. Greed, claimed the Quaker John Roberts, was the priests' sole motive; 'we have reason to believe, that if Oliver had put mass into their mouths, they would have conformed even to that for their interests.' To support this claim the Quakers pointed to the litigation over tithes and the absence of a ministry in many tithe-free, tithe-poor

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(London, 1961), p. 134.

1. By M.G.F. Bitterman, 'The Early Quaker Literature of Defence', Church History, xlii (1973), 211. I assume that Dr P. Oliver would agree; she claims that 'Quaker thought was primarily religious, that is, theological in nature'. See P.M.C. Oliver, 'Quaker Testimony and the Lamb's War (Univ. of Melbourne Ph.D. thesis 1977), p. 2.

2. See T. Aldam et al, False Prophets and False Teachers Described (London, 1653), p. 2; A. Pearson, The Great Case of Tythes (3rd edn, London, 1659), pp. 1-5; F.H[owgil], The Great Case of Tythes ... Once more Revived (n.p., 1665), pp. 39, 48; The Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 152, 179; J. Camm, Some Particulars (London, 1655), pp. 3-4.

and impropriated areas. The ministry was seen as parasitic: 'a company of caterpillars', complained Roberts, living on 'the produce of our labours'. John Whiting hated the concept of a tithe-maintained ministry for he felt that by this iniquitous system the idle younger sons of the gentry were supported by the poor. For the Quakers the issue was quite simple: priests (and impropriators) were maintained in 'idleness' by the 'labours of poor people'.[1] Tithes confirmed the Quakers in the Levellers' view of society as essentially two-tiered: 'those who worked with their hands and sold the fruits of their labours, and those who did not work with their hands but lived off the fruits of other men's labour.'[2]

Tithes were not only oppressive but they also deprived many - often those who could least afford it - of a great deal of potential income. Edward Burrough, a Quaker leader, calculated that the ministry exacted £1,500,000 a year in tithes. Another argument, which was to become more popular over the centuries, was that tithes were a great disincentive to tillage and thus one of the causes of shortage of bread. They were a tax on yield, which, it was argued, failed to take into consideration any expense or outlay involved in obtaining that yield. In real terms, in terms of profit, tithes amounted to far more than a tax of the defined one-tenth.[3]

Tithes helped to crystallize the conflict between rich and poor, town and country. Cities and towns tended to avoid tithe payments while the burden fell on the rural areas, and obviously

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1. Pearson, Great Case of Tythes, pp. 38-9; D. Roberts, Some Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts (2nd edn, London, 1973), pp. 39, 52; R.H[ubberthorne], The Common-Wealth's Remembrancer (London, 1659), p. 12; J. Parnell, A Shield of the Truth (London, 1655), pp. 3-4; J. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd (London, 1715), pp. 40-1; T. Ellwood, The Foundation of Tythes Shaken (London, 1678), pp. 445-6; E. Burrough, A Just and Lawful Tryal (London, 1660 edn), p. 5.
2. Manning, The English People, p. 283.
3. Burrough, A Just and Lawful Tryal, p. 16; Pearson, Great Case of Tythes, p. 42; Ellwood, Foundation of Tythes, p. 404; H.P., Tumulus Decimarum (London, 1659), p. 12. Cf. Dr Bowden's calculations of the outlays and profits of hypothetical arable and pastoral holdings. Tithes, according to Bowden's figures (the conversions into percentages are mine), could be as much as 65 per cent of the net profit and 75 per cent of the rent paid. See J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 653, 665.

the rich would either be impropriators or able to reach some sort of agreement concerning payment.[1] Sir Arthur Haselrig's Quaker secretary, Anthony Pearson, expressed what must have been common resentments when he claimed:

> The rich generally payes little, and the poore husbandman beares the burthen, even he that supplyes the Nation with the staffe of Bread ... and out of the tythe of such countrey parishes of tillage, generally great summes are paid for augmentations to Cities and Market-towns, when the inhabitants that have far greater gains by trading, go free.

Furthermore, tithes were iniquitous because of the random nature of their distribution, various areas being exempt.[2]

Purely political arguments were also used. In an effort to convince the authorities that tithes were not only oppressive but 'inconsistent with the good Government of a Common-wealth', Friends pointed to the division and contention they caused. Had not the priests, driven by self-interest, declared first for a parliament, then for a protectorate, finally for a king - 'and all this .... for their bellies'? John Whiting claimed that the ministry had welcomed Richard Cromwell as 'their Joshua to lead them into the land of Promise, which was but a good fat Benefice of Tythes and Augmentations'. Quakers saw ministers as largely responsible for the division and oppression during the English Revolution ('blowing the Coles on both sides').[3]

But more than clerical interest lurked behind support for tithes. About a third of livings in England were impropriated (that is under lay ownership) ensuring a powerful vested interest in the continuance of tithes. In some regions the figure was as high as 60 per cent, a regular and inflation-proof income.[4] Perhaps the Quakers' awareness of this prompted their advocacy of compensation for lay impropriators if tithes were abolished

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1. Cf. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, ch. 5; Tumulus Decimarum, p. 11.
2. Pearson, Great Case of Tythes, pp. 39-40.
3. E. Burrough, To the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England (London, 1659) (12 Sept); G. Fox the younger, A Noble Salutation (London, 1660), pp. 11-12; Hubberthorne, Common-Wealth's Remembrancer, pp. 1-23; J.C [ollens], A Word in Season to all in Authority (London, 1660), pp. 9-12; Whiting, Persecution Expos'd, p. 41; G. W [hitehead] and J. N [ayler], The True Ministers Living (London, 1660), p. 6.
4. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, pp. 144-5; James, 'Tithes Controversy', 4-7.

and kept them tactfully away from the subject in many of their tracts, though they argued that the tax was not a form of property and did not (with one or two exceptions) distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal in their refusal to pay. Nor was Whitehall without interest in the matter, for at least £30,000 of its revenue came from tithes, presumably in the form of clerical tenths.[1] Whiting pointed to lay interests as a major stumbling block to tithe abolition. George Fox bewailed governmental blessing of such 'heavy burthens', tending to regard the whole situation as a conspiracy of ruler, judge and priest against the poor. John Crook the Quaker J.P. suggested that the lawyers had a vested interest in retaining litigation caused by tithe cases (the radical Edmund Ludlow said much the same). Hence the Quaker Fox the younger's enthusiastic reception of the Committee of Safety. Parliaments, he believed, would never abolish tithes for they were chosen by 'the rich covetous oppressing men, who oppresseth the poor .... and they will chuse to be sure such as will uphold them in their oppression'.[2] Quakers hated the universities for similar reasons. They maintained the status-quo; they were the forges that hammered out the tithe-grabbing ministry, as well as being impropriators themselves. Friends were fully aware that if tithes fell so would a State ministry and with them the universities. It was presumably with this in mind that some Quaker women petitioned in July 1659, somewhat optimistically, for the sale of college lands and the distribution of the proceeds to the poor.[3]

One of the Quakers' most frequent arguments against tithes, one calculated to appeal to Protestant sensibilities, was that they were popish relics which should have been swept away in

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1. Cf. M.F. Stieg, 'The Parochial Clergy in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, 1625-1685' (Univ. of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis 1970), p. 81.

2. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd, p. 238; G. Fox, Newes Coming up out of the North (London, 1654), pp. 37-8; J. Crook, Tythes No Property (London, 1659), sig. A2v and p. 3; The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ed. C.H. Firth (2 vols, Oxford, 1894), ii. 161; G. Fox the younger, A Few Plain Words (London, 1659), p. 3.

3. Howgil, Great Case of Tythes, pp. 55-6; E. B[illing], A Word of Reproof (London, 1659), pp. 19-20; C. Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1974), ch. 5; These Several Papers ... sent to the Parliament (London, 1659), p. 65.

the name of a true Reformation. Francis Howgil saw them as ghosts of the popish belief that 'remission of sins was obtain'd by good works'. Coke's Institutes provided the documentation for the Quakers' claims that tithes had been set up in England on a regular parochial basis by Pope Innocent III during the thirteenth century. Henry VIII and the bishops had retained the system - so the argument ran - but a king had been executed and episcopacy abolished; yet still those popish remnants remained: 'is it the Glory of England, who pretends to the highest Reformation to keep up Tithes'? asked one Quaker, possibly Edward Billing.[1]

Many contemporaries feared that anti-tithe activity would lead towards 'subversion' and 'extirpation' of their ministers. As a generalization this may have been inaccurate. Some critics of tithes, for example, wanted greater government control over the pay of the clergy. But it was certainly true of the Quakers. Theirs was a campaign against both the State Church and its 'very root'. Milton's Quaker friend Thomas Ellwood put it quite simply: 'stop the Oyl, the lamp goes out ... with-hold Tythes, the Priest gives over'. Or as Burrough said, if the priests lost their compulsory maintenance they would have to 'either beg, or work, or a worse thing for a livelihood, or else perish'. Whiting warned ministers: 'were not People kept in Bondage to you by a Law, they would soon come out from among you, if Tythes were put down'. King and bishops had been chopped down, now it was time for their progeny the priesthood to be 'taken away, disanulled and abolished'.[2]

The Quakers asserted, and in this they followed both the Levellers and John Milton, that the conflict over tithes was intimately bound up with the issue of liberty of conscience. Liberty of conscience was what Quaker ex-soldiers (there were

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1. Howgil, Great Case of Tythes, p. 42; E. B[illing?], A Declaration of the present Sufferings (London, 1659), p. 27; see also [R. Farnworth], A True Testimony (London, 1656), pp. 7-8; J. Nayler, Antichrist in Man (London, 1656), p. 14; Pearson, Great Case of Tythes, pp. 9-12, 30; T. Hart, The Foundation (London, 1659), passim. G. F[ox], An Answer to Doctor Burgess (London, 1659), p. 37.

2. Ellwood, Foundation of Tythes, p. 7; Burrough, Just and Lawful Tryal, p. 15; Whiting, Persecution Expos'd, p. 45; Farnworth, True Testimony, p. 8.

many of them) claimed to have fought for. It was theirs 'both by Birth, and dear Purchase' - the words are Richard Hubberthorne's but it is a familiar Leveller phrase.[1] The rich had been rewarded by abolition of the Court of Wards: the poor should be rewarded by termination of tithes:[2]

> cannot he that hath delivered from the oppressive Court [of] Wards, and from the arbitrary Star-Chamber Court, from the hands of the late King, from the power of the Bishops, and from others ... deliver out of the hands of this Philistine (the Tithes) also? [3]

Only by removal of tithes, disestablishment of the State Church, and separation of Church and State, could true liberty of conscience be attained. 'Law and Priesthood' were 'joyned together in oppression of the people',[4] and unless the two were separated the ministry would always be an agent of government repression.[5]

Other arguments about tithes raised questions of democracy. It seemed 'equal and just' to the Quakers that 'all men should hire & pay their own Ministers' or that ministers should labour to support themselves.[6] The compulsory aspect of tithes caused great resentment, especially when people were forced to maintain priests they felt to be Antichristian. Tithes hurt Hubberthorne's yeoman pride as well as his pocket:

> We have not our liberties in our Persons or Estates, nor are we in any better condition then slaves, bond-men, and bond-women; our bodies, and what else, we hold, and labour for at the wills of other men.

A future deputy governor of East New Jersey, the Quaker Thomas Rudyard, thought that tithes were 'opposite to the real Priviledge of a Christian, and a Free-born English-Man'.[7] To the pro-tithe

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1. R. H[ubberthorne], The Good Old Cause (London, 1659), p. [7]; see also G. Bishop, Mene Tekel (London, 1659), p. 4.
2. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, p. 196.
3. Crook, Tythes No Proprerty, sig. A2v (quoted in Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', p. 108).
4. R. Hubberthorne, A Word of Wisdom (London, 1659); Billing, Word of Reproof, p. 20.
5. Cf. Hubberthorne, Good Old Cause, pp. 8, 10, 15-16.
6. Hubberthorne, Good Old Cause, p. 12.
7. Burrough, Just and Lawful Tryal, p. 21; Burrough, To the Parliament of the Common-Wealth; Hubberthorne, Good Old Cause, p. 9; T. Rudyard and W. Gibson, Tythes Ended by Christ (London, 1673), p. 22.

lobby's claim that the whole system had been the result of a voluntary compact made long ago, Thomas Ellwood argued (following the Leveller Richard Overton and Milton) that men of the present age were not bound by the decisions of their forbears. And to the argument that opposition to tithes was a threat to property rights, John Crook replied (the emphasis is mine): 'Property is that which a man hath a just right to and interest in, without injury to another, and is derived to him, either by descent, purchase, or gift, and not by custom onely ....'[1] The Kentish Quaker Robert Minter went further. Indeed he saw little difference between compulsory maintenance and the crimes of the late earl of Strafford. Both were the 'same high treason', the subversion of 'the laws, liberties and properties of the people of England', an attempt to 'introduce an arbitrary tyranical government'.[2]

Like most radicals, the Quakers wanted a laicization of preaching - a movement away from the merchandising, university-bred, privileged clergy towards a ministry of simple men 'who spoke plaine words, and reached to the consciences of men of the meanest capacity'.[3] But visions of a ministry left to the 'arbitrary pleasure and free benevolence of the people' terrified someone like William Prynne; others were horrified that someone bred in 'acquiring humane literature' should be expected to work at a trade. Respectable opinion was outraged by prospects of a nation overrun by preaching cobblers and tinkers.[4]

The campaign and its impact

The Quakers asserted that the English Revolution had halted prematurely, echoing the familiar radical claim that Cromwell had betrayed his promises to abolish tithes. They became, in effect, a pressure group campaigning for the overthrow of tithes. Quaker spokesmen repeatedly bombarded those in power with letters,

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1. T. Ellwood, 'The Tithe-Dialogue Improved' (n.d.), p. 7: F.H.L., MS. Box K, 1/8; Crook, Tythes No Property, p. 1.
2. R. Minter, Elmston [London, 1657], p. 4.
3. Howgil, Great Case of Tythes, p. 55.
4. W. Prynne, A Gospel Plea (London, 1653), p. 15; C. Fowler and S. Ford, A Sober Answer (London, 1656), p. 19; [Lord Saye and Sele], Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest ([Oxford], 1659) passim; cf. M.L. Schwarz, 'Viscount Saye and Sele and the Quakers', Quaker History, lxii (1973), 14-34.

petitions, tracts, personal representations; and in 1659 when radical hopes were revived, they rode on horseback through the villages and towns of Westmorland, Cumberland, Lancashire and Cheshire collecting fifteen thousand signatures for an anti-tithe petition presented to the Rump in June. The following month saw another petition, this time signed by seven thousand Quaker women from all over the nation.[1] There are even hints that the Quakers attempted to use their organizational network to support parliamentary candidates likely to be sympathetic to their demands: we know this was the case in Cheshire and Yorkshire in 1656 and 1659.[2]

Non-payment was the logical way to show disapproval. It was certainly a successful means of disruption. The catalogues of Quaker sufferings for tithes call up a picture of chaos in many parts of the country as goods were seized from recalcitrant Friends. As an economic measure - an attempt to curtail the income of the ministry - the effects are less certain. We will probably never know the exact impact of the Quaker stand. If we are to believe the complaints of ministers in arrears with their own commitments of clerical tenths, then perhaps the stand against tithes made some impression, for they claimed that their financial sluggishness had been caused by intransigent parishioners refusing to pay tithes. But they had every reason to exaggerate the case and, although numerous, were hardly typical.[3]

The potential of course was there; tithes were the main source of income for a minister and often formed a sizeable slab of a lay impropriator's revenue.[4] Obviously the plight of a

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1. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 385; Cole, 'Quakers and the English Revolution', p. 349; Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 458; The Copie of a Paper presented to the Parliament (London, 1659); These Several Papers; Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 103 (Northern General Meeting Minutes), fo. 9; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 138.

2. F.H.L., Temporary MS. Box 98/1 (Kaye Papers), pp. 19-20; J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974), pp. 289, 298; Notts Rec. Office, DD/SR 221/96/4 (I owe this reference to D. Hirst, The Representative of the People? (Cambridge, 1975), p. 14); Mercurius Politicus, 324 (21-28 Aug. 1656), p. 7192.

3. Eg. P.R.O., E112/333/223,264,297; P.R.O., E112/299/102,132, 140; P.R.O., E112/503/23.

4. Cf. Commonwealth church survey of 1650 (Essex): incomes of Theydon Garnon - glebe £50 and tithe £123/19/8; Earls Colne - glebe £4 and tithes £24; Great Horkesley - glebe £16 and

minister faced with widespread and protracted opposition was graver than one opposed by one or two isolated and poor recalcitrants: Burnham for example with its forty resisters, or the cases that we will touch on later where connivance and hostility in the parish seem to have made it impossible to prove defaulters' yields. The six or seven Felsted Quakers who obstinately refused to meet their commitments doubtless had some effect on the income of the parish's impropriator, the earl of Warwick.[1] Much depended upon the status of the resister. It goes without saying that the opposition of a substantial yeoman like the Thaxted Quaker Edwin Morrell, owing £17 for tithes in a vicarage worth £70, could not be taken lightly; the stubborness of three or four like him could pose a substantial threat. We know that in Theydon Garnon, for instance (also in Essex), the vicar was demanding over £50 in unpaid tithes - for one year - from three yeomen, two of whom were Quakers. But cases like that of the minister of Warminster (as far as I know a non-Quaker parish), starved out of his cure by his Wiltshire flock, appear to have been the exception rather than the rule.[2]

There was, however, cause for concern at the sheer number of Quaker resisters: at least a thousand were proceeded against for non-payment (in the space of only six years).[3] Nor did they merely refuse to pay tithes, they incited others to follow them,

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tithes £84. (See H. Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex (Colchester, n.d.), pp. 273, 309, 310.) Professor Hoskins gives the example of a Lancashire gentleman with an income of £700-£800 a year, £230-50 of which was from tithes. (See W.G. Hoskins, The Age of Plunder (London, 1976), p. 222.)

1. P.R.O., E112/299/108.

2. P.R.O., E112/299/102; E112/396/4; Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, I (London, 1901), p. 137. We can get an idea of the amounts involved if we remember that about this time the yearly wage of a bailiff in husbandry was £4, that of a maidservant £1/10/- (Hist. MSS. Comm., op. cit., p. 323).

3. The Quaker tract by E.B[illing?], A Declaration of the present Sufferings (London, 1659), pp. 13, 22, suggests a total of about one thousand (1653-9). I have discovered in 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, ii and iv, pp. 492-501, approximately 560 cases of imprisonment or distraint for non-payment of tithes during the shorter period 1656-60. Since this does not include the inadequately recorded sufferings of important Quaker areas such as Cheshire, Lancashire and Westmorland, the figure of 1,000 is probably an underestimation.

their testimonies were 'examples to the people'.[1] Their opponents agreed: as a petition from Westmorland put it, 'their main drift is to ingage the people against the Ministery by reason of Tithes'.[2] In many Somerset parishes the instigators or ringleaders of opposition to tithes were Quakers. In Alford and Kingsbury in 1657, in Somerton and Street, in Chewton in 1658 and 1659, Quakers were among the hard core who 'have not onely refused to pay any manner of Tythes .... but doe pswade others to wth draw & substract their Tythes likewise'. And it was a Quaker, Thomas Smyth, who encouraged resistance in Cheddar from 1657 onwards:

> givinge out in speeches that now noe tythes, duties or customary payments for tythes in any kinde are not due nor ought to be payd at all .... And thereby have alsoe diswaded divers others .... from payinge of any tythes ...3

The same was true throughout the 'fifties of parishes in Essex, Suffolk, Kent, Cumberland, Westmorland, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire.[4] Perhaps the villagers in Yorkshire who called out to the priest 'we owe you [£20] for tyth: come & take it' were encouraged by Fox. He certainly claimed that as a result of his preaching in the North several impropriators stopped collecting tithes and 'delivered ym uppe to ye parishoners'.[5]

The suggestions of community support are tantalizing. When a Quaker labourer was imprisoned in 1658 for small tithes the townspeople of Leverton (Lincolnshire) paid the amount due and

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1. Farnworth, True Testimony, p. [71]; Howgil, Great Case of Tythes, introduction by Edward Guy; A Paper sent forth (London, 1654), p. 8.

2. F.H[igginson], A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers (London, 1653), p. 74.

3. P.R.O., E112/332/163,206; P.R.O., E112/333/223,248,260,274, 297; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Somerset, pp. 1, 2, 4, 5, 45, 48.

4. Essex: P.R.O., E112/299/102,108,132,140; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 410, 411, 414. Suffolk: P.R.O., E112/337/106,107,109,141; P.R.O., E112/336/67; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Suffolk, pp. 1, 3, 4. Kent: P.R.O., E112/307/222; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 537-8. Cumberland: P.R.O., E112/293/35,69, 86; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 173-4, 178, 184, 186. Westmorland: P.R.O., E112/341/3,20; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Westmorland, p. 1. Huntingdonshire: P.R.O., E112/304/14; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 505-6. Bedfordshire: P.R.O., E112/288/23; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 1-2.

5. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 28, 135.

he was freed. In Bedfordshire in 1657 community pressure persuaded a minister to return goods seized from a Quaker for non-payment of tithes. A neighbour might warn a Quaker of approaching constables, occasionally the constable himself assisted the offender in some way. There are examples of neighbours refusing to testify against a Quaker or, as the Wiltshire and Somerset sufferings suggest, harvesting his crop for him while he was in prison. The Exchequer records sometimes betray evidence of sympathy. There are the occasional cases which imply that tithe owners had great trouble either proving a claim or determining the actual yield of their debtors - simply because it was impossible to get witnesses. According to the Somerset Quaker sources the tithe farmers of Street overcame this problem by promising the parish poor they 'should not want worke in the winter' if they co-operated by testifying to the value of tithe defaulters' yields.[1]

It would be nice to know just how many tithe owners, when faced with intransigence, threw up their hands like Fox's Yorkshire priest Mr Boys and said 'they might keepe it (and praised ye Lorde hee had enough)'.[2] How many tithe owners gave up trying to collect tithes? Unfortunately we do not know, but there are suggestions that for one reason or another several owners did not pursue collection too vindictively. If this was the case, opposition to tithes had at least some economic impact. Sir Ralph Verney in 1650 advised John Aris, the rector of Middle Claydon, Buckinghamshire, not to harry defaulters if there were only a few, for 'If a Parson (in these licentious times) make a quarrell for a trifle, though it bee his due, he may sooner conjure upp 20 froward spirits than allay one.' Robert Duckenfield gave a member of the Cheshire gentry similar counsel, and the duke of Newcastle

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1. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 2, 591-2; Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 51d (Westmorland Quarterly Meeting Sufferings), fo. 5; E.J. Evans, '"Our Faithful Testimony": The Society of Friends and Tithe Payments, 1690-1730', J.F.H.S., lii (1969), 109; F.H.L., MS. Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1653-1702, p. 2; P.R.O., E112/299/140; E112/331/136; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/2, pt ii, fo. 31.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 28.

said much the same in his manual of advice for Charles II.[1] Richard Baxter and others maintained that they did not pursue tithes too rigidly for fear of alienating their parishioners.[2] Impropriators had the reputation for being less concerned with their popularity, though they too would presumably prefer to avoid unpleasantness by turning a blind eye. Others may have agreed with the earl of Derby's advice to his son: 'undertake no suit against a poor man ... for then you make him your equal'.[3]

So the possibilities varied. Yet having said all this, and while we should never underestimate the psychological and purely disruptive effects of Quaker intransigence, it seems that during the Interregnum at least the overall economic impact was slight. Many means were open to a tithe owner to proceed against a debtor. The 1644 Act provided for justices to imprison or distrain goods for refusal to pay tithes; and although there was great regional variation this was the method used most widely. Of a total of 291 Quakers prosecuted during the years 1656-9 78.3 per cent were proceeded against in this way.[4] It was certainly the easiest method of recovering losses. The Exchequer was also frequently

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1. M.M. Verney, Memoirs of the Verney Family (4 vols, London, 1970 edn), iii. 101; Morrill, Cheshire, p. 274; Bodleian Lib., Oxford, Clarendon MS. 109, p. 21.

2. J. Tombes, True Old Light (London, 1660), sig. B; G.F. Nuttall, Visible Saints (Oxford, 1957), p. 138; R. Wastfield, A True Testimony (London, 1657), p. 26; J.G [askin], A Just Defence (London, 1660), p. 120.

3. Quoted by Blackwood, 'Social and Religious Aspects of the History of Lancashire', p. 90.

4. These figures are based on my calculations of Quaker tithe sufferers for the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Wiltshire, Yorkshire, taken from the 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, ii and iv, pp. 492-501. These three manuscript volumes, compiled by Ellis Hookes the Quaker recording clerk in London (1657-81), contain information on tithes sufferings for our period of interest. Normally entries will provide us with (a) the year and month in which an incident occurred, (b) the county and parish, (c) the form of action taken and whether or not it was taken legally, (d) the penalty. Unfortunately inter-county comparisons (in terms of actual numbers of sufferers) are limited, for the differences might only reflect the recording efficiency of Quaker meetings in particular areas.

used throughout the period, despite the stories of interminable delays. Other alternatives were offered by Chancery, the Court of Common Pleas, the Upper Bench or by action of debt in the local courts. Then there was the effective but illegal method of direct seizure, common by the end of the century but not employed so frequently during our period of interest.[1] (The actions of the minister in Holme upon Spalding Moor, East Riding, were fairly representative. He

> often demanded tythes of friends in that towne & sometimes threatened, & sometimes entered suit agt some, but never brought any to execution but took corne wool & lamb &c as he could have opportunity.)2

An analysis of the sufferings of 580 Quakers for refusing to pay tithes during the period 1656-9 reveals that at least 50 per cent and possibly as many as 70 per cent suffered distraint, and 30 per cent imprisonment.[3] In other words most tithes were being recouped, often at several times the original value. After the Restoration, however, the trend was reversed. A sample of 272 Quaker sufferers for the period 1660-3 shows a marked increase in imprisonments for tithes - to over 60 per cent - while only a little over 25 per cent had goods distrained.[4] This was because after 1660 the process of recovering by distraint was less easy; only the local courts provided this service and tithes could no longer be recovered by J.Ps, so the Exchequer and King's Bench became the most effective means of action against defaulters and imprisonment the invariable result. The church courts had no

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1. See appendix, pp. 110-12 below.
2. Humberside County Record Office, DD QR/10 (Elloughton Monthly Meeting Sufferings Book 1655-1775), p. 4.
3. For Beds, Bucks, Cambridge, Cornwall, Cumberland, Essex, Glos, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Lincs, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Yorks. (taken from 'Great Book of Sufferings' - see page 104 above). The figures are 29.9 per cent imprisoned, 50.2 per cent distrained, 20 per cent uncertain. The uncertain category might include more distraints or possibly illegal seizures but not imprisonments.
4. For Cumberland, Cornwall, Cambridge, Herts, Kent, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Yorks: 61.9 per cent imprisoned, 26.6 per cent distrained, 11.5 per cent uncertain. Of those for which I know the agency employed against defaulters (163), 37.4 per cent had action taken against them in the local courts, 19.6 per cent in the Church courts, 19.6 per cent in the King's Bench or Court of Common Pleas, 23.3 per cent in the Exchequer.

teeth unless they invoked their ultimate sanctions of writs *significavit* or *de excommunicato capiendo*, but the result would again mean imprisonment, which might be an effective deterrent - debatable as far as Quakers were concerned - but usually did little to recover the losses involved. Fewer tithe owners were recouping their losses than during the Interregnum, so if Quaker opposition had any substantial economic impact the indications are that it was during the early Restoration period.

The main impact, then, was psychological and one of disruption. Quaker action against tithes was reinforced by harassment of ministers; priests were interrupted or abused; sometimes the Quaker would get to the church before the minister and address his waiting congregation. This war against the 'hireling ministry' intensified conflict between the Quakers and the Church, and the sect quickly became identified as disorderly trouble-makers.[1] Ministers felt more and more threatened. Quaker opposition to tithes was seen as a campaign for the overthrow of the Church, which enabled their enemies to bring into play the facile but ever-appealing myth of Jesuits in disguise. 'Hell and Rome would be glad if your designes might prevaile' said Giles Firmin in 1656 in a sermon against the Quakers and in defence of tithes. The argument was supremely simple and, like its twentieth-century counterparts, unanswerable. Quakers and other opponents of tithes were 'disguised Jesuits, Popish Priests'; were not all their efforts 'to starve, suppress, extirpate our Protestant Ministers, Church, Religion, and bring them all to speedy confusion.' Even if they were not actual Jesuits, were they not carrying out the Society's avowed aims: the dragging of England 'back to the bondage of Popery, blind Superstition and antichristian Tyranny'?[2]

The tithes controversy cut across all others, and ministers did not allow the State to forget it. 'Let Ministers be basely accounted of', warned the Bristol Presbyterian Ralph Farmer, 'and

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1. Cf. *A Proclamation Prohibiting the Disturbing of Ministers and other Christians in their Assemblies and Meetings* (London, 1654).

2. G. Firmin, *Stablishing Against Shaking* (London, 1656), p. 11; W. Prynne, *Ten Considerable Quaeries* (London, 1659), frontispiece; I. Bourne, *A Defence and Justification of Ministers Maintenance by Tythes* (London, 1659), 'A Defence of Humane Learning', p. 13. See also Gaskin, *A Just Defence*, pp. 142-3; E.D [odd], *Innocents no Saints* (London, 1658), p. 11.

the people (with a little help) will quickly learn to despise Magistrates.' If the authority of the ministry was actively opposed who could tell what would be questioned next! The social and political function of religion was stressed time and time again in defence of tithes. Church and State, claimed the propagandists, were Hippocrate's twins

> like the wheeles in Ezekiel's Vision, like Zacharie's two staves, so necessary in their dependency of the one from the other, so interwoven are they, and knit together, that whosoever attempts to diminish the former, endeavours by consequent to destroy the latter.[1]

Both Richard Baxter and the Bristol Quaker Thomas Speed put it more succinctly: the cry was no longer 'No Bishop, no King' but 'No Minister, no Magistrate'.[2]

'The same levelling principle will lay waste properties and deny rents, upon the same accounts that they do tithes'; 'Land-lords rent, and Tythe-rent ... will stand or fall both together'. That was the other side of the coin. Opposition to tithes for Sir William Strickland and other members of the gentry was but the beginning of something far more serious.[3] Lord Conway, whose wife was not unfriendly towards the sect, thought that the Quakers' design was to 'turn out the landlords'. The Quaker refusal of the customary conventions of honour due to social superiors, their rejection of patriarchalism and deference, confirmed such suspicions. As early as 1653 there was talk of 'those new Antichristians ... who are not free to be Tenants to other men'.[4] Such scare tactics were one of the most powerful methods of counter-attack employed by the pro-tithe lobby. As with the Levellers, the spectre of the Münster Anabaptists was resurrected. Opposition to tithes was portrayed as but the thin end of the wedge: the beginning of the overthrow of rents, copyholds, debts,

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1. R. Farmer, The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse (London, 1655), [sig A3]; R.B[oreman], The Country-Mans Catechisme (London, 1652), p. 21.

2. T. Speed, Christ's Innocency Pleaded (London, 1656), sig. A4v. [R. Baxter], The Worcester-shire Petition ... Defended (London, 1653), p. 23.

3. Diary of Thomas Burton, ed. J. Towill Rutt (4 vols, London, 1828), ii. 166; R. Culmer, Lawles Tythe-Robbers Discovered (London, 1655), p. 13, quoted by James, 'Tithes Controversy', 6. Cf. Prynne, Gospel Plea, p. 3; Prynne, Ten Considerable Quaeries, pp. 5-6.

4. Conway Letters, ed. M.H. Nicolson (London, 1930), p. 161; T. Philadelphus, Exceptions Many and Just (Oxford, 1653), p. 22.

and property.[1]

The same men were worried about the effect the Quakers' intransigence would have upon the masses. Was not the Quaker way 'a plausible way; all levellers against magistracy and propriety'?[2] Apart from exhorting the people to 'never come more at the Steeple-house, nor pay your Priests more tyths',[3] they often organized and led tithe resistance. Such actions could indeed set a 'rebellious', an 'evell and dangerous' example to the people. We can be sure that others would have shared the fears of Richard Baxter:

> The most ignorant wretch may have as strong an arm, as fiery a spirit, and perhaps, to doe mischief, as crafty a wit as other men: If these beasts once know their own strength (as they never did more in our dayes) they may prove to Men more terrible than contemptible. Their Swords may be better then yours, though your poorest servant boy or wench may have more wisdome then they.[4]

As the Nayler debates show, the gentry were alarmed by the Quakers' contagious success.[5]

It is difficult to assess the overall impact of the Quakers' anti-tithe campaign. Doubtless it contributed to Richard Cromwell's Council of State recommending the discharge of Quakers imprisoned for tithes. And it had something to do with the climate of opinion behind the setting up in 1659 of the Rump's committee to consider those imprisoned for 'conscience sake' and that committee's subsequent release of many Quakers.

But tithes were not abolished. The more immediate result of Quaker agitation was to alarm and alienate moderate opinion, to reinforce propertied convictions that opposition to tithes was the harbinger of levelling, to confirm suspicions that the Quakers were dangerous social radicals. Edward Butler, M.P. for Poole, was not alone when he expressed fear that Quaker

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1. See E. Pagitt, Heresiography (5th edn, London, 1654), p. 147; Boreman, Country-Mans Catechisme, pp. 19, 25; Baxter, Worcester-shire Petition ... Defended, pp. 12-13; Philadelphus, Exceptions, p. 21; Ellwood, Foundation of Tythes, p. 417; A Caution Against Sacriledge (London, 1659), p. 6.
2. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 169.
3. A Paper sent forth, p. 8; cf. also, I. Bourne, A defence of the Scriptures (London, 1656), sig A2-A2v.
4. 'A Short Historical Account of ye Church of God': Balliol College MS. 398, p. 53; Saye and Sele, Folly and Madnesse, p.4; P.R.O., E112/336/69; Baxter, Worcester-shire Petition ... Defended, [sig A3].
5. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 96, 124, 128, 169-72.

'principles and practices are diametrically opposite both to magistracy and ministry; such principles as will level the foundation of all government into a bog of confusion.'[1] General George Monck - and Charles II was to inherit his mantle - was, we shall see, welcomed as 'England's St George'. It was he who rescued the nation from the 'black Cloud' of 1659 - a year when 'Quakers, Anabaptists and other sectaries' threatened the destruction of the ministry and religion.[2] Such fears go some way in explaining the final demise of the Commonwealth (and the panic of the Restoration). It is to those fears that we must now turn.

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1. Diary of Thomas Burton, i. 137.
2. G. Willington, The Thrice Welcome and Happy Inauguration (London, 1660), pp. 4-5; Gaskin, A Just Defence, introductory epistle.

Appendix

Quaker connivance?

It is difficult to know how united Quakers were in their stand against tithes. The work of Dr Hunt, Dr Evans and Dr Quine may indeed make the historian of early Quaker resistance to tithes tread a little warily.[1] Briefly, they discovered that during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Quakers were actively conniving in tithe payment (in some cases actually receiving tithes[2]). This lack of unanimity was reflected in complaints by the Quakers themselves, in the paucity of prosecutions for tithe resistance, and by a sort of symbiotic relationship between owner and debtor whereby a simple seizure of tithes by-passed the courts and salved the conscience of the Quaker who had, theoretically, refused payment.

But the situations were different. Several factors suggest a firmer attitude among the Quakers of the 1650s. Illegal seizure - to take the last point first - did occur during the earlier period, but was usually resisted not welcomed. By Robert Minter from Elmstone, Kent, for instance, who arose one morning to find the local priest and a helper in one of his fields:

> And Robert Minter comeing into his field, and seing the priest and his Man with pease on their backs said to them what is the matter Theives, and immediately the priest wth his Man began to runn wth the pease on their backs, soe Robert went before them and took hold of his pease on ye priests back, saying hee should not see his goods taken away in such a manner before his face &c, And soe strugling gott ym off their backs.... 3

Nor was seizure as widespread as it later became. Evans in his work on tithe resistance among Staffordshire Quakers during the period 1690-1730 (based on the 'Great Book of Sufferings') found that in only 7.2 per cent of cases was legal action taken to obtain payment. In sharp contrast, my own work on the national figures for Quaker sufferings for non-payment during the earlier

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1. N.C. Hunt, Two Early Political Associations (Oxford, 1961), pp. 64-72; Evans, '"Our Faithful Testimony"; The Society of Friends and Tithe Payments, 1690-1730', J.F.H.S., lii (1969), 107-111.
2. E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire, 1648-1780' (Univ. of Notts. Ph.D. thesis 1968), pp. 165, 261.
3. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 537.

period 1656-9 (also using the 'Great Book of Sufferings') shows that legal action was taken in at least 74.6 per cent of cases.[1]

A comparison of the actual numbers of tithe prosecutions also points to a firmer attitude among early Friends: Hunt's 1,180 prosecutions in a forty year period (1696-1736) compared to nearly the same number (about 1,000) in the space of only six years during the Interregnum (1653-9).

There is some suggestion of connivance. Friends in the Isle of Ely were in trouble with the leadership in 1657 because they were paying tithes to impropriators.[2] At times Quakers' relatives would intervene in a tithe case, reaching a settlement to avoid further trouble. Possibly some Quakers did set out their tithes and allow ministers and lay owners to come and collect them. We need also to consider those who do not appear in the 'Great Book of Sufferings', for at first sight the discrepancy between a Quaker membership of tens of thousands and a mere one or so thousand convicted for non-payment might suggest widespread payment. But this would be difficult to prove. The discrepancy could equally easily be explained by the number of Quakers living in towns or tithe-free areas, the reluctance of many owners to take action against defaulters, or the failure of some of the Quakers to record sufferings.[3] And we do know that there was no mid-seventeenth-century equivalent of the later mass of complaints of connivance mentioned by Hunt and Evans.[4]

In general, then, the early Quakers seem to have born a firmer testimony than their descendants. And it was to be expected; they were first generation members of the sect, more committed to Quaker principles, not yet subjected to the cooling-off process, institutionalization and birth into the sect that

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1. Of a total of 567 cases from Beds, Bucks, Cambs, Cornwall, Cumberland, Essex, Glos, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts and Yorks. The percentages are 74.6 legal, 3.9 illegal, 21.5 uncertain.
2. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 314; Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 346.
3. Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 51d, fos 6-7; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 150, 592; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i, fos 1-12; Evans, 'Our Faithful Testimony', 112-3.
4. Apart from the case of the Isle of Ely, the earliest evidence

characterizes the later generation of Quakers that Hunt and Evans deal with.

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that I have found for flagging testimony is for 1670: Berkshire Record Office, D/F2A 1/1 (Berks Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-80). The Westmorland followers of Wilkinson and Story (Quaker schismatics) were also said to be paying tithes in the 1670s. See, for example, S.R.O., DD/SFR 10/2/19 (Somerset Quarterly Meeting, Epistles and Papers.)

CHAPTER FIVE
THE QUAKERS, 1659, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY

Much has been written about the upheavals of 1659. It is generally accepted that fear of radical sectarianism was a force behind the slide into briefly revived Presbyterianism and the return of Charles II. Yet, apart from Professor Underdown's stimulating suggestions in Pride's Purge,[1] there has been little analysis of the panic of that year: the creation of a mentality which led many in the nation to look to the King, as Ralph Josselin observed, 'out of love to themselves not him'.[2] This chapter is concerned with an important symptom of the unease of that year - the so called Quaker threat. By all but the most radical, Quakerism became increasingly viewed with a mixture of alarm and hostility; anxiety merged inevitably with reaction.

Quakers

When republican and sectarian agitation in the regiments finally brought down Richard Cromwell's regime, the reaction was one of radical exhilaration matched only by the trepidation of Presbyterians. God 'is come to turne the World upside down', proclaimed the Quaker Dorothy White:

> That that, which hath ruled over may be brought down under, and that which hath been of low degree, may be raised up by the power of God, to rule and have the dominion ....

