

THE ORIGINS OF QUAKER COMMERCIAL SUCCESS,

(1689-c.1755)

by

ANDREW JAMES FINCHAM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies

Department of Religion and Theology

University of Birmingham

January 2021.

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides the first comprehensive explanation of the relationship between key factors which enabled Quakers (the Religious Society of Friends) to achieve commercial success during the first half of the eighteenth century. Four factors have been identified which combined to provide a unique environment which encouraged Friends' success: first, the Quaker emphasis on education and particularly apprenticeship produced the 'raw material' that developed into shopkeepers, merchants, and manufacturers; second, this was financed by a communal infrastructure which also provided access to business capital; third, the unique topology of one, single Quaker network facilitated and intensified interactions across the entire wealth creation process; finally, the ethics of the Society as codified in the Advices within their 'Discipline', required adherence to values and behaviours which were both compatible with, and actively promoted, commercial success. Together, these provided a unique secular utility for members of the Religious Society of Friends in the late seventeenth century which would promote commercial success through much of the eighteenth century, until a combination of external changes in the wider context, and a shift in the disciplinary focus of the central London Yearly Meeting in pursuit of what they held to be an ancient purity, caused a decline in their commercial efficacy.

For my Parents
in grateful recognition of
their love
and enduring example

Arbore Latet Opaca

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project owes its successful completion to the continued enthusiasm of a small number of people to whom I remain deeply grateful.

The idea of a history of Quaker Business originated with true Friend Tim Phillips, who encouraged me to consider the attempt. With the support of Liz Redfern and the leadership at Quakers & Business, my desire to find an explanation for this phenomenon became a reality. For this long-term support, both personal and financial, I am forever in debt.

For the remarkable feat of guiding the ship, navigating both past and through the multitude of creeks down which I ventured, providing unspoken reassurance of our eventual landing, and finally steering us safely to port, my gratitude and admiration in equal measure is recorded to my Ph.D. supervisor 'Ben' Pink Dandelion – no hand on the tiller could be surer.

For sharing her infectious energy and enthusiasm for unravelling the complexities of eighteenth century trans-Atlantic Quakerism, I wish to thank Professor Robynne Rogers Healey. Dr. Peter Collins' timely sharing of resources during the academic plague year of lockdown will be long remembered as a good deed in a naughty world. My colleagues at the Centre for Research in Quaker Studies, University of Birmingham, also deserve recognition for providing listening ears and observations through a long half-decade of papers; no more supportive group could be asked for.

For their efforts in preparing extracts from the births, marriage and burial records, the Quaker Family History Society deserve the historian's gratitude. Personal thanks are owed to the staff at the Codrington Library, All Souls, Oxford, the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford upon Avon, at Woodbrooke Library, Birmingham, and the archivists at Friends House Library, London. I should also like to acknowledge the generous aid from Britain Yearly Meeting's Adult Grant Fund.

Finally, true appreciation is offered to my dear wife, Anita, who continues (despite many more pressing concerns), to endure my incomprehensible excitements, explanations, and frustrations with a stoicism (and good humour) approaching that of Chrysippus.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW	1
1.1	Area of Work	2
1.2	Period 1689 – c.1755	4
1.3	Quakers in Context	9
1.4	Literature Review	15
1.5	Sources and Method	25
1.5.1	Establishing a Quaker Ethic: The Discipline	25
1.5.2	Primary Sources - Discipline	27
1.5.3	Establishing Quaker Commerce – Primary Sources.	30
1.5.4	Method - Approach and Analysis	32
1.6	Thesis outline	33
1.7	Chapter Summary	33
2	COMMERCIAL ORIGINS	34
2.1	Relevance of Commerce: historical overview 1650 - 1700	34
2.2	Quaker Occupational Data	40
2.3	Revised Register Analysis: Method and Data	53
2.4	Revised Register Analysis: Findings	56
2.5	Summary Findings	64
2.6	Quaker Commerce in Context	66
2.7	Chapter Summary	70
3	PROFESSIONS AND THE OATH	72
3.1	Quakers, the Law, and Oaths	73
3.2	Quakers and the Professions	84
3.3	Universities and the Clergy	85
3.4	Medicine	86
3.5	Law	89
3.6	Chapter Summary	96
4	ORIGIN AND PRACTICE OF DISCIPLINE	98
4.1	Overview	99
4.2	Early Advices	102
4.3	Evolution of Advices	110
4.4	Advices and Commerce	112