'The Lord Jesus Christ is come to reign', wrote George Fox when the remnant of the Rump was returned in May; 'now shall the Lamb and Saints have victorie'.[3] With few exceptions, the Quakers were among those who expected great things of the restored Rump and who welcomed the revival of 'the good old cause' in the Army. But hopes that the Rump would create the Quaker utopia rapidly faded as it became evident that sectarian demands would not be met. '...alas, alas, this Glorious work of Reformation hath been interrupted before our eye', Edward Burrough wailed in September.[4] Dissatisfaction led Quakers

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1. D. Underdown, Pride's Purge (Oxford, 1971), pp. 349-353.
2. The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683, ed. A. Macfarlane (London, 1976), pp. 457-8.
3. D. White, A Diligent Search (n.p., 1659), p. 4; G.F[ox], The Lambs Officer (London, 1659), pp. 1, 13 (a copy in the Bodleian Library (C. 13.6 Linc.) is bound with tracts printed during the restoration of the Rump in May, so it is likely it appeared then).
4. E. Burrough, To the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England (London, 1659), 12 Sept.

into open acceptance of the Committee of Safety which replaced the Rump in October. Though not without reservations: 'be less in words, and more in action', Francis Howgil warned them.[1] The long awaited deliverance did not come. In December the Rump returned for the second time; by early 1660 little hope remained. 'Where is the Good Old Cause now?', asked Burrough, 'and what is become of it? in whose hands doth it lie?'[2]

Professor Cole has discussed the Quakers' political attitudes during 1659, so they need not detain us long.[3] Their demands centred on three of the great issues of the Revolution - tithes, religious toleration and law reform. They called for liberty of conscience and the abolition of tithes, the universities, and the State Church: in other words, the overthrow of the whole clerical establishment. As Burrough put it, 'we look for a New Earth, as well as for a New Heaven'; and the sect expected those in power to secure this 'just freedom of the people'.[4] Anthony Mellidge, the Quaker naval captain, saw this - Leveller-like - as his right:

> We are not only free-born of England, but we have also purchased our freedome in the Nation, and the continuation thereof with many years hard service, the losse of the lives of many hundreds, the spoyling of much goods, and the shedding of much blood in the late war, by which at last the Lord overturned them, who then fought to enslave our persons, and infringe our liberty in the Nation, in the which liberty now, we do expect to worship God in spirit, and in truth 5

Ministers were warned that their end was speedily approaching. 'I know it appears to many of you, a thing very hard to be born', Burrough told Parliament; 'what? to forsake our godly Ministers

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1. F. Howgil, An Information and also Advice (London, 1659), p. 5.
2. E. Burrough, To the Whole English Army (London, 1659), omitted from his collected works: E. Burrough, The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder ([London], 1672).
3. W.A. Cole, 'The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660' (University of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1955), chs 3-8; the best short account is his 'The Quakers and the English Revolution', in T. Aston (ed.) Crisis in Europe 1560-1660 (London, 1970 edn), pp. 341-58. See also the more impressionistic account by J.F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the end of the Interregnum', Church History, xix (1950), 240-70.
4. E. Burrough, To the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England (London, 1659), 6 Oct., p. 3. This radical tract was also not included in Burrough's, The Memorable Works.
5. H. Smith et al, The Fruits of Unrighteousnes (London, 1658), p. 13.

think ye, to hear tell of laying them aside, is an amazement unto some of your minds?' But, and he clinched his argument, 'was it not the same concerning the King and Bishops?'[1]

Law reform was the other great radical demand. Fox echoed the Levellers and John Warr in his call that poor men be allowed to plead their own case without the parasitic lawyer ('according to the Law of Equity which is grounded upon Reason'). George Bishop appealed to the General Council of the Army to 'smite' the lawyers. Quakers wanted lawyers removed, trial by jury, abolition of the Upper Bench and the death penalty for theft, and Anglicization, decentralization and codification of the law - 'let all be drawn up in a little short Volumn, and all the rest burnt'.[2]

Furthermore most Quakers expected to play a role in the events of 1659. They were, as John Crook, Edward Billing, Dennis Hollister, Anthony Pearson and other former justices and officers explained, neither 'uncapable nor unwilling' to serve their nation.[3] They demanded the restoration of all Friends purged from office because of their beliefs. Names of Quakers eligible to sit as justices were sent optimistically to London.[4] Edward Burrough went still further, informing both Parliament and Army, in a declaration which refutes all clear-cut notions of early Quaker pacifism, that if they intended to 'establish Righteousnesse' they were assured of Quaker support. 'Oh then we should rejoyce, and our lives would not bee Deare to lay downe'. Burrough also called for the setting up of a council composed of the various religious interests so that Quaker representatives could play an equal part in drawing up a solution for the civil government of the country.[5]

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1. E.B[urrough], Satans Designe Defeated (London, 1659), p. 19.
2. G.F[ox and P.M.], An Instruction to Judges & Lawyers (n.p.,n.d.), passim; G. Fox, Several Papers (London, 1660), pp. 32-3; G. Bishop, The Warnings of the Lord (London, 1660), p. 19.
3. J. Crook et al, A Declaration of the People of God (London, 1659), p. 5.
4. Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), pp. 6-13, 105-115 (hereafter Extracts from State Papers).
5. E. Burrough, 'To the Parliament and Army (in generall) of the Commonwealth of England' 1659 ; 'To the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England Sitting in Westminster' 1659 : Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson D.397, fos 13, 17. See my 'The Quakers and 1659: two newly discovered broadsides by Edward Burrough', Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, liv (1977), 101-111.

Professor Cole has dealt perceptively, and at length, with the thorny problem of early Quaker pacifism.[1] To summarize his argument briefly, he has detected both ambiguity and lack of unanimity on this question among Quakers during the 1650s. As several historians have pointed out, most of the early Quaker statements of peaceful intent were statements about the cause of war.[2] And many of them were concerned with stressing the peaceful nature of the movement rather than the sect's opposition to the use of force under any circumstance - the distinction is an important one.

A degree of ambiguity is certainly evident in the case of George Fox himself. The attitude of the Quaker leader towards the use of military force oscillated between his engagement to Cromwell denying 'the carrying or drawing of any carnall sword against any, or against thee Oliver Crumwell', and his proud report of the belief that a Quaker soldier was worth at least seven men.[3] Indeed in 1659 while he was not enthusiastic about the fact that some Bristol Friends had joined the militia, he did not condemn them: 'there is Somthing in ye thing', '& you cannot well leave them Seeing you have gone amongst them'.[4]

Some Quakers did seem to reach the pacifist position before 1660. When he became a Quaker John Lilburne found that the occasion 'of all outward wars, and all carnal buslings' had become 'in a very large measure .... dead or crucified within me'. William Dewsbury's light within led him, in 1659, into an anarchistic stance, saying, according to John Harwood, that 'there should not be a man in Israel to rule one over another, but that the rule and authority of man should be overturned, & Christ alone rule in the hearts and spirits of his people'.[5] There are also vague suggestions of pacifist notions among some of the Quaker soldiers

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1. Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', passim, esp. pp. 15, 21, 35, 63-5, 276-7; and his 'Quakers and the English Revolution', passim, esp. pp. 344-6.

2. See Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', p. 16, referring to the work of Hugh Barbour.

3. The Journal of George Fox, ed. N. Penney (New York, 1973 reprint), i. 161; G.F[ox], To the Councill of Officers (n.p., n.d.), p. 5.

4. Friends House Library, London (hereafter F.H.L.), Swarthmore MS. vii. 157.

5. The Resurrection of John Lilburne (London, 1659), p. 10; J. Harwood, To All People (London, 1663), p. 4.

in Scotland.[1]

But against this can be set the unwilling removal of Quakers from the Army at the time of Monck's purge of his forces - for subversive principles, not refusal to fight - and the resultant protests of leading Quakers: 'have you not turned some of the Souldiers out of the Army, who have jeoperded their lives in the time of the gretest straits in the high places in the field'.[2] Against evidence of certain Quakers' eschewal of violence can be placed the reality of a Quaker presence in the armed forces and the militia in 1659, Fox's later admission that 'some foolish rash spiritts yt came amongst us were goeinge to take uppe armes', and Edward Burrough's statement, quoted above, referring to the laying down of Quaker lives.[3]

It is true that the Quakers always believed that the ultimate battle was spiritual. Utopia could only be created by the working of the spirit or light within upon the hearts and consciences of men and women. The kingdom would come, a Quaker explained to the Fifth Monarchists, 'not by an outward visible shining body, quelling and over-awing the enemies of his Kingdom, but by his inward and invisible Power in the hearts of his People'.[4] But force was by no means precluded. As Cole has pointed out, Fox recognized that 'the outward sword might have its place in fulfilling God's purposes on earth'.[5] The Quakers were not pacifist in any modern sense of the term. 'I am given to beleve, yt there is some greate worke to doe by them, in ye nations, wth their outward sword, & yt time is not long till a good thing may bee accomplished by our English Armie', Burrough wrote in May 1659.[6] In 1660 George Bishop printed a letter he had written to Cromwell several years before, berating

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1. A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe (hereafter Thurloe), ed. T. Birch (7 vols, London, 1742), vi. 145-6; J. Price, The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's Happy Restauration (London, 1680), p. 31.

2. F. Howgil, To all Commanders and Officers ([London], 1657), p. 3. (a tract not included in Howgil's works published in the 1670s: The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day ([London], 1676)). Cf. also, E. Burrough [and G. Fox], Good Counsel and Advice Rejected (London, 1659), p. 15; Fox, To the Councill, p. 5; Swarthmore MS. iv. 237.

3. For Fox, see Journal of George Fox, i. 334. For Burrough, see p. 115 above.

4. J.C. [J. Collens or J. Crook?], A Defence of the True Church (London, 1659), p. 29.

5. Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', p. 20.

6. F.H.L., MS. Portfolio i. 107.

the nation's timidity. 'Did thy Sword (till of late) ever return empty from the blood of the slain, and the spoil of the Mighty', he demanded of the Protector ! The people of England, once magnificent in their belligerence, had become 'dead at the heart, lumps of flesh, and averse to War'.[1] Both Fox and Burrough talked in terms of a Protestant conquest of Rome.[2]

The Quakers, then, were not consistent pacifists in the 1650s. It was not until early 1661 that we get, in Hill's words, the first 'official declaration of absolute pacifism in all circumstances'.[3] Before that time it is impossible to talk, as it is later, in terms of the Quakers as a predominantly pacifist group. As Cole has persuasively argued, the sect projected 'their pacifism backwards', motivated by disillusionment with the efficacy of political action and fear that Quakerism faced extinction during the backlash of 1660-1661.[4] Self-preservation left them with little choice. The peace testimony was an extension of principles already held by the movement, but to a large extent it was a pragmatic extension. 'We have not written any thing else concerning carnall weapons, but wait in patience to see the effect of that which is already written', Alexander Parker wrote to Fox in June 1660 during the first wave of Restoration hostility - a brief but revealing report.[5] In short, 'Pacifism was not a characteristic of the early Quakers: it was forced upon them by the hostility of the outside world.'[6] In 1659, more than at any other stage in their development, the Quakers moved towards 'a militant, revolutionary position'.[7] Members of the sect were prepared to play a political role; and the message of the movement's main political spokesmen seems to have been that any reservations were due not so much to qualms of conscience but suspicions of the integrity of those in power.

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1. Bishop, Warnings, pp. 2-3.
2. E. Burrough, A Visitation & Warning Proclamed (London, 1659), p. 35; Fox, To the Councill, p. 8; Burrough and Fox, Good Counsel and Advice, pp. 36-7.
3. C. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), p. 194.
4. Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', p. 284.
5. Swarthmore MS. iii. 146.
6. Cole, 'Quakers and the English Revolution', p. 346.
7. Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', p. 277.

The Rump and Committee of Safety

There was a growing feeling in 1659 that those in power had radical sectarian sympathies. Shortly after the recall of the Rump, Richard Baxter received a letter relating with apprehension the change in government: 'Sr, such psons as are now at the head of affaires will blast religion if God prevent not'.[1] When the Rump reorganized the Army and set up the militia it was said that 'Levellers and expulsed Quakers' were being reintroduced.[2] The French ambassador wrote in June that Presbyterian ill-will

> compels the Government to put the arms of the country into the hands of the Sectaries, even of the Quakers, who up to this time had affected to seek nought but peace with liberty of conscience. The Spirit of God, by which they are ruled, now permits them to take part in the affairs of this world, and the Parliament seems inclined to make use of them. 3

It was reported that in Ireland justices had been purged and replaced by Baptists and Quakers.[4] Fears intensified when volunteer regiments were raised in early August (in the wake of the Booth rising) amidst rumours of thousands of Quakers and sectaries in arms.[5] Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, a future member of the Committee of Safety, wrote in late August of his fear

> of the desseigne and indevour of som pairtye to putt the Anabaptists and the Quakers in airmes, which may theirafter be loath to laye doun their airmes, and to taik the advantage of this oportunety to take away the tithes and bring the maintenace of the ministery to hing at the belt of the State. 6

Memories of James Nayler did not die easily, and his release by Parliament in September merely aggravated suspicions and convinced another Scottish observer, Robert Baillie, of the sect's

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1. Dr Williams's Library, MS. 59 (Baxter's Letters), vi, fo. 235v. Cf. W. Prynne, A true and perfect Narrative (London, 1659), p. 20, quoted in Underdown, Pride's Purge, p. 349; Calendar of State Papers, 1659-60 p. 5; Worcester College, Clarke MS. 31, fos 164-164v; R. Baxter, Right Rejoycing (London, 1660), p. 47.
2. The Nicholas Papers, ed. G.F. Warner (Camden Third Series, xxxi, 1920), 151-2; Thurloe, vii. 704.
3. M. Guizot, History of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration of Charles II (2 vols, London, 1856), i. 407-8.
4. Historical Manuscripts Commission; Report on the Manuscripts of F.W. Leyborne-Popham (London, 1899), p. 141.
5. Guizot, Richard Cromwell and the Restoration, i. 453; The Londoners Last Warning (n.d., n.p.), p. 4 (a MS. note in the Bodleian copy (Wood 610 (11)) dates it Aug. 1659); Bodleian Library MS. Clarendon 63, fo. 263.
6. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, ed. J.D. Ogilvie, (Scottish Hist. Soc., xxxiv, 1940), p. 133.

'Prevalencie'.[1] Sir Henry Vane was generally suspected of driving for a radical alliance with the sects as Henry Marten had been with the Levellers a decade earlier. Vane was said to favour Quakers; one, it was even rumoured, had anointed him king. He was generally considered to be an implacable enemy of the ministry.[2]

Fears also attended the setting up of the Committee of Safety in mid-October. 'We are all Quakers here', wrote the young John Locke, 'and there is not a man but thinks he alone hath this light within and all besides stumble in the dark.'[3] 'If Lambert succeeds the Church of England must fall', a Royalist proclaimed shortly before the dissolution of the Rump. There were rumours that the Army had interrupted Parliament 'to throw down the Ministery'.[4] Both Bordeaux and the Scottish diarist John Nicoll thought that the Committee was on the verge of suppressing tithes. John Mordaunt claimed that they actually had. And Monck said much the same in justification of his march south.[5]

The Rump's radical image was a distortion. The majority of its members were no religious revolutionaries. But it 'fell between two stools', alienating the Presbyterians and disgusting the sectaries.[6]

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1. The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1842), iii. 429.

2. MS. Clarendon 61, fos 205, 325; Guizot, Richard Cromwell and the Restoration, i. 458, ii. 268, 304; A Brief Account ... of the Committee of Safety (London, 1659) (a scurrilous tract), p. 19; Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, p. 139; Baxter's Letters, iv, fo. 281. For Vane and the Quakers, see V.A. Rowe, Sir Henry Vane the Younger (London, 1970), pp. 223-4; Cole, 'Quakers and Politics', pp. 156-7, 160, 193. Vane had estates in Durham at Raby Castle and Barnard Castle, both Quaker areas. The Quaker connection continued after Vane's execution. Lady Vane's steward at Raby was sympathetic to the sect, while Vane's son Christopher got Quaker support as a Whig candidate in the election of 1679. See M.S. Child, 'Prelude to Revolution: The Structure of Politics in County Durham, 1678-88' (University of Maryland Ph.D. thesis 1972), pp. 298, n. 157, 305.

3. M. Cranston, John Locke (London, 1957), p. 43.

4. A Collection of Original Letters and Papers, ed. T. Carte (2 vols, London, 1739), ii, 225; The Weekly Intelligencer, 25 (18-25 Oct. 1659), p. 199.

5. Guizot, Richard Cromwell and the Restoration, ii. 284; J. Nicoll, A Diary of Public Transactions (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 257; The Letter Book of John Viscount Mordaunt, ed. M. Coate (Camden Third Series, lxix, 1945), p. 80; M. James, 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution', History, xxvi (1941), 18.

6. A.H. Woolrych, 'Politics and Political Theory in England 1658-1660' (Univ. of Oxford B.Litt. thesis 1952), pp. 79-80. For the Rump's earlier life, see B. Worden, The Rump Parliament 1648-1653 (Cambridge, 1974).

One of its first acts was to set up on 10 May a committee to consider those imprisoned for 'conscience sake', which subsequently released many imprisoned Quakers.[1] This did not mollify the radicals. As George Bishop explained, the Rump by releasing tithe sufferers had recognized the injustice of the system, so how could they now retain tithes: 'honest men every where' had had 'reasonable cause to expect their utter taking away'.[2] In May Quakers sent in lists of suitable (and unsuitable) justices, claiming later that they had been requested by Parliament.[3] Though they may have been entirely unsolicited, if rumours of the lists had leaked it would have done little for the frayed nerves of the gentry.[4]

If sectaries were hopeful in the early days of the Rump, expectations were dashed on 21 May when the Rump declared its religious policy. Encouragement and protection of all who acknowledged the scriptures as the revealed or written word of God, who believed in the Trinity, who did not disturb others in worship, fell short of sectarian expectations. (Yet it did not satisfy the Presbyterians.) Early in July, in an action clearly aimed against the Quakers, the Rump set up a committee to tighten the laws on disturbance of ministers. In October toleration was moved in the House, probably by Vane, 'but instantly decried'.[5]

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1. See Swarthmore MS. i. 145; Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 648; The Faithful Scout, 5 (20-27 May 1659), pp. 38-9; R. Hubberthorne, A Word of Wisdom (London, 1659). For the release of Quakers, see F.H.L., MS. Great Book of Sufferings, i, pp. 149, 150, 162, 435, 455, 506, 591, ii, Somerset, pp. 1-4, 45-6, iv, p. 501; The Northern Queries (n.p., [1659]), p. 5.
2. Bishop, Warnings, p. 35.
3. Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 647; [J. Taylor], A Loving & Friendly Invitation (London, 1683), p. 13. The lists are in the Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), SP.18/102/50, SP.18/203/8-9,13,18,21-28, and are printed in Extracts from State Papers, pp. 6-13, 105-115. Quaker complaints against William Boteler for 'dealing unjustly' with the Quaker William Lovell were used in the House in June to prevent his appointment as a colonel of horse: See G. Davies, The Restoration of Charles II 1658-1660 (Oxford, 1969), p. 108; Extracts from State Papers, p. 8.
4. J.S. Morrill, Cheshire 1630-1660 (Oxford, 1974), pp. 258-9. (Dr Morrill obviously does not realise that they are Quaker lists.)
5. Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 662; Carte, Collection, ii. 225; The Publick Intelligencer, 198 (10-17 Oct. 1659), p. 783; The Weekly Post, 9 (28 June - 5 July 1659), p. 77. The Quaker position is best described by George Bishop in his criticism of the Army's declaration of 12 May 1659: Mene Tekel (London, 1659), pp. 14ff.

It was the same with what Monck called 'that issue of blood'. A divided house declared for tithes on 27 June, though not before they had terrified clerical and propertied interests by even broaching the subject, on the very day that a Quaker-organized petition of 15,000 signatures was presented to the House.[1] 'The Quakers are not at all satisfied with this act', wrote Bordeaux, 'but it is more prudent to please the Presbyterians, whose number far exceeds that of all the other Sectaries put together.'[2] Judges publicized the vote when they went on their circuits. With law reform dilatoriness prevailed. A bill was being prepared in June for correction of abuses by legal officers and the possible pruning of lawyers' fees. It seems never to have surfaced. Edmund Ludlow alleged capitulation to the 'corrupt interests of the lawyers and clergy', and such charges made the overthrow of the Rump in October all the more easy.[3]

We really know very little of the internal politics of the government which replaced the Rump. Power still rested, unconcealed, with the Council of Officers. There was concern for the future of the ministry, universities, college lands. And the Committee of Safety's vague declaration in early November for 'a Godly and learned Ministry' (without mention of tithes) did little to dispel such doubts. But even if we do not believe Ludlow's allegations of the bribery of the Wallingford house party by legal and clerical interests, it seems that the fears were exaggerated. As William Allen confided to Baxter in early November, 'I psum many of them not so little politicians as too farr to disoblige the ministery of the Nation by renderinge the continuation of their maintenance much doubtfull.'[4] One of the most interesting sources for the opinion of the officers is a report (21 November) by the Quaker Richard Hubberthorne, usually well informed. He said that there had been a great deal of debate among the officers concerning tithes, with suggestions of reduction

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1. Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 683, 694; The Copie of a Paper presented to the Parliament (London, 1659).
2. Guizot, Richard Cromwell and the Restoration, i. 424-5.
3. D. Veall, The Popular Movement for Law Reform 1640-1660 (Oxford, 1970), p. 96; Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ed. C.H. Firth (2 vols, Oxford, 1894), ii. 133.
4. Davies, Restoration, pp. 157-8; Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ii. 161-2, 169; Baxter's Letters, iv, fo. 274v.

in the number of parishes and talk of a State controlled ministry. The only hope for 'Lyberty and honest thinges' lay with Col Richard Ashfield, the inferior officers, Col Nathaniel Rich, and Vane. Rich declared to the Council that the Rump had done more for 'Lyberty of tender Consciences' and moved for another committee to examine cases of conscience: 'manny of them said it was good, but they put it of[f] and would not doe it.'[1]

Rumours of a radical religious settlement persisted. In December Monck was claiming that the Army had plumped for sectarian support with promises of tithe abolition. Ludlow, however, revealed the true temper of the Council of Officers; the Council decided that tithes would be retained, that any toleration would exclude 'the Quakers and some others, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of the civil society'.[2] It was probably during these debates the Baptist Col William Packer declared that 'before ye Quakers shoulde have there liberty hee woulde draw his sworde to bringe in Kinge Charles.'[3]

Some must have feared that the radical sects would unite to force their own settlement.[4] Abolition of tithes, liberty of conscience, reform of the law and lawyers, reform of the universities: here the Baptist Henry Denne, the Commonwealthsman Ludlow, the Quaker Edward Billing, the Independent William Sprigge, the Vanist Henry Stubbe, the Fifth Monarchist John Canne, (and John Milton), could join hands.[5] Fifth Monarchists began to believe that rule by the saints was not rule by Fifth Monarchy Men alone but by adherents to 'the good old cause'. John Haggatt, a radical Independent, and the Quakers George Bishop and Thomas Speed petitioned on behalf of suffering Baptists and Independents. Quakers organized an anti-tithe petition signed by non-Quakers - for the 'free-born people of this

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1. F.H.L., William Caton MSS iii. 400-3.
2. Clarke MS. 32, fos 172v-173; Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ii. 169.
3. Journal of George Fox, i. 334-5.
4. Cf. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, pp. 129-30.
5. Cf. H. Denne, The Quaker No Papist (London, 1659); Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, I. xxviii, xxix; E.B[illing], A Mite of Affection (London, 1659); W.[Sprigge], A Modest Plea for an Equal Common-wealth (London, 1659); H. Stubbe, An Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause (London, 1659); J. Canne and J. Osborne, An Indictment Against Tythes (London, 1659); J.M[ilton] The Readie & Easie Way (London, 1660).

Common-Wealth'. The Baptist Henry Denne and Vane's friend Henry Stubbe penned defences of the Quakers. Morgan Llwyd, a one-time Fifth Monarchist and Welsh mystic, urged 'liberty of conscience' for 'those that are called Quakers in scorn'. Stubbe actually advocated that the fearsome sect should sit on his proposed senate; and the Independent Samuel Duncon said something similar.[1]

No amount of parliamentary concession to the gentry and clergy could compensate for the fear unleashed by the Rump's formation of its militia in June and July. Parliament, wrote Clarendon,

> had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenent in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King's party. 2

Sir George Booth said the same.[3] The radical Henry Stubbe agreed, though for different reasons. For him the only hope for the party for toleration was that it was 'possessed with the Militia of the nation, and under good commanders'.[4] Indeed it made sense that the Rump, distrustful of both Presbyterian and neuter, should put power into the hands of the 'well affected'. But the Rump's actions added fuel to the very insurrection they were supposed to prevent. With its wide-ranging emergency powers of detention of any suspicious person, its watch-dog role over impassive justices, its sectarian reputation, the militia inevitably clashed with the local authorities.[5]

How accurate were the allegations of a mean and schismatic

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1. Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 124; British Library (hereafter B.L.), Stowe MS. 189, fo. 64; Copie of a Paper, title page; Denne, Quaker No Papist; H. Stubbe, A Light Shining out of Darknes (London, 1659), pp. 81-92 (see also his Malice Rebuked (London, 1659), p. 36); E. Lewis Evans, 'Morgan Llwyd and the Early Friends', The Friends' Quarterly (1954), 57; S. Duncon, Several Proposals (London, 1659), postcript.
2. Edward Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England (6 vols, Oxford, 1969 edn), vi. 176.
3. A Letter from Sir George Booth (Chester, 1659).
4. Stubbe, An Essay, preface.
5. See Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson C179 (Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Council of State 19 May to 10 Aug., 1659), pp. 173-4; Calendar of State Papers, 1659-60, p. 219; An Alarum to Corporations (London, 1659), passim.

militia? Further research is needed. There was regional variation: Somerset, where the radical Pyne faction controlled the militia, conforms to the stereotype; Cheshire it would appear was the same; but in Sussex control was placed firmly in the hands of the conservative gentry.[1] Baptists and Fifth Monarchists got commissions.[2] So did the hated Quakers: former officers and justices, merchants and shopkeepers. Nicholas Bond, William Woodcock, Amos Stoddart, Richard Davis, Steven Hart, were all named commissioners for the Westminster militia in late June.[3] In July George Lambol and Thomas Curtis were named for Berkshire, Edward Alcock in Cheshire, Humphrey Lower for Cornwall, Henry Pollexfen in Devon, Mark Grime in Gloucestershire, John Gawler in Glamorganshire, Theophilus Alie in Worcestershire,, Edward Stoakes in Wiltshire, and perhaps the Robert Duncon named as a Suffolk commissioner was the Quaker.[4] In Bristol

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1. D. Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum (London, 1973), p. 190; A. Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660 (London, 1975), p. 317. That Cheshire conforms to the sectarian image makes sense in the light of Booth's allegations. The Cheshire commissioners included the Quaker friend John Bradshaw, six men recommended by the Quakers in May as being 'moderate' (a good gauge of radicalism) and one Quaker. In Berkshire two Quakers were named in the list of militia commissioners, three moderate men, and only one whom the Quakers had considered a persecutor; the list also included Henry Marten, Cornelius Holland and George Joyce. (See Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 231, 258-9, 289, 298; Extracts from State Papers, pp. 105, 110; Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660, eds. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (3 vols, London, 1911), 1320, 1321.) Dorset on the other hand, if we still use the Quaker gauge, was firmly in the hands of persecutors. Northampton, to take one last example, seems to have been divided: Adam Baynes who had Quaker friends and associates was named as a commissioner, as was Major William Rainsborough another 'enemy to persecution' and two others favoured by the Quakers; but so were eight Quaker-haters. (Extracts from State Papers, pp. 7-13; Acts and Ordinances, 1323, 1329. Baynes was a friend of the Quaker Captain John Leavens, see Extracts from State Papers, pp. 7, 47; B.L., Add. MS. 21425 (Baynes Correspondence), fo. 2.)

2. L.F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (Washington, 1912), p. 185; Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 124.

3. Acts and Ordinances, 1290; [R. Rich], Hidden Things brought to Light (London, 1678), p. 29.

4. Acts and Ordinances, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1325, 1328, 1333, 1334, 1335. For identification of the Quakers, see Extracts from State Papers, pp. 105, 110, 111; Journal of George Fox, i. 225, 237, 259, 262, 444; The First Publishers of Truth, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907), pp. 282-3, 324, 370; J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), i. 744. Professor Cole includes Robert Duncon in the Suffolk list (Cole, 'Quakers and the English Revolution', p.

Thomas Speed, Dennis Hollister, Henry Rowe, Thomas Gouldney, and Edward Pyott, all well known Quakers, served as commissioners.[1] (Vane had pressed unsuccessfully for George Bishop's inclusion.) Finally in north-west Wales Quakers were represented by Robert Owen, Owen Lewis, Owen Humphreys, Thomas Ellis, Richard Jones and probably by Charles Lloyd, a sympathizer in the process of becoming a Quaker.[2]

Other Quakers served in the militia later the same year. Anthony Pearson raised forces in the North at the time of the Booth rebellion and was in trouble for it with the authorities at the Restoration. Thomas Ellwood may have been an ensign in the Oxford militia. Peter Acklam the commander of a militia troop at Hull was a Quaker by the early 1660s, but it is uncertain when he became one. Mark Jellico, one of those responsible for raising men in Cheshire after the downfall of the Rump, may well have been the Chester Quaker mentioned in Mercurius Publicus in 1661 and into his fifth offence under the Conventicle Act by 1670. And there was Captain Carter, at large in Cheshire in February 1660 with the armed troop of horse he also had raised under the Committee of Safety. The authorities claimed he was a Quaker; the Quakers grudgingly admitted it though they made it clear he was now no longer one.[3]

If Quaker pleas for reinstatement in the forces are any indication, it must be assumed they were among those who flocked to the various volunteer regiments raised at the time of the Booth

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351, n. 46) but he may well have been the Quaker's uncle of the same name: see G. Whitehead, The Christian Progress of that Ancient Servant (London, 1725), p. 135; G.F. Nuttall, Visible Saints (Oxford, 1957), p. 150, n. 3.

1. Acts and Ordinances, 1332; Swarthmore MSS iii. 143, vii. 157; MS. Clarendon 63, fo. 208.

2. Acts and Ordinances, 1335; T. Lewis et al, For the King and both Houses of Parliament (n.p., [1661]), p. 5; Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity ... Autobiography of Richard Davies, ed. J.E. Southall (Newport, 1899), pp. 56-7, 62.

3. F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 169; P.R.O., SP.29/45/42, 60; SP.29/49/27; Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 753; B.L., Add. MS. 21425, fo. 124; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Yorks., p. 26; Humberside County Record Office, DD QR/24 (Sufferings-loose sheets), 'In the year 1665'; H.M.C. Leyborne-Popham, pp. 156-7; Mercurius Publicus, 4 (24-31 Jan. 1660/1), pp. 62-3; Chester City Record Office, MF/88 (Mayors' Files 1669-70) (no piece numbers given), 5 June 1670; Swarthmore MS. iii. 146.

rising. Quaker sources are strangely silent, apart from Fox's later comments about 'foolish rash spirits' and a reference to Quakers in trouble in the early 1660s for their role in the suppression of Booth.[1] But it is hard to believe that there would have been no Quaker volunteers in Col John Haggatt's Bristol regiment or among Vane's Southwark volunteers, Col William West's forces in Lancashire, John Bradshaw's Cheshire volunteers, or in the Northants. militia under the command of William Rainsborough.[2] Nor is it unreasonable to assume that John Pyne, in charge of the foot in Somerset, would have made use of his old Quaker associates from county committee days, Robert Wastfield, James Pearce, Jasper Batt, Christopher Pittard and Desborough's former secretary, John Anderdon - all, in May, had declared their readiness to serve the Commonwealth.[3] Col Bussy Mansell, whom the Rump placed in command of all militia forces in south Wales, was eager to have Quakers in his regiments, and he had many Quaker ex-officers to draw from. A few engaged, a captain and a lieutenant colonel, others wanted Fox's advice. He claimed he 'for bad' it, but that was after the event; we do not know what advice he gave his Welsh friends at the time.[4]

Rumours of a sectarian dominated Army, of Quakers and Baptists being restored to their posts, are harder to substantiate. Yet it is easy to see why many would have been concerned. Fifth Monarchists certainly gained commands with the accession of the Rump, as did

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1. Swarthmore MS. iii. 145.

2. Haggatt was a long-time associate of Hollister and Bishop; his wife was a Quaker. Colonel William West, another with Quaker contacts, was generally sympathetic to the sect (Journal of George Fox, index: William West). Bradshaw treated the Quakers very leniently on the Cheshire assize circuit and also received support from them in parliamentary elections (Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 231, 289, 298). Southwark was a Quaker area, and Vane (see p. 120 above) had many Quaker contacts. The sect also seems to have been favourably disposed towards Rainsborough (Extracts from State Papers, p. 7). For the raising of these regiments, see Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 749, 753; MS. Rawlinson C179, p. 209; Mercurius Politicus, 582 (4-11 Aug. 1659), p. 656.

3. Cf. Underdown, Somerset, pp. 186, 190; Extracts from State Papers, p. 107; J. Whiting, Persecution Expos'd (London, 1715), p. 130 (for Anderdon).

4. MS. Rawlinson C179, p. 245 (for Mansell's appointment); F. Gawler, A Record of Some Persecutions (London, 1659), pp. 7, 17, 18, 25 (for Quaker soldiers in Wales); Swarthmore MS. iv. 219.

Baptists.[1] Quaker sources are silent, though some claimed later that Quakers refused commissions offered by the Committee of Safety.[2] Many Quakers (minor officers and rank and file) who had been purged from the Army earlier for their beliefs, insubordination, or because they had refused the oath of fidelity to the Protectorate, were calling for reinstatement. But if the Quakers were willing, were the Rump and Army?

Most of the evidence is hazy. Lambert's regiment, we shall see later, was thought to be rife with Quakerism. Nathaniel Rich had Quakers in his forces, though it is not clear whether he was encouraging them or trying to get rid of them.[3] Robert Lilburne's own cornet, George Denham, was either a Quaker or a sympathizer and Lilburne himself may have died a Quaker. Lilburne's regiment had been purged of Quakers by Monck in 1657, so it is possible that they were readmitted in the heady days of the early Rump.[4] It would be surprising if no Quakers were restored to Col Richard Ashfield's forces. His regiment had also been cleansed of Quakerism by Monck in 1657. Ashfield was probably not a Quaker (Fox claimed he was) though he was certainly sympathetic and retained contacts with Quakers throughout 1659.[5]

The Quaker John Hodgson re-enlisted.[6] The forces stationed

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1. Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 124; Brown, Political Activities of the Baptists, p. 185.

2. G. W[hitehead], Christ's Lambs Defended (London, 1691), p. 27; W. Sewel, The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of ... Quakers (London, 1722), p. 211; Journal of George Fox, i. 334.

3. Calendar of State Papers, 1658-9, p. 387; Calendar of State Papers, 1659-60, p. 240; Journals of the House of Commons, vii, 817; H.M.C. Leyborne-Popham, pp. 168-9. Both Edward Billing and Richard Hubberthorne seem to have known Rich, who, according to Hubberthorne, attended a Quaker meeting in London in May 1660: Swarthmore MSS. iv. 18, v.93.

4. A.R. Barclay MS. 17; Thurloe, vi. 635; Swarthmore MS. iv.237; Worcester College Library, Clarke MS. 48 (Abstracts of orders etc. by Gen. Monck), 26 Oct., 31 Oct., 2 Nov., 20 Nov., 23 Nov. 1657; A.D. Selleck, 'Plymouth Friends: A Quaker History', The Devonshire Association, Reports and Transactions, xcviii (1966), 298.

5. Thurloe, vi. 136; Clarke MS. 48, 9 May, 29 May 1657; Journal of George Fox, i. 303; Swarthmore MS. iv. 217; William Caton MSS. iii. 401; P.R.O., SP.29/22/118 (for Ashfield's claim that he was not a Quaker).

6. J. Hodgson, A Letter from a Member of the Army (London, 1659),

at Manchester in October had Quakers among them.[1] Robert Owen the Rump's commander at Beaumaris in Anglesey was a Quaker by early 1660, but it is not certain he was one in 1659. The governor of the garrison at Cardiff, Col Mark Grimes, was probably the same man as the Gloucestershire Quaker Col Mark Grimes.[2] With the regiment of James Berry we are on safer ground. During the reorganization of the Army in May, Berry nominated Edward Billing and Richard Ward as cornets in his regiment, Ward in Berry's own troop. They were approved by Parliament. His captain, Thomas Wells, was also a Quaker. Billing was well known, so his appointment would not have gone unnoticed - he and Ward had been purged from Berry's forces by Monck. Billing later reported that a divided Rump had concluded, after much debate, that he should have a command if he took the oath of abjuration, but it seems he refused to comply with the terms of the commission.[3] Others were less fortunate. The William Tomlinson who claimed he had been dismissed on ideological grounds and who tried unsuccessfully for readmission to the Army was probably William Tomlinson the Quaker.[4]

Finally, the Quakers stepped up their proselytizing activities in the Army during 1659, which may help to explain some of the rumours. Edward Burrough and Samuel Fisher went to Dunkirk in May, holding meetings of 'some hundreds of officers and souilders'. The two Quakers claimed they were a huge success: 'a greate love Raised in ye souilders towards us'; and they reported fears that 'ye hole armie should bee seduced to follow us'.[5] In Manchester, in September, Hubberthorne held great meetings in the town hall, attended by

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cf. A. Cole, 'The Peace Testimony in 1659', Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, xlvi (1954), 48-52.

1. F.H.L., Luke Howard MS. 8.

2. A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 113-4, 163; Lewis et al, For the King, pp. 5, 6; Journals of the House of Commons, vii.740; Journal of George Fox, i. 262, 446.

3. Journals of the House of Commons, vii. 669, 679; Sir J. Berry and S.G. Lee, A Cromwellian Major General (Oxford, 1938), pp. 170, 228; Clarke MS. 48, 16 Oct., 27 Oct. 1657; E.B[illing] to George Fox the younger [1661]:The Mount School, York, MS. Friends' Letters. The letter is printed in J.L. Nickalls, 'The Problem of Edward Byllynge' in H.H. Brinton (ed.), Children of Light (New York, 1938), pp. 112-15. (Nickalls assumed, erroneously, that the letter refers to Byllynge being offered a commission in the militia; see pp.118-9.)

4. Davies, Restoration, p. 107, Tomlinson (the Quaker) wrote several rather radical pamphlets. For him, see my entry in the forthcoming Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, eds R.L. Greaves and R. Zaller (2 vols, Harvester Press).

5. F.H.L., MS. Portfolio i. 107.

soldiers (officers had given him the keys to the hall).[1] Quaker ministers held meetings among the soldiers in Scotland despite rumours that Monck was about to move against them. But they had little success, except with 'some few officers who did decline from Monke'.[2]

Rebellion

The year witnessed steadily increasing hostility towards the Quakers, a hostility tinged with both fear and hatred. That the gentry and ministry should loathe the Quakers was to be expected. Quaker disrespect for social gradations was notorious, their doctrine was subversive, they were out to overthrow the ministry and disturb the peace. Popular hostility was a different matter - a mixture of xenophobia, class conflict, economic rivalry and the effects of propaganda.[3] Above all, it was hostility instilled through the pulpit. As early as April 1659 a Gloucestershire M.P. had complained: 'Many Quakers are made Justices. There is one in my county that could lead out three or four hundred with him at any time.'[4] This was the prevailing spirit throughout the year. The rapid increase in Quaker numbers, reaching several tens of thousands in the space of less than a decade, was astounding. Their relentless campaign against the State Church by harassment of ministers and opposition to tithes (prosecutions for both reached a peak in 1658[5]), and their persistent petitioning, gave the ministry a feeling that it was threatened, that it was under siege. As a New England opponent said of the sect, probably in 1658, 'There is more danger in this people to trouble and overcome England, then the King of Scots, and all the Popish Princes in Germany.'[6]

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1. Luke Howard MS. 8.
2. Swarthmore MS. iv. 268, 279.
3. For popular Hostility, see chapter 7 below.
4. Diary of Thomas Burton, ed. J. Towill Rutt (4 vols, London, 1828), iv. 337.
5. For disturbance of ministers, see p. 82 above. The numbers imprisoned or proceeded against by distraint for non-payment of tithes (based on my calculations from 'Great Book of Sufferings') are: 1656, 84; 1657, 116; 1658, 137; 1659, 119; 1660, 104.
6. F. Howgil, The Popish Inquisition (London, 1659), p. 68.