4.4.1	Affirmation (and Oaths)	114
4.4.2	Appeals	114
4.4.3	Arbitration	114
4.4.4	Civil Government	117
4.4.5	Covetousness, Plainness, and other 'thrift-based' Heads	117
4.4.6	Defamation and Detraction	118
4.4.7	Liberality to the Poor	119
4.4.8	Marriage	119
4.4.9	National Stock	121
4.4.10	Removals and Settlement	121
4.4.11	Tithes	122
4.4.12	Trade	125
4.4.13	War	126
4.4.14	Wills	127
4.5	The Process and Practice of Discipline	127
4.6	Conclusion - the effect of Discipline on Commerce	151
4.7	Chapter Summary	152
5	EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP	156
5.1	Education in Context	156
5.2	Nature of Education	162
5.2.1	Charity Schools	162
5.2.2	Grammar Schools	164
5.2.3	Great Schools	164
5.2.4	Dissenting Academies	165
5.2.5	Home Schooling	166
5.3	Quakers, Calling, and Commerce	167
5.4	Education and the Poor	171
5.5	The Role of Apprenticeships	179
5.6	Quakers Records and Apprenticeships	183
5.7	Conclusion	189
5.8	Chapter Summary	191
6	EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FINANCE	193
6.1	Background	194
6.2	Credit and Debt	197
6.3	Interest and Usury	201

6.4	Commercial Banking	203
6.5	Bankruptcy	207
6.6	Taxation	212
6.7	Chapter Summary	216
7	QUAKER COLLECTIVE FINANCE	218
7.1	Wealth, Social Obligation, and Inequality	219
7.2	The Myth of 'Just Debt'	223
7.3	The Reality of Bankruptcy	225
7.4	The Relief of Sufferings	228
7.5	A Monthly Meeting: Peel Collections and Collective Finance	232
7.6	Poor Relief	234
7.7	Other Collections - General Service of Truth	237
7.8	Gifts, Legacies, and Apprentices	239
7.9	Financial Case Study: John Mathew's Legacy	243
7.10	Chapter Summary	246
8	THE UTILITY OF THE QUAKER NETWORK	248
8.1	Traditional Quaker Network Typology	249
8.2	Travelling Connections	254
8.3	Endogamous Connections	260
8.4	Political Connections	264
8.5	Family Connections	266
8.6	Single Network Topology and Secular Utility	269
8.7	Social Network Analysis and Quaker Stakeholders	272
8.8	Quaker Network Effectiveness	276
8.9	Chapter Summary	282
9	UTILITY, SUCCESS, AND THE QUAKER ETHIC	284
9.1	De-mystifying the myth of Quaker Success	285
9.2	The Decline of Utility	295
9.2.1	Education	296
9.2.2	Apprenticeships	299
9.2.3	Collective Finance	302
9.2.4	Network	306
9.2.5	Discipline	309
9.3	Conclusion: the relationship between Utility, Success, and Ethics	319

9.4	Implications for Further Research	325
9.5	Chapter Summary	327

APPENDICES

A	Occupations Inventory	330
B	Apprentice Fees	332
C	Occupational Data Tables	336
D	Extracts Advices Analysis – Graphic	342

BIBLIOGRAPHY	343
--------------	-----

List of Figures		Page
Figure 2.1	Occupations of the First Publishers of Truth	44
Figure 2.2	Comparative Marriage Occupations 1680-1780	46
Figure 2.3	London Marriage Occupations (1659-1849)	47
Figure 2.4	Beck and Ball compared to London Marriage Occupations	48
Figure 2.5	Registers: Duplicate Occupational Attributes 1655-1849	55
Figure 2.6	Occupational Trends - All Registers 1659-1849	57
Figure 2.7	Occupational Trends - London Registers 1659-1849	59
Figure 2.8	Occupational Trends - Suffolk Registers 1659-1849	60
Figure 2.9	Occupational Trends - Norfolk Registers 1659-1849	60
Figure 2.10	Occupational Trends - Essex Registers 1659-1849	61
Figure 2.11	Occupational Trends – Durham Registers 1659-1849	61
Figure 2.12	Re-categorised Vann and Eversley Cohort Data 1650-1849	62
Figure 2.13	Selected Occupational Trends - London Registers 1659-1849	63
Figure 2.14	Occupational Trends - England and Wales 1688-1811	69
Figure 3.1	Guild Distribution of Marrying Quakers 1662-1795	80
Figure 3.2	Apprentice Fees - Legal Profession 1711-1803	90
Figure 4.1	Obverse of copy of Advices signed B.B. 1697 Balby Papers	105
Figure 4.2	Marginalia from Thomas Hammond	105
Figure 4.3	Balby Clerks Advice List (c.1725-c.1727)	108
Figure 5.1	Apprenticeships per head of population over time	182
Figure 5.2	Peel Apprenticeships (1671-1715)	187
Figure 7.1	Collections for the Poor: Peel Monthly Meeting 1690-1696	235
Figure 7.2	Gifts and Legacies: Peel Monthly Meeting 1688-1708	241
Figure 9.1	Cordwainers' Apprentices 1690-1819	301
Figure 9.2	Estimated English Quaker Population 1650-1809	323