Though they felt isolated, ministers were not short of suggestions of how to deal with the Quaker menace. 'Magistrates should not bee as Jupiters log, which by lying still, and doing nothing, made the frogs bold with it', Ralph Farmer told the magistrates of Bristol.[1] If justices were generally ahead of governments in their severity towards Quakers, ministers, particularly Presbyterians, were ahead of the magistrates. A Lancashire minister went further than Farmer when he complained to a Quaker (in 1659) that the magistrates were 'Faulty in that they did not sheath their swords in the Bowells of such Blasphemers as you are'. Another, this time in Bath shortly before the Booth rising, wanted 'three or four Quakers hanged for an example'. If St Paul had been alive he would have stoned Quakers; 'it was Christian zeal to stone them'; 'if the Lawes were right, they would chop off all the Quakers heads'.[2]

The Cornish priest who said, sometime in 1659, that he would carry 'a Pistoll in his pockett, and a sword by his side to defend himselfe from ye Quakers', captured perfectly the phobia which formed the background to the Royalist-Presbyterian risings planned for 1659.[3] '...do not the same Priests now ... stir up the people against us they then called Round-heads, and now called Quakers?' asked the Quaker Humphrey Smith in a tract in 1658.[4] The Quakers had always claimed that the pulpit could 'Poyson a whole Nation, and leaven them with malice, against whom they please'; 1659 confirmed them in this belief.[5] They were, naturally, sensitive to the growing panic, and reported hostile sermons. John Hodder, a minister in Dorset, had said in 1658 that 'if his Lord Protector would raise an Army to cutt off all the Quakers, he would be the first man that would draw

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1. R. Farmer, The Impostor Dethron'd (London, 1658), p. 39.
2. 'Great Book of Sufferings', iii, p. 695; T.M[orford], Deceit and Enmity (London, 1659), p. 26 (this page number seems to be a printing error and should read p. 2); W. Stockdale et al, The Doctrines and Principles of the Priests of Scotland (London, 1659), pp. 18, 59, 72.
3. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 155.
4. Smith, Fruits of Unrighteousnes, p. 28.
5. J. C[ollens], A Word in Season (London, 1660), p. 7.

the sword'. In 1659 a Cornish minister, 'haveing chosen these words for his Text follow peace with all Men', explained to his congregation 'they were not to follow peace with sectaryes'.[1] Fox claimed that it was being preached that 'Quakers would kill', 'the Quakers would rise'.[2]

George Bishop, the Bristol Quaker, was said to have written 'it would never bee well' 'until Calamy, and some other of the Priests were dealt withal as Love was' - that is, executed.[3] Rumours abounded in the months before the Booth rebellion. A Sussex Quaker had called out to a priest 'We will have you all down, for now our day is come', another, 'he no more cared to kill one of the Priests, then he would to kill a Dog'. It was reported that a Sussex minister had been waylaid by a Quaker with a drawn sword; while in Kent a colleague testified that he heard Luke Howard, a leading Kentish Quaker, claim a revelation in July 'that the priests shall be destroyed, and by the people who are called Quakers.'[4]

In July Robert South was preparing the congregation at St Mary's, Oxford, for 'the worst that can happen. Should God in his judgment suffer England to be transformed into a Münster.'[5] William Prynne had expressed similar apprehensions two months earlier.[6] Quakers were alleged to have burnt houses in Oxford, probably about this time, and to have threatened to do the same in Middlesex.[7] Occasionally the undercurrent of uncertainty revealed itself in more concrete terms. The Devonshire town of Tiverton awakened at midnight on 14 July to the cry that Quakers, Fifth Monarchists and Anabaptists had combined 'not only to cut the Throats of the Godly in that Town, but the throats of all the Godly in the Nation that

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1. Smith, Fruits of Unrighteousnes, p. 28; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 153.
2. Fox, Several Papers, p. 43.
3. Farmer, Impostor Dethron'd, p. 115.
4. T. Danson, The Quakers Wisdom (London, 1659), 'a narrative', pp. 1-6; S. Fisher, Rusticus Ad Academicos (London, 1660), part i, pp. 32-4; R. Blome, The Fanatick History (London, 1660), pp. 119-21.
5. R. South, Interest Deposed (Oxford, 1660), p. 19. Cf. J. S[cotton], Johannes Becoldus Redivivus: or the English Quaker, the German Enthusiast Revived (London, 1659).
6. Prynne, True and perfect Narrative, p. 88.
7. F.H [owgil], One of Antichrist's Voluntiers Defeated (London, 1660), p. 30; MS. Rawlinson C179, pp. 30-1.

Night..'[1]

Past indiscretions and excesses of zeal were conjured back to blacken the sect and whip up anti-Quaker feeling. The Nayler case, Toldervy, John Gilpin, were all resurrected. People were reminded of Christopher Atkinson's 'frequent fornication' with another leading Quaker's maid. There were new charges of immorality, of buggery, allegations of witchcraft. Some Quakers, it was said, 'had killed their Mother, following the light within them'. The often bizarre behaviour of the sect added fuel to the fire. Solomon Eccles's interruption of Edmund Calamy in early July (Eccles climbed into the pulpit and began sewing) was publicised continuously. A Norwich man lay trouserless and trembling on a communion table, another burst into Aldermanbury church with arms and hands 'all besmeared with Excrements'. Some 'have had the face to justifie him, that he might as well come with such filth in his hands, as the Minister with a Bible..')[2]

Quakers were attacked during the months before August. A meeting in Vine St, London, was set upon by a mob in June and July. Other attacks occurred in parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Quakers clashed with the inhabitants of Brentford (then in Middlesex) though details are obscure.[3] It is often impossible to determine the exact motives for hostility. Episodes sometimes look more like robberies or sexual attacks, but occasionally they betrayed the underlying hatred others were to utilize: in Somerset, in July, a woman was set upon and forced to swear 'by the Lord's Blood' that she was not a Quaker.[4] Some episodes were comical. A meeting held

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1. Mercurius Politicus, 580 (21-28 July 1659), pp. 617-8.
2. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 285, 290; J. Blackley et al, A Lying Wonder Discovered (London, 1659), passim; The Loyall Scout (22-29 July 1659), p. 106; F.B. Tolles, 'A Quaker's Curse', Huntington Library Quarterly, xiv (1950-1), 415-21; The Weekly Intelligencer, 12 (19-26 July 1659), p. 96. Many of the stories were collected by Blome, Fanatick History (1660), pp. 109-121, but they had been circulating in 1659.
3. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, pp. 3-4, iii, pp. 694-5, i, p. 138; MS. Rawlinson C179, pp. 24, 30-1.
4. Somerset Record Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR 8/1 (Somerset Q.M. Sufferings), pt i, fos 31v, 37v; Dorset Record Office (hereafter D.R.O.), N10/A 15 (Dorset Q.M. Sufferings), p. 1; Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset, ed. E.H. Bates Harbin (Somerset Rec. Soc., xxviii, 1912), pp. 370-1.

somewhat provocatively in the churchyard in Staplehurst sometime in 1659 was broken up by an imaginative Kentish churchwarden who tossed a dead cat, fish and magpie into the crowd of Quakers and then let loose his hounds.[1] Others were more serious. In Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire, the scene of later trouble at the time of the Booth rising, a Quaker meeting was attacked in early July. The Quakers alleged that the mob had been encouraged by justices, that when they had approached Sir Thomas Hewet for protection he bid them 'go for remedy to them that gave them their Liberty'.[2] Similar claims were made in Liskeard in Cornwall. Here Quakers were set upon by a crowd stirred up by a minister - 'some of the Rabble were Men of Figure, and one a Magistrate of the Town'.[3]

The most impressive demonstration of the Quaker fear came with the series of attempted Royalist-Presbyterian risings at the end of July.[4] Much of the motivation behind them was fear of the Quakers and the more specific, clearly induced, rumours of impending sectarian risings and Quaker plots. Royalists were aware of the prevailing feeling. Indeed Mordaunt's correspondence betrays hints of the forthcoming defensive reaction. 'The Quakers appear in great bodies in several places, and it alarms us' he wrote to Hyde in June; and again to Charles: 'in few days we shall order it so as we hope we may be able to defend ourselves against the storm of Quakers and Anabaptists'.[5]

The only momentarily successful insurrection was that led by Sir George Booth in Cheshire and south Lancashire. Booth's 'Letter to a Friend', generally taken as reflecting his true aims, made it clear that one of the issues of the rising was the feeling that both religion and the gentry's traditional position were being threatened: 'by raising among us a Militia, they cut off our right Hand, by subjecting us under the meanest and most fanatick Spirits of the Nation'.[6] This was how others greeted the rising. 'They would

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1. 'Great Book of Sufferings', iii, p. 659.
2. R. Berd et al, To the Parliament (London, 1659), p. 2.
3. Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornawall 1655-1686, ed. N. Penney (London, 1928), pp. 23-4; Besse, Collection, i. 115-116.
4. Both Dr Morrill and Professor Underdown have drawn attention to the fear of Quakers at the time of the Booth rebellion, but neither have discussed the phenomenon in any detail: D. Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649-1660 (New Haven, 1960), pp. 255-7, 265, 273; Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 322-3.
5. Edward Earl of Clarendon, State Papers (3 vols, Oxford, 1767-1786), iii. 489-90.
6. Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 318-9; Letter from Sir George Booth.

perswade the poor ignorant people that their Gospel is lost, and their God lost, and all gone, if this Parliament be not broken', reported the Publick Intelligencer at the beginning of August. Henry Stubbe said (in October) that the main issue of Booth's rising 'was Toleration, or no Toleration, rather than Monarchy and the Stuartian interest'. The rebellion according to him had been against the sects. The Quaker Francis Howgil thought the same. The ministers had 'preached up the people into Rebellion upon pain of Damnation'; 'and all this quarrel they said, was against the Quakers'.[1]

Many ministers do seem to have played an important part in the rising. If they did not actually incite people on the eve of the rebellion, then at least they helped by whipping up the frenzied state of mind which made it possible. Mr Stockport in Manchester, for example, invited the 'people to arms upon the score of the Quakers being up.' In Cheadle, the day before the insurrection, the minister endeavoured

> to stirr up the pishoners there to betake themselves to Armes. As that they should stand upp and be valiant for the Defence of theire libertye for (sd hee) the Quakers were now upp, & the Neck of Religion lay uppon the block .....

Adam Martindale the Presbyterian minister claimed that much of Booth's support was enrolled 'under pretence of danger from the Quakers'. This happened in Manchester, Warrington, Cheadle and Chester; in Bolton and Bury ministers preached

> yt Religion was in dainger, and yt whatsoever was undertaken was onely agst Quakers and those who would destroy ye Ministry, and moving and exhorting ale men for to take up armes as for Gods own cause, and used that Text of Scripture Curse yee Merosh &c. 2

Outside Cheshire and Lancashire the projected risings were either dismal failures or non-starters. But fear of the Quakers was widespread. In Oxford, for example, at the end of July, noises on the roof and a bugle blast convinced the occupants of Carfax church that 'the day of judgment was at hand', that 'anabaptists and quakers were come to cut their throats'.[3] Devon and Somerset

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1. The Publick Intelligencer, 188 (1-8 Aug. 1659), p. 640; H. Stubbe, A Letter to An Officer (London, 1659), p. 10; F. Howgil, The Mouth of the Pit Stopped (London, 1659), pp. 15-16.

2. Morrill, Cheshire, pp. 313-5, 322-3; The Weekly Intelligencer, 16 (16-23 Aug. 1659), p. 123; The Autobiography of Henry Newcome (Chetham Soc., xxvi, 1852), i. 109; P.R.O., SP.23/243/168; The Life of Adam Martindale (Chetham Soc., iv, 1845), p. 137; MS. Clarendon 64, fo. 339v.

3. The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1891), i. 280-1.

experienced some alarm. Apart from the Tiverton episode, there were allegations that a Quaker had killed a minister; while newsbooks reported fears in July and early August that 'Anabaptists and Quakers were joyned together to cut the Throats of all the Ministers and Magistrates in those parts.'[1] In Cambridge anti-Quaker feeling was whipped up, probably intentionally for the incident in question had happened several years before, by allegations of witchcraft.[2] In Sawbridgeworth (Herts.) a mob attacked a Quaker meeting; Quakers were beaten and a house destroyed. The Quakers claimed connivance by certain justices, and warned Parliament:

> This last Tragedy was acted the immediate day before the intended insurrection, and the Actors expressed great confidence of the success thereof, saying, That there is no Parliament, and that King Charles would not allow such meetings. 3

A vague report in Mercurius Politicus seems to imply that Derbyshire and Leicestershire ministers had used fears of impending massacre at the hands of sectaries to mobilize support for the planned risings.[4] The Devon and Somerset rumours served the same function. In Wiltshire there were rumours that 'many Quakers' were 'up'.[5] Men were engaged in Hampshire and in Salop to 'go and fight against the Quakers'.[6] In Gloucestershire, too, a minister was recruiting men for the rising, persuading them that 'the Anobaptists and Quakers would pull downe the light of the gospell & the ministry if a course were not taken with them.'[7] When Nicholas Rookewood Esq. of Kirby in Norfolk was asked to account for his private armoury, he said it was

> to secure himselfe agaynst Quakers & Annibaptists who he

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1. Mercurius Politicus, 580 (21-28 July 1659), pp. 617-8, 584 (18-25 Aug. 1659), p. 681; The Publick Intelligencer, 187 (25 July - 1 Aug. 1659), p. 617, 190 (15-22 Aug. 1659), p. 668.
2. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p. 290, n. 75; Blackley, Lying Wonder, passim.
3. Berd, To the Parliament, pp. 2-4.
4. Mercurius Politicus, 58 [?] (24 Aug. - 1 Sept. 1659), p. 692.
5. B.L., Add. MS. 32324 (Correspondence of the Seymour Family), fo. 43.
6. MS. Clarendon 64, fos 153, 264, 266.
7. P.R.O., SP.23/263/36.

> feared would ryse to Cutt his throat, & if they did soe he was resolved to cutt theire throats First if he could. 1

Reaction

Rumours and accusations were still flying after the Booth debacle. Philip Henry, a minister in Worthenbury in Flintshire, noted that Lambert's forces who suppressed the rising espoused 'the Quakers' cause' and offered 'injury to some ministers'. Their victory was somehow symbolized by the trooper sitting hatted in Henry's church during the singing of psalms.[2]

Anti-Quaker propaganda was still rife. There was talk in September of a coven of Anabaptist and Quaker witches in Sherborne in Dorset.[3] Lord Saye and Sele recalled that Felton the murderer of the duke of Buckingham 'said, He had impulses of the spirit moving him to do so', and repeated a story that a Quaker in the North 'was met riding, with a cord about his middle, and asked whither he went, he answered, The spirit had sent him to hang such a Minister'.[4] It is said, wrote Richard Blome in November, 'there is some talk by some Quakers of dividing mens estates and having all things common'. Saye and Sele agreed: 'the truth is, under the shew and vizard of religion, you carry on a Levelling principle'.[5] There was the inevitable comparison between the Quakers and the Münster Anabaptists.[6] (Luke Howard in his answer to rumours that 'the Priests should be destroyed and that by the Quakers' ended up by confirming the very suspicions he had set out to allay. The 'decree of the Lord was gone out and sealed against the Priests'. 'And that I believe will certainly come to pass, as truly as ever your Fathers, the Bishops and Love your brothers, who lost their Heads on Tower hill for their wickedness'.)[7]

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1. MS. Clarendon 64, fos 190-190v.
2. Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, ed. M.H. Lee (London, 1882), p. 69.
3. [T. Smith], A Gagg for the Quakers (London, 1659), [p. 2].
4. [W. Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele], Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest ([Oxford], 1659), p. 7.
5. R. B[lome], Questions Propounded to George Whitehead (n.p., 1659), p. 7; Saye and Sele, Folly and Madnesse, pp. 2, 18-20.
6. T. Underhill, Hell broke loose (London, 1660), pp. 5-10. The tract is wrongly dated; it appeared in Nov. 1659: Howgil, Mouth of the Pit, p. 6.
7. L. Howard, The Devils Bow (London, 1659), pp. 5-6.

In London, at the beginning of October, a Quaker shop in Tower Street was set upon when it opened on a Sunday.[1] Ugly situations developed in Newark-on-Trent in November and again in December when Quakers were attacked by a mob armed with staffs, knives and what appears to have been the seventeenth-century version of a molotov cocktail. Again Quakers charged the J.Ps with complacency.[2]

Bordeaux, an ever astute political observer, realized as early as June that 'dread of the Sectaries' was a crucial factor in the increasing desire for the restoration of Charles Stuart.[3] By September the desire was stronger. This 'infinite liberty' and time of 'hideous errors', a time when some 'would have turned things up-side down', was how Edward Reynolds, the future Bishop of Norwich, described it on 5 November to the mayor and aldermen of London. 'Certainly since the reformation of Religion the Ministers of the Gospel have never been under more reproach and contempt', he told them again in December.[4] God was abandoning England. Popery was returning 'under the disguise of Sectaries', 'especially Quakers'. There was speculation of a 'second Deluge of Antichristianisme over the Protestant Churches'.[5]

Some called for unity (and coercion) to combat heresy and division. Independents joined Presbyterians in their 'utter dislike and abhorrence of a Universal Toleration'. The two had been moving closer in several areas to meet the threat of Quakers and other sectaries: in Cheshire, Newcastle and Somerset for instance.[6]

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1. H. Bache, The Voice of Thunder (London, 1659) p. 1.
2. Cain's Off-spring Demonstrated (London, 1659), passim.
3. Guizot, Richard Cromwell and the Restoration, i. 403.
4. E. Reynolds, The Brand Pluck'd out of the Fire (London, 1659), pp. 32, 36; E. Reynolds, The Misery of a Deserted People (London, 1659), p. 28; E. Reynolds et al, A Seasonable Exhortation (London, 1660), pp. 4, 6 (it had been intended to publish the tract in 1659).
5. J.S. The Jesuite Discovered (London, 1659), pp. 11-12; R. Baxter, A Key for Catholicks (London, 1659), pp. 328-30.
6. S. Clarke, Golden Apples, (London, 1659), pp. 38, 47, 62, 84, 87, 150-1; J. Browne, History of Congregationalism ... in Norfolk and Suffolk (London, 1877), p. 225; Morrill, Cheshire, p. 269; R. Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967), pp. 246-7; Underdown, Somerset, p. 188.

They met with Baptists in London in September and October 'for reconciliation and cooperation for ordinances against Quakers', resulting, it seems, in a declaration against universal toleration and in favour of tithes; the paper, presented to the Committee of Safety, also demanded that 'countenance be not given unto nor trust reposed in the hands of Quakers'.[1]

'The short of all is ..... the Nation is certainly destroyed', a pamphlet had claimed in August, 'and no person in the World, besides the King, is in a capacity to avert the impendent ruin'.[2] Many were beginning to agree. William Callow, a Manx Quaker, was told that the King 'would ridd the Land of Quakers'. 'Who ever heard of Ranters, Quakers, &c under the King?' someone asked Baxter.[3] In September William Prynne had been calling for the restoration of the monarchy; in November Alice Thornton was praying for it; and by the beginning of 1660, according to Lucy Hutchinson, the Presbyterians were preaching for it - 'and began openly to desire the king; not for good will to him, but only for destruction to all the fanatics.'[4]

The Quaker fear had yet another role to play. Monck's march south, like Booth's rising, was a move against sectarianism. Preservation of religion and the ministry was his 'grand motive', he claimed after his declaration for the Rump in October. In February of the following year he explained his support in Scotland: 'nothing was more dreadful to them, then a fear to be over-run with Phanatique Notions'. Monck's chaplain John Price

> told the General, that if things did continue in this State much longer, it would be found that the Quaker would be as great a Goad in the sides of our new Sects, as ever the Old Puritan was to the Church of England.[5]

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1. Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston, pp. 134-5; Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, iii. 429; Baxter's Letters, iii, fo. 185, v, fos 48, 136; R. Hubberthorne and [E. Burrough], An Answer to a Declaration (London, 1659), pp. 20-22.

2. The Interest of England stated (n.p., 1659), p. 15. Cf. An Apologie for the Royal Party (n.p., 1659) passim; Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs ... Venice (London, 1931), xxxii (1659-1661), 91.

3. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 516; W. Kennett, A Register and Chronicle (London, 1728), p. 92.

4. W. Prynne, A Brief Necessary Vindication (2nd edn, London, 1659), frontispiece; The Autobiography of Mrs Alice Thornton (Surtees Soc., lxii, 1875), p. 100; L. Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (London, 1968 edn), p. 317.

5. Clark MS. 32, fo. 41; Several Letters from the Lord General Monck (n.p., 1660), p. 37; Price, Mystery and Method, p. 31.

An old enemy to Quakerism, Monck became fully identified with the anti-sectarian cause. He purged his army of sectaries, and it became the only hope against a sectarian dominated English army and the 'Anabaptists' ... design to set up themselves alone'. Lambert's forces were said to contain Quakers who 'bargained for, and sold Horses, to be paid when such or such a Steeple-House .... was pulled down.'[1] Monck entered London as a saviour of religion.[2] His remodelled army quickly established itself as the scourge of the Quakers, 'beinge as they said bound in an oath to Leive never a sectarian in England'.[3]

The General's task had been made easier by Fairfax's action in York at the end of December.[4] Here too the rising was of a conservative Presbyterian nature. The Royalist Sir Philip Monckton claimed that a Quaker fear, not unlike that during the Booth rebellion, eventually persuaded many wavering gentry to support Fairfax; and his claims seem to have had some basis. There were rumours of Quakers arming and combining to support Lambert in a bid for liberty of conscience, talk of a Quaker rendezvous at Lilburne's house near York. Again military action assumed a defensive guise. The gentry had risen, it was reported, to prevent an unholy alliance between Lambert and the Quakers.[5]

An earlier coup in Ireland also reflected the ascendancy of Presbyterian interests. On 13 December Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Charles Coote, Lord Broghill and others seized power, professedly

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1. Davies, Restoration, pp. 162-4; Information from some Souldiers (Edinburgh, 1659), printed in G. Davies, The Early History of the Coldstream Guards (Oxford, 1924), pp. 135-6; Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, ed. F.J. Routledge (Oxford, 1932), iv. 516; Price, Mystery and Method, p. 32.

2. Cf. G. Willington, The Thrice Welcome and Happy Inauguration (London, 1660), pp. 4-5; and Iter Boreale (London, 1660), p. 5: 'He took Rebellion rampant, by the Throat, And made the Canting Quaker change his Note'. (A MS. note in the Bodleian Library's copy of the tract (Wood 465 (5)) attributes it to Robert Wilde.)

3. Swarthmore MS. v. 93.

4. For Fairfax's rising, see A.H. Woolrych, 'Yorkshire and the Restoration', Yorks. Archaeol. Journal, xxxix (1956-8), 483-507.

5. The Monckton Papers, ed. E. Peacock (Misc. Philob. Soc. xv, 1884), pp. 26, 27, 29, 86; Historical Manuscripts Commission: Fifth Report (London, 1876), pp. 193-4; An Extract of a Letter from York (London, 1659).

on behalf of the Rump. Their declaration betrayed their real concerns. The coup was aimed at Baptists and Quakers - 'unclean Spirits' - in an attempt to arrest what the gentry saw as the rapid slide into 'Munster Desolations', a repetition of the 'German Tragedy'. Regiments were purged. The newly formed forces, it was said, boasted that their principal battle was with the Quakers.[1]

Throughout January and February 1660 the gentry and ministers agitated for readmission of the secluded members to the rerestored Rump. What some expected of their parliament was obvious from their tracts pressing for its recall: suppression of the sects.[2] When the secluded members took their places in Parliament on 21 February the Restoration was inevitable. Reaction was firmly entrenched by the time Charles crossed the Channel to England. History was already being rewritten. Quakers, Baptists, the Rump, the Army, were already mixed under the soubriquet 'fanatic'. The Quakers were firmly identified with the radicalism and excesses of 1659.[3]

Rumours and fears of Quakers in arms did not vanish; indeed they became part of the political make-up of the early sixties. It was alleged at the end of February that the commander of the garrison at Shrewsbury had planned, with the help of Quakers and Baptists, to seize the castle against Parliament.[4] Feelings that sectaries, discontented Rumpers and the Army would combine against the

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1. Davies, Restoration, pp. 248ff; A Sober Vindication (London, 1660), printed in Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ii. 473-6; Mercurius Politicus, 603 (12-19 Jan. 1659/60), pp. [1030-31]; G. Pressick, A breife Relation [Dublin, 1660], passim; The Declaration of the Army in Ireland (London, 1659), p. 1; Swarthmore MS. i. 318.

2. Eg. The Humble Address, and hearty Desires of the Gentlemen ... of Northampton (London, 1660); The Humble desires of the Knights, Gentlemen ... of Leicester (London, 1659); Calendar of State Papers, 1659-60, p. 340. However, petitions from Gloucester, Cornwall, Berks, Norfolk, Bucks, Kent, Warwick and Oxford did not mention the sects (though some talked in terms of divisions in the Church and the dangers that religion had faced). For the petitions, see B.L., 669 f 23.

3. Cf. A Curtain-Conference [London, 1660]; To the Supreme Authority ... An Humble Petition on the behalf of many Thousands of Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy men, Anabaptists, &c. (London, 1660); To the Right Honourable ... Parliament (London, 1660); A Declaration of Old Nick [London, 1660]; Democritus Turned Statesman (London, 1659); Fanatique Queries (London, 1660); The Acts and Monuments of the Late Rump (London, 1660).

4. A Letter from Shrewsbury (London, 1660).

secluded members (and the Convention Parliament after them) culminated in April with Lambert's escape. Samuel Pepys captured the seriousness of the situation: 'it is now clear that either the Fanatiques must now be undone, or the Gentry and citizens throughout England and clergy must fall'. Lambert was thought to have the support of Baptists and Quakers as well as that of disbanded soldiers. It was even said that Quakers were selling estates to raise money for the cause.[1] In the end, however, he alienated many radicals - certainly the Quakers - by declaring for Richard Cromwell, and his disorganized followers were easily routed.[2] 'Nobility and Gentry' had triumphed over the 'Phanatick Brethren'.

The gentry, meanwhile, were on the offensive. The secluded members put power firmly into their hands in March with the Militia Act. (In Cheshire nearly all those named as commissioners had been Booth supporters.[3]) Sectaries could expect little sympathy from them or from a parliament which was busily dividing the nation into Presbyterian classes. Local solutions had already been arrived at before the King landed.

In York, from January onwards, Quaker meetings were broken up by order of the mayor and aldermen, the meeting-house doors nailed up. The authorities pursued a policy of harassment during the following months. Troops were posted to prevent the Quakers gathering, and watches in April and early May - a method used in Norwich too[4] - attempted to stop Quakers entering the city.[5] Elsewhere the pattern was probably much

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1. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, eds R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 1970), i. 111; Mercurius Civicus, 2 (17-24 April 1660), pp. 13-16; MS. Clarendon 71, fos 234, 272, 343.
2. For the attitude of the Quakers towards Lambert, see MS. Portfolio i. 54; Historical Soc. of Pennsylvania, Etting MS. iv. 2 (Letter concerning John Lambert, 1660).
3. Morrill, Cheshire, p. 326.
4. Norfolk Record Office, 'Norwich Mayors' Court Book 1654-1666', fo. 116v.
5. Friends' Meeting House, Clifford St, York, MS. 36 (York Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1651-1695), pt ii, pp. 2-3.

the same. They seem to have been purged from the Navy.[1] Quaker meetings were broken up in Wales and London.[2] The Irish Council talked at the end of February of banishing all sectaries; Quakers reported that in Ireland during the early months of 1660 their meetings were smashed, that in some towns Quakers were banned altogether.[3] There were mob attacks - in Bristol, in Glastonbury (Somerset), in Plymouth. May witnessed many violent attacks on Quakers, often resulting in injury: in Cambridge, Devon, Dorset and in Essex on 16 May when a mob combined with some sailors to attack Quakers in Harwich amidst cries of 'the King is now coming, who will hang or banish you all'.[4]

And so the King came back at the end of May on the crest of a wave of reaction against the 'immense and boundless liberty' of 1659. His restoration became rapidly enshrined as an act of divine intervention. Religion had been rescued from subversion at the hands of the sects by a 'wonderful whirlwind', Baxter reminded the mayor, aldermen and companies of London in a thanksgiving sermon.[5] The Protestant religion, wrote George Willington of Bristol, 'hath been in great danger of being rooted out by Anabaptists, Quakers, and Atheists.'[6] A learned ministry had been 'reproached, ready to be sacrificed, brought to the brow of the precipice', there had been fears of the

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1. See Bodleian Lib., MS. Carte 73, fos 402-4.

2. For Wales: 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Wales, p. 18; Besse, Collection, i. 742; Swarthmore MS. iv. 252; National Library of Wales, MS. 11440 D, fo. 43 (I owe this reference to Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales, p. 114); Lewis et al, For the King, p. 5. For London: Diary of Samuel Pepys, i. 44; Swarthmore MSS. v. 93, iv. 261; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, p. 4; Mercurius Politicus, 612 (15-22 March 1659/60), p. 1183; T. Salthouse et al, To both the Houses of Parliament (n.p., 1660).

3. T.C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (Oxford, 1975), p. 133; Besse, Collection, ii. 464; Swarthmore MS. iv. 238; Society of Friends Hist. Lib., Dublin, MS. B 20 (Leinster Quarterly Meeting Sufferings), pp. 2-5.

4. Swarthmore MSS iv. 134, i. 169; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt 1, fo. 37v; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 106-7, 345-6; Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p. 290; D.R.O., N10/A15, pp. 1, 2; G. Fox the younger, A True Relation (London, 1660), p. 3.

5. Reynolds et al, Seasonable Exhortation, pp. 3-12; Baxter, Right Rejoycing, pp. 45-47.

6. Willington, Thrice Welcome and Happy Inauguration, p. 6.

return of Popery, but Charles, defender of the faith, had returned to quell fears. 'Have not Coblers, Draymen, Mechanics Governed, as well as preached?' Robert South, future chaplain to the earl of Clarendon, asked his presumably sympathetic audience at Lincoln's Inn. 'Nay have not they by Preaching come to Govern? Was ever that of Solomon more verified, that Servants have Rid, while Princes, and Nobles have gone on Foot?'[1] But now, cried William Brownsword, the Presbyterian vicar of Kendal, in a sermon welcoming his king, 'God is blasting our Phanatick enemies; and we are in a way to Religious as well as Civil settlement'.[2]

The events of 1659 may be compared with the fear of Catholic plots in England in the early 1640s or the Great Fear in France over a century later.[3] It was Grande Peur and fear of Catholics in reverse, however. The generalized suspicion and terror encouraged by pulpit and print stimulated reaction - not revolution. As Georges Lefebvre found of the rural panic of 1789, myth swamped reality. What became important was not what was happening but what people thought was happening. Yet (to draw on the French parallel again) fear, in turn, shaped events. 1659's legacy to the nation was Charles Stuart and the paranoia of the early Restoration period. For the Quakers the year yielded disaster. As Alexander Parker wrote to George Fox in August 1660:

> better had it been if all had been kept still & Quiet in those times, for because of ye forwardnesse, and want of wisedome in some is one great cause of our prsent sufferings 4

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1. E. Reynolds, The Author and Subject of Healing (London, 1660), p. 27; J.G [askin], A Just Defence (London, 1660), introductory epistle; R. South, Ecclesiasticall Policy (Oxford, 1660), p.23.
2. W. Brownsword, England's Grounds of Joy, quoted in F. Nicholson and E. Axon, The Older Nonconformity in Kendal (Kendal, 1915), p. 70.
3. See R. Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', Past and Present, lii (1971), 23-55; B. Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London, 1976), ch. 2; G. Lefebvre, The Great Fear of 1789 (New York, 1973 edn), passim.
4. Swarthmore MS. iii. 145.

PART III

THE RESTORATION

CHAPTER SIX
THE AUTHORITIES AND QUAKERISM 1660-1664

The Restoration was a victory for the governing classes, a victory for social stability and discipline. Dissent, the gentry argued, led to republicanism and social disintegration: Anglicanism and the monarchy meant order. Yet despite the ease with which Charles II returned in 1660, and the relative lack of bloodshed which accompanied his restoration, it was by no means certain that the settlement would be anything more than transitory. God in his infinite and impenetrable wisdom had effected this remarkable (and for the radicals, perplexing) act of providence, but he could equally easily 'turn things about again' as indeed he had during the turbulence of the preceding decades. There were, the monarch's supporters calculated, over a million opponents of the crown, many of whom were dissenters, and all of whom were panting for the republic.[1] Periodic conspiracies tended to confirm them in this view. So one of the features of the early years of the Restoration was a reaction against nonconformity; and one of the prominent features of this reaction was a move against the Quakers, the most radical of the surviving Interregnum sects.

But we know surprisingly little of this aspect of Restoration government. Even W.C. Braithwaite, the greatest of the Quaker historians, has tended to see the move against Quakers during the early years of the Restoration as a monstrous mistake.[2] The wholesale detentions after Venner's revolt were an aberration, a terrible error. Such historians, following the propaganda of seventeenth-century co-religionists, have viewed the whole affair as quite simply the persecution of 'a harmless and innocent people' But this does not tell us much. David Ogg (a non-Quaker) was no

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1. See p. 175 below.

2. As Braithwaite put it: 'The fears and prejudices of headstrong Cavaliers easily turned every strange Quaker practice into a piece of disaffection, and every Quaker scruple into an act of sedition.' (W.C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1961), pp. 8-9.)

more informative with his explanation of the repressive legislation of the opening years of Charles II's reign: 'unfortunately, from the truth that the Fifth Monarchy men were extremists was deduced the unwarrantable opinion that all Dissenters were politically dangerous.'[1] No-one, as far as I know, has either examined the way in which the authorities dealt with the Quaker problem during the early 1660s or accounted for official hostility towards the sect. I attempt both in this chapter.

Almost as soon as Charles II landed in England it became clear that the Quakers were going to suffer more than other non-conformists. They were prosecuted under the provisions of a miscellany of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century statutes, including those against recusants. The Church courts moved against them (though usually with little effect). And unlike any other sect they had an act of their own, the Quaker Act of 1662, legislation that foreshadowed the Conventicle Act of 1664.[2] Yet there was great regional variation. Much depended upon the interaction between the centre and the lord lieutenant, upon the attitude of his deputies, the zeal of assize judges and of justices, and the temperament of the local constable or churchwarden.

Obviously the events of 1659 - to come to the second part of the problem - had much to do with the hostility towards the Quakers. If as I have argued in the preceding chapter the Restoration was partly due to a revulsion against the sect, one would expect the authorities to take a hard line. Friends could have expected no toleration, whatever the promises in the Declaration of Breda, whatever the religious settlement of the Restoration. In this sense, the persecution of the early sixties was but a logical conclusion to the fears of 1659. There were other causes for alarm, however. The sect's behaviour in the early years of the Restoration, what was seen as its obstinacy, did little to dispel the gentry's doubts. Neither were matters helped by the fact

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1. D. Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (2nd edn, Oxford, 1972), p. 208.

2. Even under the Conventicle Act which applied to all non-conformists, the Quakers seem to have suffered disproportionately. In Middlesex from 24 July 1664 to 31 Dec. 1665 there were 909 convictions under the Act, 94.5 per cent of which were for attending Quaker meetings. (Braithwaite, op. cit., pp. 41-2.)

that a few Quakers - and it only needed to be a few - were involved in plots, even if the culprits were often on the edge of the movement. The radical connections of others, their rejection of a deferential society, the slow and as I shall suggest not unanimous acceptance of the famous peace testimony, reinforced fear and hostility. Despite the protestations of Quaker leaders, it took a long time for the sect to live down its radical origins and reputation - to become what Professor Cole has called the monks of the bourgeois world.

The authorities and the Quakers

(i) A chronological framework

When the King returned to England in 1660 many looked to him for immediate action against the sect. Quakers themselves reported rumours that Charles was about to banish 'or hang us all'. In Gloucestershire as early as 10 June people were impatient 'that wee are not already suppresed'.[1] 'They are grown so exceeding high and daring', Richard Blome, publisher and dabbler in heraldry, warned the King in July (though he was referring to Baptists as well as Quakers), 'that if your Majesty put not out your royal hand of power suddenly to restrain them, they are so numerous, and so seducing, that they will (in a little time) diffuse their poyson over the better part of your Kingdom'.[2] Despite these expectations there is little evidence of central direction during 1660. Action was taken on an ad hoc basis. The House of Lords might issue specific instructions for the suppression of Quaker meetings, the Commons order the apprehension of troublesome Quaker leaders, the Privy Council mull over what was to be done about the movement, but generally the responsibility was left with the local authorities.[3] As Dr Thirsk has suggested, the

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1. Somerset Rec. Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR 8/1 (Somerset Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1656-1672), pt ii, fo. 2; G. Fox the younger, A Noble Salutation (London, 1660), p. 13; Friends' House Library, London (hereafter F.H.L.), Swarthmore MS. i. 321.

2. R. Blome, The Fanatick History (London, 1660), sig. A2v.

3. Journals of the House of Lords, xi. 127,128,153,154; J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), i. 195; Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), PC 2/55 (Privy Council Register) p. 44.

provinces rather than the centre took the initiative in restoring what they saw as the good society.[1]

The authorities in most counties moved against Quakers, perhaps sometimes illegally.[2] Dorset justices organized raids upon meetings in Hawkchurch, Sherborne, Cerne Abbas, Blandford, Weymouth and Poole. In Berkshire at the end of May the militia broke up the Kingston Lisle meeting with some violence. (When asked for their warrant 'one of them held his sword at the freind that asked and said that was his warrant'.) Several Quakers were wounded in the same month when the ill-fated Cambridge meeting was attacked by soldiers. The governor of Portsmouth, Lt Col Legg, sent his troops to deal with the sect; individuals were detained, meetings harassed, recalcitrants from outside Portsmouth thrown out of town. In separate incidents in Gloucestershire militiamen threatened to hang (to the extent of putting the rope around the victim's neck) and shoot Quakers while searching their houses for arms.[3]

Though the degree of zeal undoubtedly varied, a familiar pattern emerges. Meetings were dispersed, presumably as endangering the civil peace, Quakers were tendered the oath of allegiance and invariably imprisoned for refusal. Use of the oath was not simply a way of getting at Quakers; it was after all a test of loyalty to the new regime and quite often a Quaker picked up and tendered the oath was proceeded against not merely as a Quaker but (like John Gawler from Glamorgan) as 'a Notorious Malefactor'.[4] Yet the oath was an effective way of detaining troublemakers, indefinitely if praemunire was invoked. By October two Oxford Quakers had been praemunired; by the end of the year sect members in Wales, Cheshire, Durham, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire and

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1. J. Thirsk, The Restoration (London, 1976), pp. 39-40.
2. Cf. J.R. Western, The English Militia (London, 1965), p. 11.
3. Besse, Collection, i. 167-8; F.H.L., MS. Great Book of Sufferings, i, pp. 19, 424; F.H.L., MS. Portfolio i. 48; Hampshire Rec. Office, 24M 54/14 (Hampshire General Meeting Sufferings), fos 6v ff.
4. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Wales, p. 6.

Dorset had been imprisoned for refusing to swear allegiance.[1] Arrests were frequently selective. In Sussex Sir Humphrey Bennet secured 'the head and cheife' of 'anabaptists and quakers'. George Fox the younger and Robert Grassingham, a Quaker shipwright, were arrested in Essex, joining other potential troublemakers (prominent army officers and Fifth Monarchists) under the custody of the Serjeant-at-arms. The Cheshire authorities seized Alexander Parker (another Quaker leader), and George Fox was detained in Lancaster from June until October as 'an Enemy to our sovereign Lord the King and a chief upholder of the Quakers sect'.[2]

However the real nemesis came in January 1661 with the abortive Fifth Monarchist rising, when fifty millenarian militants rose in London, marched on St Paul's, and were eventually defeated after skirmishes with the Life Guards. A proclamation against sectaries had in fact been prepared by the government on 2 January - four days before the rising - so it is possible that the overreaction which followed was to some extent due to the centre's own anticipation of opposition to its proclamation.[3] Nor was the rising without political advantage for those in power.[4] But above all, the reaction of January and February showed how the provincial gentry would act if given their head.

I know of no evidence of Quaker involvement in the plot, no corroboration of Ephraim Pagitt's claim that Quakers were the only sect the Fifth Monarchists allowed 'the honor of partaking with them in this their great and glorious designe'. A Cheshire Quaker was approached, possibly by an agent provocateur, but he promptly

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1. T. Goodaire, A True Relation (London, 1660), passim; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Wales, pp. 6, 16; Swarthmore MSS i. 172, iii. 146; Besse, Collection, i. 102, 167-8, 173-4, ii. 61; The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, ed. Sir G. Isham (Northants. Rec. Soc., xvii, 1951), p.136.
2. P.R.O., SP.29/19/18; Journals of House of Commons, viii. 39, 168; Besse, Collection, i. 195; Cheshire Rec. Office (hereafter C.R.O.), QJB/11a (Quarter Sessions Indictments and Presentments 1660-9), fo. 8v; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 560.
3. P.R.O., PC 2/55, p. 85.
4. For the political effects, see W.C. Abbott, 'English Conspiracy and Dissent', American Historical Review, xiv (1909), 504; Mercurius Publicus, 2 (10-17 Jan. 1660/1), p. 18, 6 (7-14 Feb. 1660/1), pp. 81-2.

informed the authorities.[1] The fear was real enough though. Quakers were expected to act and suspected of complicity; arrests were preventative. The execution of two of the rebels outside the main Quaker meeting house in London, the Bull and Mouth at Aldersgate, was no mere coincidence.[2] For this sect at least, the chickens of 1659 had come home to roost. Indeed the sheer scale of Quaker arrests persuaded some that the whole affair had, after all, been Quaker inspired. In February William Ames reported from the Continent rumours that the Quakers had risen against the King.[3] At the local level, a Dorsetshire churchwarden referred to the event quite simply as 'the Riseinge of the Quakers att Camell hill'.[4]

Throughout January and February male Quakers were secured as suspected persons. In Essex, for example, Hadstock meeting was raided on the 13 January, Thaxted, Colchester and East Ham on the 20th, Steeple and Thaxted (again) on the 27th. Armed men took Kentish Quakers out of their beds and meetings. Nearly one hundred were arrested in one month: in Dover, Lydd, Cranbrook, Canterbury, Wingham, Rochester, Staplehurst, Sutton, Deptford, Gravesend, Tenterden, Folkestone and Deal. About two hundred Somerset Quakers were detained, half of them within two weeks; nearly the same number in Bristol in a matter of days; over five hundred in Yorkshire and five hundred in London.[5] In every county it was the same. Men were taken out of meetings, out of their homes, from their places of work, from off the streets, until by March nearly five thousand Quakers had been imprisoned.[6] But

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1. E. Pagitt, Heresiography (6th edn, London, 1662), p. 288; Mercurius Publicus, 4 (24-31 Jan. 1660/1), pp. 62-3.
2. Mercurius Publicus, 2 (10-17 Jan. 1660/1), p. 31, 3 (17-24 Jan. 1660/1), p. 48.
3. Swarthmore MS. iv. 195. By the end of the seventeenth century German pamphlets were referring to the rebel leader Thomas Venner as head of the Quakers and describing the rising as a Quaker rebellion: Historia Fanaticorum (Frankfurt, 1701), illustrations between pp. 70-1.
4. Dorset Rec. Office, P155/CW 130 (Sherborne Churchwardens' accounts, 1661). (I owe this reference to the Senior Assistant Archivist.)
5. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 82, 415-6, 542-3, ii, Yorks, p. 34; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt ii, fos 2-6; Swarthmore MS. i. 324; R. Wastfield et al, For the King (n.p., [1661]).
6. For the numbers imprisoned, see appendix B below. For the actions of the authorities in select counties: (Yorks) Humberside Rec. Office (hereafter H.R.O.), DD QR/10 (Elloughton Monthly Meeting

the panic subsided and most were released during that month in response to orders from the King. Ringleaders, however, remained in prison.[1]

The gentry had shown no unwillingness to act. 'If ... the King would authorize me to do it', an Oxfordshire deputy lieutenant told Thomas Ellwood, 'I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, Except you. I would make no more ... to set my Pistol to their Ears, and shoot them through the Head, than I would to kill a Dog.'[2] There was also the danger that some might take matters into their own hands. When Edward Billing was mobbed after he had attempted to disrupt the consecration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a 'greate one formerly called a Cavaleere sayd trouble not a Magistrate with him dash out his braines. Marke they are like dogs in time of plague they are to be killed as they go up and downe ye streetes yt they do not infect'.[3]

In May the Cavalier Parliament met. Elected during the turmoil of the Venner revolt its members included, as Dr Green has pointed out, many county office-holders who had played an active role in the reaction of those months.[4] Smarting after Charles's coronation release of Quaker prisoners, the House, on 16 May, appointed a committee to prepare a bill 'to prevent the ill Consequences in Government, by the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other Schismaticks, refusing to take Oaths, and numerously

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Sufferings 1655-1775), p. 27; H.R.O., DD QR/16 (Kelk Monthly Meeting Sufferings), no pagination, Jan. 1660/1; H.R.O., DD QR/25 (Ostwick Monthly Meeting Sufferings), p. 1; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Yorks, pp. 26-31, 33-4; (Berks) Berkshire Rec. Office, D/F 2A1/1 (Berkshire Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-1680), pp. 7-8; (Gloucests) 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 424-6; Swarthmore MS. i. 324.

1. P.R.O., PC 2/55, pp. 108, 113, 152; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt ii, fo. 7v.

2. The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood (London, 1714), p.101.

3. MS. Portfolio i. 20.

4. I.M. Green, 'The Process of the Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1973), ch. 9, esp. pp. 409-10, 418-19 (now chapter 9 of his The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978)). The Quakers were fully aware of the links between experience and zeal at the local and central levels. Viscount Fanshawe, a J.P. active against the sect in Hertfordshire, was said to have been one of the moving forces behind the framing of the Conventicle Act: V.A. Rowe, The First Hertford Quakers (Hertford, 1970), p. 16.

and unlawfully convening together'. By July the future Quaker Act was with the Lords. Both houses were agreed on the need to suppress Quakerism but differed over some of the bill's provisions. The Commons preferred wide application of the Act so that other sectaries could be netted. The Lords, however, attempted to alter the limit on the size of meetings from five to ten persons and to restrict the Act to the Quakers. Finally after some to-ing and fro-ing it was passed, receiving the King's assent on 2 May 1662.[1] Under the Act a Quaker was defined as anyone who refused to take an oath or who claimed the illegality of oaths. In theory any such persons who assembled in numbers of five or more, provided they were over sixteen years of age, were liable to penalties of £5 or three months imprisonment if it was a first offence, £10 or six months for the second offence, and transportation or abjuration of the realm for the third.[2] In practice, it was used almost always exclusively against those 'comonly called Quakers' though it seems that some Baptists were also detained.[3]

From August to November the situation became complicated by a period of political tension which culminated in the Tong conspiracy. Quakers and Baptists were detained during a wave of arrests in the London area. About 250 of the former were in prison by October. The situation was tense. Two Quaker women, one with her face blackened and her hair and sackcloth robes streaked with blood, made a dramatic entrance into St Paul's and poured blood over the altar. A Quaker was beaten to death - his bruised and blackened body put on display by the sect. There were rumours that Quakers had attempted to blow up Southwark prison. After a scuffle in the courtroom at Kingston upon Thames it was said that Quakers had 'fought and opposed the souldiers'. Ellwood recalled

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1. Journals of House of Commons, viii, 252, 273, 285, 299, 303, 305, 353, 355, 376, 417; Journals of House of Lords, xi. 316, 338, 340, 353, 372, 388, 389, 390, 395, 397, 431, 443; MS. Portfolio i. 21; W. Kennett, A Register and Chronicle (London, 1728), p.641.
2. 14 Car. II c.1: 'Act for preventing the Mischiefs and Dangers that may arise by certain Persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawful Oaths'.
3. For the Baptists (in Reading), see Bodleian Library, Clarendon MS. 81, fos 182-3.

wild talk of a massacre of Quakers; Ellis Hookes wrote of rumours that all those detained were about to be banished.[1]

Another peak in anti-Quaker activity came in 1663 with the aftermath of the Northern Plot. After the initial panic of October, Westmorland justices harassed Quaker meetings, securing the 'most active' and proceeding against others at the Hilary quarter sessions. Lancashire justices followed suit: at the January (1663/4) sesssions one Quaker was praemunired, others imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance, and sixty fined for meeting. During the same month Daniel Fleming was gleefully predicting the disintegration of Quaker meetings in the north-west. The mood lingered into March when Judges Turner and Twisden on the northern circuit finally decided to make examples (by praemunire) of the Quaker leaders George Fox, Margaret Fell and Francis Howgil.[2]

(ii) Acts

It is difficult to trace the impact of the Quaker Act. In the City scores of people were picked up in May and June (1662) under its provisions and fined at the August sessions.[3] Sir Robert Hyde and Sir Thomas Tyrell used it on the Oxford circuit from July onwards (against Quakers from Oxfordshire, Staffordshire and Worcester), as did judges in the Palatine of Chester.[4] A Quaker tract published in October claimed that since its inception hundreds of Quakers had been incarcerated, though it also claimed that the Act had had little effect either in East Anglia or the

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1. The scare was mainly confined to London, though the Quakers reported a state of alarm in Cornwall. A Monthly Intelligence (n.p., 1662), passim; A Brief Relation (London, 1662), passim; Diary of Samuel Pepys, eds R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 1970), iii. 165, 236, 245; Life of Thomas Ellwood, pp. 137 ff; Swarthmore MSS. i. 44, iii. 182; F.H.L., Charles Lloyd MS., p. 21.

2. P.R.O., SP.29/85/85, 90/100, 92/12, 95/2; Kendal Record Office (hereafter K.R.O.), 'Appleby Indictment Book 1661-85', Hilary 1663; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Westmorland, pp. 2-3; F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 92; P.R.O., PL 26/19/5,6 (Palatine of Lancaster Assize Indictments 1660-4), gaol calendars.

3. Corporation of London Rec. Office, Guildhall, London (hereafter C.L.R.O.), 'Sessions Minute Book', 3, Aug. 1662; C.L.R.O., Sessions File, June 1662.

4. P.R.O., Assi. 2/1 (Assizes, Oxford Circuit Gaol Book 1656-1678), fos 78, 80, 81v, 99v; P.R.O., Chester 24/133/2, 134/1,3,4 (Cheshire Assize Rolls).

West Country.[1] We know from the quarter sessions records that it was employed against Quakers in the courts in Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Wiltshire and Somerset - less frequently in Middlesex, Norwich, Essex, Kent, Sussex and Hertfordshire.[2]

But it was not the only act enforced against the sect. We have already touched upon the oath of allegiance, and its use persisted long after the Quaker and Conventicle Acts were passed. Under statutes 3 Jac. 1 c.4 (intended originally, as its name suggests, 'for the better discovery and repressing of Popish Recusants') and 7 Jac. 1 c.6 the oath of allegiance could be tendered to any commoner over the age of eighteen, and upon second refusal the penalty of praemunire could be invoked, the offender thus detained at the King's pleasure, his goods and lands forfeit to the crown.[3] It was, I have said, an effective way of detaining troublemakers, clearly envisaged as a deterrent to others. Both court and Quaker records suggest its utilization in London, Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Sussex, Yorkshire, Wales, Warwickshire, Devon, Durham, Berkshire and Cumberland. Indeed it

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1. Brief Relation, pp. 13, 19.

2. C.R.O., QJB/10a (Quarter Sessions Indictments and Presentments 1654-1662), July 1662; C.R.O., QJF 90/4/3,96, 91/1/110, 91/3/15,22,23,33 (Quarter Sessions Files 1662-3); Lancs. Rec. Office (hereafter L.R.O.), QSP (Quarter Sessions Petitions) 253/2; K.R.O., 'Kendal Indictment Book 1655-68', 16 Jan. 14 Chas II, 9 Oct., 15 Jan. 15 Chas II, 2 April 16 Chas II; K.R.O., 'Appleby Indictment Book 1661-85', Mich. 1662, Hilary 1663, Easter 1664; Wilts. Rec. Office (hereafter W.R.O.), Quarter Sessions Great Rolls, Trinity 1662/101, Michas 1662/182, Hilary 1662/196, Trinity 1663/141, Easter 1664/156; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt ii, fos 12-19v; Middlesex County Records, ed. J.C. Jeaffreson (Middlesex County Rec. Soc., 1888), iii. 322; Greater London Record Office, MJ/SBB/197 (Middlesex Sessions Book, May 1662), pp. 29, 30, 33; MJ/SBB/199 (Middlesex Sessions Book, July 1662), p. 31; MJ/GBR/6 (Middlesex Gaol Delivery Registers 1656-1672), fos 146v, 148v-149v, 151v; Norfolk Rec. Office (hereafter N.R.O.), 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Indict. Files 1654-64', Vol 74/36; N.R.O., 'Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1654-70', March 1663/4; Essex Rec. Office (hereafter E.R.O.), Q/SR 394/126, 128; Kent Archives Office (hereafter K.A.O.), Q/SNC (Quarter Sessions Calendars 1626-1674), August 1663; K.A.O., Q/SB 9/7-11 (Quarter Sessions Papers); East Sussex Rec. Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), QO/EW4 (Quarter Sessions Order Book 1660-1664), fos 53, 53v, 57v; E.S.R.O., QI/EW3 (Quarter Sessions Indictment Book 1662-1669), fos 16v-17; Herts. County Records: Sessions Books 1658-1700, ed. W. Le Hardy (Hertford, 1930), pp. 67-8.

3. For ~~a more detailed discussion of~~ these and other statutes mentioned in this chapter, see J. Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1973), ch. 3; Statutes of the Realm, iv (1547-85), 356-7, 451-2, 657-8, iv (1586-1623), 771, 841, 1073-4, 1162-3, v (1625-80), 350-1.

was used throughout the nation, regularly though not frequently, for at least eighty Quakers were proceeded against by praemunire during the relatively short period 1662-4.[1] (By 1672 125 were in prison under the statute.)[2] Penalties depended upon the stubbornness of the authorities and the Quaker (the pressure to conform must have been immense)[3] and upon whether or not the King intervened. Some Quakers lingered in prison for seven, eight and ten years, though I know of few cases where an offender's estate was affected.[4]

The sect also fell foul of the recusancy laws. Church attendance could be enforced in several ways. 1 Eliz. c.2 carried a fine of 12d for each absence on Sundays or other holy days. 23 Eliz. c.1, 29 Eliz. c.6 and 3 Jac. 1 c.4 stiffened penalties: the 1/- per week fine still stood, but recusants could now be fined £20 per month for absence and if they defaulted all their goods and two-thirds of their lands were forfeit to the crown. The definition of recusancy was also extended to include those who failed to take the sacrament at least once a year. Most counties applied these statutes against the Quakers - Wiltshire, Cheshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdonshire, Suffolk, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Somerset and Lancashire[5] - but

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1. Thirty-four of these were in Somerset and Sussex (seventeen in each). London Sessions Records 1605-1685 (Publications of the Catholic Rec. Soc., xxxiv, 1934), pp. 154-5; N.R.O., 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Indictment Files', vol. 72/7, 16; N.R.O., 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Minute Book', Dec. 1662; Herts. Sessions Books 1658-1700, pp. 72, 94, 100-101; S.A.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt ii, fos 11-20v; W.R.O., Quarter Sessions Great Rolls, Easter 1661/186, Hilary 1662/196, Mich. 1664/179; E.S.R.O., SOF 5/3 (Sussex Q.M. Horsham gaol register 1664-84), no pagination; E.S.R.O., QO/EW5 (Quarter Sessions Order Book 1664-70), fo. 13; Devon Rec. Office (Quarter Sessions Order Book 1661-70), 1663, 1664, 1667; Kingdoms Intelligencer, 32 (4-11 Aug. 1662), p. 529,34 (17-24 Aug. 1663), p. 545; Swarthmore MS. iv. 179; 'Great Book of Sufferings, ii, Oxford, p. 11 (for Warwicks.); Besse, Collection, i. 129, 243, 492, ii. 106, 108-9. My calculation of eighty is based upon the 2 volumes of Besse, op. cit., supplemented by the sources above.

2. See Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), pp. 351-4.

3. For suggestions that some Quakers conformed, see Kingdoms Intelligencer, 34 (17-24 Aug. 1663), p. 545; K.A.O., WD/Ry (Rydal Papers or Fleming MSS), Box 31, unfoliated, 15 Jan. 1663/4; P.R.O., PC 2/55, pp. 174-5; Bod. Lib., MS. Rawlinson C948 (Justice's notes 1660-1667) [back of book], p. 5.

4. E.S.R.O., SOF 5/3, no pagination; Besse, Collection, i. 129, ii. 106; Extracts from State Papers, pp. 232-3.

5. J.A. Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791 (Catholic Rec. Soc., 1968), appendix F; E.R.O., Q/SR (Quarter Sessions Rolls) 385/25, 391/6, 392/10, 394/11, 395/11, 396/11, 399/8, 10; Herts. Sessions Books 1658-1700, pp. 44-6, et. seq.;

with varying zeal and frequency.[1] Though more work needs to be done on this subject, the indications are that the sect suffered under these laws in greater numbers than other nonconformists, in some places as much as (or even more than) the Catholics for whom the statutes had originally been intended. The bulk of prosecutions came in the 1670s and 1680s but in 1664 in Norfolk (Dr Miller has shown) forty-two Quakers were convicted of recusancy, and only thirty-eight Papists.[2] Though this trend was probably not typical during the early years of the Restoration - a cursory examination of thirty-three prosecutions in Huntingdonshire for 1664 has revealed only ten identifiable as Quakers and only eight in Somerset from a total of twenty-eight convicted in the Exchequer in 1665[3] - it is not an isolated case. My own calculation of Cheshire presentments for recusancy during the period 1662-5 have revealed results not unlike Miller's Norfolk figures.[4]

Year	Papists	Quakers	Others
1662	53	41	-
1663	111	78	23
1664	54	51	1
1665	74	33	18
Total	292	203	42

Yet penalties were generally vexatious rather than punitive. True the harsher statutes carrying £20 fines were wielded against Quakers - in Cambridge, Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire and Somerset[5] -

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L.R.O., QSP 245/23,24,27,30,32,35,37,38; for the other counties see below.

1. Cf. the Quakers' later calculations, from the Exchequer rolls, of the numbers of the sect convicted as recusants (some of whom had 2/3 of their estates seized). Figures varied. Of the approximate 1,000 convictions for the period up to 1677 listed in a Quaker petition, about 230 were in Westmorland, 175 in Norfolk, 117 in Cambs., 2 in Sussex and 2 in Kent: Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. Misc. b.1 (R). (Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 100-1, dates the petition 1677.)

2. Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 267.

3. British Lib. (hereafter B.L.), Add. MS. 20739, fos 18-19v, 327-27v, printed in Catholic Record Soc., vi (1909), pt iii, pp. 86, 298. (Quakers can be identified in Besse, Collection, 'Great Book of Sufferings', and Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. b.1 (R).)

4. The presentations are from P.R.O., Chester 24/133/2, 134/1,2,4, 135/1. Those not listed specifically as Quakers I have been able to identify by using Quaker sources.

5. Catholic Rec. Soc., vi. 85-6, 289-95, 298-302. These were the only counties for which I bothered to identify Quakers, but we can assume that they were being prosecuted in other counties too.

and we know that some of these fines were exacted.[1] But in 1663 when a hundred Yorkshire Quakers were convicted on the £20 statute the proceedings were stopped.[2] Generally, as Miller has observed in his study of Catholics, enforcement was lax. Most authorities preferred the less ambitious but more readily enforceable 12d. fines, prosecuting every three weeks (in Kendal, Yorkshire and Wiltshire)[3] to avoid the harsher one month penalty. (In Sussex they employed both.)[4] Things were to change in the 'seventies, but during the early 'sixties it seems that fines for recusancy were nearly always minimal in so far as Quakers were concerned. This was the case in Cumberland and Yorkshire, and in Somerset where at least eighty-seven Quakers suffered under the 12d Act during the period 1661-3 and only eight under the £20 Act.[5]

(iii) Church courts

Finally there were the Church courts. Quakers were called before them in droves: for refusing to attend church, not baptizing their children, failing to be churched after childbirth, working on the sabbath, not being married in the Church of England, burying their dead in unconsecrated ground, for standing excommunicate. They were excommunicated by these courts in equally large numbers: at least 134 in Essex in a little over two years (from late 1662 onwards); seventy-five in Derbyshire, thirty-four in Warwickshire, thirty in Somerset, all in the same year (1663); others in Durham, Lancashire, Lincolnshire and Cheshire.[6]

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1. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 116. Cambridgeshire Quakers had stock distrained to pay £20 fines for recusancy.
2. Friends' Meeting House, York, MS. 36 (York Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1651-95), p. 2.
3. Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 59; Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 51d (Westmorland Quarterly Meeting Sufferings), fos 181-181v; Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions ... 1674-1695, ed. S.A. Peyton (Lincoln Rec. Soc., xxv, 1931), p. cxxiii; Quarter Sessions Records, ed. J.C. Atkinson (North Riding Rec. Soc., 1889), vii. 69; Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire, pp. 85-6.
4. E.S.R.O., QI/EW3, fos 36v, et. seq.
5. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 193-5, ii, Yorks, p. 25; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i, fos 42-8.
6. My calculations for Essex are based on E.R.O., D/ACA/55; E.R.O., D/ACV/1-2; E.R.O., D/ABA/10; E.R.O., D/ABA/43 (Visitations/Acts 1662-5). For the other counties, see Besse, Collection, i. 139; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Warwicks, p. 4; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i, fos 46-46v; S.R.O., D/D/Ca 335; S.R.O., D/D/Ca 338; S.R.O., D/D/Ca 339 (Visitation Presentments); L.R.O., QSP 253/2;

Possibly historians have underestimated the powers of these courts. Excommunication, with all its implied sanctions, was potentially punitive. Apart from the ecclesiastical penalties which would have held few terrors for Quakers, an excommunicant was not supposed to serve on a jury, give evidence at law, bring action of debt, give bail, make a will, serve as a guardian, or receive a legacy. Furthermore, no-one was supposed to trade or converse with such a person. The Hertford Quaker Henry Sweeting, for example, must have been concerned about the effect excommunication would have upon his trade as a butcher.[1] Ultimately, of course, the effect would depend upon the willingness of the community to co-operate in its enforcement. (In Sweeting's case the Mayor of Hertford refused to comply with the ecclesiastical authorities.) The penalty would have most effect when the sect was a beleaguered minority. In Mountmellick (Ireland) when nine Quakers were excommunicated the community was told that no-one was to buy or sell with them or their families. The miller was forbidden to grind their corn. Those who defied the order faced excommunication in turn, and it was also made known to the populace that they could more or less do as they like with the Quakers for as excommunicate persons they had no legal redress.[2]

Excommunication, moreover, could be bolstered by writ of de excommunicato capiendo in the civil courts, the offender remaining in prison until he or she conformed. Again I think that the possibilities of its use have been underestimated by historians. Dr Richards, Miller and Mr Williams suggest that this ultimate penalty was rarely invoked.[3] Yet court and Quaker records suggest otherwise: at least eighty Quakers were proceeded

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The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, ed. H.W. Brace (Lincs. Rec. Soc., xliv, 1951), iii, appendix ii, 137ff, 144ff; W. Ferguson Irvine, 'Extracts from the Bishop of Chester's Visitation, 1665', Jl of Friends' Hist. Soc. (hereafter J.F.H.S.), ii (1905), 97-100, 137-8, iii (1906), 28-30; G. Lyon Turner, 'Presentations in Episcopal Visitations' (Durham), J.F.H.S., xiii (1916), 20-2, 64-5, xiv (1917), 105-7, et. seq.; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, V.1662-3/CB2 (Diocese of Chester Court Book).

1. Cf. 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 458.

2. Soc. of Friends Hist. Lib., Dublin, MS. G. 19 (Mountmellick Monthly Meeting Sufferings), p. 2.

3. T. Richards, Wales Under the Penal Code (London, 1925), p. 33; Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 52; Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire, p. 71.

against in this manner during the period 1662-4.[1] Though its use was by no means widespread, it was certainly not uncommon.

Despite all this, despite the fact that some Quakers appear to have conformed and to have wavered under threat of significavit, enforced like de capiendo by imprisonment by the secular courts,[2] the old view remains true: Church courts held few terrors. As the Bishop of Chester himself said (he was referring to Catholic recusants), 'To proceed by Church-Censures is vaine'.[3] The sentiments of a Barking (Essex) Quaker who said he cared 'not for any Ecclesiastical power' were probably widespread. Many Durham, Essex and Lincolnshire Quakers remained excommunicated for long periods of time - in Great Leighs and East Ham (Essex) for seven and twenty years respectively - without any deleterious effects.[4] The Quakers must have made at least some contribution to the decline of ecclesiastical power.

(iv) Some conclusions

Is it possible to make any generalizations about the enforcement of the various laws and in the authorities' treatment of Quakers during the initial years of the Restoration? There is the banal though unavoidable one of variation. Judicial attitudes, Dr Cockburn tells us in his study of the assizes during this period, ranged the whole gamut from leniency, through impartiality, to harshness. There was, Professor Havighurst and Mr Horle claim, a lack of judicial consensus as far as ecclesiastical matters were concerned.[5] Things changed, we have seen, with the political

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1. P.R.O., Chester 24/134/3,4. My calculation of eighty is once again based on Besse, Collection.

2. See E.R.O., D/ABV1 (Archdeaconry of Middlesex, Acts/Visitations 1662-3), fos 48v, 56v; Kingdoms Intelligencer, 19 (12-19 May 1662), pp. 318-9, 27 (30 June - 7 July 1662), p. 423; J.L. Salter, 'Warwickshire Clergy, 1660-1714' (Birmingham Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1975), p. 118.

3. Bod. Lib., MS. Add. C.305 (Sheldon Papers), fo. 68.

4. F. Hull, 'More Essex Friends of the Restoration Period', Essex Review, lvii (1948), 61, 62.

5. J.S. Cockburn, A History of English Assizes 1558-1714 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 247-8; A.F. Havighurst, 'The Judiciary and Politics in the Reign of Charles II', Law Quarterly Rev., lxvi (1950), 71-2; C. Horle, 'Judicial Encounters with Quakers 1660-1688', J.F.H.S., liv (1977), 85-100. I am grateful to Craig Horle for allowing me to read his article before publication.

climate, and could also be a matter of luck. Richard Thomas discovered at his trial at Hertford that the foreman of the jury was an old Royalist adversary.[1] Contacts and social status counted too. Thomas Ellwood as a member of the gentry received far better treatment at the hands of the authorities than his fellow Oxfordshire Quakers because of his father's position in the county. (It did not help him much in London.)[2] Both justices and judges seem to have been reluctant to move against Margaret Fell, presumably because of her contacts with the King.[3]

Contrary to normal procedure, Worcestershire justices parolled Quaker offenders on their 'promise' to keep the peace and appear at the assizes. The persuasive Welshpool Quaker Richard Davies, although officially under <u>praemunire</u> for 'about seven years', was permitted by his captors to tramp freely about the country as far afield as London.[4] On the other side of the coin, Quakers were kept lingering in prison, sometimes through their own refusal to plead or pay fines (Suffolk), sometimes because of the court's unbending attitude to contempt of court (Norwich), and sometimes because of the malpractice of county office-holders (Gloucestershire).[5] As a Cumberland deputy lieutenant put it: 'I wil rather be in His Mats mercy for some irregular proceedings, then hazard the peace of His Kingdoms by

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1. Rowe, <u>First Hertford Quakers</u>, p. 15.
2. <u>Life of Thomas Ellwood</u>, p. 92.
3. P.R.O., SP.29/91/68, 93/23, 95/2.
4. <u>The Diary of Henry Townshend</u>, ed. J.W. Willis Bund (2 vols, Worcest. Hist. Soc., 1920), i. 70; <u>Henry Townshend's 'Notes on the Office of the Justice of the Peace', 1661-3</u>, ed. R.D. Hunt (Worcest. Hist. Soc., N.S., v, 1967), pp. 104, 112-3; <u>Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity ... Autobiography of Richard Davies</u>, ed. J.E. Southall (Newport, Mon., 1899), pp. 88-9, 120.
5. Suffolk Rec. Office, B 105/2/4 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1656-62), fos 150v, 164, 175, 180; Suffolk Rec. Office, B 105/2/6 (Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1662-67), fos 15, 25v, 32-32v, 35, 44, 46; N.R.O., 'Norwich Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1654-70', March 1663/4; D. Roberts, <u>Some Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts</u> (2nd edn, London, 1973), p. 64. Roberts claimed that the gaoler of Gloucester castle intentionally leftthe names of Quaker prisoners out of assize and sessions calendars so that they would remain in prison .

too strict an attendance on the rules of law'.[1] Much depended on the attitude of the justice or mayor. Persecution in Bristol coincided with the appointment of Sir John Knight as mayor in the Autumn of 1663; while William Armourer discarded Clarendon's advice to net ringleaders only and set about incarcerating the whole of the male Quaker (and Baptist) population of Reading.[2]

Quakers were harassed and prosecuted regularly by Somerset justices and the authorities in London, less regularly by their counterparts in Cheshire, rarely in Essex.[3] So there was variety. But my overall impression is that while the sect was dealt with harshly during the early years of the Restoration its treatment was by no means as harsh as it could have been. 35 Eliz. c.1 could have been employed, whereby anyone attending an unlawful conventicle or not attending church for one month, or who dissuaded others from attending church, could be confined until he or she conformed. If the offender had not conformed within three months they had either to abjure the realm or be adjudged a felon. Yet I know of only two instances, in Worcestershire and Surrey, where this statute was used against the Quakers — the outcomes are unclear.[4] 1 Eliz. c.2 contained a clause under which disturbance of a minister could result in a fine of 100 marks (for the first offence). Yet I know of only one case where this Act was utilized, in Kendal.[5] Then there are complaints of the inactivity of Cheshire and Cumberland justices.[6] Warwick-shire J.Ps we are told, for a later period, were very lenient in

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1. P.R.O., SP.29/83/111.
2. Besse, Collection, i. 45ff; Bristol Rec. Office, 'Bristol Corporation Quarter Sessions Minute Book 1653-71', fos 50v-51; P.R.O., PC 2/56, p. 619; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i., pp. 24ff; MS. Clarendon 81, fos 182-3, 199.
3. My impressions are based upon the Quaker and sessions records for these counties.
4. Henry Townshend's 'Notes', p. 94; Surrey Quarter Sessions Records 1661-3, ed. H. Jenkinson and D.L. Powell (Surrey Rec. Soc., xxxvi, 1935), pp. 251-4, 257-9; J. Chandler, A True Relation (London, 1662), passim.
5. K.R.O., 'Kendal Indict. Book 1655-68', fos 51, 54.
6. P.R.O., SP.29/92/12; C.R.O., QJB/11a (Quarter Sessions Indictments and Presentments 1660-9), fo. 98.

their treatment of Protestant dissenters.[1] We have allegations concerning the half-heartedness of some of the assize judges.[2] As we have seen, the more lenient statutes against recusants were enforced while the £20 fines were rarely collected - by 1671 about £4-5 million was owing to the Exchequer (not solely from Quakers of course).[3] Fines for a first offence under the Quaker Act, which could legally be as high as £5, were often £3, £2, and occasionally as low as 10/-. Five or six week imprisonments were meted instead of the permissible three months.[4] There is even a suggestion that in Westmorland third offences, carrying a penalty of transportation, were conveniently classified as second offences to avoid the harsher alternative.[5] Normally conscientious Cheshire constables claimed 'nothing to report' for a hundred, Eddisbury, with several Quaker strongholds; and this sort of example could be repeated. Other officers failed to make presentments in areas

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1. Warwick County Records, eds S.C. Ratcliff and H.C. Johnson (Warwick, 1946), vii, lxix-lxxxii. The fact that there were 22 Quakers in Warwick prison in 1666 (many of whom were under praemunire) may detract from Ratcliff and Johnson's claims about the liberality of Warwickshire justices: cf. Extracts from State Papers, pp. 248-55.

2. MS. Clarendon 82, fo. 44; P.R.O., SP.29/95/2, 91/68.

3. B.L., MS. Add. 20739, fo. 2v. The Exchequer received only £40 worth of recusancy fines during the first financial year of the Restoration, and from 1660-7 a mere £147-15-7. Receipts reached a peak in the 1680s, with over £4,000 reaching the Exchequer in 1681-2 and over £6,000 in 1682-3. See C.D. Chandaman, The English Public Revenue 1660-1688 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 348-9, 356-7, 360-1. Some of the fines must have found their way into the pockets of local officials: the earl of Powis told Richard Davies that of £8,000 taken from Lancashire recusants virtually none reached the Exchequer (Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity, p. 146).

4. W.R.O., Quarter Sessions Great Rolls, Mich. 1664/179; E.S.R.O., QO/EW4, fos 53v, 57v,; K.R.O., 'Kendal Indictment Book 1655-68', 16 Jan. 14 Chas II, 15 Jan. 15 Chas II; K.R.O., 'Appleby Indictment Book 1661-85', Hilary 1663, July 1664; C.L.R.O., 'Sessions Minute Book', 3,Aug. 1662. Although the Conventicle Act of 1664 carried the same fines and terms of imprisonments as the Quaker Act, the London authorities fined hundreds of Quakers a mere 1/- each (C.L.R.O., 'Mayor's Court Waiting Book 1664-8', 14 Aug. 1664 - 1 Jan. 1664/5), probably, Braithwaite has suggested, so that they could proceed to the third offence which carried the penalty of banishment: Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 42.

5. K.R.O., 'Appleby Indict. Book 1661-85', July 1664. According to my calculations it should have been the third offence for William Hebson and Anthony Bownas (though possibly computation began again under the Conventicle Act). Also Thomas Langhorne was listed as a second offender in Easter 1664 whereas a man of that name had

known to be nonconformist.[1]

There are many reasons for this apparent laxity. The lumbering inefficiency of the Stuart State probably accounted for some, for as Professor Kenyon has pointed out prosecution was a lengthy and time-consuming process.[2] In any case initiative and enforcement rested with the local constable and churchwarden, and there is growing evidence that many just did not bother. Several were in trouble for their inefficiency; others were sympathetic or clearly reluctant to act because of kinship, friendship or economic ties or because of community pressure.[3] Justices, likewise, may have been sympathetic, lazy or merely inefficient. Many, Miller has pointed out, must have been unsure of the legal procedures involved in the enforcement of the statutes.[4] Some may also have thought, like the Bishop of Chester, that 'To make pecuniary mulcts ... is base'.[5] But it was probably pragmatism more than good will which ensured that the laws were not enforced too rigidly. After all, a 30/- fine was more realistic than one of £5. As one of Charles's advisers warned him when assessing the recusancy situation, it was futile attempting to extract £20 a month in recusancy fines from a man whose entire estate was scarcely worth one month's penalty.

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been prosecuted as a second offender, Hilary 1663. But they could of course have been different men.

1. P.R.O., Chester 24/134/4; Warwick County Records, vii, p. lxxvii.
2. J.P. Kenyon, The Popish Plot (London, 1974 edn), p. 7. Cf also, E.S.R.O., QI/EW3, fos 36v, et. seq.
3. Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 59; Salter, 'Warwickshire Clergy', p. 118; W.T. Morgan, 'The Prosecution of Nonconformists in the Consistory Court of St Davids, 1661-88', Jl of the Hist. Soc. of the Church in Wales, xii (1962), 36; Besse, Collection, i. 204; C.R.O., QJB/11a, fo. 98; Warwick County Records, vii, pp. lxxvii; J.C. Cox, Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals (2 vols, London, 1890), i. 352; Extracts from State Papers, pp. 307, 310; Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions, ed. Peyton, pp. cxxviii (though many of these examples are for a later period). See also, T.C. Curtis, 'Quarter Sessions Appearances and their Background: A Seventeenth-Century Regional Study', in J.S. Cockburn (ed.) Crime in England 1550-1800 (London, 1977), pp. 144-5, who discusses the possibility that Cheshire constables were sympathetic to the Quakers in the 1680s. A.B. Anderson has discovered that some constables in Lancashire were in debt to Quakers: 'A Study in the Sociology of Religious Persecution: The First Quakers', Journal of Religious History, ix (1977), 255-6.
4. Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 60.
5. Bod. Lib., MS. Add. C 305, fo. 68.

Then again, although a considerable sum could be raised by putting the laws into execution, 'what disorder it might produce in his Matys affairs'. In short, the political cost would have been too great.[1]

Yet there may have been a less obvious side to the story. The 'doctrine of mercy' would presumably have been as convenient a weapon in the maintenance of the penal laws in the seventeenth century as it was for the criminal law of the eighteenth. The right blend of coercion and benevolence, Douglas Hay has argued, reinforced paternalism and maintained order far more effectively than bare-faced suppression ever could.[2] There was a touch of this too in the attitude of the monarch who always seemed to be on the side of moderation and nonconformity. He was motivated partly, no doubt, by a desire to flex the muscles of the royal prerogative, partly, like his successor, by the wish to secure a broader toleration for Catholicism through a greater freedom for nonconformists, but also, it might be suggested, by a realization that clemency could 'produce gratifying deference'.[3] As Sir William Blackstone said (in another century) of the king's power of pardon: 'these repeated acts of goodness coming immediately from his own hand, endear the sovereign to his subjects, and contribute more than anything to root in their hearts that filial affection, and personal loyalty, which are the sure establishment of a prince'.[4] But whatever his motives, his interventions (Charles released at least three lots of Quaker prisoners during our period of interest) had a dampening effect on persecution. Hence perhaps the reluctance of a Welsh bishop to employ excommunicato capiendo, in 'awe of displeasing the King'. Hence Fleming's apprehension in the north-west lest Whitehall intervene on the sect's behalf.[5]

Pure logistics also kept down the number of Quaker imprisonments; it was impossible to incarcerate every Quaker and advisable to act

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1. B.L., Add. MS. 20739, fo. 2v.
2. D. Hay, 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law', in D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, J.G. Rule, E.P. Thompson, C. Winslow, Albion's Fatal Tree (London, 1977 edn), pp. 41-2, 46-9.
3. Hay, op. cit., p. 42.
4. Quoted in Hay, op. cit., p. 48.
5. Morgan, 'Prosecution of Nonconformists', p. 44; P.R.O., SP.29/90/100. Cf. Bod. Lib., MS. Clarendon 82, fo. 44.

only against ringleaders.[1] There may have been something too in the Quakers' exaggerated predictions of economic chaos if persecution continued. The imprisonment of Quakers who played a substantial role in the merchant or trading community, in Colchester or Bristol for example, could quite feasibly have its economic and social repercussions. So again it may have paid not to be too vindictive.

Finally, prosecutions were kept down by the actions of the Quakers themselves; by simple evasion. Meetings were held in out of the way places or just outside the jurisdiction of the local authorities. Goods were hidden away to avoid distraints. Offenders escaped out of the back of a meeting as the constable came in at the front. And there was a general awareness of the lacunae in the law. These were techniques perfected by some Friends by the 1670s, but presumably practised in the early Restoration period too.[2]

Some of this argument agrees with Miller's view of the Catholics and the recusancy laws.[3] But my account of Quaker persecution parts company with his account on one important point: the mood of the provincial gentry, the suggestion that the centre had to press the counties into action. Like Green, I see the anti-dissenting, zealously pro-Anglican initiative as coming <u>from</u> the counties.[4] When there was laxity it was for the reasons outlined above, but the prevailing wish in the provinces was for action and the gentry needed no goading from the centre. When given the go-ahead, when the King indicated his approval, they acted with a vengeance. Thus the panic and mass arrests of early 1661, and thus the later increase in prosecutions after Charles's proclamations ordering the enforcement of the penal laws.

<u>Some reasons for hostility</u>

Why did the Quakers come in for harsh treatment during the early years of the Restoration? Partly their problem was the

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1. Cf. B.L., Add. MS. 21048 (Correspondence of the Lord Lieut. of Suffolk 1661-1664), fo. 8.

2. Cf. <u>Extracts from State Papers</u>, pp. 310, 314, 320-1, 325-9; Braithwaite, <u>Second Period of Quakerism</u>, p. 294; Chester City Rec. Office (hereafter C.C.R.O.), ML 3/407 (Mayors' Letters 1651-73); C.C.R.O., MF/88 (Mayors' Files 1669-70)(no piece numbers given); S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/2, pt i, fos 56f; <u>Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity</u>, pp. 116ff. For some of the loopholes, see Bod. Lib., MS. Rawlinson, D1136 (Sir Thomas Selater, law-notes 1660-1683), pp. 145-8; <u>Extracts from State Papers</u>, p.287; K.A.O., U47/47 01 (Sir Roger Twysden's notebook as J.P.), pp. 63-4.

3. Miller, <u>Popery and Politics</u>, pp. 58-63.

4. Green, 'Re-establishment of the Church of England', ch. 9 (and

problem of all nonconformists: religious dissent was identified with rebellion. 'Nonconformists', Sir Peter Leicester told a northern grand jury in 1668, 'were the maine Occasion and drawers on of the late Rebellion, as is not unknowne to most of us here present; by instillinge seditious principles into the People from the Pulpit & other places also'.[1] Or as Charles was warned in 1660, 'religious zealots of whatever kind are more dangerous than impious people.'[2] Conventicles were unlawful assemblies threatening the integrity of the State. And while not all went as far as Chief Justice Bridgman in defining a conventicle as a 'meeting together to plot against the King and state', most of the State's servants would have claimed that such meetings were ideal nests for conspiracy.[3] Yet there were other reasons for hostility, as applicable to the early sixties as they had been during the Interregnum, for as much depended on the values and preoccupations of the men of power, be they Puritan or Anglican, as it did on the activity of Quakers. It is to these factors that we must now turn.