1 INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter describes the main focus of the research which seeks a rationale for the development of Quaker wealth creation in England from the late seventeenth until around the middle of the eighteenth century. The context for Quaker commercial activity is grounded on the social origins of the Society, and the advices which governed the values of the Society of Friends from its inception.¹ Thus far, the nature and development of these values in terms of their disproportionate contribution to commerce has been characterised by an overriding insistence that Quaker success originated in business practices which were uniquely ethical. This research for the first time unpacks that concept, and uses a systematic approach to identify which aspects of the values of Friends were beneficial to commerce, and how and why they were effective as a consequence. The conclusion challenges the established relationship between Protestantism and capitalism, and revises existing scholarship by establishing that success came to those within Quakerism who leveraged non-religious aspects of the Society to achieve success. This chapter describes the area of work, defines the period under examination, then sets out the primary sources and key works used for the analysis of the Discipline,² occupations, and commerce. A brief description of the methodology follows, and the chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis structure.

¹ 'Quakers', 'Friends', 'the Society', and 'the Society of Friends' are used here interchangeably to refer to members of the Religious Society of Friends.

² The term Discipline here covers the collective set of recommended conduct (Advices) and regulations (Rules) created by the Society. As described in detail in Chapter 4, these evolved from decisions of local 'Meetings for Business' (held monthly, hence Monthly Meetings), regional meetings (Quarterly Meetings), and the communications from the annual meetings at which all Friends were represented, known as Yearly Meeting. The communications from London Yearly Meeting were known as (Written or Printed) Epistles (WE or PE), and selected Advices from these were ultimately collected into Books of Extracts, which thus came to embody the Discipline, both for guidance, and as a process.

1.1 Area of Work

The thesis establishes how the values of the Religious Society of Friends made a positive contribution to Quaker commerce. Through analysis of primary data and secondary literature, the extent of Quaker occupations in trade are established, while key factors for commercial success (and the mechanisms by which they acted) are identified in order to explain how and why members of the Society of Friends rose to a commercial prominence which was far in excess of their presence in England.³ The goal is to offer an integrated 'rationale for success' currently absent from the literature, linking success with a Quaker ethic defined by the values represented in the Quaker Discipline. This analysis identifies and traces a set of factors and their impact through the period in which many great Quaker enterprises flourished, and which led to the rise of the substantial commercial figures termed Quaker 'Grandees'.⁴ Many of these dynasties remain commonly instanced (if not always as Quakers): in association with the industrial revolution; the development of banking or commerce; and include industrialists Darby, Lloyd, and Pease, bankers Gurney, Lloyd and Barclay, and many brewers, clockmakers, botanists, dispensers and doctors who were also figures of note in their time - some members of the Royal Society. Building on this base allowed the subsequent Quaker successes in the nineteenth century, including the 'Chocolate Trio' (Fry, Rowntree and Cadbury), Clarks, Reckitts, Hornimans, Allen and Hanbury, Bryant and May, and more - many of which survive as trusted brand names two centuries on.⁵ The geographic focus for the research is the Quakers under London Yearly Meeting, using records from meetings in England, supported by reference to the North American colonies where required. The research uses occupational records to establish the early commercial origins of the Society, and

³ The analysis uses data from Quaker meeting registers in areas across England, and records from London Yearly Meeting (LYM). It is suggested that further research extend this to other geographies (see Chapter 9).

⁴ See Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763*, (Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va.; Univ. of North Carolina Press [1948] 1963).

⁵ See Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, (Oxford: OUP, 1970): 182-187, and Part II:VI *passim*.

examines how the Advices (which represented the values of the Society, and which formed the basis of the Discipline) acted upon commerce.⁶ To date, the understanding of these values in terms of this action has been characterised by the view that Quaker success originated from adopting business practices which were uniquely ethical. This conception arose not only through the publications of early Quaker historians which were substantially hagiographic,⁷ but from an ever wider set of academic interpretations of Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.⁸ This thesis adopts a more systematic approach, establishing the reality of Quaker commerce through evidence from marriage records,⁹ and using an analysis of the Discipline to identify which Advices were beneficial to commerce and why.¹⁰ This approach produces an explanation for Quaker commercial success in terms which neither require, nor rely upon, Weber's theory. It describes how a secular utility associated with membership could attract and encourage those interested in commercial activity, while the Quaker Discipline acted to prevent behaviours which were inimical to business success. The Society of Friends was attractive to the trading class because it was aligned to their values, and some measure of success accrued to the majority of membership who leveraged these non-religious advantages. This reverses the idea that success was bestowed upon Quakers as a consequence of their Protestantism: it was neither Weber's suggested 'reward' from God, or the consequence of a need to demonstrate the superiority of their beliefs by prominent secular ostentation.¹¹ Important evidence which has often been regarded as secondary is presented as a set of interrelated factors, actuated and intensified by the evolving rules and mechanism of

⁶ As noted, Advices refers to the guidance given the Books of Extracts current during the period; where the differences in content of the various editions of the Extracts is significant, the reference will be given. See section 1.5, below.

⁷ A good example is that of Isabel Grubb's *Quakers in Industry before 1800*, (Williams & Norgate, 1930): 76-77. This legacy is described in detail in Chapter 9. [Note, place of publication omitted when London].

⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (Routledge Classics, [1930] 2001); this is the last version of the original 1905 paper to have been amended by Weber himself. Weber's seminal work posited a causal relationship between Protestant beliefs and the desire to achieve worldly success, while erroneously citing Quakers as an example of such values in action; The impact of this research on Weber's theory is addressed in Chapter 9.

⁹ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

¹⁰ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹¹ See Chapter 9 'Demystifying'.

the Society's Discipline (Chapter 4). The factors identified are: the role played by education and apprenticeships to ensure Friends' self-sufficiency (Chapter 5); the role of collective finance, developing from its origins alleviating earlier sufferings (Chapters 6 and 7); and the effect of a single, dense, network of Quaker stakeholders acting as an intensifier (Chapter 8). Together, these acted to encourage proto- and nascent Quakers towards an economic self-sufficiency through commercial activity. These themes are addressed in separate sections below, but it is their combined impact that delivered unique commercial advantages which helped to create eighteenth-century Quaker wealth, and which marked out the Religious Society of Friends for those interested in commercial prosperity.

1.2 Period 1689 – c.1755

While earlier data is evidenced, the evidential focus is the period between the Act of Toleration of 1689 up to the middle of the following century, while the conclusion also looks to the half-century following to trace the trajectory of the influencing factors. The choice of both these dates requires explanation. The long title of this Act ('for Exempting their Majestyes Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certaine Lawes'),¹² sufficiently demonstrates its significance. Its passing marked the beginning of a new era, one in which the Quaker and their meeting was now:

protected by law... He no longer held life and property at the mercy of prejudiced zeal or legalized greed. He had passed from persecution into peace. His weather-beaten Ark, which had stoutly ridden out the storm, found itself, as by a miracle, in calm waters. It seemed a time for refitting the ship; not for the fresh heroic adventure of launching forth into the deep.¹³

¹² Note: in book and legislation titles, and where words appear within quotations, original spelling and punctuation has been retained.

¹³ William C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1919): 160.

In recognition of the change, the Society moved towards a more circumspect approach in dealing with areas of conflict with the wider world and in so doing ushered in that period known to some Quaker historians as 'Quietist'.¹⁴ Quietism denotes the period during which the apocalyptic expectations of the first Quakers were replaced by a 'hedge' of 'peculiar' customs which kept the group and its identity separate from the world.¹⁵ The so-called 'Quietist' Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1689 guided Friends to give 'no offence nor occasions to those in outward government, nor way to any controversies, heats or distractions of this world, about the kingdoms thereof';¹⁶ advice which was largely followed throughout the eighteenth century, and which characterised the intra-Societal focus of Friends' governance during that period. The wording may have particular importance in its strong parallels with the biblical *Letter to the Ephesians*,¹⁷ which also guided a newly-founded church on how to grow from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds in a hostile environment. These verses advised adherents to 'See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise/Redeeming the time, because the days are evil', foreshadowing the earliest written Advices for the nascent Quaker movement from the Elders of Balby, penned in 1656.¹⁸ The Balby Advices were created following a meeting of prominent Seekers,¹⁹ who at that time represented the 'questing' movement of dissent, and who documented a set of common practices and principles which would be adapted and adopted throughout the Society of Friends in their books of Discipline.²⁰ Advice 12 of the Elders follows the Ephesian