(i) Religion and Patriarchalism

We need not doubt the sincerity of the outrage that Quaker beliefs provoked: their minimization of the importance of a historic Christ, their belief that the spirit was above the scriptures, their rejection of orthodox ideas about the Trinity and heaven and hell.[4] The battle for souls was genuine enough. 'While thousands are in damnation for want of the light, they would take it from you, that you might go there also', Richard Baxter wrote of the sects in 1657, and he obviously had the Quakers in mind.[5] It was 'eternal

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p. 453 for his conclusions).

1. Charges to the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions 1660-1677, ed. E.M. Halcrow (Chetham Soc., 3rd series, v, 1953), p. 46.

2. Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, vi.18. Cf. the duke of Newcastle's advice to Charles concerning the social function of revelry: (fairs, May games, Morris dances etc.) 'will amuse ye peoples thoughts And keepe them in harmless actions, wch will free your Matie from Faction, & Rebellion'. (MS. Clarendon 109, pp. 74-5.)

3. G.R. Cragg, Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1957), p. 35. Cf. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, p. 57; Kennett, Register, p. 602; Kingdoms Intelligencer, 2 (7-14 Jan. 1660/1), p. 26.

4. See for example, J. Clapham, A Full Discovery (London, 1656), passim.

5. R. Baxter, One Cheet for the Ministry (London, 1657), p. 3.

Salvation' that was at stake.[1]

But things were not as simple as that. Indeed for Presbyterian and Anglican alike religion was something more: 'the glew and soder that cements a Kingdom, or Church together'. '... Sound Doctrine, pure Religion ... are the ligaments, and bonds of a Christian State'. 'Corrupt Doctrines break the hedges, and walls of a Christian Common-wealth, and leave it naked to become a prey to its adversaries.'[2] Of course realists like the duke of Newcastle knew that force was the ultimate legitimizer:

> itt is not Devines, preaching Hell, & Damnation, or Excomunication, that can keepe a company of Rude people, From throwing him out of ye Pulpitt, for wthout ye power of Armes, ye prentices of a shrove tusday, would teare ye Bishopps Moste Reverent Lawne sleeves, from his Armes, & cutt his throte To Boote, ... 3

But they never forgot the political and social necessity of established religion. 'If there was not a Minister in every Parish', preached Robert South an Anglican and future chaplain to the earl of Clarendon, 'you would quickly find cause to encrease the number of Constables'.[4] 'It is the duty of all good Christians to be meek, gentle, humble, patient, obedient to superiors, &c', wrote one minister; 'and 'tis the duty of all good Pastors to exhort their people to the practise of these and the rest of the fruits or graces of the Spirit'.[5] Communion was more than a sacrament. It was unity of minds, 'the strength and ground of all society'. Politics and religion were inextricably intertwined. A Church united meant a nation united, while division meant 'sedition and rebellion'. As George Saville the marquis of Halifax said, the maxim was 'it is impossible for a dissenter not to be a rebel'.[6] Toleration and liberty of conscience inevitably carry 'a brand of Anarchy in the State'. 'Government', in short, 'is preserved by Religion'.[7]

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1. Cf. Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D.376, fos 187-8.
2. S. Clarke, Golden Apples (London, 1659), pp. 38, 205-6.
3. MS. Clarendon 109, p. 39.
4. R. South, Ecclesiastical Policy (Oxford, 1660), p. 7.
5. R. Sherlock, The Quakers Wilde Questions (London, 1656), pp.217-8.
6. J. Hales, Tract concerning Schism (London, c. 1664), introduction by the earl of Clarendon; Cragg, op. cit., p. 13.
7. Clarke, Golden Apples, p. 203; South, Ecclesiastical Policy, p. 23.

Belief in eternal punishment was another deterrent to sin and hand-maid of uniformity: 'when Religion binds the[e] upon the Conscience, Conscience will either perswade or terrify men into their practice.'[1] The clergy, wrote Gerrard Winstanley the Digger leader and one of the Church's more perceptive critics, 'bewitch the people to conforme'; 'they tell the poor people that they must be content with their poverty, and they shall have their heaven hereafter.'[2] Samuel Parker concurred, though from a different perspective:

> Put the case, the clergy were cheats and jugglers, yet it must be allowed they are necessary instruments of state to awe the common people into fear and obedience, because nothing else can so effectively enslave them ... as the fear of invisible power and the dismal apprehensions of the world to come. 3

Finally, religion and the family combined to nurture order and deference. The patriarchal doctrines of the State were imbibed, quite literally, from the cradle onwards. Swaddling, flogging, the total subjection of the child by its parents, prepared the way for its place in society.[4] Children, servants and apprentices who understood their status in the household needed little political sophistication to grasp that the same applied to their place in the State. The political order was the big household, and their masters stressed it time and time again.[5] As the New England Catechism put it, by honouring thy father and mother the fifth commandment had in mind all superiors 'whether in family, school, church and commonwealth.'[6] Thus the England of the seventeenth century was a remarkably ordered society, a people (to echo Samuel Johnson) 'classed by subordination'.[7] '...What is a Lord more Then a footman, wthout seremoney, & order'! demanded the duke

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1. South, Ecclesiastical Policy, p. 7.
2. The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, ed. G.H. Sabine (Ithaca, 1941), p. 470; Winstanley: The Law of Freedom and other Writings, ed. C. Hill (London, 1973), p. 44.
3. Quoted in C. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), p. 284. It is Andrew Marvell's version of what Parker said.
4. See L. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London, 1977), ch. 5.
5. G.J. Schochet, 'Patriarchalism, Politics and Mass Attitudes in Stuart England', Historical Journal, xii (1969), 420-1.
6. Stone, op. cit., p. 152.
7. H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (London, 1974 edn), p. 25.

of Newcastle; 'seremoney, & order ... makes distance, & thatt bringes respecte & Duty, & those obedience wch is all'.[1] It was something that once again Puritan and Anglican could agree on.

> Order is a divine disposal, of superior & inferior relations, in humane or Christian societies, distributing to each one respectively, what is due thereunto .... Order is Gods way of lapsed mans wel-doing, & wel-being. It is the forme of societies, Formes are essential without which things cannot be .... Neither nature, nor society, whether humane or christian, no not so much as a family can stand without order. 2

Order and rank were reflected in manners, speech and dress. As the Quaker James Parnell explained:

> amongst the great and rich ones of the Earth, they will either thou or you one another if they be equal in degree, as they call it; but if a man of low degree in the earth come to speak to any of them, then he must you the rich man, but the rich man will thou him ....

And there was the etiquette of hats:

> it is a fashion throughout the Land, whereby one man is exalted above another; for if a poor man come before a rich man, it may be the rich man will move his hat, that is called courtesie and humility; but the poor man must stand with his hat off before him, and that is called honour and manners, and due respect unto him 3

But the Quakers rejected all this. In fact their light within was a great leveller, removing and questioning formal traditional guides, the established rules upon which good order was based. Quaker principles, Charles II urged, were 'inconsistent with any kind of government'.[4] The Quaker spirit within, the young John Locke explained in 1660, 'leads men from the sense of curtesy and gratitude'.[5] Scripture, ministers, Church, the rigid hierarchical structure of society, magistrates, the law, all were challenged or rejected. For the Quakers of course the inner light was amazingly consistent; it did say similar things to similar people. From where their opponents stood, however, the implication was pure anarchy.

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1. MS. Clarendon 109, pp. 52, 53.
2. J. Norton, The Heart of N-England rent (Cambridge, New England, 1659), pp. 30-1.
3. J. Parnell, A Shield of the Truth (London, 1655), pp. 26-7.
4. Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay (5 vols, Boston, 1853-4), iv, pt II, 165-6.
5. The Correspondence of John Locke, ed. E.S. De Beer (Oxford, 1976), i. 145.

> If every mans light within him were a sufficient safe guide to him in Religion and morality, then do all Law-makers ill, to put any Laws on them, to restrain them from doing what they like ... then is all Government and Magistracy unprofitable ... and all these are to be abolished, which were a way to lay all waste, to level people, as well in manners and knowledge, as estates, to reduce us to barbarism 1

Contemporaries were alarmed at the way in which Quakers divided families and stood them on their heads, and stunned by the militant role that Quaker women played. Full of impudency and 'no woman but a man' was how a J.P's wife described the Quaker Ann Blaykling.[2] Such 'huswives as shee was', Deborah Maddock was told by the Mayor of Chester, were 'fitter for the Stockes or to bee ducked in a Cooke-Stoole than carry Letters; and come soe before her Betters so irreverently'.[3] 'What monstrous Doctrine is this?' exclaimed Joshua Miller, 'to suffer women to be Preachers by way of authority, condemned as against nature Isaiah 3. 12. 1 Cor 14. 34, 35. 1 Tim 2. 12, 14 ...?'[4] Patriarchalism was at risk, and the implications were not limited to families.

> For if the woman should be the man, if the Subject should be the Magistrate, if the Son should be the Father, if the Servant should be the Master, would not these things bring a confusion of all states, and of all things, for it is impossible that mankind should be governed without these diferences of persons, states, and degrees of men, both in the Church and Common-wealth 5

The sect's egalitarian theeing and thouing, their refusal to doff hat to their social superiors, their unwillingness even to recognize titles - courageous stuff in the deferential world of the seventeenth century - predictably enraged the men of property. 'Sirrah', Thomas Ellwood's father responded when his Quaker son used the plain language, 'If ever I hear you say Thou or Thee to me again, I'll strike your Teeth down your Throat'. And when Thomas stood hatted before him Ellwood senior smote his son with

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1. J. Tombes, True Old Light (London, 1660), p. 53.
2. Cornwall Rec. Office, DD/SF 285/64 (Papers of Sufferings 1655-1685).
3. The Cheshire Sheaf, v (1970), 18.
4. J. Miller, Antichrist in Man (London, 1655), p. 27. See also R. Hall, Quakers Principles Quaking (London, 1656), [sig. A3] (introduction by Zachary Crofton); E.D [odd], Innocents no Saints (London, 1658), p. 12; J. G [askin], A Just Defence (London, 1660), pp. 92-6, 100; W. Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest ([Oxford], 1659), p. 22.
5. Gaskin, Just Defence, p. 101.

'both his Fists'.[1] 'Such as now introduce Thou and Thee will (if they can)', Thomas Fuller warned, 'expel Mine and Thine, dissolving all property into confusion'. 'Disrespect and Irreverence to those above us are really levelling Principles, and like Drink make the Peasant equal with a Lord', observed John Stillingfleet.[2] Both were referring to the Quakers. They were true levellers, shattering the 'bonds of duty in all relations' and slighting that precious fifth commandment.[3] Worse, they continued their intransigent and property-threatening stand against tithes, often leading parish resistance to the hated tax by refusing payment and by encouraging others to follow suit.[4] And they stirred up the people against lawful authority and tempted the lower orders with dangerous doctrines. 'O how did this take with the vulgar sort', wrote Lord Saye and Sele shortly before the Restoration, 'when they thought they should enjoy that liberty, as to be under no rule, no reverence to be given either to Magistrate or Minister, Parent or Master ... and this was it that made it so easily embraced, and so suddenly spread it about the Kingdom.'[5] John Norton agreed.

> Their Doctrine carryeth meat for its followers in the mouth of it: so that its contagious influence in a short time, upon the tumultous nature of the discontented and irregenerate multitude, needs not so much to be discovered, as to be antidoted .... And if they also by vertue of a forged Saintship, be heard intitling themselves unto the Kingdom: and thereby; unto the dignities & estates of all who are not of their mind .... It may well be looked at as a Serpentine and inebriating stratageme, to make the power, honours, & possessions of the godly, and others also who are not of their way: to become lawfull prize, and plunder to the ravening lusts of their proselytes. 6

(ii) Jesuits?

Another ingredient of this hostility towards Friends was the belief that they were either the agents or dupes of Rome. It was

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1. Life of Thomas Ellwood, pp. 47, 48, 57. For other examples, see L.R.O., FRM 1/39 (Marsden Monthly Meeting Sufferings 1653-1720), p. 67; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Oxfordshire, pp. 3-4.
2. Hill, World Turned Upside Down, pp. 198-9; J. Stillingfleet, Seasonable Advice Concerning Quakerism (London, 1702), p. 11.
3. R. Farmer, The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse (London, 1655), p. 87; Hall, Quakers Principles, sig. A2v-3.
4. See chapter 4 above.
5. Saye and Sele, op. cit., p. 4; J. Rous et al, New-England a Degenerate Plant (London, 1659), p. 6.
6. Norton, Heart of N-England, p. 39.

an accusation levelled at most sects at one time or another,[1] but one which seems to have been used most frequently against the Quakers. Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins - the argument ran - had disguised themselves as Quakers in order to undermine Church and State; the Society of Jesus had been 'twenty years hammering out the sect of the Quakers'. The Quakers, it was even said in 1659, were going to buy Whitehall so that they could install a seminary for Jesuits.[2] Anti-Quakerism had merged with anti-Catholicism. Based as it was on decades of rivalry between nations, the fundamental conviction that Rome was out to destroy Protestant England, Protestant identification of the Anti-Christ as the Papacy, and on a pamphlet tradition which stressed the rapacity, cruelty, superstition, absurdity and moral inferiority of Catholics as well as their penchant for arbitrary government, anti-Catholicism was a powerful force in seventeenth-century England.[3] Its association with the Quakers did little for the latter. But it was a connection, nevertheless, that many people made. 'Thus these Papists have begotten this present Sect of Quakers .... And so you have here and there a Papist lurking to be the chief Speaker among them' wrote Richard Baxter.[4] And his convictions, in one form or another, were shared by William Prynne (predictably), Edmund Calamy, Marchamont Nedham, Lord Saye and Sele, Sir Justiniam Isham, Jeremy Ives, John Tombes, Immanuel Bourne, Henry More, Oliver Heywood, Sir Job Carleton, Thomas Tenison,[5] and many others.[6] Rumours

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1. Cf. R.Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', Past and Present, lii (1971), 33-4.
2. W. Prynne, A New Discovery of Some Romish Emissaries (London, 1656), p. 10; C.E. Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism (London, 1931), p. 529; Clifton, 'Popular Fear of Catholics', p. 34.
3. For this, see Clifton, op. cit., 23-55; Miller, Popery and Politics, ch. 4.
4. R. Baxter, The Quakers Catechism (London, 1655) sig. C2.
5. J. Noake, Worcester Sects (London, 1861), p. 193; The Publick Intelligencer, 36 (2-9 June 1656), p. 605; Mercurius Politicus, 348 (5-12 Feb. 1656/7), p. 7587; Saye and Sele, op. cit., pp. 82-3; Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa, p. 186; J. Ives, The Quakers Quaking (London, 1656), p. 43; Tombes, True Old Light, sig. A2v; I. Bourne, A defence of the Scriptures (London, 1656), sig. A2; Conway Letters, ed. M.H. Nicolson (London, 1930), p. 396; The Rev. Oliver Heywood ... Autobiography, ed. J.H. Turner (4 vols, Brighouse, 1882-1885), ii. 216; Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall 1655-1686, ed. N. Penney (London, 1928), p. 123; [J. Tenison], An Argument for Union (London, 1683), pp. 21, 27.
6. Eg. The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, ed. R. Vaughan (2 vols,

spread, not surprisingly, during the hysterical years of the Popish plot. George Whitehead, a leading Friend, was taken for the well known Jesuit Thomas Whitbread. Another Quaker, William Dewsbury, was seized at Leicester as a Popish agent and lingered in prison even though Titus Oates had cleared him personally. William Penn - presumably his links with James II would not have helped - was taken repeatedly for a Jesuit, even by fellow Quakers. He had, it was whispered, been educated at St Omer, officiated mass at Whitehall and St James, and (more remarkably since he lived until 1718) been executed as a Papist in 1689.[1]

The sect's emphasis on works, downgrading of the scriptures, their 'setting up the strength of mans free-will', and (for Calvinists) their denial of predestination, seemed to smack of Popery. Their light within appeared but a guise for the Catholic doctrine of grace. Veneration of poverty, fasting, visions and revelations, 'extolling of Monasticall Community and Virginity', their calls for toleration, the sect's recusancy, all led those in power to detect (with a little imagination) the 'hand of a Jesuit ... in the Quakers Religion'. It was noted by Prynne that the sect hailed from the north-west (Lancashire and Westmorland), notorious country for Papists. Their refusal to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy and to abjure Papal authority was surely tangible proof of their duplicity rather than evidence of Puritan scruples over oaths; while Quaker meetings, like those of other sectaries, were assumed to be potential nurseries for Catholics - 'there is scarce a Conventicle but there will be a Jesuit' it was

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London, 1839), ii. 309-310; The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, ed. A. Clark (Oxford, 1891), i. 190, n.1; F.H.L., MS Portfolio iv. 71; Life of John Roberts, p. 21; Gaskin, Just Defence, pp. 142-3; R. Farmer, The Impostor Dethron'd (London, 1658), introductory epistle; C. Leslie, The Snake in the Grass (3rd edn, London, 1698), pp. 187ff; G.H. Jenkins, 'Quaker and Anti-Quaker Literature in Welsh from the Restoration to Methodism', Welsh Hist. Rev., vii (1975), 416, 422; J.S., The Jesuite Discovered (London, 1659), pp. 11-12; W. Brownsword, The Quaker-Jesuite (London, 1660), passim; J.F.H.S., v (1908), 67, 183; Balliol College Lib., MS. 398, p. 53. Clearly I disagree with Miller's suggestion that the idea of Papists working through the sects was not widely taken up (Miller, Popery and Politics, p. 86).

1. S.R.O., DD/SFR 10/2/20,28 (Somerset Q.M. Epistles and Papers); Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 146-7, 449, 665.

claimed rather rashly at the Bath assizes in 1681.[1]

It was the classic conspiracy theory. Once the hypothesis was accepted then all fell into place, all evidence seemed to support the original contention - on moral, theological, political, even geographical grounds. The Quaker movement was new, its doctrines vague or unknown; it was easy to explain the unfamiliar, the incomprehensible, the apparently threatening, in familiar, comprehensible, readily identifiable terms. Hysteria, the sociologists tell us, is the redefinition of the ambiguous and uncertain into the generalized and absolute so that people at least know what they fear.[2] And so it was with the Quakers, who, like Catholics, were seen as a potential fifth column. 'Its a wonder to see how they multiplie; and its to be feared those Croaking Frogs, the Priests and Jesuits, under this Cover of simple Quaking, steale away the peoples hearts from subjection [a]nd obedience to Government.'[3] If not, then by advocating toleration and undermining the established institutions of Church and State, Quakers were at the very least discrediting Protestantism. Thus the Papists could say 'see now what it is to depart from the Unity of the Romane Catholike Church'.[4]

There were, however, more specific reasons for the establishment's actions. They were not motivated solely by a sense of spiritual outrage, a conviction that the sect had been infiltrated by Popish agents, or indeed belief in the political and social efficacy of Church uniformity. Nor did mistrust, as some Quaker historians would have us believe, operate in a vacuum.

(iii) The 'usurpation'

Hostility lingered, like a hangover, after the 'excesses' of the Interregnum. Justices were worried by the number of Quaker

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1. G.F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford, 1946), pp. 163-4; Baxter, Quakers Catechism, sig. C2v; Brownsword, Quaker-Jesuite, passim; Prynne, New Discovery, p. 4; Prynne, The Quakers Unmasked (London, 1664 edn), pp. 36-7; C. Fowler and S. Ford, A Sober Answer (London, 1656), p. 16; Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire, p. 26.
2. Cf. N.J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour (London, 1962), pp. 81, 85; H. Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements (New York, 1965), p. 52.
3. Publick Intelligencer, 36 (2-9 June 1656), p. 605.
4. Saye and Sele, op. cit., pp. 82-3; Miller, Antichrist in Man, pp. 30ff; Baxter, op. cit., [sig. C4].

ex-soldiers; newsbook readers informed of the military credentials of certain Quakers.[1] In Wales a ballad proclaimed Quakerism a natural progression from soldiering: 'Y foru fe ae'n Drwner ... A threnyd yn Gwacer' (Tomorrow he becomes a Trooper ... the day after that a Quaker).[2] The sect's radical connections did not go unnoticed. People were reminded that John Lilburne had become a Quaker, that Cromwell's man in Scotland, John Swinton, had joined the sect.[3] Quakers, it was said, were irreconcilable enemies to the monarchy; at least that was how Bristol members of the sect (along with Anabaptists) were described to Sir Edward Nicholas in November 1660: 'psons of very dangerous principalls, & evil Enimies (in this City) to his Maties royall pson, Govment, & restauration, & some of them, petitioners to bringe His Martired Matie of blessed Memory to His Triall'.[4] They were accounted, with purchasers of crown lands, Commonwealthsmen, soldiers and Fifth Monarchy Men, among the opponents of the Crown.[5] Quakerism, like other sectarian ideologies, was a living reminder of the era of tub-preachers and 'rusticall impertinencies', a period when the nation's natural rulers had been held in contempt by a 'Hierarchy of handycraftsmen'.[6] It was 'the fag-end of Reformation',[7] a testimony to the evils of enthusiasm and the dangers of separation; the epitaph of political, religious and social radicalism. Hugh Peter was said to have been sheltered by Quakers before his arrest.[8] Edmund Ludlow, on his way to Geneva and exile, was taken for a Quaker by a companion. ('He is a Quaker, a Quaker; to whom I replyed, I was one who

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1. P.R.O., SP.29/28/45; Mercurius Publicus, 14 (3-10 April 1662), p. 230, 39 (25 Sept. - 2 Oct. 1662), p. 643; Kingdoms Intelligencer, 32 (4-11 Aug. 1662), p. 529.
2. Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity, p. 68.
3. F. Duke, An Answer to some of the Principal Quakers (London, 1660), pp. 67ff; J.D [aunay], An Exact History (London, 1660), p. 201; Mercurius Publicus, 49 (29 Nov. - 6 Dec. 1660), p. 792.
4. P.R.O., SP.29/21/107.
5. Kennett, Register, p. 582.
6. A Breife Description or Character ... of the Phanatiques (London, 1660), pp. 14, 48.
7. R.H., The Character of a Quaker (London, 1671), p. 1; quoted in F.B. Tolles, '1652 in History', Bulletin of the Friends Hist. Assoc., xli (1952), 15.
8. V.L. Ruland, 'A Royalist Account of Hugh Peter's Arrest', Huntington Lib. Quart., xviii (1955), 178-82; Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism, p. 556.

desired to tremble at God's word'.)[1] It was no coincidence that attempts were made to link the sect with such personifications of the Revolution. George Joyce - and the allegation captures perfectly the Quakers' public image - '(like Lilburn and several other turbulent Male-contents) turned Quaker; and went over to Holland'.[2]

Of course not all saw the Quakers as a threat. As early as 1661 an officer in the West Riding described the sect as fairly harmless (though his letter gives the impression that others in his area were not so sanguine). By 1666 Sir Peter Leicester thought them the least dangerous of the sectaries.[3] But others did not agree. A Cumberland deputy lieutenant described them as 'a very daingerous people', and a report from Norwich at the time of the Northern Plot, the more threatening of the nonconformists in that area. As Leicester himself pointed out, Quakers were the first to have their meetings suppressed and in 1662 he had found it necessary to draw up a list of members of the sect in his area.[4] So Sir Peter and the Yorkshire officer were probably in the minority.

(iv) Pacifism and loyalty

George Fox may have convinced future generations of Quakers of his peaceful intentions, but he did little to reassure contemporaries. Whatever the image of the early Quakers, they were not seen as pacifists. Their peace declarations were treated as shams; and they had to proclaim their harmlessness repeatedly.

Most Quakers, as Professor Cole has pointed out, retreated into their tents after 1660.[5] Political defeat reinforced faith in the need for the spiritual regeneration of mankind before the millennium could be realized. Some sought solace in apocalyptic

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1. Edmund Ludlow: A Voyce from the Watch Tower, ed. A.B. Worden (Camden Fourth Series, xxi, 1978), p. 194.
2. The Rotterdam Quakers Excommunication and Damning of George Joyce, quoted in W.I. Hull, Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam (Swarthmore, Penn., 1941), pp. 237-8.
3. P.R.O., SP.29/28/13; Charges to the Grand Jury, ed. Halcrow, p. 44.
4. P.R.O., SP.29/90/86; The Intelligencer, 8 (19 Oct. 1663), p. 60. For the list, see C.R.O., DLT/B11 (Tabley MSS), pp. 115-20.
5. For Quaker thought in the early years of the Restoration, see W.A. Cole, 'The Quakers and Politics, 1652-1660' (Univ. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1955), chs 8 and 9.

ranting. 'I am comeing in Ten Thousands of my saints, yea in thousands of thousands of those poore people wch have been long as trodden downe', God told William Bayly; 'fear not their kings nor their Princes, their Parliaments, nor their Rulers, for I will Trample upon kings, & Princes as upon Morters in this ye day of my fury.' John Hill, in 1661, predicted a day of terrible persecution followed by an earthquake which would shake open the prison doors and free all the saints ('shortly after yt time great destruction shall come upon ye wicked').[1] Thomas Taylor (also in 1661) saw the Restoration as the return of the old order and hated all that this change implied. '...now we may do what we will, and who shall controul us?' proclaimed the Quaker's quintessential Cavalier; 'now will we Build our decayed Houses, and Restore our fallen Worships; now will we Repair the broken fences of our Parks, that we may have Game to the full'.[2] Others sounded notes of caution: 'how easie it is for the Lord to turn things about again', Isaac Penington the younger, son of a former lord mayor of London, reminded the victorious Cavaliers in May 1660. George Fox the younger said much the same, obliquely warning the King not to provoke the sects by resurrecting episcopacy.[3]

Yet by early 1661 most would have agreed with the other Fox, Richard Hubberthorne and others that 'he that hath commandeth us, That we shall not swear at all, Mat. 5.34. hath also Commanded us, That we shall not kill'. 'And all Plots, Insurrections, and Riotous Meetings, we do deny'.[4] Moreover, in much Quaker writing of the period there is a strong whiff of the noble monarch surrounded by evil counsellors and even more evil gentry in parliament and the provinces. 'I waite for Justice of thee o King, for in the Countrey, I can have noe Justice among the Magistrates, nor Shreiffes, nor Baylyes', wrote Elizabeth Hooton in 1662. Or as a Cheshire Quaker put it: 'if the king knew how .... Mr Oldfield [a J.P.] dealt with

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1. F.H.L., Edmond Crosse MS., pp. 2-3; B.L., Add. MS. 36735 (Quaker Letters 1653-76), pp. 24-5.

2. T. Taylor, Truth's Innocency (London, 1697), p. 122, quoted in Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 3.

3. I. Penington the younger, Some few Queries [London, 1660], p. 3; G. Fox the younger, Honest, Plain, Down-right-Dealing (London, 1660), p. 2.

4. A Declaration from the Harmles & Innocent People of God (London, 1660), pp. 4, 8.

them (meaning the Quakers) .... the king would not like well of it'.[1]

There is evidence, however, that not all adhered to the view of the majority. John Pennyman claimed that there had been dissension over the peace testimony, that Fox had encountered opposition to one of his accommodating ('temporizing') tracts written shortly after the King's return: almost certainly Margaret Fell et al's, A Declaration and an Information (1660).[2] Pennyman, as a schismatic, may have had old scores to settle, but he was a Quaker at the time of the alleged dispute and in London, and his other accusations of wholesale deletions of warlike and anti-monarchical passages from reprinted Quaker tracts were perfectly accurate. In fact the better known peace declaration of 1660/1 does lack some important Quaker signatures, notably Edward Billing and the London Quakers who had served as militia commissioners in 1659.[3] (Edward Burrough's name and that of George Fox the younger were also absent, though the former's probably because he was in Ireland at the time.) Even the theme of the noble monarch and his evil counsellors could be curiously double-edged. As Professor Rudé has pointed out, it was a feature of pre-industrial popular protest,[4] and in any case was a notion unlikely to reassure a king whose own father had been toppled by a parliament whose same simple distinction between its monarch and his counsellors had enabled it to levy war against him - in his name.

But we have more to go on. Although I would not want to press this point too far, the Perrot schism (the first major split within the Quaker movement) may have had more to it than disagreement over the wearing of hats during prayer. '... as if in a Civil State or Common-wealth there were no use or place for such things', Robert Rich, a Perrot follower and old friend of Nayler, replied to Fox's criticism of John Perrot for wearing a sword. 'I would therefore know of G.F. what is more meet and proper to obtain and keep and

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1. Elizabeth Hooton, ed. E. Manners (London, 1914), pp. 36-7; Curtis, 'Quarter Sessions Appearances', pp. 143-4. See also S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/2, pt ii, fos 43, 69.

2. J. P[enny]man, The Quakers Unmask'd (London, 1691), pp. 1, 2; M. F[ell], et al, A Declaration and an Information (London, 1660), [5 June], pp. 4, 8; Leslie, Snake in the Grass, pp. 224-5.

3. For the declaration, see p. 177, n.4 above.

4. See his Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1973), p. 52.

defend carnal things than carnal weapons?'[1] Other Quakers may have felt the same way, and may have shared the thoughts of the unknown Quaker who wrote at the time of Lambert's rising in April 1660. He doubted whether God intended to use 'that way of warring wth carnall weapons ... for in our dayes the Lord semes not by yt way to appeare, as formerly but by another secrett hand', yet did not entirely preclude the use of force. Warfare could be lawful if the individual concerned felt 'in his owne conscience by ye devine principle' that 'he was called of god thereunto'.[2] The possibilities were still there. The Yorkshire Quaker who said that 'if God put ye sword into his hand he must strike' was certainly thinking along such lines. Two Norfolk Quakers were in trouble in 1662 for threatening that if the Quaker Act was enforced 'rather than wee will be undone by Fynes or sent away at the kings pleasure we will fight for it'.[3] We know too that for Edward Coxere, a Kentish merchant-seaman converted to Quakerism by Burrough and Samuel Fisher, acceptance of the peace testimony was a gradual process: 'I did not lay down fighting on other men's words, but the Lord taught me to love my enemies in his own time.' Some Quaker seamen, claimed Coxere, either rejected the peace stand or were deceitful about it.[4]

There are suggestions, I have said, of disunity in the sect's attitude to the King. True, most accepted the legitimacy of the restored monarchy, as God's will and a judgement against prevaricating revolutionaries, and were willing to declare as opposed to swear to their fidelity. But on two occasions (in 1660 and 1662) Edward Billing refused to declare himself a 'loyal subject' or even promise not to plot against the King; and other Friends

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1. [R. Rich], Hidden Things brought to Light (London, 1678) p. 28.
2. Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania, Etting MS. iv. 2 (Letter concerning John Lambert, 1660). I know of no evidence to support Dr Hull's suggestion that the piece was by Benjamin Furly. I have checked the letter against a sample of Furly's handwriting in Friends' House Library and they do not match (cf. Hull, Benjamin Furly, pp. 55-6).
3. P.R.O., Assi. 45/7/2/172 (Assizes, North-East Circuit Depositions, 1664); R.T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism (Camb ., Mass., 1969), pp. 16-17.
4. Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere, ed. E.H.W. Meyerstein (Oxford 1945), pp. 87, 89, 102. Cf., also, A Short Account of the Life of Mr John Pennyman (London, 1703), pp. 18-19; 'Transcripts of John Ward's Diary 1648-1679' (5 vols, typescript, Medical Society of London), v .1122.

were involved.[1] We know too that several Quakers were imprisoned in Durham in January 1661, yet Steven Crisp's voluntary engagement, penned in Durham gaol, contains only two signatures.[2] One or two Quakers wrote stuff which was clearly treasonous. '...it had been better for thee that thou hadst never come', Fox the younger wrote threateningly to Charles in 1660.

> O, think not that men can preserve thee, though all the Nation about promise to help thee! yet when the LORD appears against thee Thou must fall, verily there is a great Desolation near, thy hand cannot stay it .... The Nations are like a boyling Pot, a little flame will set them on fire ... the stubble will be consumed ... the ungodly shall be abased ... the Seed shall be exalted.

Indeed in 1661 Fox the younger's Clitheroe scrivener was arrested and orders were issued for his own apprehension for writing a 'scandalous and dangerous paper against his Majesty and Government'.[3] Again the Perrot followers were much in evidence. Charles Bailey chose an unfortunate moment to warn the monarch of God's impending vengeance - it was a month before the Northern Plot and Bailey was promptly clapped into the Tower for his trouble.[4] John Brown, another Perrot supporter, entered the Quaker meeting house the Bull and Mouth in July 1664, his cropped hair covered in dust, and naked except for a loin-cloth. The entrance was bizarre and seditious. The Almighty would require blood for the persecution of the Quakers. God 'will cut of ye locks of ye head, & shave ye Crowne', Brown predicted with obvious reference to the King; 'Woe to C & J [Charles and James duke of York] destruction draweth Nye'.[5] Finally non-Quaker sources sometimes give an idea of what some of the Quaker

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1. P.R.O., SP.29/63/70; C. Leslie, Snake in the Grass, pp. 224-5. Leslie claimed that in June 1660 Billing opposed a Quaker declaration of peaceful intent towards the King to the extent of threatening to print against the tract 'tho' it cost him his Life' if Fox referred to the sect as the King's 'Loyal Subjects'. Eventually the offending clause was omitted. This claim is supported by Ellis Hookes's (the sect's recording clerk) own complaints about Billing in P.R.O., SP.29/63/70 and is doubtless the episode related by Pennyman (see above).

2. MS. Portfolio xxxii. 26. For the others in prison at the time, see Besse, Collection, i. 173.

3. G. Fox the younger, A Collection of the several Books (2nd edn, London, 1665), pp. 262-3 (this letter was not included in the 1662 edn of his works); P.R.O., PC. 2/55, pp. 96-7; F.H.L., Spence MS. iii. 2.

4. P.R.O., SP.29/80/20; Friends' Meeting House, Colchester, MS. Crisp Collection, fo. 154.

5. Edmond Crosse MS., pp. 55-6.

rank and file, the less 'weighty' and 'public' Friends, thought of the Restoration settlement: the daughter of Mark Jellico a Chester Quaker, for example, who was in trouble for saying 'that the King was a Bastard and the Queene a whore'; the Twineham labourer, allegedly a Quaker, who refused to join in with Restoration festivities in Sussex for 'he did not know but that the Kinge maye bee killed within a small tyme'; and finally Thomas Laycock who was committed in 1660 for seditious words against the King, for saying (in Wisbech market place) 'that he did never beare armes but if ever he did it should be against Charles Stuart'.[1]

In the final analysis what the Quakers said they believed was irrelevant: 'you now say, That you cannot Fight, nor take up Arms at all; yet if the Spirit do move you, then you wil change your Principle, and then you will sell your Coat, and buy a Sword, and Fight for the Kingdom of Christ.'[2] 'The Quakers give out, forsooth, that they will not rebel nor fight, when indeed the last year, and all along the War, the Army was full of them', the Welsh prophet Arise Evans wrote in 1660 in his address to Charles II.[3] With its stories of Quakers poisoning relatives and plotting to kill the King of France, and its repetition of a report that an Irish Quaker had murdered a Dublin court official, Mercurius Publicus portrayed the sect as little more than a bunch of dangerous desperadoes.[4] Similarly alarmist tales found their way into parliamentary debate during the passage of the Quaker Act.[5] The sect's refusal to take the oath of allegiance seemed proof of their fundamental disloyalty. Justice Keeling warned that they were keeping their consciences free for future action.[6] At times their stubborness would seem a little too convenient, for on more than one occasion officials investigating conspiracies were unable to extract any usable information from knowing Quakers because of their refusal to swear.[7]

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1. C.C.R.O., MF 80/79 (Mayors' Files 1659-60); A. Fletcher, A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660 (London, 1975), p. 320; Cambridge University Library, EDR B20 (Ely Assize Files 1659-60); Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 443 (for identification of Laycock).
2. Declaration from the Harmles & Innocent People of God, p. 2.
3. A. Evans, To the Most High and Mighty Prince Charles the II (London, 1660), p. 64.
4. Mercurius Publicus, 4 (23-30 Jan. 1661/2), p. 60, 14 (3-10 April 1662), pp. 214, 230, 21 (22-29 May 1662), pp. 334-6.
5. Kennett, Register, p. 641.
6. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, pp. 54-5.
7. P.R.O., SP.29/85/109, 121/93 iii (versus).

In short, fears were exaggerated but not entirely without foundation. It is the same with the problem of Quaker plotting.

(v) Plotting

Plots are difficult to deal with. Confronted with a quagmire of depositions, accusations, counter-accusations, reports, rumours and allegations, the historian faces the temptation to sink into the bog, accepting all and pursuing imaginary plotters as fervently and misguidedly as many a deputy lieutenant did at the time. Perhaps the historian will avoid the morass, shrinking back from it in embarrassment or disdain, rejecting each episode as a government ploy. The correct approach, I suggest, lies somewhere between the two: a healthy scepticism reinforced by an awareness that _agents provocateurs_ did exist,[1] that as often as not the government was the sole beneficiary from these plots and that suspects were often suspects because they were nonconformists and not because they were plotters - but a scepticism softened by the recognition that the fears and tensions were genuine enough, that there were such things as _bona fide_ plots.

We know that Quakers were distrusted. The five thousand arrests at the time of the Fifth Monarchist plot are adequate testimony to that. The authorities were apprehensive about the movement's increasingly sophisticated organization, worried that conspirators would make good use of its network of meetings, its funds, its intelligence system ('Quakers get hold of any thing', one officer reported to the duke of Buckingham, 'and send it abroad, the nation over,, in a week') and the many horses at its disposal.[2] The Dutch connection troubled them, possibly with some justification.[3] Yet there is no evidence of Quaker involvement in either the Fifth Monarchist debacle or the Tong conspiracy. For the Northern Plot, however, the picture is somewhat different.

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1. Cf. _Extracts from State Papers_, p. 179; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Wales, p. 17; _Mercurius Publicus_, 4 (24-31 Jan. 1660/1), p. 63. For the problem of _provocateurs_ and insurrections in the early 1800s, see E.P. Thompson, _The Making of the English Working Class_ (London, 1968 edn), ch. 14, esp. pp. 529-30, 618ff, 629ff.
2. Kennett, _Register_, p. 602; _Journal of George Fox_, ed. Penney, i. 388; _Calendar of State Papers, 1663-4_, p. 507; P.R.O., SP.29/28/99; _Extracts from State Papers_, pp. 135, 146.
3. MSS. Clarendon 77, fo. 269, and 104, fo. 138v; and also appendix A below.

The plot itself was of minor importance. Its historians have often overestimated its impact.[1] The episode may have 'persuaded' wavering politicians that political and religious dissent marched hand in hand, but my own feelings are that by 1663 few would have had to be convinced of that. The truth is, the Cavalier House of Commons needed precious little 'warming', and any reaction to this plot was a symptom rather than a cause of the mood which produced the Conventicle Act of 1664. Yet from the point of view of Quaker-State relations the episode is interesting. Not that it was a turning point in this area either; for if the plot had any impact it was upon the State's attitude to other nonconformists (far more Baptists, Fifth Monarchists, Independents and Presbyterians were involved in the trouble than were Quakers). But the point is that while the majority of Quakers were not involved, some were and many others were suspected. The plot demonstrated yet again the gentry's distrust of Quakers. More than that, it represented the vindication of the suspicions of previous years, showing that the Quaker peace testimony had not found universal acceptance within the sect. For the Quakers the Northern Plot was a climax rather than a turning point.

The Northern Plot consisted of three planned risings: the Derwentdale or Muggleswick plot in Durham, discovered before it even got under way, the Farnley Wood or Yorkshire plot, and the Kaber Rigg plot in Westmorland. They were linked, with central committees and agitators envisaging a co-ordinated rising for October 1663. The episode was not, however, the 'nationwide scheme' with 'remarkably sophisticated organisation' that one of its most recent historians has claimed; nor was it as the Rev. Gee would have us believe 'a really formidable plot'.[2] The conspirators, it is true, had surprisingly widespread links with other countries, but they were the links of nonconformists (many of them Baptists and old army men) as much in the minds of the conspirators themselves as in the

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1. There are several accounts of the risings, none of which are very satisfactory. But they will place my account (concerned solely with the Quakers) into a correct perspective. See Abbott, 'English Conspiracy and Dissent', 522-5; H. Gee, 'A Durham and Newcastle Plot in 1663', Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd series, xiv (1917), 145-56; Gee, 'The Derwentdale Plot, 1663', Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., 3rd series, xi (1917), 125-42; C.E. Whiting, 'The Great Plot of 1663', The Durham University Journal, xxii (1920), 155-67; J. Walker, 'The Yorkshire Plot, 1663', Yorks. Archaeol. Jl, xxxi (1934), 348-59; W.G. Johnson, 'Post Restoration Nonconformity and Plotting' (Manchester Univ. M.A. thesis 1967), ch. 6; J.D. Brearley, 'Discipline and local government in the Diocese of Durham, 1660-72' (Durham Univ. M.A. thesis 1974), ch. 3.

2. Brearley, op. cit., p. 123; Gee, 'Durham and Newcastle plot', p.156.

imaginations of those unravelling the plot. Few 'conspirators' seemed able to agree on a common programme. One unfortunate thought he was up in arms 'for the King and the Country against the present Government'.[1] Only a little over a score rendezvoused at Farnley Wood; about the same number at Kaber Rigg. The only orders given by their commanders were orders to disperse. Many Westmorland men were up early and out late, 'collecting debts' and 'visiting relatives',[2] but few actually turned out. The participants were easily hunted down, and about thirty were executed at Appleby, Leeds and York; others were imprisoned.

'The Quakers have had a deep hand in this plot for in all examinations We Meet with them', Sir Philip Musgrave wrote to Secretary Williamson in November 1663.[3] He was referring to the north-west but his suspicions were shared by others in Durham and Yorkshire. A mysterious group of armed Quakers and Baptists was seen in the Newcastle area.[4] In Durham an informer listed at least eleven Quakers among those he claimed had had a hand in the plot.[5] They included Humphrey Norton, John Langstaffe and Joseph Hellin or Ellin (all in prison 'but not withstanding acted as much as any in England'). Hellin had written to Dr Richardson, one of the plot's organizers, reporting a 'favorable Conjontion of the stars', predicting 24 June 'a hopefull time for action & sucksess', and promising to provide men for the rising. Also listed was Matthew Robinson, a Cockerton Quaker said to have been an 'intelligencer'.[6] Another on the list, George Bateman, was probably not a Quaker, but he had penned a defence of the sect in 1653. Conspirators had met at Bateman's home, and his

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1. B.L., ADD. MS. 33770 (Examinations and Confessions of the Farnley Wood plotters), fo. 2v.

2. Eg. P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/181, 186 (Assizes, North-East Circuit Depositions 1663-4).

3. P.R.O., SP.29/84/28.

4. P.R.O., SP.29/81/106, cf. The Intelligencer, 9 (26 Oct. 1663), pp. 65-6.

5. P.R.O., SP.29/107/29: George Williamson a yeoman, Matthew Robinson (Cockerton); John, Thomas and William Richmond (Highington); John Trotter a tanner (Auckland); John Highington a cordwinder, Robert Fisher a fuller (Durham), Humphrey Norton, John Langstaffe, Joseph Hellin. For identification of the lesser known Quakers, see 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, pp. 371, 372, 376, 378.

6. P.R.O., SP.29/82/105; Add. MS. 33770, fos 3v, 31-31v. Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 39, n. 3, says that Hellin was 'out of unity with Friends' at the time of the plot. This looks to me like a case of ipso facto (see below). In 1664 Joseph Fuce was still referring to Hellin as a Quaker (Crisp Collection, fo. 154). It is interesting that Fox gives 1663 as the year in which Hellin 'runn out', 'turned ... fortune teller' (Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, ii. 314).

nephew John Atkinson 'the stockinger' was one of the plot's ringleaders.[1] Other Durham Quakers were suspected. Another Cockerton man, Thomas Randal, was said to have been a messenger.[2] Christopher Eyon, a Barnard Castle merchant, was distrusted because of his links with fanatics on the Continent and with Reginald Fawcet another plotter.[3] The ex-Quaker Anthony Pearson's name also crops up. Like Eyon he was in touch with Fawcet, and, furthermore, dissuaded an informer from testifying against the 'godly party'.[4] It is impossible to determine how accurate the allegations were. Often the authorities seemed convinced of a suspect's guilt but lacked substantial proof of complicity. Some were imprisoned and later released; some (like Hellin) remained in prison. Others were never picked up.

With the Yorkshire section of the plot we are on firmer ground. There are of course the allegations: Quakers were riding around, armed, the night before the rising; Judith Oates, a Quaker widow, had provided a horse for the Farnley Wood debacle; a Quaker barber from Ripon had engaged; Dr Richardson had promised a party from the East Riding commanded by Major Peter Acklam a leading Humberside Quaker; Leeds plotters had met at the home of the Holbeck Quaker Thomas Benson. Richard Robinson of Wensleydale was suspected as well because he knew John Atkinson, who may himself have been a Quaker, and Dr Richardson, two of the leaders of the planned rising.[5] Quakers were certainly approached: George Watkinson, for one, though we do not know his answer.[6] As early as August Sir Thomas Gower reported that he had been informed by some Yorkshire Quakers that they had been solicited by Baptists 'to joyne in outward things to Spirituall good, and that their answer was they would use no carnall

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1. P.R.O., SP.29/114/22. The tract was An Answer to ... A Discourse concerning the Quakers (n.p., [1653]). Bateman was imprisoned but released in 1664: J. Hodgson, 'Papers relating to the general History of the County of Durham', Archaeologia Aeliana, 1st series, i (1822), 190 (Miss E.M. Rainey, Assistant Librarian, Durham University Library, kindly drew my attention to these papers).

2. P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/171; The Correspondence of John Cosin, ed. G. Ormsby (Surtees Soc., lv, 1870), ii. 314-5. Randall may have turned King's evidence, see Hodgson, op. cit., 188.

3. P.R.O., SP.29/109/48,50, 117/37v, 114/22.

4. P.R.O., SP.29/99/110i, p. 3; Correspondence of John Cosin, p. 316. Fawcet, a Quaker, had a daughter who was in the Pearson household: P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/214.

5. P.R.O., SP.29/92/2, 83/84; Add. MS. 33770, fos 12v, 13, 14v, 15, 16, 34, 35v. For the suggestion that Atkinson was a Quaker, see Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 39, n. 3.

6. Add. MS. 33770, fo. 35.

weapons'.[1] But the strongest link with the Quakers was through Cornet George Denham who was actually executed for his role in the plot. Denham, 'the Grand Agitator', who may have been convinced by the Quaker Thomas Aldam in 1653 and who was said by Monck in 1657 to be a Quaker sympathizer, played a leading organizational role in Yorkshire. He attempted to drum up support in his old regiment - Lilburne's, formerly strongly Quaker - and enrol Quaker support with a declaration against tithes and the ministry, which was aimed, claimed Richardson, at the 'quaqers principally'.[2]

Finally we come to Westmorland, where the authorities were convinced of Quaker complicity. Indeed in 1664 the leader of the Kaber Rigg fiasco, Captain Robert Atkinson, claimed that part of the initiative for the affair had been Quaker inspired.[3] Yet apart from the usual reports of Quakers in arms and allegations which threatened at least one Quaker leader,[4] such claims seem to be based on the involvement of four, perhaps five Westmorland Quakers.[5] Two, Reginald Fawcet and Thomas Wharton, were deeply involved. They acted as agents for the Westmorland side of the rising, attempting to co-ordinate action

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1. P.R.O., SP.29/78/6.

2. Add. MS. 33770, fos 4v, 5v-6, 11v, 32, 33-34v; Add. MS. 25463, fo. 168; P.R.O., SP.29/81/77, 94/112, 97/63. For Denham's earlier activity, see pp.58, 63, n.3 above.

3. P.R.O., SP.29/98/91, pp. 2-3 (Confession of Robert Atkinson).

4. P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/218. Daniel Fleming was suspicious of Fox's presence in the North at the time of the plot and had hopes of implicating him (P.R.O., SP.29/91/68). Another leading Quaker, George Whitehead, originally from Orton, was picked up in London in 1664 and questioned about the plot. He suggested that it was because he was northern born and because the authorities had made a mistake with his name; but a George Whitehead of Orton had been named in depositions concerning the plot - one of the plotters had attempted to send him a pistol - so perhaps this accounts for his arrest (Whitehead, Christian Progress, p. 282; P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/187, 209).

5. We could probably include Thomas Atkinson of Gaisgill, an old tithe resister who may have turned out on the night of the planned rising (P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/178v, 216. And for identification of him as a Quaker, see P.R.O., E112/341/3; K.R.O., WDFC/F15 (Strickland Monthly Meeting Sufferings); Great Book of Sufferings, ii, Westmorland, p. 1. There was still a Quaker of that name in Orton parish (Gaisgill was in Orton parish) in 1678 (Besse, Collection, ii. 24; Bod. Lib., MS. Eng. Misc. b.1 (R)). It is possible that others were involved. John Fothergill, accused and tried but acquitted, may possibly have been a Quaker (P.R.O., SP.29/98/91, p. 10; P.R.O., E112/341/3; K.R.O., WDFC/F15). Thomas Fothergill and Peter Pinder, who had trouble accounting for their whereabouts at the time of the rising, may also have had Quaker links; they were from Ravenstonedale, a parish with several Quaker Fothergills and Pinders (P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/182,185; MS. Eng. Misc. b.1 (R)).

with a group in Durham under the Fifth Monarchist John Joblin[1] and organizing support in Kendal. Both fled after the discovery of the plot thus avoiding certain execution.[2] The other two, Robert Wharton a shoemaker and George Walker a surgeon, both of Kendal, were thought to have been in touch with conspirators in Yorkshire and Westmorland and to have attempted to raise men in Kendal.[3]

So a few Quakers were implicated. There may have been more. The King said that he had evidence of Quaker complicity and the names of those involved. Justice Keeling claimed that 'four or five' of those hanged at York had been Quakers. A report in the Newes claimed that at their execution one of the plotters had requested a Quaker book to be read instead of the Lord's prayer.[4] Quaker sources are sometimes suggestive. The Quaker William Smith, for example, wrote a highly suspicious poem.[5]

> A Crown a Throne, a Scepter is but the world renown
> and when with this Man honour'd is, yet soon he must come down
> There is no Safety in them, tho' Man in them Depend
> But down they must into the dust, & none shall them defend

He concluded (the emphasis is mine):

> Let him yt readeth Understand
> for certainly the time's at hand
> wherin great wonders shall be Seen,
> such as of late years have not been

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1. Joblin's son-in-law, William Coatesworth, had been one of Newcastle's early converts to Quakerism (Whitehead, Christian Progress, pp. 126, 129).

2. P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/179, 200-2, 205-6v, 214; Add MS. 33770, fo. 10; P.R.O., SP.29/84/28 ii, 98/91, passim. The two men were consistently referred to as Quakers. Francis Howgil claimed that Fawcet had been disowned by the sect six years before, yet we know that he was still a Quaker in 1659 (F.H.L., A.R. Barclay MS. 92; Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 103 (Northern Yearly Meeting Minutes), fo. 9). Thomas Wharton of Coatgill (Orton parish) is harder to locate in the Quaker sources. A Thomas Wharton is mentioned in K.R.O., WDFC/F15 but no parish is given. He may have been George Whitehead's brother-in-law (P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/209).

3. P.R.O., Assi. 45/6/3/205, 206v; P.R.O., SP.29/98/57; K.R.O., WD/Ry, 596, 601a, 768, 5716. Daniel Fleming was convinced of their guilt but could get nothing out of them. Walker was secured again in 1666 after new evidence implicated him, though nothing seems to have come of it; he was, it seems, still in Kendal in the 1670s, at liberty and still a Quaker (B.L. Eng. Misc. b.1 (R)). Wharton was probably the man appointed to organize the collection of signatures in Kendal for a Quaker anti-tithe petition in 1659 (Friends' Meeting House, Kendal, MS. 103, fo. 9).

4. F.H.L., Gibson MS. v. 55; Besse, Collection, i. 397; The Newes, 8 (28 Jan. 1663/4), p. 72.

5. F.H.L., Charles Lloyd MS., pp. 15-16.

> And who enquires when this shall be,
> or when they may this come to see
> Let time and Years speak as they Come
> in <u>Sixty Thre[e]</u> much will be done

It is significant that the Quakers found it necessary to deny their involvement in the plot; more significant that some knew of it in advance.[1] Fox thought it likely that certain sections of the movement would be tempted to act: 'I writt against itt to cleere ye truth from such thinges: & to stoppe all forwarde foolish spiritts from runninge Into such thinges & I sent a copy of it Into Westmerland Cumberland Bishopricke & Yorksheere'.[2] Howgil's crisis of conscience suggests also that Quaker reconciliation to the 'prince of Peace' was not quite as clear as Fox liked to claim. 'Indeed I have borne a greatt weight many monethes upon my backe about this plotting', he wrote to Fox from Appleby prison in 1664, '& some that were; so much Inclined I knew to it: whome I Could not wholy rejecte; as beleveing in the treuth nether yett Justiffie so that I have been as upon a Racke betwixt my Freinds & Enimies'.[3] Tantalizing too is Margaret Fell's reponse to the idea of Quaker disaffection: 'there may be some which may be Called of us, that are not of us'.[4] This sort of reasoning was to find its clearest expression over twenty years later when George Whitehead said of a Quaker involved in the Monmouth rebellion - at least a dozen Somerset Quakers had turned out for the rising, three of whom were executed - 'he has <u>ipso facto</u> gone from truth & rendred himself no real Quaker, Ceasing by ye same fact to be of us or in society with us.'[5] But when was a Quaker not a Quaker?

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1. Cf. MS. Portfolio iii. 121; F.H.L., Abraham MS. 7.
2. <u>Journal of George Fox</u>, ed. Penney, ii. 40-41.
3. A.R. Barclay MS. 93.
4. F.H.L., Spence MS. iii. 6, quoted in I. Ross, <u>Margaret Fell</u> (London, 1949), p. 165.
5. S.R.O., DD/SFR 10/2/49. Cf S.R.O., DD/SFR 10/1/45, a letter from Somerset Quakers (Aug. 1685) reporting Quaker involvement in the rising: 'such as did appeare in James Scots Army whereof some had Arms & some not; severall of them long before ye sd Insurecon, their bad conversacons had manifested them to be wholly gon from our society; tho they might retaine ye name of Quaker'. For the sect and the Monmouth rebellion, see <u>J.F.H.S.</u>, xii (1915), 35-6, xv (1918), 141-2, xvi (1919), 134, xlviii (1957), 188; Whiting, <u>Studies in English Puritanism</u>, p. 181; J. Whiting, <u>Persecution Expos'd</u> (London, 1715), pp. 140-8, 152-3, 157; S.R.O., DD/SFR 10/1/45-6, 10/2/48-9, 53, 57, 68; F.H.L., MS. Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings (1684-5), pp. 84, 87, 90, 93, 96-8, 102-3, 110-113, 120-1, 124-5, 173, 196, 260.

APPENDIX A

The Dutch Connection

We know quite a bit about the activities of two Dutch-based conspirators during the early 1660s, and their connections with the Quakers seem quite significant. One was William Cole, a merchant originally from Southampton, who had a consignment of pistols and carbines seized by the Amsterdam authorities and who was thought to have provided financial backing for the treasonable tract Hene Tekel. The other was Sydrach Lester, master of a merchantman, who at one stage had actually been captured by the authorities but had escaped, and who may have been Cole's gunrunner. (He certainly ferried wanted men between England and the Continent.) Both, according to government spies, were in contact with the big names among the exiles. Cole's trading contacts in Southampton - George Emery an old Parliamentary captain and excise man and Robert Wastfield - were both Quakers. Cole's wife Elizabeth, who lived with Wastfield and sometimes used his name, was also a Friend. Lester carried goods for Wastfield as well as Cole; and his mate was a Quaker. Could this have had anything to do with a report in 1663 that there were two sorts of Quakers in Holland: those who wore a sword and those who did not? See, P.R.O., SP.29/79/99, 80/109, 81/46, 84/90, 85/2,31,43,109, 86/47, 92/74; Calendar of State Papers, 1663-4, pp. 279, 356, 360, 361, 379, 456; Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, v.467; The Intelligencer, 1 (31 Aug. 1663), p. 6; Mercurius Publicus, 39 (25 Sept. - 2 Oct. 1662), p. 643; Kants Rec. Office, 24 N54/14, fos 10v, 11v; W.I. Hull, 'Quakerism in Danzig', Bulletin of the Friends Hist. Assoc., xli (1952), 84. Benjamin Furly, the Rotterdam Quaker merchant, was of course a friend of the republican Algernon Sydney: Hull, Benjamin Furly, pp. 77-82.

Arrests of Quakers, January and February 1660/1

County or city	Number arrested	
Yorkshire	[536]	400
London	500	
Lancs	280	
Warwicks	240	
Somerset	[213]	180
Worcests	197	
Bristol	191	
Staffs	[183]	35
Cheshire	[169]	138
Devon	160	
Cambs	156	
Herts	140	
Westmorland	[132]	120
Durham	100	
Kent	100	
Gloucests	100	
Essex	96	
Suffolk	89	
Oxford	88	
Lincs	85	
Northants	82	
Hants	82	
Norfolk	75	
Dorset	73	
Surrey	[70]	
Bucks	61	
Beds	60	
Shrops	54	
Cornwall	50	
Sussex	45	
Wales	43	
Wilts	42	
Berks	40	
Notts	37	
Cumberland	35	
Hereford	35	
Leicests	25	
Hunts	20	
Rutland	4	
Total	4688	

The figures are from Wastfield et al, For the King, unless otherwise indicated. They give the numbers of Quakers in prison at the time the tract was written (c. late February 1661). Those in brackets are arrests taken from other sources: (Yorks) 'Great Book of Sufferings, ii, Yorks, p. 34; (Somerset) S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1 fos. 3v-6; (Staffs) Besse, Collection, i, 650; (Cheshire) 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 139; (Westmorland) Besse, Collection, ii, 9-10; (Surrey) Besse, Collection, i, 690.

PART IV

POPULAR HOSTILITY

CHAPTER SEVEN

POPULAR HOSTILITY TOWARDS QUAKERS, 1652-1664

There is plenty of evidence for popular hatred of Quakers. During the early years of the movement missionary activity was invariably accompanied by unrest and hostility. In the villages and towns of Cumberland and Yorkshire in the 1650s, Quakers were frequently set upon by groups of assailants armed with staffs and clubs. In Lancashire, said Fox, referring to his own unfortunate experiences, it was the custom 'to runn 20 or 40 people upon one man'. It was the same further south. In Bristol, for instance, in 1654, the apprentices were out in the streets, calling for the sect's removal. In Evesham in 1655, when they attempted to hold meetings, Quakers were stoned, spat at, and urinated on.[1] We could go on - the mob attacks of 1659 and 1660 provide other obvious examples.[2]

But if easily established, popular hatred is harder to explain. The sources simply do not permit an analysis of victims and mobs in the way, say, that Professor Rudé has done for crowd activity in different periods and countries.[3] There are no police files to work from, and since (significantly it appears) the authorities rarely took action against the attackers of Quakers, the quarter sessions and assize records are seldom of much help. Furthermore, the Quakers rarely named their opponents or described the mobs except in the vaguest of terms. There are frustrating gaps in the little evidence that is available. We may know who the victims of a particular incident were but not the attackers, or _vice versa_. We may discover Quakers engaged in activity that would be expected to provoke popular hostility - engrossing for example - yet never link those Quakers to any specific incident. Nor, approaching the problem another way, does the nature of Quaker offences permit an analysis of witnesses against Quakers in the manner that Dr Macfarlane has with witchcraft

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1. _The First Publishers of Truth_, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907), pp. 33, 35, 36-7; _The Journal of George Fox_, ed. N. Penney (2 vols, New York, 1973 edn), i. 35-36, 41, 57-9, 60; Friends' House Library (hereafter F.H.L.), A.R. Barclay MSS. 14, 17; H. Smith, _Something further laid open_ (London, 1656), p. 1.
2. See pp. 133-4, 136, 143 above.
3. Eg., G. Rudé, _The Crowd in History_ (London, 1964); _Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century_ (New York, 1973 edn).

depositions.[1] Witchcraft was an uniquely subjective and revealing offence, more in the mind of the victim than the accused, whereas Quaker offences (disturbance of ministers, recusancy, non-payment of tithes) actually took place and witnesses were usually ministers, churchwardens or constables, or, during a slightly later period, professional informers. Yet having said this, we do sometimes know either who the victims of crowd action were or the social status of the Quaker community in a particularly troubled area. The copious Quaker sufferings literature often betrays valuable information concerning motives; quarter sessions records and contemporary diaries are occasionally revealing. In short, we have enough to venture some suggestions.

Some of the hostility was overtly political. As Dr Hill has pointed out, Quakers were attacked as 'Roundheads'.[2] 'It is the same man that was called Roundhead, that is called Quaker' wrote Edward Billing in 1658.[3] This was the case in the days immediately following Charles II's landing. Several Gloucestershire Quakers were manhandled when they refused to drink to the health of the King and 'the Confusion of all Phanatiqs' (a political as much as a religious soubriquet). When Quakers were imprisoned in Lyme Regis in June 1660, a Dorset mob threw stones at the prison window. A Cambridge crowd chanted that the Quakers were 'rebels' and set about demolishing a meeting house. Others were attacked in Somerset: in Shepton Mallet and Somerton.[4] But political motivation was not the only reason for hostility.

Much can be put down to simple ignorance - the effects of indoctrination from pulpit and pamphlet. The sect's reputation often preceded their arrival in a particular area. Before he had even met any Quakers, Richard Davies was 'afraid of any who had the name of a Quaker'; they 'were much preached against' and were represented as 'a

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1. Cf. A. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England (London, 1970), chs 10-12.
2. C. Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (London, 1972), p. 188; eg. Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 115.
3. E. B[illing], A Word of Reproof (London, 1659), p. 11.
4. F.H.L., Swarthmore MS. i. 321; F.H.L., MS. Great Book of Sufferings, i, pp. 423-4; Dorset Record Office (hereafter D.R.O.), M10/A15 (Dorset Quarterly Meeting Sufferings), p. 3; J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (2 vols, London, 1753), i. 87-8; F.H.L., MS Portfolio, i. 73; Somerset Record Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR 8/1 (Somerset Quarterly Meeting Sufferings Book 1656-1672), pt i, fos 38, 38v.

dangerous sort of people'.[1] Ignorance was nurtured by the propaganda of gentry and ministers, for, as I have said elsewhere, the sect was portrayed as little more than a band of dangerous criminals and atheists. Although we do not have any specific evidence for the popular image of the sect, what the ordinary person thought when he or she heard the name Quaker, we can get some idea from the dehumanizing anti-Quaker literature. While they may not have entirely swallowed the image of a secretly bloodthirsty sect, possessed of an unhealthy fondness for horses and a somewhat contradictory blend of asceticism and lasciviousness, who disparaged the scriptures, threatened the stability of Church and State, and who were in all probability Jesuits in disguise, some of the muck (we have only to look at our own tabloid press) must have stuck. The popular image may also have included some vague historical awareness that in Münster, over a century earlier, fanatical principles not unlike the Quakers' had led inexorably to levelling, bloodshed and anarchy; it was a comparison that the sect's enemies enjoyed making.[2] The image in print was damning enough; but when it is realized that many would have derived their sole knowledge of the new movement from word of mouth, by rumour, speculation and from the hostile pulpit - or from the odd woodcut-print or ballad[3] - it is not surprising that there was widespread fear and hostility. 'Some people were so blind and dark', wrote the Quaker Davies of the early years of his sect, 'that they looked upon us to be some strange creatures, and not like other men and women.' One man exclaimed when faced by members of the sect for the first time, 'these be Christians like ourselves, but where are the Quakers?'[4]

Even when the Quakers had already made their initial impact in a

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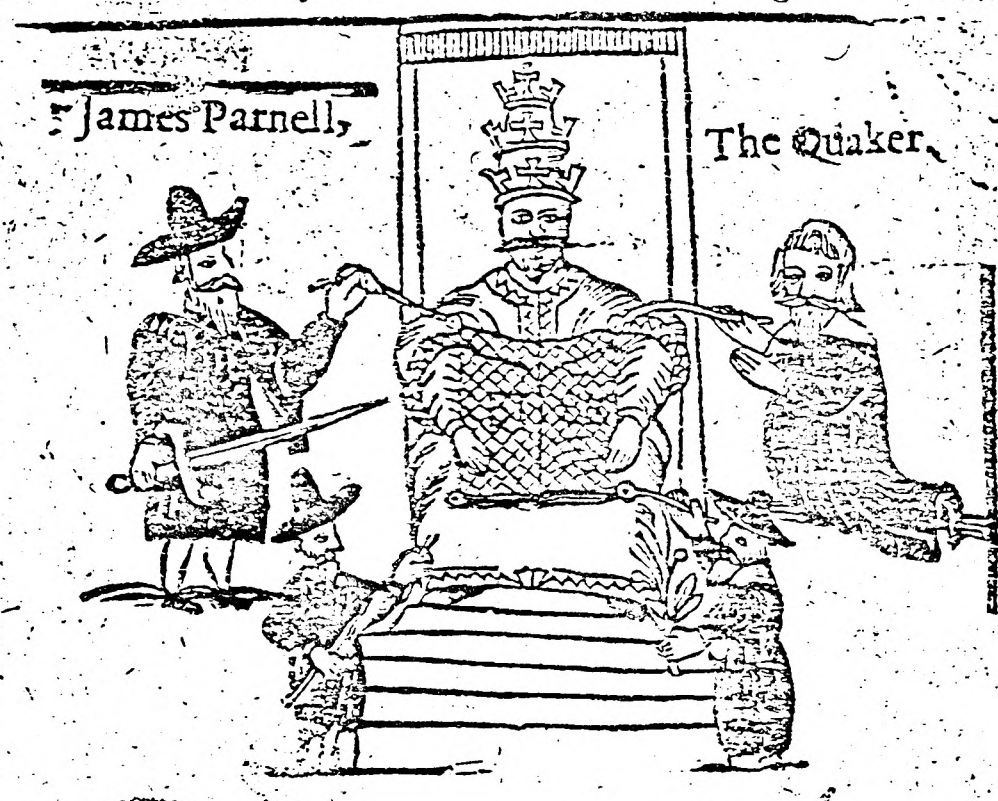
1. Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity ... Autobiography of Richard Davies, ed. J.E. Southall (Newport, 1899), pp. 12, 54-5.
2. See pp. 74-75, 133, 181 above.
3. For prints and ballads, see The Quakers Dream (London, 1655), frontispiece; The Quakers Fear (n.p., 1656?), a ballad to be sung to the tune of 'Summer Time' or 'Bleeding Heart'; [Sir John Berkenhead], The Four-Leav'd Quaker [London, 1659?] (cf. P.W. Thomas, Sir John Berkenhead (Oxford, 1969), p. 201); Bod. Lib., MS. Ashmole 36, fos 88-9; and illustrations pp. 194-195 below.
4. Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity, pp. 54-5. Cf., also, Swarthmore MS. i. 315.

THE QVAKERS FEAR.

OR,

Wonderfull ſtrange and true Newes from the famous Town of *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, ſhewing the manner how one *James Parnel*, a Quaker by profeſſion, took upon him to faſt twelve days and twelve nights without any ſuſtenance at all, and called the people that were his followers or Diſciples, and ſaid that all the people of England that were not of their Congregation, were all damned creatures. Of his blaſphemous Life and ſcandalous Death in the Jayl at *Colcheſter* this preſent month of *April* 1656. you ſhal here have a full Relation.

The tune is, Summer time. Or bleeding Heart.



BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

O God the Father of us all,
Which made the Heavens, the Sea and land
Aſſiſt us with thy holy Spirit,
And guid us with thy powerfull hand.

Let not the Devil our maſter be,
Who ſeeks our Souls for to devour,
But give us grace to arm our ſelves
That he of us may have no power.

A ſtrange and true example here
I am prepared to declare,
Becauſe that others may take heed,
And learn the living Lord to fear.

A man James Parnel call'd by name,
Committed hath ſuch heynous crimes,
That very well he may be tearm'd
To be the wonder of our times.

He went about from place to place,
And undertook to preach and teach,
And matters he did meddle with,
That were to high above his reach.

The holy Bible he deſpiſed,
And was a Quaker by profeſſion,
And ſaid they all were damn'd to Hell
That were not of his Congregation.

Gods Miniſters he ſet at naught,
And made diſturbance up and down,
Where ever he did come or goe,
Both in the Countrey and the Town.

Yet many people followed him,
Which he did his Diſciples call,
And they did believe what ever he ſaid,
To be the trueſt way of all.

But for his wicked blaſphemy
He apprehended was at laſt,
And unto Colcheſters Jayl was ſent,
And there in priſon kept full faſt.

Now while that he was in the Jayl,
He to the people thus did ſay,
That he ſtrange miracles would doe,
Before he parted thence away.

As Chriſt had faſted forty dayes,
And never at all did drink nor eat,
Nor in his body entred not,
So much as one ſmall grain of Wheat.

So will I do James Parnel ſaid,
Becauſe you all ſhall know and ſee,
That I am a Prophet of the Lord,
And them that will believe in me

Shall have eternall joyes in heaven
Amongſt the Souls whom God hath bleſt,
But thoſe that will not me believe,
Shall never come where Saints do reſt.

A many ſuch blaſphemous words
He to the people then did ſpeak,
And twelve long dayes, and as many nights,
To faſt he then did undertake.

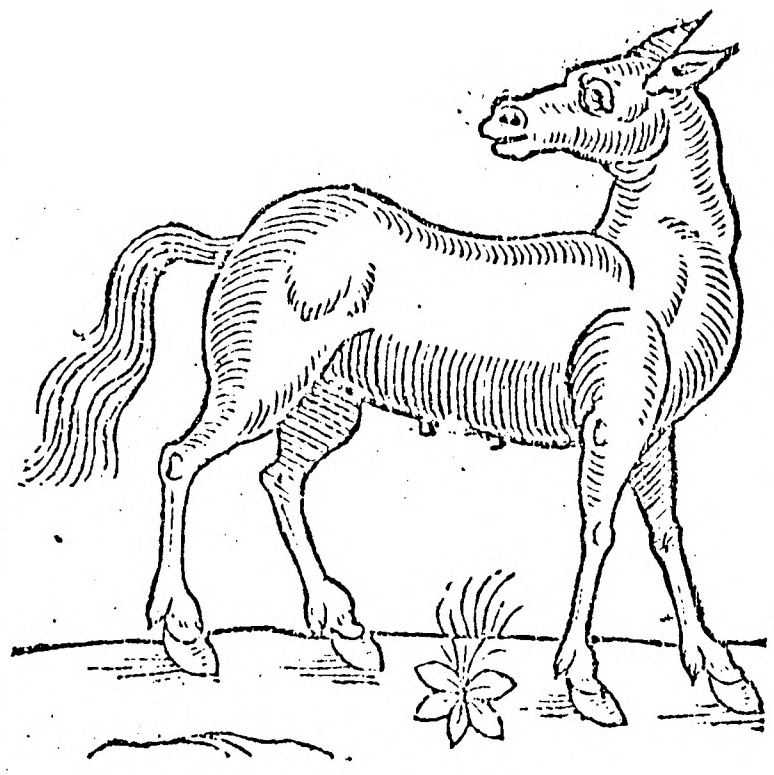
The Quakers Fear (n.p., 1656?)
Bodleian Lib., Wood 401 (165)

THE FOUR-LEGG'D QUAKER,

To the Tune of the DOG and Elder's MAID,

Or, the LADY'S FALL.









Lt hat have two or but one Eare,
(I dare not tell ye half)
You of an *Essex* Colt shall hear
Will shame their very *Calf*.
Horsley Fields neer *Colchester*
A *Quaker* would turn Trooper;
caught a Foal and mounted her

The Master saw his Colt defil'd,
Which vext his soul with doubt;
For if his Filly prov'd with Childe
He knew All would come out:
Then he afresh began to rave,
(For all his Money-taking)
Neighbours, said he, I took this Knave

Alas you know by Man's flesh came
The *Foul disease* to *Naples*,
And now we fear the very same
Is broke into our Stables;
For death hath stoln so many Steeds
From Prince and Peer and Carrier,
That this new Murrain rather need's

[Sir John Berkenhead], The Four Legg'd Quake (n.p., 1659?), Bodleian Lib., Wood 416 (70)

particular region, there could still be hostility from outlying areas. Apart from normal class tensions in the local community and other factors which we will deal with later, the general rule seems to have been that it was outsiders who were attacked rather than close neighbours or members of the community. Thus in Lancashire in 1655 a meeting in Tottington was broken up by 'a deal of rude people' from nearby Bury. Again during the reaction against the sect in 1659-1660, it was often outsiders who were attacked: in Newark-on-Trent and Broad Cerne for example. When the homes of local Quakers were mobbed there is some evidence that it was because they were sheltering aliens. When the Quaker John Coale preached in the streets of York in 1653, 'some of the Rude people of the Cittie did assemble at Night together, & Broke open the dores att Cornet Denhams ... & sayd they would poole his wife in peeces for harboringe such a fellowe'.[1] This is not surprising. The same was true of anti-Catholicism in seventeenth-century England and anti-Protestantism in eighteenth-century Toulouse.[2] It seems to have been parishes not noted for their Quakerism but adjacent to strongly Quaker areas that experienced the greatest paranoia during the Quaker fear in Cheshire and Lancashire in 1659: Manchester, Warrington, Cheadle, Chester, Bolton, Bury.[3] It was the idea of the Quaker that was hated and feared rather than the individual.

Xenophobia may account for some of the enmity. Seventeenth-century society was highly geographically mobile. The population turnover in a parish could be as high as 50 per cent in a ten year period, and few people would have lived out their lives in the same parish. But mobility was predominantly short range, normally under twenty miles. Even the majority of vagrants, who had wider geographical horizons than most of the population, travelled less than fifty miles

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1. [W. Addamson et al], The Persecution of them people they call Quakers (n.p., [1656]), p. 3; Cain's Off-spring Demonstrated (London, 1659), p. 1; D.R.O., N10/A15, p. 1; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, Yorks, p. 17; A.R. Barclay MS. 17. Cf. Besse, Collection, i. 254, 689, for other attacks upon outsiders.
2. R. Clifton, 'The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution', Past and Present, lii (1971), 49; D.D. Bien, The Calas Affair (Princeton, 1960), pp. 55, 146.
3. See p. 135 above.

from their place of origin. Migration was intra- rather than inter-county.[1] Indeed in his survey of population mobility in seventeenth-century Sussex Dr Cornwall discovered that only fourteen of his sample of 202 predominantly rural inhabitants came from outside the county and that nine of those were from adjacent Surrey and Kent. There was little contact between what we can roughly describe as North and South. As Dr Slack's survey of vagrancy shows, only 4 per cent of vagrants taken in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Devon, Cornwall, Colchester, Hertfordshire, Salisbury and Norwich during the first half of the seventeenth century, came from the North (Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland). In the towns the proportion would be higher; but even Dr Clark's figures for northern (general) migration into the urban areas of Kent - 5 per cent of his sample of people resident in the town of Canterbury - are hardly indicative of an influx from the North.[2]

During the turmoil of the civil war years, with armies on the march, there was more mixing and travelling about. Yet it would still be true to say that the average villager, or for that matter many town dwellers, in the southern and home counties, the West Country or East Anglia, would have had few contacts with inhabitants outside his or her own region and little or no contact with northerners. Edmund Skipp, a Herefordshire minister, did not even know where Kendal was.[3]

But the Quakers, most of whom during the earliest years were northerners (many of them women), were tramping about the country-side visiting the most remote and provincial of areas. In 1654 John Audland was averaging thirty miles a day and visited at least forty places, passing backwards and forwards through more than twenty

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1. See L. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (London, 1977), pp. 146-7; W.R. Prest, 'Stability and Change in Old and New England', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, vi (1976), 361; A.L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England', Past and Present, lxiv (1974), 19; P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640', in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (London, 1972), pp. 122-3; J. Cornwall, 'Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xl (1967), 146, 150; P. Slack, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664', Economic History Review, 2nd series, xxvii (1974), 368-9.

2. Beier, op. cit., p. 20; Slack, op. cit., p. 379; Clark, op. cit., pp. 122, 127; Cornwall, op. cit., p. 150. (The percentages are based on the figures of Clark and Slack, but the calculations are my own).

3. E. Skipp, The Worlds Wonder (London, 1655), p. 11.

counties in a matter of a few months.[1] Unfortunately it is rarely that itineraries of this sort survive for this early period. But we do know that some time later (in the 1670s and 1680s) another northerner, Thomas Salthouse, covered nearly a thousand miles in less than six months.[2] And Charles Marshall (from Bristol) attended over four hundred meetings in thirty-six <u>different</u> counties during the first two years of his ministry.[3] There is no reason to assume that during the headier 1650s the pattern would have been very different.

So it is at least possible that some of the hostility was a parochial reaction to what was seen as either an outside or northern invasion.[4] 'Our quiet west country people do Judge them to be men of a strang humor', it was reported in 1655 after the sect's impact in that part of the country.[5] And Quakers certainly met with intense opposition when they entered the rural areas of Sussex, which, we have seen, appear to have had little contact with outsiders.[6]

The early Quakers were intruders - perhaps at times scapegoats for the tension generated by a society in flux. Like witches they could be used to account for the unaccountable: in this case, the break-up of families and the undermining of deference. Like the early Methodist ministers of the following century, they were men and women 'bent on removing traditional landmarks of social life', 'unleashing unwanted social and religious innovation'.[7] They were the objects of what I would describe as a blind gut-conservatism and what Dr Morrill has referred to as a 'fully developed provincialism', championed earlier during the 1640s by the Clubmen (Quakers occasionally

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1. 'Swarthmore MS Letters of John Audland', ed. C. Horle (typescript, F.H.L., 1975), no. 18. I am grateful to Mr Horle for drawing my attention to this typescript .
2. A.R. Barclay MS. 132.
3. <u>The Journal ... of Charles Marshall</u> (London, 1844 edn), pp. 14-20.
4. See p. 71 above.
5. Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), SP.18/97/87.
6. East Sussex Record Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), SOF 5/1 (Sussex Quarterly Meeting Sufferings 1655-1751), pp. 1-4, 27-8; Swarthmore MS. i. 315.
7. Hostility towards Quakers in the seventeenth century is strikingly similar to hostility towards Methodists in the eighteenth: see J. Walsh, 'Methodism and the Mob in the eighteenth century', <u>Studies in Church History</u>, viii (1972), 213-227 (the quotations come from Walsh, pp. 222, 223). I am grateful to Mr K. Thomas for drawing my attention to this article.

referred to their opponents as Clubmen)[1] who had banded together to repel the invader and innovation. The Quakers were not only foreigners and intruders but also the very apotheosis of the ecclesiastical and social upheaval that was anathema to the provincial traditionalist who hearkened back to the old order and (like the Wiltshire and Dorset Clubmen) a return to 'the pure religion of Queen Elizabeth and King James'.[2] We shall see that as N.Z. Davis found of religious riot in France in the sixteenth century, attackers of Quakers can be seen as assuming clerical and magisterial roles: 'defending true doctrine or ridding the community of defilement'.[3] Friends could be extremely disruptive, splitting families (modern sects are hated for similar reasons) and upsetting the local community. Indeed sectarian loyalties superseded familial ties, for as one Quaker put it 'its better to forsake wife and children and all that a man hath ... for christ and the truth sake'.[4] When Jane Holmes arrived in Malton in 1652 she drew women from their husbands and sons from their fathers. Thomas Dowslay's son told him he was no more to him 'then any other man'; and Major Bayldon was unable to 'keepe his wife at home'.[5]

Then there were the recurring accusations that Quakers were witches. Apart from some murmurings about Quaker diabolism in Dorset in 1659 and 1660 which seem to have come to the attention of the assizes,[6] an

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1. Eg. G.F [ox], To Those that have been formerly in Authority (London, [1660]), p. 5.

2. For Clubmen, see D. Underdown, Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum (London, 1973), p. 133; J.S. Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces (London, 1976), pp. 98-111, 196-200 (the quotation comes from Morrill, op cit, p. 110).

3. N.Z Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', Past and Present, lix (1973), 61-5.

4. Swarthmore MS. vi. 51.

5. P.R.O., Assi. 44/5 (Assizes, North-East Circuit Indictments), Yorks 1652, most of which (though not Jane's surname or the fact that she was a Quaker) is printed in Depositions from the Castle of York, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc., xl, 1861), pp. 55-7. For examples of sectarian ties cutting across families, see Record of the Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall 1655-1686, ed. N. Penney (London, 1928), pp. 17ff; S.R.O., DD/SFR 8/1, pt i, fo. 26v; and of course The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood (London, 1714), pp. 47ff. For fears of the effect of Quakers upon the family, see G. Fox et al, Saul's Errand to Damascus (London, 1654), p. 1; G. Emmot, A Northern Blast or the Spiritual Quaker (London, 1655), p. 6; F.H [igginson], A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers (London, 1653), p. 75; R. Farmer, The Great Mysteries of Godlinesse and Ungodlinesse (London, 1655), p. 87; The Querers and Quakers Cause (London, 1653), pp. 14-15; The Quakers terrible Vision (London, 1655), p. 5.

6. Two Quaker witches were said to have confessed to having intercourse with the Devil. See R. Blome, The Fanatick History (London, 1660),

incident in New England in 1656 in which (as witches) two Quaker women underwent a humiliating and brutal internal examination,[1] and an attempt by justices and ministers in Cambridgeshire to tar the Quaker movement with the witchcraft brush,[2] few such charges ever reached the courts. None received the complete encouragement of officialdom. If they had, the history of the early Quaker movement might have been different; Cambridge might have become the Quaker Salem. But the fears and suspicions were real enough. An aura of mystery soon shrouded the early movement, while superstition ensured that the Quaker found a niche within the somewhat broad compass of British folk-lore.[3]

Quakers were said to bring the rain. It was thought that they had a Jonah-like effect if allowed on board a ship. And it was claimed that they bewitched their followers. After their conversion to Quakerism Richard Davies and his companions 'were not free to go into any neighbour's enclosures, for they were so blind, dark, and ignorant, that they looked upon us as witches, and would go away from us, some crossing themselves with their hands about their foreheads and faces.' Bewitching, it was argued, was performed either by means of charms - strings or ribbons about the wrist (there is a reference in Samuel Pepys's diary to a discussion concerning this notion) - or by getting people to drink from strange bottles, an allegation which seems to crop up fairly frequently. The rector of Siddington (Gloucestershire) refused a drink offered to him by a Quaker, saying that it was 'full

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pp. 117-8; [T. Smith], A Gagg for the Quakers (London, 1659), [p. 2]; P.R.O., Assi. 24/22 (Assizes, Western Circuit Order Book 1652-1676), fo. 76.

1. G.F [ox] and J. Rous, To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England (n.p., [c. 1658/9]), pp. 1-2.

2. Strange & Terrible Newes from Cambridge (London, 1659), passim; J. Blackley et al, A Lying Wonder Discovered (London, 1659), passim; E. Porter, Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore (London, 1969), pp. 169-72; W.Y. Tindall, John Bunyan Mechanick Preacher (New York, 1934), pp. 217ff. John Bunyan was involved in the Cambridge accusations.

3. Cf. the old Cornish story that Quakers are buried upright so that they can be quick off the mark at Judgement Day: A. Smith, The Established Church and Popular Religion 1750-1850 (London, 1971), p. 23. It has been suggested that the tall witch hat of nursery tales derives from the headgear of women Quakers: cf. K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London, 1973 edn), p. 581, n. 77.

of hops and heresy.'[1]

The case of Jane Holmes, preserved fortunately in the Yorkshire assize records, provides what is probably the best example of the speculation, uncertainty and superstition which could surround Quaker activity during the formative years of the movement. I have already referred to Jane's disruptive influence in Malton in 1652. She abused the minister and drew people away from the church; she held meetings at odd hours of the night and split up families. In short, she was 'an instrument of the disturbance of the whole towne'. Her enemies in Malton attributed at least part of her diabolical success to a mysterious bottle which she was said to carry with her. One woman swore that she had seen the Quaker give a drink to a girl who thereupon lapsed into a trance. Another inhabitant, Anthony Beedall, deposed that he had met Jane and that she had told him that 'he had an evill spiritt within him'. She told him to follow her onto the Wolds and she would 'lye his sinns before him', so he accompanied her and drank from a bottle which she gave him. He went into a trance and was violently sick, but Jane said that it was only the spirit working in him and that if he would stay with her 'she would shew him Christ and his twelve Apostles' and that if he would fast for forty days and forty nights 'he should be as good as Christ'. Finally, after an episode in which Jane allegedly advised him to walk across the Derwent rather than travel by a boat which she felt sure would sink, Beedall was found by friends. But he admitted that he had 'had a great desire to goe to her againe'.[2]

George Fox himself was suspected to be something of a sorcerer or witch, who rode around on a big black horse and could turn people Quaker by merely holding them by the hands or by touching their foreheads. He was reputed to be able to read thoughts and 'discern the complexions of mens soules in their Faces'. Francis Bugg, an erstwhile convert who later became one of the sect's bitterest critics, said that it was 'the common Opinion' that Fox 'bewitch'd the People',

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1. Swarthmore MS. i. 27; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 169, 273; Strange & Terrible Newes, p. 7; A.N. Brayshaw, The Personality of George Fox (London, 1933), p. 70; Leaves from the History of Welsh Nonconformity, pp. 28, 36; Blome, Fanatick History, pp. 114-5; The Devil turned Quaker (London, 1656), [sig. A5]; T. Underhill, Hell broke loose (London, 1660), p. 46; Narrative Papers of George Fox, ed. H.J. Cadbury (Richmond, Indiana, 1972), p. 22; 'Great Book of Sufferings', i, p. 56; The Diary of Samuel Pepys, eds. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 1971), iv. 438; D. Roberts, Memoirs of the Life of John Roberts (2nd edn, 1973), p. 48.

2. P.R.O., Assi. 44/5, Yorks 1652.

and Bugg repeated rumours that the Quaker leader used to distribute groats to labourers who attended his meetings:

> those who took it and kept it, from that time fell into Trouble of Mind, and a restless Condition, and at last into Fits, and so became stiff Quakers: Others who carry'd him his Money again, or threw it away, were deliver'd, and recover'd their right State of Mind.

One tract even claimed that Fox had a long brush of hair by his ears like a fox's tail 'which he strokes often and playes with and sports with it'.[1]

Of course a great deal of the answer to this lies with the behaviour of the sect. William Mosse a tailor from Over Whitley in Cheshire linked his conversion to an incident in which, after a terrifying gallop on a big black horse, he was thrown over three great thorn hedges; 'since that time', Mosse explained proudly, 'he was enlightened'.[2] Fox, if the Journal is any indication, was proud of his reputation and seems to have played along with it - the bizarre leather suit for example.[3] At least one contemporary noted that the Quaker leader had a tendency to fix his eyes firmly upon strangers 'as though he wold look them through'.[4] Their habitual meeting places in woods, commons, on mountains, in houses 'most solitary and remote from Neighbours, situated in Dales and by-places' - encouraged specualtion and stimulated that fear of the unknown. Malton observers talked suspiciously of the strange noises that emanated from the Quakers' nightly meetings.[5] Their trembling and shaking, behaviour traditionally associated with the work of Satan, what Lodowick Muggleton called their 'Witchcraft-fits', must have seemed convincing testimony of demonic possession.[6]

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1. George Fox's 'Book of Miracles', ed. H.J. Cadbury (New York, 1973 edn), p. 95; Journal of George Fox, ed. Penney, i. 31-2, 38, 50, 104; Underhill, Hell broke loose, p. 48; Higginson, Brief Relation, pp. 18-19; F. Bugg, A Finishing Stroke (London, 1712), p. 240; The Quaking Mountebanck (London, 1655), p. 17.
2. Quarter Sessions Records ... for the County Palatine of Chester, 1559-1760, eds J.H.E. Bennett and J.C. Dewhurst (Rec. Soc. of Lancs and Cheshire, xciv, 1940). p. 164.
3. Brayshaw, op. cit., p. 27.
4. Higginson, op. cit.
5. Higginson, op. cit., p. 11; P.R.O. Assi. 44/5, Yorks 1652.
6. L. Muggleton, A Looking-Glass for George Fox (London, 1756 edn), p. 46. Cf. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp. 569, 580-1. In Salem several decades later this kind of behaviour was taken as symptomatic of witchcraft at work: P. Boyer and S. Nissenbaum, Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of

Like the witch, the Quaker could be used to explain apparently inexplicable misfortune: such as the death of the parson in Sherborne in Dorset and the rapid exit of his successor.[1] And Quakers were readily identifiable, either as the outsider or the social nonconformist (with distinctive speech, behaviour and dress) in a tightly-knit community. Witchcraft could also explain the sect's otherwise unaccountable success.

Hostility, however, took less bizarre forms than accusations of witchcraft. Many disliked the Quakers' 'holier than thou' attitude. Lodowick Muggleton considered them 'proud and stiff-necked ... thinking themselves that they are better than other People'. Some were repelled by their querulousness. The Welsh prophet Arise Evans thought them uncivil. Ralph Farmer said that they were 'fierce and heady, and raging'. Even women ('the ornament of whose sex is a meek and quiet spirit') became 'unnatural' and 'immodest' under the Quaker influence, 'lifting up their voices in the very streets and publike congregations'.[2] Muggleton also disapproved of their austerity and reminded them that 'Christ himself' did 'keep company with publicans and sinners'.[3] John Bunyan was more suspicious, hinting that this outward gloss concealed an essential depravity.[4] Hence the image which permitted puritanical morality a place beside rampant debauchery. For just as the Quakers' meeting habits had encouraged rumours of witchcraft, they stimulated stories of immorality and they probably became (as Dr Walsh has said of the eighteenth-century Methodists) the objects of the surrounding community's own sexual fantasies.[5] Lord Saye and Sele thought

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Witchcraft (Harvard, 1975), pp. 4, 25-30.

1. Blome, Fanatick History, pp. 117-8.
2. L. Muggleton, The Neck of the Quakers Broken (London, 1756 edn), p. 54; C. Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1974), p. 64; R. Farmer, The Impostor Dethron'd (London, 1658), p. 17.
3. L. Muggleton and J. Reeve, A Volume of Spiritual Epistles (London, 1820), p. 80.
4. The Works of John Bunyan, ed. G. Offor (3 vols, London, 1852-3), ii. 183.
5. Walsh, 'Methodism and the Mob', 224.

that, 'like the Vespers', their night gatherings encouraged lasciviousness. 'Tis now reveal'd', noted a scurrilous tract probably by the Royalist Sir John Berkenhead who was referring to the allegations of Quakers buggering mares, 'why Quakers meet in Meadows, Woods, and Pastures.'[1]

It is extremely difficult to explain what can best be described as the socio-economic basis for popular hostility. Some of the animus was probably economic in motivation. As anyone even vaguely familiar with corporation records will know, most communities were paranoiac about outside interference in local trade.[2] Since many of the early Quakers were traders, and since many combined spiritual with more worldly pursuits, commercial rivalry is a possibility which should not be ignored. Edward Coxere certainly claimed that the hostile treatment he received in Yarmouth was due principally to competition over the herring traffic, in which he, the mate of a merchantman, was engaged.[3] Perhaps economic factors help to account for the rigid anti-Quaker legislation on the New England mainland in the 1650s - an area in which Rhode Island Quaker merchants seem to have been undercutting local trade.[4] It is also worth recalling that the apprentice insurrection against Bristol Quakers in 1654 - merchants and shopkeepers - had the sanction of the boys' masters, probably the Quakers' business competitors.[5] But these are only suggestions.

The obvious approach when dealing with underlying social tensions and the motives behind popular hostility is to look at

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1. [W. Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele], Folly and Madnesse Made Manifest ([Oxford], 1659), p. 23; Four Legg'd Quaker. For similar assumptions about Protestant conventicles in sixteenth-century France, see Davis, 'Rites of Violence', 57. The same suspicions are with us in this century. Alan Smith relates a story he was told concerning the Methodists: 'There's a room behind the chapel and when they've had the prayers and a bite to eat they turn down the gas and its every man for himself. They call it a love feast!' (Established Church, p. 21).

2. Cf. L.J. Ashford, History of the Borough of High Wycombe (London, 1960), p. 122.

3. Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere, ed. E.H.W. Meyerstein (Oxford, 1945), p. 99; Cf., also, Narrative Papers of George Fox, p. 23.

4. Cf. Besse, Collection, ii. 195.

5. See pp. 208-209 below.

the composition of the mobs themselves. What sort of people attacked Quakers? We cannot, I have said before, apply Professor Rudé's methods because we have only Quaker descriptions to go on: 'Some of the very basest sort', 'the rudest sort of people', 'Rude people', 'the rude multitude', 'rude rabble', 'rude people of ye baser sort', 'rude people of ye town', Barbarous rude people', 'vile fellows of ye rude multitude', 'Scholars, lewd Women, Townsmen & Boys', the 'Rabble of Boys and rude people', 'scholars', 'youths', 'prentices', 'rude boys', 'prentices with the rude people'.[1] These descriptions are hardly the stuff that sociological analyses are made of, yet they are suggestive (if for the moment we can disregard the scholars, students of Oxford and Cambridge, who were involved partly as pranksters, partly as custodians of the social, cultural and occupational status quo)[2] of two main groups. The first, though the descriptions may have been terms of abuse rather than sociological observations, was the lower orders. (The epithets 'base', 'rude', were used frequently in the seventeenth century to describe the lower classes.)[3] The second group was the youths and apprentices.

The involvement of the lower orders suggests that some of the motivation behind attacks on Quakers was the kind of social protest that Professor Rudé has found of crowd activity in the eighteenth century: and others have discovered in popular violence in fourteenth-century Spain and sixteenth-century France: 'a groping desire to settle accounts with the rich, if only for a day, and to achieve some rough kind of social

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1. E. B[illing] to George Fox the younger [1661]: The Mount School, York, MS. Friends' Letters; Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere, p. 86; Cain's Off-spring, p. 1; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, p. 3, Yorks, p. 17; Smith, Something further laid open, p. 2; First Publishers of Truth, p. 35; D.R.O., N10/A15, p. 1; Swarthmore MSS i. 315, iv. 16; Kent County Archives Office (hereafter K.A.O.), CP/Bp 125 (Cinque Ports Brotherhood Papers); Besse, Collection, i. 87-8; Life of Thomas Ellwood, pp. 78-9.
2. For attacks by students in Oxford and Cambridge, see Besse, Collection, i. pp. 86-8, 565-6. And for pranksters: Besse, Collection, i. 566; some students 'proffer'd to put their Hands under Women's Aprons, and ask'd If the Spirit were not there?'
3. Cf. Hill, Change and Continuity, ch. 8.

justice'.[1] Indeed just as during the Gordon riots it was the properties of wealthy Catholics that were destroyed rather than those of Catholics in general,[2] there is a suggestion that it was sometimes the more substantial Quakers who were attacked rather than Quakers in general: Humphrey Bache the London goldsmith, Edward Billing the London brewer, Quaker merchants in Bristol.[3] In Colchester several of the sect belonged to the economic elite (and during the 1650s the political elite): John Furly junior and John Furly senior, linen-draper and merchant respectively, the grocer Thomas Bayles, the baymakers William Havens and Solomon Fromantell.[4] So they too would occasionally become the butts of a similar kind of class hatred. Like that of the drunken feltmaker, for instance, who abused Furly senior and a companion, calling the latter 'a justless turd, old fool and old rogue' and saying that he (the irony obviously escaped the feltmaker) was as good a man as Furly's companion was. Or that of the crowd of weavers and women who besieged the home of Furly junior in 1675, saying that they would 'pull Furly out by the Eares' and "fire his house".[5]

There are clues, too, in the occupations of Quakers. Some Lancashire Quakers were money-lenders.[6] We know from my own appendix below and from the work of Professor Vann and Mr Mortimer that others elsewhere were dealers in the victualling trade - badgers, corn factors, millers, merchants, grocers, brewers, bakers[7] - so they presumably incurred that well-

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1. Rudé, Crowd in History, pp. 224-5; Rudé, Paris and London, p. 289; Davis, 'Rites of Violence', pp. 54, 78-81. Though we should note Professor Davis's warning that in so far as Catholic and Protestant popular violence in sixteenth-century France was concerned, 'the overall picture in these urban religious riots is not one of the "people" slaying the rich'. She suggests that socio-economic conflict was more likely in peasant risings.
2. Rudé, Crowd in History, p. 225.
3. Life of Thomas Ellwood, pp. 78-9; Swarthmore MS. v. 93.
4. For the Colchester elite, see p. 67 above.
5. Essex Record Office (hereafter E.R.O.), T/A 465/2 (Colchester Borough Records: Examinations and Recognizances 1646-1687), 21 June 1654, Nov. 1675.
6. A.B. Anderson, 'A Study in the Sociology of Religious Persecution: The First Quakers', Journal of Religious History, ix (1977), 256.
7. See appendix 2 (pp. 220 - 35); R.T. Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure', Past and Present, xliii (1969), 87; Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol

attested popular hatred and suspicion of middlemen and speculators, those who were generally thought to be the perpetrators of the periodic grain crises with which the nation was afflicted.[1]

Some Quakers, then, were engaged in activity likely to incur popular wrath; but we only have firm evidence when they are actually caught and presented for such before the quarter sessions. Thus the Hertford grocer John King and (probably) the Bedfordshire yeoman John Crook (before he became a Quaker) were prosecuted for engrossing corn. The Walthamstow yeoman Mark Sarjeant was in trouble for regrating butter. The Colchester baker Arthur Condore was presented for selling underweight loaves.[2] When the Quaker Thomas Bush, a Sawbridgeworth maltster, was assaulted in 1659 by men armed with swords, clubs, staffs and knives, it was not because of his faith but because he had used a false strickle for measuring grain. When the Colchester merchant John Furly was attacked during the weaver's riot of 1675 it was because he had been 'selling ye Corn out of ye land' during a time of dearth.[3] The extent to which the movement as a whole was affected by the 'middleman' stigma must of course remain conjectural. My own appendix of Quaker social origins, set out below, would seem to suggest that statistically there was little basis to the notion: the percentage of Quakers involved in occupations of this kind was not strikingly high.[4] But it is interesting that during the food riots of the eighteenth century Quaker meeting houses were attacked by rioters who maintained that Quaker millers and corn factors were engrossing and forestalling corn.[5]

1667-1686, ed. R. Mortimer (Bristol Rec. Soc., xxvi, 1971), p. xxviii.

1. For hostility to middlemen, see R.B. Westerfield, Middlemen in English Business (Yale, 1915), pp. 126-7; E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd', Past and Present, 1 (1971), 76-136; J. Walter and K. Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', Past and Present, lxxi (1976), 22-42.

2. Herts Rec. Office (hereafter H.R.O.), Q.S.M.B. (Quarter Sessions Minute Book), 4/41; Bedfordshire County Records ... Sessions Minute Books 1651 to 1660 (Bedford, n.d.), p. 14; E.R.O., Q/SR (Quarter Sessions Rolls), 396/9, 397/14; E.R.O., T/A 465/34 (Colchester Borough Records: Sessions Rolls), 1654/5.

3. H.R.O., Q.S.M.B., 3/377, 388; E.R.O., T/A 465/2, Nov. 1675.

4. Appendix 2 below (pp. 220-35).

5. Thompson, 'Moral Economy', p. 95; W.C. Braithwaite, The Second Period of Quakerism (Cambridge, 1961 edn), p. 564.

Finally, there are hints of some loose kind of organization in lower class actions, perhaps a vague foreshadowing of the 'Skeleton Armies' of the nineteenth century, formed by members of the working class to combat the activities of the Salvation Army.[1] The weaver Samuel Wilde said that he frequented 'loose Societies and Clubbs' who encouraged him to bait the Quakers.[2] But in this case, as with the students, anti-Quaker activity seems to have been mixed with drunkenness and revelry, though obviously this tells us little of the original motivations.

The motives of the second group of assailants, the youths and apprentices, are equally difficult to determine. Both seem to have featured in attacks against the sect: in Bristol in 1654, in Dover in 1658, in London in 1659, and in London, Bristol, Norwich, Cambridge and Wales in 1660 during the backlash at the return of Charles II.[3] We have seen of course that much of this hostility was political - the Quakers were attacked as political radicals, identifiable evidence of the excesses of the Interregnum. Then there was what Walsh has referred to as the hooligan element; the boys who attacked the Quaker meeting in London's Vine St in 1659, for example, were said to have been plied with drink.[4] But clearly this is not the only answer.

We know most about the apprentice riots in Bristol in 1654 and 1660. The unrest which began on 18 December 1654, lasting with sporadic outbursts into January 1655, was aimed solely at Quakers. A crowd said to be about 1,500 strong took to the streets, attacking meetings and the homes of Quaker shopkeepers and merchants; and a petition, demanding the removal of Quakers from the city, was presented to the council. The situation was complicated. The apprentices drew upon a natural reservoir of anti-military feeling, feeling that had intensified with the Bristol garrison's blatant support of the Quaker movement during the sect's early days in the city. And there were the

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1. See V. Bailey, 'Salvation Army Riots, the "Skeleton Army" and Legal Authority in the Provincial Town', in A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1977), pp. 231-53.
2. S. Wilde, The Last Legacy ([London], 1703), p. 2.
3. British Library, ADD MS. 29624 (Depositions before the Mayor of Dover 1630-59), pp. 377-9; 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii, London, p. 3; Life of Thomas Ellwood, pp. 78-9; W.C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (Cambridge, 1970 edn), p. 474; Besse, Collection, i. 87-8, 742.
4. 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii , London, p. 3.

predictable cries for Charles Stuart. But for the purposes of our argument three factors emerge: first, the allegations that the Bristol authorities supported the apprentices, if not actively then at least tacitly; second, the claim that Presbyterian ministers had incited the boys; third, the report that the apprentices had the approval of their masters.[1]

The trouble in February 1660 was different. It was not aimed specifically at Quakers but was part of a more general reaction against decaying trade and the unrest of 1659 (an essential ingredient in the counter-revolutionary activity which heralded the eventual downfall of the Rump and the return of the secluded members and, ultimately, Charles II). Again the apprentices took to the streets; only this time they called for a free parliament and the preservation of the 'distressed Church', and condemned the heavy taxes which had been imposed upon their masters. But Quakers were attacked during the riots. They were forced to shut their shops. Some were threatened with death if they attempted to meet. They were generally treated pretty roughly.[2]

Why did the apprentices act? The role of their masters cannot be ignored because they crop up in both episodes - though it should be noted that in 1660 some apprentices were beating their masters and forcing them to shut up shop, presumably as a form of enforced collective strike action. Likewise we should note the part played by Presbyterians; in fact in both 1654 and 1660 the apprentices were supporting the Presbyterian interest - the 'distressed Church'. It would of course be nice to know exactly what sort of apprentices were attacking Quakers. Apprentices were a hetergeneous lot, sons of the gentry and

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1. My account of the riots is based on J. Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century (Bristol, 1900), pp. 256-7; G. Bishop et al, The Cry of Blood and Herod (London, 1656), pp. 14-15, 16, 27-31; Bishop, The Throne of Truth Exalted (London, 1657), p. 57; W. Sewel, The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of ... Quakers (London, 1722), pp. 84-5; Bristol Rec. Office (hereafter B.R.O.), 'Orders of Mayor and Aldermen 1653-1660', fo. 12v.

2. A Letter of the Apprentices of the City of Bristol (London, 1660), passim; B.R.O., 'Common Council Proceedings 1659-1675', p. 12; Swarthmore MS. iv. 134. The Bristol apprentices were in touch with their London counterparts, who, according to Edward Burrough, were firmly identified with the anti-sectarian, priestly interest: [E. Burrough], A Presentation to London (London, 1659), pp. 4-6.

yeomanry downwards and not strictly speaking of the 'inferior set' or 'lower orders', the categories into which Rudé has rather carelessly lumped them.[1] Nearly 30 per cent of merchant apprentices in Bristol in the seventeenth century, for example, came from gentry families.[2] So we do not know whether they were acting as wage earners or the sons of the gentry. The little work that has been done, however, does suggest that youth groups and apprentices saw themselves as the custodians of social morality, and that they were ready to act as such against deviant behaviour, either by ridicule (charivaris) or by more direct means.[3] As Davis has shown, boys and youths in sixteenth-century France were allowed considerable licence in both youth-abbeys and religious riot; they were 'the conscience of the community in matters of domestic discord.'[4] The London apprentices, Dr Smith tells us, were uniquely well-organized, seeing themselves 'as moral agents, defending the right, whether it were the "right" Protestant religion, or the "right" behaviour of London's prostitutes, who were frequent targets of apprentice riots'.[5] Perhaps then it was as guardians not only of social morality but of the social order (as well as

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1. D.V. Glass, 'Socio-economic Status and Occupations in the City of London at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (eds), Studies in London History (London, 1969), pp. 387-8; S.R. Smith, 'The Social and Geographical Origins of the London Apprentices, 1630-1660', Guildhall Miscellany, iv (1973), 195-206. For Rudé, see Paris and London, p. 299; Rudé, Crowd in History, pp. 205, 207.

2. See Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol, ed. P. McGrath (Bristol Rec. Soc., xix, 1955), pp. 276-7.

3. See S.R. Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', Past and Present, lxi (1973), 157, 161; B. Capp, 'English Youth Groups', Past and Present, lxxvi (1977), 127-33; Davis, 'Rites of Violence', 87-8; N.Z. Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France', Past and Present, l (1971), 41-75; B. Scribner, 'Reformation, carnival and the world turned upside-down', Social History, iii (1978), 303-329. Quakers do not seem to have been the subjects of charivaris. There does not even seem to have been the Quaker equivalent of the seventeenth-century Pope burning procession (see O.W. Furley, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of the late Seventeenth Century', History, xliv (1959), 16-23). Popular antagonism (or derision) just does not appear to have taken this form.

4. Davis, 'Rites of Violence', 87-8.

5. Smith, 'London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', 161.

the 'right Religion') that the bands of apprentices and groups of youths took to the streets against the quarrelsome and socially disruptive Quakers.[1] This might also account for the allegations of official complicity and for the role of masters and ministers.

Motives must remain speculative and vague. But what is clear is that outside direction, what E.P. Thompson has described as the mob under 'magistrate's licence', was an important feature of crowd attacks on the early Quakers.[2] Again and again there are allegations of official involvement and complicity: in Sussex in 1657 and 1658; in Cornwall, Hertfordshire and Nottinghamshire in 1659; in Cambridge in 1660.[3] When Quakers were attacked in Bath in the 1650s they were told by one of their assailants that 'John Bigg the Mayor .... bad them beat ... Friends out of Town, because they were Quakers'.[4] In Bristol in 1654, though they issued orders for them to return to their homes, the local authorities made little effort to disperse the apprentices. It was even rumoured that one alderman, George Hellier, had said he would 'spend his blood, and lose his life before any of the Rioters should go to Prison.' When the troops eventually acted it seems to have been a unilateral decision.[5]

As Thompson has pointed out, mobs could be extremely useful in an age without police forces. They could act for the status quo against intruders, disrupters, radicals. When George Rofe disrupted a church service which was attended by the mayor of

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1. In a curious episode in the parish of Peasmarsh (Sussex) in 1657 a Quaker was invited to a house by two youths and some young women. He was overpowered by the men, his trousers were lowered, and he was beaten by the women - with a three foot rod. Quite probably I am reading too much into the affair, but is it possible that he was being punished for stepping outside the bounds of community convention by turning Quaker? The punishment does appear somewhat ritualistic and it seems significant that the Quaker was apparently beaten by women and not the youths who seem to have retired discreetly. It is also interesting that the episode may have had more respectable sanctions: it was said to have been organized by a 'Rich man of the Towne'. See E.S.R.O., SOF 5/1, p. 19.

2. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London, 1968 edn), pp. 74, 79-80. See also R.B. Rose, 'the Priestly Riots of 1791', Past and Present, xviii (1960), 68-88; and Walsh, 'Methodism and the mob', pp. 216-8.

3. Besse, Collection, i. 87-8; E.S.R.O., SOF 5/1, pp. 27-8; and pp. 134, 138 above.

4. T. Morford, The Cry of Oppression (London, 1659), pp. 18-19.

5. B.R.O., 'Orders of Mayor and Aldermen 1653-1660', fo. 12v; Bishop, Cry of Blood, pp. 29-31.

Hithe (Kent), the mayor did not call for his officers but merely turned a blind eye while the Quaker was removed from the church and beaten severely by obliging 'vile fellows of ye rude multitude'. The threat of popular action may also have been convenient for the mayor of Macclesfield (Cheshire) in 1658. He warned visiting Quakers to leave his town; 'for ye maior said yt ye rud people of ye towne was redy to fall upon us & he Could not rule them'.[1] It was the same sort of symbiotic relationship as that which existed between rulers and ruled in times of dearth when middlemen became the targets of mutual recrimination. Providing that it did not overstep the bounds, the mob could be a force for stability, and could be used against the Quakers (as radicals) much in the way that it was to be employed against the English Jacobins in the 1790s.[2]

Just as the local community had organized itself (as Clubmen) against outsiders in the 1640s,[3] it rallied against the Quaker threat. And mobilization was often directed, and occasionally led, by a local minister. Again there are similarities to religious riot in France a century earlier.[4] We get the familiar ringing of church bells or beating of drums to rally resistance. In Crayke (Yorkshire) in 1653 it was the minister who organized resistance to the sect. The signal to rise was the tolling of the steeple bell, whereupon townspeople armed with clubs fell upon the Quakers. 'Corrupt Magistracies doe winke at the Evill doers', complained the Quaker Thomas Aldam. When in 1657 members of the sect entered an unidentified market town in Sussex, a drum was beaten and the 'Barbarous rude people .... Came marching up to the house Like men ready for battle'. It was also to the beat of the drum that a mob armed with guns, clubs and staffs besieged a Quaker meeting in Broad Cerne in Dorset in 1660.[5]

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1. K.A.O., CP/Bp 125; Swarthmore MS. iv. 16.
2. For Jacobins, see Thompson, Making of English Working Class, pp. 122-123.
3. Cf. Morrill, Revolt of Provinces, p. 104.
4. Cf. Davis, 'Rites of Violence', 66-9.
5. A.R. Barclay MSS 14, 17; Swarthmore MS. i. 315; D.R.O., N10/A15, p. 1. Priests led attacks on Quaker meetings in Liverpool and Somerset: 'Great Book of Sufferings', i. 561; Swarthmore MS. iii. 163.

To summarize my argument, popular animosity was a mixture of xenophobia, class hatred, ignorance and a superstition that merged with the world of witchcraft. It was stimulated and encouraged by indoctrinating anti-Quaker propaganda and by the behaviour of Friends themselves. Quakers were hated as political radicals, as social and religious deviants, and possibly as economic middlemen. In a sense, then, and almost paradoxically, the Quakers were a force for order. Despite the fulminations of those in power, fears that the Quakers would turn the world upside down, the sect's mere existence drew people together in defence of 'right' behaviour and a reaffirmation of traditional values. Friends, in short, were a catalyst for popular traditionalism.

CONCLUSION

I have made most of my conclusions during the course of this thesis, so I will not repeat them; nor do I want merely to summarize my work. But some observations should be conveyed. My main concern has been with the impact of Quakerism during the Interregnum and early Restoration period, with the way in which the authorities dealt with the Quaker problem. Fear and hatred of Quakers, I hope I have established, intensified dissatisfaction with the Cromwellian regime, encouraging a more conservative religious settlement. In 1659, as part of a more general fear of sectaries, it caused many to look to the monarchy (eventually) as the only salvation from social anarchy. In short, hostility towards the Quakers contributed to the restoration of the Stuarts. During the 1660s issues were clouded by the conflict between Anglican and Presbyterian and Independent. None the less, I feel that the impact of Quakerism has been underestimated by historians - by default rather than anything else[1] - and I have argued that the Quaker problem had something to do with the repressive legislation and paranoia of these years. As de Tocqueville once said of the sects, then, the Quakers were 'able to alarm and trouble their century, but not to subdue or lead it.'[2]

The Quaker impact at the local level, indeed on local politics, the way in which the provincial gentry reacted to the sect was more subtle than a simple matter of regional variation - though variation there was. Where the Quakers were able to enrol radical support during the 1650s, the effect was to drive a wedge deeper into the gap between the warring factions in the local community. When they failed, the effect was to force the moderates into the arms of arch-conservatives, to crystallize and to a certain extent vindicate Presbyterianism. The sect's mere existence during the Interregnum also increased the tension between the provincial gentry, who were looking to

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1. Eg. I.M. Green, The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663 (Oxford, 1978).
2. Tocqueville and Beaumont on social reform, ed. S. Drescher (New York, 1968), p. 197.

the Protectorate as a force for stability, and a Protector who had a reputation for being all too lenient with radical sectarianism. The prevailing wish in the counties during the Restoration years, as during the Interregnum, was for action to be taken against the Quakers: provincial discontent - indeed initiative - is the theme that links our two periods. I have also tried to show that for a variety of reasons, while the will was not lacking during the 1660s and while Quakers were dealt with harshly, persecution was by no means as fierce as it could have been. So some of my findings may be of value to those interested in the operation of Interregnum and Restoration government.

Much that I have said about the Quakers applies to other nonconformists, and where connections exist I have tried to point them out. Baptists were feared in 1659; dissenters other than Quakers were harassed during the 1660s. But my overall impression is that Friends are atypical enough to warrant separate treatment: none were feared so much as the Quakers, none harassed with such intensity or in so great a number.

My other principal aim was to account for hostility towards Quakers. The attitudes of the gentry and ministers are not difficult to fathom. There was, quite simply, a real fear of social revolution. The Quakers were 'those new Antichristians .... who are not free to be Tenants to other men'.[1] Where we have some evidence of the sect's penetration at the local level (Cheshire, Essex and Somerset) the indications are that its success was phenomenal. And Quakers were able to capture that vital rural support which the Levellers had always lacked, often instigating and leading tithe resistance in the parishes. Before 1660 the majority of Quakers were not the pacifists that they were later to become; nor did they abstain from politics. For these reasons the anxieties of gentry and ministers were not without foundation.

Popular reactions are more elusive. Much of the mob action

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1. T. Philadelphus, Exceptions Many and Just (Oxford, 1653), p. 22.

against Friends was directed from above, whipped up by anti-Quaker propaganda, and in a few cases actually led by a minister or magistrate. Some we can put down to xenophobia and superstition. But there seems also to have been an underlying socio-economic basis: rich Quakers were attacked; others probably incurred some of the popular hatred of middlemen and speculators.

Finally, I have attempted to throw a little light in other directions. My introductory section has dealt with Quaker numbers and distribution. If there is little that is startlingly new in the chapter on Quaker thought, appendix two says rather more that is new about Quaker social origins. I have had something to say about non-theological aspects of early Quakerism, in particular the importance of the anti-tithe stand, both for the Quaker movement and for the reaction of others towards the sect. Last of all, I have argued that the famous Quaker peace testimony was slower in developing and less universally adopted after 1660 than most historians have assumed.[1]

Twenty years later things were different. The Quakers were not even the same movement. Institutionalized, self-censoring, eminently respectable, they were working within the law not around it; exploiting its lacunae yet seeking its modification not its overthrow. Former tithe resisters were conniving in payment and in some cases actually collecting the once-hated tax. The Quakers had adjusted to society and society had adjusted to them. Quakers were prosecuted, but the authorities seem to have been motivated either by what are now called party-political concerns (against supporters of Whigs) or by financial exigencies rather than any deep-seated fear of the Quakers' intentions. In the mid-seventeenth century a man's Quakerism had been enough to have him turned off his land; by the eighteenth century Irish landholders were actually seeking Quaker tenants for their farms because they were careful husbandmen and reliable rent-payers.[2] As I have said, one-time Quaker enthusiasts were soon erasing perfectionist

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1. Eg., most recently, T. Canby Jones, George Fox's Attitude Toward War (Annapolis, Maryland, 1972), p. 14.
2. K.L. Carroll, 'Quaker Weavers at Newport, Ireland', Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, liv (1976), 15-16.

and pro-Cromwell passages from their reminiscences and collections of earlier writings.[1] A yearly meeting questionnaire in 1706 found it necessary to ask 'Do Friends give way to sleep in meetings?' By 1720 Colchester meeting had appointed monitors to awaken offenders.[2] The Seekers had become sleepers.

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1. See p. 6 above.

2. E.K.L. Quine, 'The Quakers in Leicestershire 1648-1780' (Univ. of Nottinghamshire Ph.D. thesis 1968), p. 154; S.H.G. Fitch, Colchester Quakers (Colchester, 1963?), p. 45.

APPENDIX ONE
QUAKER FILES

The Quaker files (1654-1664), frequently referred to in my thesis and used in the sections dealing with social origins and distribution and numbers, are my own card files consisting of entries for each person mentioned as a Quaker in the sources listed below. Where known, the following information is recorded on each card: (1) name, (2) name of husband or wife (and whether or not a Quaker), (3) parish and county of residence (plus hamlet, village or town, if more precise information is available), (4) occupation (or occupation of husband), (5) year when first identified as a Quaker (and any other years for which that person appears as a Quaker), (6) date of death, (7) short summary of any surviving will, (8) number of hearths in the hearth-tax returns, (9) miscellaneous information (e.g. freeholder, type of farmer: i.e. pasture or arable, value of tithes paid).

The sources usedwere as follows:
Cheshire: Friends' House Library (hereafter F.H.L.), MS. Great Book of Sufferings, i; F.H.L., Registers of births, deaths, marriages; Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc., ii (1905), iii (1906); First Publishers of Truth, ed. N. Penney (London, 1907); Extracts from State Papers, ed. Penney (London, 1913); J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings (2 vols, London, 1753); Public Record Office (hereafter P.R.O.), Chester 21/4 (Cheshire Assizes Order Book); P.R.O., Chester 24/130-134 (Cheshire Assize Rolls); P.R.O., E179/86/145 (Hearth Tax 1664); Cheshire Record Office (hereafter C.R.O.), EDV1/34 (Diocese of Chester Correction Book); C.R.O., QJF 82-4, 90-1 (Quarter Sessions Files); C.R.O., QJB/10a (Quarter Sessions Indictments and Presentments); C.R.O., Wills; C.R.O., DLT/B11 (Tabley MSS); Chester City Rec. Office, MF75 (Mayor's Files); Borthwick Institute of Hist. Res., York, v.1662-3/CB2 (Visitation of Diocese of Chester Court Book).

Essex: 'Great Book of Sufferings', i; F.H.L., Registers; First Publishers of Truth; Extracts from State Papers; Besse, op. cit.; Steven Crisp and his Correspondents, ed. C. Fell Smith (London, 1892); S.H.G. Fitch, Colchester Quakers (Colchester, 1963?); A. Ludgater, 'Sufferings of Essex Quakers', Essex Review, xliv (1935), xlv (1936); P.R.O., Wills; P.R.O., E112/178, 228-9, 396 (Exchequer Bills and Answers); Essex Record Office (hereafter E.R.O.),

QSR (Quarter Session Rolls); E.R.O., Wills; E.R.O., D/ABA/10, ACA/55, AEA/43, AMV/1-2 (Acts and Visitations, Essex); E.R.O., Q/R Th/1 (Hearth Tax 1662); E.R.O., Q/R Th/5 (Hearth Tax 1671); and finally the E.R.O.'s card index of names mentioned in Essex manorial, quarter sessions and assize records.

Somerset: 'Great Book of Sufferings', ii; F.H.L., Registers; First Publishers of Truth; Extracts from State Papers; P.R.O., E112/331-3, 503-4 (Exchequer Bills and Answers); P.R.O., Wills; P.R.O., E179/256/16 (Hearth Tax 1664-5); P.R.O., E179/343 (Hearth Tax exemptions 1670-4); Somerset Record Office (hereafter S.R.O.), DD/SFR/8/1 (Sufferings Records); S.R.O., QSR (Quarter Sessions Rolls); S.R.O., CQ4 (Quarter Sessions Files); S.R.O., DD/Ca 335a, 338 (Visitation Presentments, Somerset); S.R.O., DD/Ph205 (Phelips Papers), p. 129; S.R.O., Wills (almost all are destroyed however).

APPENDIX TWO

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF EARLY QUAKERISM

We have seen that many contemporaries were afraid of the Quakers' effect upon the masses, worried that they would mobilize the lower orders.[1] But how justified were these fears? Were the Quakers largely drawn from the 'vulgar sort' or was the sect (as Professor Vann has suggested) far more sociologically respectable, and contemporary fears merely a mixture of misguided paranoia and malicious propaganda?

There have been several attempts to determine the social origins of the early Quakers, from the casual observations of the seventeenth century to the more rigorous sociological analyses of the twentieth. One contemporary, Ephraim Pagitt, in an oft-quoted phrase, described them as 'the dregs of the common people'. Henry Hallywell thought them 'but the Refuse of the World, Persons of the meanest Quality and lowest Parts and Education'.[2] More recent findings have altered the picture, but no consensus has been reached. Thus Professor Cole in an article published in 1957 claimed that the sect was drawn mainly from 'the urban and rural petite bourgeoisie': on the contrary, claimed Vann over a decade later, the 'percentage of Quaker gentry ... was no lower than in the population at large; and it was the middle to upper bourgeoisie ... which was strikingly more prominent among the early Quakers'. 'The core of support for early Quakerism seems to have been the yeomen and the wholesale traders.'[3] The debate continues. At least one historian still thinks that Cole's findings are the more accurate gauge of early Quaker social origins.[4]

I

In reality the situation is more confusing, for there is a mass of work on the subject, none of which can be utilized in

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1. See pp. 102, 171 above.

2. E. Pagitt, Heresiography (London, 1654), p. 136; H. Hallywell, An Account of Familism (London, 1673), p. 124.

3. A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc., xlviii (1957), 99-118; R.T. Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', Past and Present, xliii (1969), 71-91, and his The Social Development of English Quakerism (Camb., Mass, 1969), pp. 47-73.

4. M.R. Watts, The Dissenters (Oxford, 1978), p. 348.

any comparative way.[1] The problem is one of methodology. Everyone who approaches the question of Quaker social origins uses different criteria, different classifications, different sources and different time-spans. For example, in her communication to Past and Present concerning Vann's article on the status of early Friends, Dr Hurwich uses entirely different hierarchies from those of Vann and, more important, does not tell us what she means by a husbandman or yeoman or how she distinguishes, say, between a 'master craftsman' and an artisan.[2] Cole divided his Quaker occupations into agriculture, commerce and food and consumption goods, clothing trades, mechanic trades, labourers; Vann split his sample into gentry, professional, agriculture, wholesale traders, retail traders, weavers and woolcombers, artisans and servants and labourers.

It is the same when we come to the problem of sources. Hurwich[3] seems to give too much weight to the 'additions' (descriptions of occupation or social status) in court records, which, it has been convincingly demonstrated, are often inaccurate.[4] Cole's surveys were based almost entirely on Quaker marriage registers. He covered, roughly speaking, the period up to 1688, without attempting to distinguish short-term fluctuations (as Vann has pointed out). The registers tend to concentrate on particular families and the quality of the information they provide varies considerably from county to county. Above all, they are of little use for the earliest period of Quakerism so far as occupations are concerned: Cole has himself pointed out

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1. Cf. E.E. Taylor, 'The First Publishers of Truth', J.F.H.S., xix (1922), 66-81; A. Raistrick, Quakers in Science and Industry (Newton Abbot, 1968 edn), pp. 29-32; Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol 1667-1686, ed. R. Mortimer (Bristol Rec. Soc., xxvi, 1971), pp. xxvi-xxix; W. Spurrier, 'The Persecution of the Quakers in England: 1650-1714' (Univ. of North Carolina Ph.D. thesis 1976), pp. 225-255, 279-82; H. Forde, 'Derbyshire Quakers 1650-1761' (Univ. of Leicester Ph.D. thesis 1977), ch. 3.

2. J.J. Hurwich, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', Past and Present, xlviii (1970), 156-162.

3. See her 'Dissent and Catholicism in English Society: A Study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', The Journal of British Studies, xvi (1976), 30.

4. Cf. J.S. Cockburn, 'Early-modern assize records as historical evidence', Journal of the Society of Archivists, v (1975), 221ff.

that only four entries in the Lancashire registers yield information for the pre-Restoration period, and only five of the entries for Gloucestershire and Wiltshire relate to the period 1656-1669.[1] The unevenness of the material is demonstrated clearly in the most recent attempt to calculate social origins from Friends' registers. This study really only shows how inadequate the registers are and not, as Dr Spurrier claims, 'that down to 1714 a Quaker was more likely to earn his living in trade or manufacturing than in farming, and more likely in the more humble of the trades and manufactures.' While on the one hand Spurrier knows the occupations of 330 Surrey and Sussex Quakers for the period before 1714, the registers yield descriptions of only twelve Northumberland and Cumberland Quakers and the highly improbable conclusion that only 3 per cent of Durham Friends were engaged in some form of agriculture. To take one last example, I know of the occupations of 151 Essex Quakers and 145 Somerset Quakers for the decade up to 1664, yet the registers (per Spurrier) yield only 122 for Essex and 42 for Somerset - over a period <u>six times</u> as long (up to 1714).[2]

Overall, Vann's method of analysis is the best. He is rigorous in his definitions of the various hierarchies (no tanners find their way into the lower classes as so often happens in analyses of seventeenth-century society), and the breadth of his material overcomes many of the problems inherent in surveys that utilize only one source. His sample of the occupations of fity-five Buckinghamshire Quakers for the period before the end of 1662, for instance, is far more representative than Cole's analysis of 102 for the period 1658-1688. His separation of wholesale and retail traders enables class distinctions to be drawn which are largely denied by those who categorize according to food or cloth production. So generally I have followed him in my analysis of the social origins of Somerset, Cheshire, Essex and Colchester Quakers (c. 1654-1664), partly, as I have said, because I think his method the best, partly for the purposes of comparison.

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1. Cole, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 102, 107.
2. Spurrier, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 235, 280-282.

Like Vann's, my sources are wide: Quaker sufferings records and registers, wills, church court acts and visitations, quarter sessions, assize and Exchequer records, hearth-tax returns, and miscellaneous survivals such as Sir Peter Leicester's list of Cheshire sectaries which he compiled in 1662 now in the Tabley MSS in the Cheshire Record Office.[1] As hinted earlier, the wider the sources, the greater the likelihood that the sample will be representative of the general Quaker populations in our particular counties. Professor Cockburn has argued persuasively (following Vann) that the 'additions' in court records should be treated with extreme caution.[2] But by providing corroboration and thus allowing inconsistencies to be jettisoned, a multiplicity of sources can minimize the sort of inaccuracies he has warned against. And they can also decrease the likelihood of a rural bias, arising inevitably from the use of sufferings records with their emphasis upon tithes and thus husbandmen and yeomen.

Vann has discussed most of the problems and pitfalls involved in a sociological analysis of this kind and there is little point in repeating them. There are problems of categorization, however, which should be mentioned briefly. First, the definitions of yeoman and husbandman. In the narrow legal sense the term yeoman meant a freeholder of over 40/- per annum, but (as Tawney pointed out) in common usage 'yeoman' was used 'to describe any well-to-do farmer beneath the rank of gentleman, even though he was not a freeholder.' In other words the category included substantial copyholders or leaseholders. I have used the term in this sense. 'Husbandman', likewise, I have taken as conveying a measure of rank: a smaller landholder, a farmer below yeoman in status.[3] 'Farmer' I have used as a general term to describe anyone whose primary occupation seems to have been agricultural but whose exact status is not clear. The wealth of yeomen, of course, varied tremendously between

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1. For the sources and the file upon which my survey is based, see appendix 1, pp. 278-9 above.
2. Cockburn, op. cit.
3. Cf. R.H. Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1967 edn), pp. 27-8; M. Campbell, The English Yeoman (New Haven, 1942), pp. 22-3, 29ff.

Table 1. Occupations of men and women who were Quakers before the end of 1664.

Cheshire

Occupation or status		No.	%
Gentlemen		5	3.2
Agricultural		92	59.7
Yeomen	33		(21.4)
Farmers	34		
Husbandmen	25		(16.2)
Professional		2	1.3
Surgeon	1		
Schoolteacher	1		
Wholesale and Large Producers		5	3.2
Miller	1		
Tanner	1		
Maltsters	2		
Cheese-factor	1		
Retail Traders		23	14.9
*Shoemakers	10		
Glover	1		
*Tailors	10		
Chapman	1		
Baker	1		
Artisans		20	13.0
Shearman	1		
Blacksmiths	5		
Weavers	2		
Wheelwrights	3		
Websters	6		
Flaxdresser	1		
Carpenter	1		
Heelmaker	1		
Labourers and Servants		7	4.5
Labourers	4		
Servants	1		
Maidservant	1		
Ostler	1		
		Total: 154	

*Though I think that shoemakers and tailors are best described as artisans, I have followed Professor Vann in classifying them as small retailers. I have done so purely for purposes of comparison, but it should be mentioned that it does not affect my general conclusion that before 1664 a Quaker was more likely to be an artisan or small retailer than a large producer or wholesaler.

Table 2. Occupations of men and women who were Quakers before the end of 1664.

Essex

Occupation or status		No.	%
Gentlemen		3	2.5
Agricultural		67	55.4
Yeomen	35		(28.9)
Farmers	21		
Husbandmen	11		(9.1)
Professional		-	-
Wholesale and Large Producers		19	15.7
Clothiers	7		
Grocers	3		
Tanners	5		
Maltsters	2		
Saymaker	1		
Miller	1		
Retail Traders		14	11.6
Bakers	2		
Shoemakers	3		
Glover	1		
Ironmonger	1		
Tailors	4		
Shopkeepers	2		
Chandler	1		
Artisans		14	11.6
Masons	2		
Weavers	2		
Glazier	1		
Joiner	1		
Blacksmith	1		
Shipwright	1		
Carpenter	1		
Wheelwrights	2		
Basketmaker	1		
Webster	1		
Apprentice Wheelwright	1		
Labourers and Servants		4	3.3
Oyster-dredger	1		
Labourers	3		
	Total:	121	

Table 3. Occupations of men and women who were Quakers before the end of 1664.

Colchester

Occupation or status		No.	%
Gentlemen		4	13.3
Agricultural		-	-
Professional		1	3.3
Schoolteacher	1		
Wholesale and Large Producers		13	43.3
Baymakers	5		
Saymaker	1		
Stapler	1		
Grocers	2		
Maltster	1		
Draper	1		
Merchant	1		
Merchant Tailor	1		
Retail Traders		6	20.0
Shopkeeper	1		
Tailors	2		
Bakers	2		
Shoemaker	1		
Artisans		6	20.0
Weavers	4		
Woolcomber	1		
Carpenter	1		
Labourers and Servants		-	-
	Total:	30	

Table 4. Occupations of men and women who were Quakers before the end of 1664.

Somerset

Occupation or status		No.	%
Gentlemen		-	-
Agricultural		105	72.4
Yeomen	39		(26.9)
Farmers	33		
Husbandmen	33		(22.8)
Professional		-	-
Wholesale and Large Producers		14	9.7
Millers	2		
Clothiers	5		
Fuller	1		
Merchants	2		
Mercers	2		
Grocer	1		
Sergemaker	1		
Retail Traders		12	8.3
Glover	1		
Tailors	3		
Butcher	1		
Baker	1		
Shoemakers	5		
Goldsmith	1		
Artisans		9	6.2
Bodice-maker	1		
Gallypot-maker	1		
Woolcomber	1		
Brazier	1		
Mason	1		
Blacksmith	1		
Silk-weaver	1		
Currier	1		
Weaver	1		
Labourers and Servants		5	3.4
Maidservant	1		
Servants	3		
Labourer	1		
	Total:	145	

counties (and within them),[1] but like Vann I have found that a man (or woman) paying (or rather refusing to pay) £4 a year in tithes, a tax of one-tenth of his or her yield, was unlikely to have been anything less than a yeoman. Of course the reverse is not necessarily true. A man who owed a small amount of tithes may have been a substantial landowner with, say, an acre under the jurisdiction of the particular impropriator or minister who was taking action against him for his refusal to pay tithes, and the bulk of his property elsewhere. Nor are tithes always a guide to the occupation of the individual concerned. He could, for instance, have been a tailor or weaver with minor farming interests. Generally, however, it is fairly easy to make a decision. It is unlikely, for example, that Andrew Smith of Stebbing (Essex) who owed £9 in tithes for his 80 acre arable holding, who was rated at four hearths in the 1662 hearth-tax returns, and who left bequests of some £200 in 1675, was anything other than a yeoman; while we can be fairly confident that the John Wride in trouble for not paying tithes in Burnham (Somerset) on his 7 acres of arable land, referred to as a husbandman by the Exchequer bill relating to his case, and assessed at one hearth in 1664-5, was in fact a husbandman.

I have not followed Vann in lumping artisans and labourers together. It seems that a category which would include someone like Robert Wastfield - a Brislington (Somerset) gallypot-maker whose freehold property holdings entitled him to hold the office of J.P., who owned a house with three hearths, and who when he died left £170 in bequests and a £10 annuity - with a one-hearth oyster-dredger or labourer from Essex, could only be misleading. The two categories have therefore been separated. But large producers have been included with wholesale traders, mainly because in terms of class the two belong together but also because those who largely make up my category of large producers, the clothiers, were wholesalers anyway.

My findings, listed in tables 1-4, summarized in table 5 below, and compared with Vann's results in table 6 below, both support and expand some of his findings and in some cases challenge them.

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1. Cf. Campbell, op. cit, pp. 217-8, Vann, Social Development of English Quakerism, p. 65; J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), p. 301; M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities (Cambridge, 1974), p. 39. Forde, op. cit., p. 83.

Table 5. Occupational distribution of Quakers c. 1654 - 1664 (in percentages of those with known occupations).

Occupation or status	Cheshire	Essex	Colchester	Somerset
Gentry	3.2	2.5	13.3	-
Professional	1.3	-	3.3	-
Agricultural	59.7	55.4	-	72.4
Yeomen	21.4	28.9	-	26.9
Farmers	22.1	17.4	-	22.8
Husbandmen	16.2	9.1	-	22.8
Wholesale Traders and Large Producers (eg Clothiers)	3.2	15.7	43.3	9.7
Retail Traders	14.9	11.6	20.0	8.3
Artisans	13.0	11.6	20.0	6.2
Labourers and Servants	4.5	3.3	-	3.4

Table 6. Occupational distribution of Quakers c. 1654 - 1664 compared with R.T. Vann's survey (Bucks, Norfolk, Norwich) (in percentages of those with known occupations).

Occupation or status	Cheshire	Essex	Colchester	Somerset	Bucks	Norfolk	Norwich
Gentry	3.2	2.5	13.3	-	7.3	7.4	6.3
Professional	1.3	-	3.3	-	3.6	1.9	-
Agriculture (inc. Gentry)	63.0	57.9	-	72.4	45.5	35.2	-
Yeomen	21.4	28.9	-	26.9	27.3	20.4	-
Farmers	22.1	17.4	-	22.8	5.5	-	-
Husbandmen	16.2	9.1	-	22.8	1.8	5.5	-
Labourers/Servants	-	-	-	-	7.3	5.5	-
Wholesale Traders	3.2	9.1	20.0	4.8	25.5	18.5	12.5
Retail Traders	14.9	11.6	20.0	8.3	16.4	11.1	18.8
(Textile production): Weavers, Woolcombers, Clothiers	5.2	9.1	40.0	6.2	-	16.7	43.8
Artisans	7.8	9.1	3.3	4.8 }	9.1	16.7	18.8
Servants and Labourers	4.5	3.3	-	3.4 }			

We are agreed that a significant number of the early Quakers were wholesale traders and yeomen. They were, on a grander scale, men like the Theydon Garnon (Essex) tanner Robert Beard who employed at least five servants and who when he died left various lands and tenements, bequests of some £400 and an annuity of £30; William Talcott the Colchester stapler who owned a great deal of freehold and copyhold land, various houses and 325 acres of woodland in various parts of Essex and who bequeathed several £20 annuities and over £1,000 in 1698; or the Trent yeoman, Christopher Pittard, whose bequests in 1679 amounted to over £1,000 and who owned estates in some five Somerset parishes. We also agree that the numbers of Quaker labourers and servants were minimal. We have both found - though my figures suggest an even more rural movement - that a high percentage of Quakers were engaged in some form of agriculture, doubtless a reflection of the movement's vehement espousal of the anti-tithe cause.

But there the similarity ends. My results imply, first, that there may have been fewer gentry among the early Quakers than Vann has suggested, for apart from Colchester (which in any case is something of an aberration)[1] the area with the highest percentage of Quaker gentlemen (3.2) was Cheshire, and here four of these five were yeomen who had presumably been awarded gentry status because of their families' service in the grand jury.[2] I know of no Somerset Quaker gentry, and the percentage of 2.5 for Essex (like Cheshire's 3.2) is considerably lower than Vann's 6.3, 7.3 and 7.4 for Norwich, Bucks, and Norfolk. Second, although it should be stressed that I have only been dealing with three counties, I think that my figures show that the number of husbandmen among the early Quakers was probably larger than Vann has predicted. Third, and finally, according to my findings a Quaker was likelier to be an artisan or retailer rather than a wholesaler

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1. The Colchester 'gentlemen' were the John Furlys junior and senior, William Havens and Thomas Bailes, merchant, draper, baymaker and grocer respectively; but they were also councillors during the Interregnum (Furly senior served several times as mayor), so I have followed Vann in assuming that this would indicate gentry status.

2. They were clearly marginal cases, described by the sources both as Gents and Yeomen. They were William Gandy of Over Whitely and Randle Blackshaw junior, Hugh Strethill and Richard Yerwood of Mobberley. (For Blackshaw's father, see J.S. Morrill, The Cheshire Grand Jury 1625-1659 (Leicester, 1976), p. 58.)

or large producer, not vice versa as Vann has claimed. In short, my work suggests that the early movement was not quite as comfortably bourgeois as Vann would have it, though, at the same time, it is still a far cry from Cole's overwhelmingly petit bourgeois sect.

We can make some refinements. Substantial numbers of Somerset and Cheshire Quakers were yeomen, many men of some wealth. Yet few of them appear in the sheriff's lists of freeholders for these counties - the lists of the more substantial freeholders eligible for jury service (and in Cheshire the probable gentry status which such service seems to have bestowed[1]). Of thiry-three Cheshire yeomen only eight were in this category, only twelve of the thiry-nine Somerset Quaker yeomen.[2] Most of the Quaker yeomen in these counties, then, seem to have been leaseholders and copyholders, presumably able to vote yet excluded from the governing structure of their counties. Whether this ambivalent status had anything to do with their Quakerism, however, must remain conjectural. The noticeable number of Quaker weavers (or websters), shoemakers and tailors lends further support to general observations of the notorious radicalism (religious in the early-modern period, later secular) of these particular occupational groups - a heterodoxy possibly aided by the sedentary and reflective nature of their work and perhaps by their higher than average literacy.[3] Because we now have surveys which include counties differing both economically and geographically, we can assume that there was regional variation in the social structure of early Quakerism. Buckingham-shire Quakerism, for instance, contrasts strongly with Cheshire and Somerset: Bucks with its high percentage of large traders and yeomen, the other two with few wholesalers and substantial numbers of husbandmen. Finally, if the Norwich and Colchester figures are any indication, we can probably assume that where

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1. Cf. Morrill, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
2. Cf. Cheshire Rec. Office, DLT/B27 (Tabley MSS), pt 7; 'A New Freehold Book of Cheshire, 1671'; Somerset Rec. Office, DD/HI, Box 9: 'List of freeholders by hundreds'; and the lists of Cheshire and Somerset Quakers eligible as J.Ps in Extracts from State Papers, ed. N. Penney (London, 1913), pp. 107, 110.
3. See P. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London 1978), pp. 36-39; E. Hobsbawm, 'Religion and the rise of Socialism', Marxist Perspectives, i (1978), 19-20.

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the local economy was dominated by the textile industry large numbers of Quakers were employed in trades connected with these manufactures.

II

Another way of approaching the problem of Quaker social origins is to use hearth-tax returns. Both Hurwich and Dr Spufford have used this method, the former to compare the wealth of Warwickshire Quakers and dissenters with that of the general population, the latter to determine the social status of nonconformity in two Cambridgeshire parishes.[1] There are, it is true, problems involved in using hearth-tax returns, but they are mainly problems of method. If the user is rigorous in his or her identification of Quakers (though unfortunately this is not always the case),[2] these returns can be extremely informative, and their beauty is of course that they include the poorer members of society and provide comparison with the population at large. Their problem is that while the hearth-tax serves as a rough standard-of-living index, there is variation between counties. To give a quick idea of the relative differences, it has been possible to calculate the mean (average) number of hearths for Quakers according to occupation or status (based on wills and other sources). The results are listed below in table 7.

Table 7. Regional variation in hearth-tax returns/status for Quakers (expressed as the mean number of hearths).

Status or occupation	Cheshire (73)	Essex (94)	Somerset (50)
Gentry	3.2	8.0	-
Professional	2.0	3.0	-
Yeomen	2.0	4.0	3.2
Husbandmen	1.2	1.5	1.3
Labourers	1.0	1.3	1.0
Wholesalers	2.5	5.0	3.2
Retailers	1.5	3.1	2.0
Artisans	1.3	2.6	2.5

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1. Hurwich, 'Social Origins of the early Quakers', and her 'Dissent and Catholicism', op. cit.; M. Spufford, 'The social status of some seventeenth-century rural Dissenters', Studies in Church History, viii (1972), 203-211.

2. Cf. Spurrier, 'Persecution of the Quakers', pp. 239-42, 283-6. Spurrier seems to have classified his Quakers according to hundreds and monthly meetings and then proceeded to look for them in the hearth-tax returns for the appropriate hundreds. The only accurate way to use the returns is to classify

Table 8. Distribution of Hearths

Somerset

No. of hearths	County (select parishes) no. of houses (1594)	%	Quakers (same select parishes) no. of houses (64)	%	Quakers (whole county) no. of houses (141)	%
(8+)	(22)	(1.4)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
4+ (large houses - prosperous)	149	9.3	11	17.2	22	15.6
2-3 (modest houses - comfortable)	485	30.4	35	54.7	71	50.4
exempt-1 (small houses, cottages - poor)	960	60.2	18	28.1	48	34.0
	mean no. of hearths 2.0				mean no. of hearths 2.3	

Essex

	No. of houses (1275)		No. of houses (67)		No. of houses (170)	
(8+)	(21)	(1.6)	(-)	(-)	(7)	(4.1)
4+ (large houses - prosperous)	243	19.1	25	37.3	66	38.8
2-3 (modest houses - comfortable)	306	24.0	29	43.3	65	38.2
exempt-1 (small houses, cottages - poor)	726	56.9	13	19.4	39	22.9
	mean no. of hearths 2.3				mean no. of hearths 3.3	

Cheshire

	No. of houses (1202)		No. of houses (71)		No. of houses (142)	
(6+)	(17)	(1.4)	(-)	(-)	(1)	(0.7)
3+ (large houses - prosperous)	90	7.5	10	14.1	19	13.4
2 (modest houses - comfortable)	151	12.6	21	29.6	33	23.2
1 (?)	567	47.2	39	54.9	80	56.3
exempt (small houses, cottages - poor)	394	32.8	1	1.4	10	7.0
	mean no. of hearths 1.4				mean no. of hearths 1.6	

Of the three counties for which I have used hearth-tax returns, Cheshire is the only one which presents any real difficulties. Returns here (as in Westmorland[1] and presumably some of the other northern counties) do not reflect differences in wealth as clearly as do those for Essex and Somerset. Several Cheshire yeomen were assessed at one hearth, for instance, and some of them were men of substance. Thus while in Essex and Somerset a return of one hearth almost certainly guarantees that the occupant of the house concerned is poor, the same is not true of Cheshire. Consequently different categories have been used for Cheshire when compiling tables of the returns for the three counties.[2] The results are set out above in table 8.

Again it seems that there was variation. Essex Quakers were wealthier than their co-religionists elsewhere; whereas, if Hurwich is accurate in her calculations, Warwickshire Quakers were predominantly poor and the distribution of hearths among them was not very different from that for the general population. But my results do indicate that overall the social structure of the early Quaker movement contrasts with that of the population as a whole. While there were substantial numbers of the poorer

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Quakers by parishes (or villages or townships) and then search for the corresponding names in the returns for those particular parishes - and even then there is room for error. Worse, Spurrier has used other categories: 'Quakers within ten miles of appropriate hundred' and 'Quakers - location within Kent unknown' for which, nevertheless, he provides numbers of hearths. This is tantamount to looking for a John Smith in the returns for London and assuming that he is the same man as the Quaker by that name. Not surprisingly Spurrier finds that the mean number of Quaker hearths is the same as that for the population at large - for that is exactly what he has measured. In any case his survey does not include exemptions, so it is hardly representative.

1. See A. Macfarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 162-3.

2. The returns used were: (Somerset Public Record Office, E179/256/16 (Hearth Tax 1664-5); P.R.O., E179/343 (Hearth Tax exemptions 1670-4); (Essex) Essex Rec. Office, Q/R Th/1 (Hearth Tax 1662); E.R.O., Q/R Th/5 (Hearth Tax 1671); (Cheshire) P.R.O., E179/86/145 (Hearth Tax 1664). The select parishes and villages are as follows. Somerset: Queen Camel, Trent, Street, Crewkerne, Glastonbury, Puddimore Milton, Keynsham, East Lidford, South Cadbury, North Cadbury, Burnham, Ilminster, Middlezoy. Cheshire: Norton, Northwich, Leftwich, Witton, Helsby, Kingsley, Frodsham, Frodsham Lordship, Alvanley, Newton, Norley, Pownall Fee, Mobberley, Over Whitely, Aston, Appleton, Dutton. Essex: Earls Colne, Hadstock, Witham, Stebbing, Gt Wenden, Roydon, Thaxted, Theydon Garnon, Fordham, Little Coggeshall, Felsted, Steeple, Bardfield Saling.

sort among Somerset and Essex Quakers (and presumably among that ambiguous one-hearth category in Cheshire) the sect seems to have been mainly drawn from the middling sort, the relatively comfortable middle section of the county community. And Quakers were wealthier than the general population.

To summarize my findings, both my work on the occupations of early Quakers and my analysis of hearth-tax returns suggest that although Quakerism was more 'plebeian' than Vann would have it, it was predominantly a movement of the middling sort, and that it was predominantly rural. The presence of small craftsmen and husbandmen in the Quaker movement and the number of Friends who occupied houses with one hearth or who were too poor to be taxed at all imply that although the fears of magistrates and ministers were exaggerated, they were not entirely without foundation.

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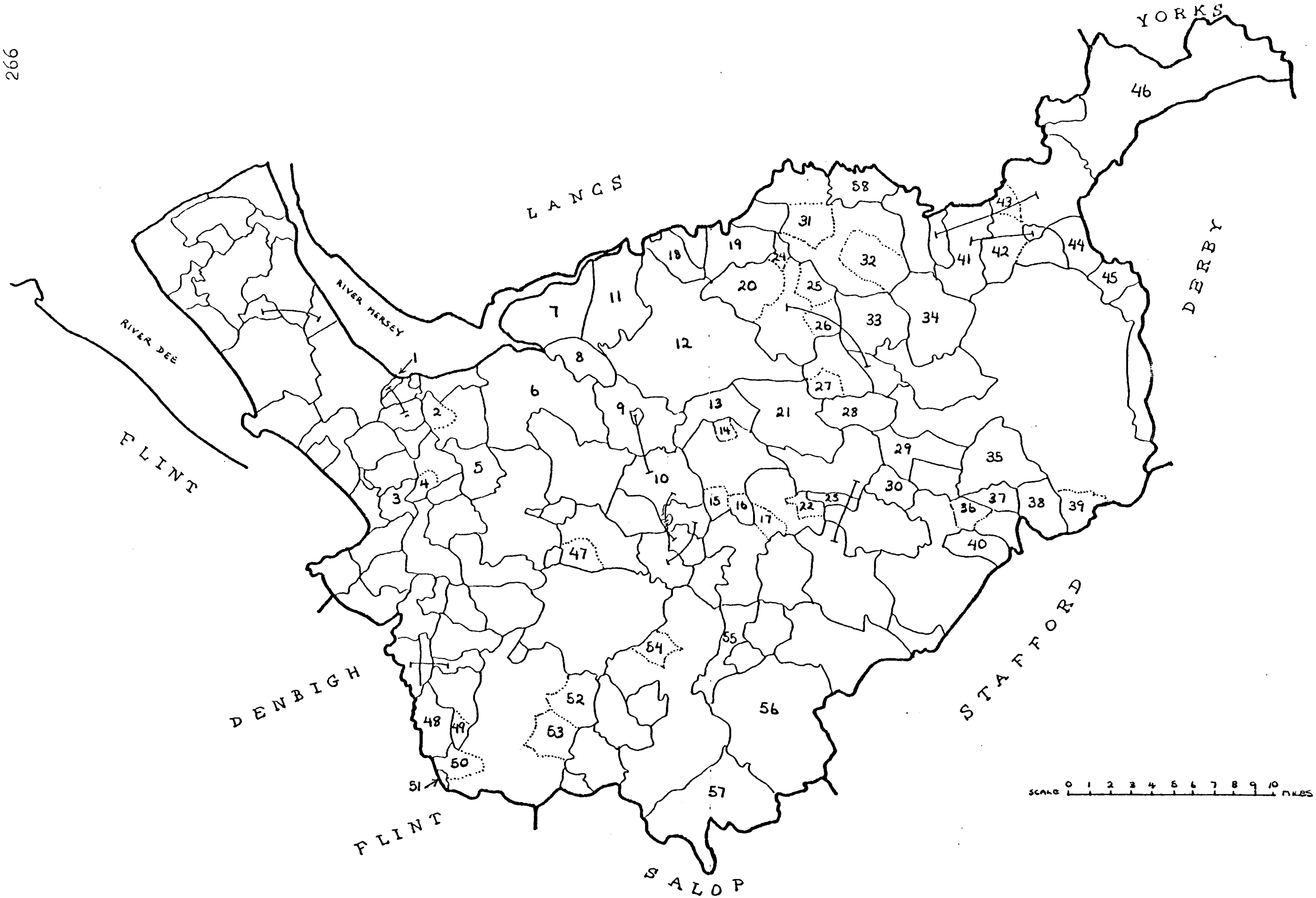
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YORKS
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KEY TO MAP OF CHESHIRE

No. on Map	Parish, chapel or village	No. of Quaker families
1	Stoke	1
2	Elton	1
3	Chester	14
4	Hoole	1
5	Barrow	3
6	Frodsham (Frodsham Lordship, Manley, Helsby, Frodsham, Alvanley, Netherton, Kingsley, Overton, Norley, Newton, Woodhouses)	34
7	Runcorn (Norton, Halton)	9
8	Aston Chapel (Aston by Sutton, Aston Grange, Sutton)	4
9	Weaverham (Crowton, Cuddington, Weaverham, Acton)	15
10	Whitegate	1
11	Daresbury Chapel (Over Walton, Preston, Moore, Hatton, Lower Walton)	13
12	Gt Budworth (Stretton, Marston, Aston, Hull et Appleton, Over Whitley, Gt Budworth, Dutton, Comberlach, Little Leigh)	43
13	Witton Chapel (Winnington, Northwich, Lostock Gralam, Marbury, Leftwich, Witton)	17
14	Shurlach	8
15	Wharton	
16	Stanthorne	
17	Newton	3
22	Sutton	
18	Grappenhall (Lachford)	2
19	Lymm	2
20	High Leigh	14
24	Agden	
25	Rostherne	
26	Tatton	
21	Nether Peover (Plumley, Allostock)	4
23	Church Hulme	2
27	Toft	1
28	Over Peover	1
29	Siddington	1
30	Swettenham	1
31	Dunham	4
32	Hale	
33	Mobberley	17
34	Wilmslow (Pownall Fee, Bollin Fee, Styall, Morley)	19
35	Gawsworth	3
36	Eaton	2
37	North Roade	1
38	Bosley Chapel	1
39	Wincle (+ some in Macclesfield Chapel, exact location not clear)	5
40	Congleton Chapel	5
41	Cheadle (Adswood, Handforth)	5
42	Bramhall	10
43	Stockport	
44	Marple Chapel	1
45	Disley Chapel	1
46	Mottram in Longdendale	1
47	Utkinton	1
48	Shocklach	2
49	Horton	1
50	Cuddington	12
52	Cholmondeley	
53	Bickley	
51	Threapwood	3
54	Hurleston	2
55	Nantwich	3
56	Wibbenbury	2
57	Audlem	2
58	Ashton upon Mersey	1

CAMBS

SUFFOLK

HERTS

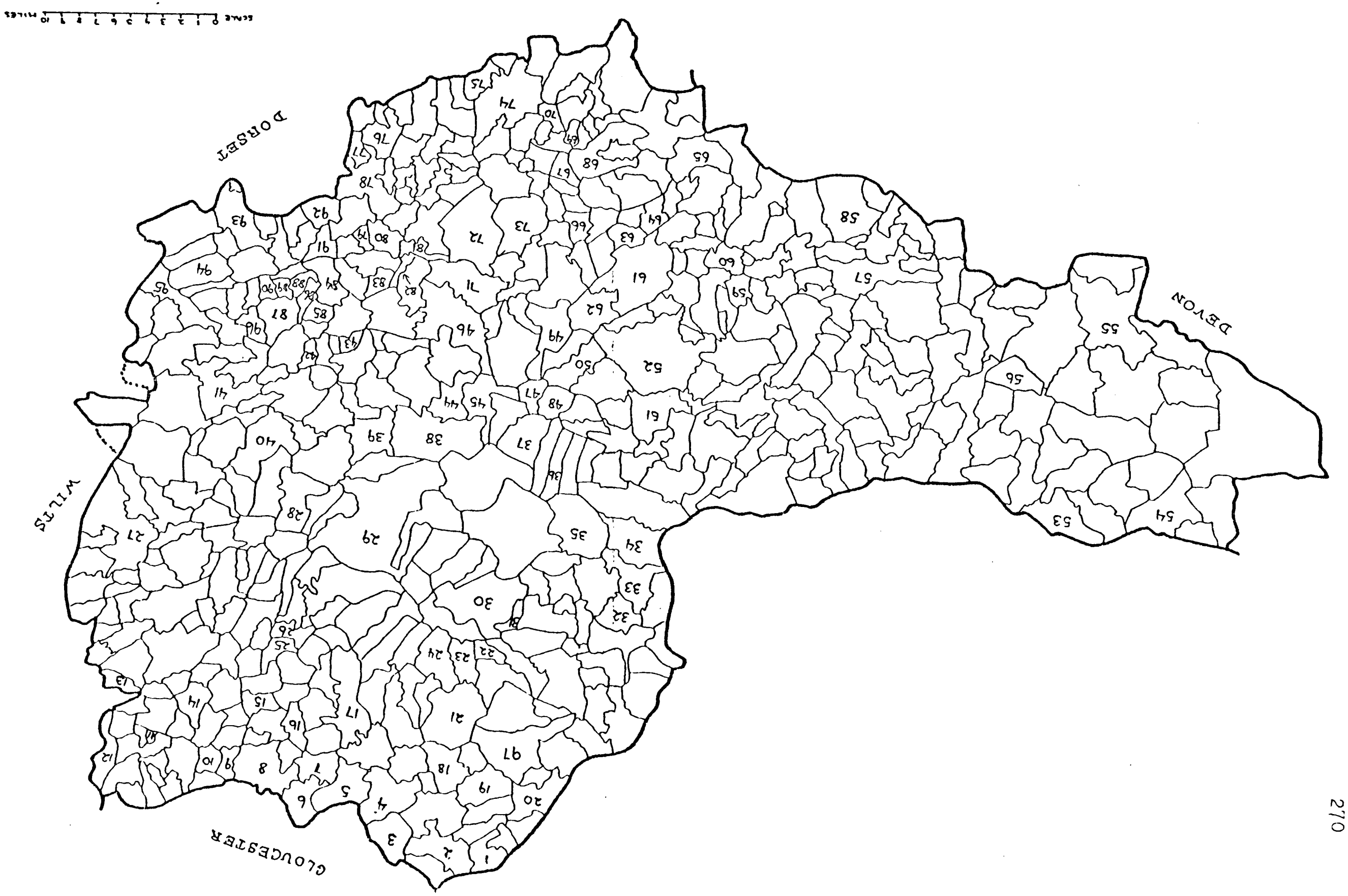
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SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MILES

KEY TO MAP OF ESSEX

No. on Map.	Parish	No. of Quaker families	No. on Map.	Parish	No. of Quaker families
1	Little Chishill	1	35	Thorpe	1
2	Hadstock	3	36	Thorrington	1
3	Wendens Ambo	7	37	Colchester	61
4	Ashdon	1	38	Lexden	3
5	Hempstead	1	39	Stanway	1
6	Foxearth	4	40	Layer de la Haye	3
7	Great Henny	2	41	Gt Birch	4
8	Gestingthorpe	3	42	Layer Breton	1
9	Finchingfield	1	43	Marks Tey	1
10	Gt Sampford	3	44	Gt Coggeshall	13
11	Little Sampford	2	45	Little Coggeshall	2
12	Wimbish	1	46	Cressing	1
13	Thaxted	13	47	Felsted	13
14	Henham	5	48	Gt Leighs	1
15	Stansted Mountfitchet	1	49	Roydon	8
16	Takeley	1	50	Witham	7
17	Little Easton	2	51	Gt Braxted	2
18	Gt Easton	3	52	Gt Totham (Osea)	2
19	Lindsell	2	53	Steeple	5
20	Stebbing	15	54	St Lawrence	1
21	Bardfield Saling	4	55	Southminster	1
22	Gt Saling	5	56	Burnham	6
23	Wethersfield	1	57	Latchingdon (Snoreham)	1
24	Bocking	1	58	Sandon	1
25	Halstead	3	59	Gt Baddow	1
26	Pebmarsh	7	60	Chelmsford	1
27	Colne Engaine	1	61	Walthamstow	5
28	Earls Colne	5	62	East Ham	2
29	Fordham	6	63	Barking	12
30	West Bergholt	1	64	Dagenham	1
31	Gt Horkesley	4	65	Rochford	1
32	Boxted	2	66	Theydon Garnon	4
33	Manningtree	1	67	Harwich	6
34	Gt Oakley	1			


SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MILES
DORSET
WILTS
GLOUCESTER
DEVON
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95

KEY TO MAP OF SOMERSET

No. on Map.	Parish	No. of Quaker families
1	Portishead	7
2	Portbury	2
3	Abbots Leigh	1
4	Long Ashton	1
5	Bedminster	4
6	Brislington	7
7	Whitchurch	3
8	Keynsham (Chewton Keynsham)	12
9	Saltford	3
10	Kelston	1
11	Bath	3
12	Bathford	2
13	Freshford	1
14	Englishcombe	5
15	Marksbury	1
16	Publow	3
17	Chew Magna	3
18	Backwell	4
19	Nailsea	5
20	Clevedon	2
21	Wrington	1
22	Rowberrow	1
23	Burrington	2
24	Blagdon	1
25	High Littleton	3
26	Farrington Gurney	2
27	Frome	4
28	Shepton Mallet	9
29	Wells	1
30	Cheddar	2
31	Axbridge	1
32	Lympsham	2
33	Brent Knoll (South Brent)	2
34	Burnham	6
35	Mark	2
36	Edington	1
37	Shapwick	2
38	Glastonbury	12
39	West Pennard	1
40	Evercreech	1
41	Bruton	4
42	Alford	5
43	East Lidford	9
44	Street	16
45	Walton	4
46	Somerton	3
47	Greinton	4
48	Moorlinch (Venus Sutton)	4
49	Aller	1
50	Middlezoy	4
51	Bridgewater	7
52	North Petherton	2
53	Minehead	4
54	Porlock	3
55	Dulverton	2
56	Withel Florey	2
57	Milverton	3
58	Wellington	2
59, 60	Taunton St James, Taunton St Mary	7
61	North Curry	4
62	Stoke St Gregory	9
63	Curry Mallet	2
64	Hatch Beauchamp	1
65	Buckland St Mary	5
66	Isle Brewers	3
67	White Lackington	1
68	Ilminster	15
69	Dowlishwake	1
70	Chillington	2
71	Long Sutton	5
72	Martock (Ash)	2
73	Kingsbury Episcopi	2
74	Crewkerne (Clapton)	10
75	Misterton	3
76	East Coker	1
77	Barwick (Stoford)	1
78	Yeovil	8
79	Ashington	1
80	Limington	4
81	Ilchester	6
82	Northover	2
83	Puddimore Milton	10
84	Queen Camel	15
85	South Barrow	1
86	Sparkford	2
87	North Cadbury (Wolson)	4
88	Weston Bamfylde	2
89	South Cadbury	5
90	Compton Pauncefoot	2
91	Merston Magna	4
92	Trent (Hummer)	10
93	Milborne Port	1
94	Horsington	1
95	Wincanton	1
96	Yarlington (Woolston)	1
97	Yatton (North End)	3