¹⁴ See Robynne Rogers Healey, 'Quietist Quakerism 1692-c.1805', in *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, Stephen Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Quietism originated in the teachings of Miguel de Molinos (c. 1640-1697), a Catholic Spanish divine condemned for mystical heresy in placing inward revelation above scripture. It has been placed in opposition to Evangelism, to denote the period dominated by intra-Societal introspection; see William J. Frost, 'George Fox's Legacy: Friends for 350 Years', *Quaker History*, Vol. 93, No. 1, (Spring 2004): iii-viii; also Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1921): Vol.1, 57-58, fn.1.

¹⁵ Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 6, 77.

¹⁶ Yearly Meeting Epistles 1681-1857; cited in Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 44-45; see Chapter 4 'Discipline' for its inclusion in the Book of Extracts.

¹⁷ Ephesians, the tenth book of the New Testament, includes relevant passages between 5:15-20.

¹⁸ 'Advice from The Elders at Balby' reproduced in Thomas D. Hamm, *Quaker writings: an anthology, 1650-1920*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2010).

¹⁹ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

²⁰ Discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

exhortation that 'none be idle in the Lord's vineyard', which might be taken as the mantra of commercial Quakers.²¹

The chosen end date of the middle of the eighteenth century is rather less precise, for while the factors encouraging the rise of Quaker commercial activity came together relatively quickly in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the diminishing of their efficacy took far longer. The date marks the point at which the data analysed from Quaker marriage registers shows that the majority of Friends were engaged in commerce, rather than crafts.²² The decline in efficacy of the factors identified is discussed in detail in the long concluding chapter, which both traces and suggests explanations for this effect – much of which arises from outside the Society of Friends. Within the Society, one characteristic of this mid-century period is the increasing efforts to engineer a return to what some perceived as an earlier, more rigorous Discipline under London Yearly Meeting (LYM). Given the importance of Discipline to this argument, such a development marks this moment as a convenient pivot-point, after which the factors, while still effective, begin to decline as both the wider context and the Society shifted ground, which would eventually result in the much wider circulation of the first (and revised) printed book of Quaker Discipline from LYM.²³

The change in the wider context is also highly important since such shifts were in many cases towards a more mainstream acceptance – if not always adoption – of Quaker attitudes to business practice. This is illustrated by the publication of the *New View of Society* by reforming industrialist Robert Owen which demonstrates that approaches to commerce

²¹ The significance of such industriousness is discussed in detail in the concluding Chapter 9, while its complex relationship with the Quaker ethic forms the core of that chapter.

²² See Chapter 2; particularly Figure 2.6.

²³ London Yearly Meeting, *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London*, (W. Phillips, George Yard, 1783). Advices are cited as: Extracts, P (#A YYYY) where P= page, #A= Advice, and YYYY= year; 'Heading' is indicated where needed for clarity; unless otherwise noted, the 1802 reprint by W. Phillips, George Yard, London is used.

characterised Quakers were becoming current outside the Society.²⁴ Owen included *in extenso* the 1695 *Proposals for a College of Industry* of Quaker John Bellers, and modestly re-assigned to him credit for the 'new' views:

Whatever merit can be due to an individual for the original discovery of a plan, that in its consequences is calculated to effect more substantial and permanent benefit to mankind than any ever yet perhaps contemplated by the human mind, it all belongs exclusively to John Bellers.²⁵

While the accuracy of Owen's statement is highly debatable,²⁶ the diffusion of such views, promoted by industrial innovators like Owen, and supported by notions of equality that spread from slavery into prison reform, all helped give birth to the new era of social and philanthropic obligation. Such ideas were championed in Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*,²⁷ and exemplified by the universal manhood suffrage desired by the Manchester Unitarian intelligentsia;²⁸ all contributed to a wave on which floated a raft of legislation which enshrined significant elements of practices which had formerly be the province of the conscientious commercial Quaker. As these values became increasingly required by law, or were adopted by other patrician industrialists, the uniqueness of the Quaker approach was eroded, and their communitarian values spread outwards: while Sidney Webb promoted as Owen's the view of a 'national minimum' below which 'no-one is permitted to sink', this had been practiced by the Balby Elders more than a century before.²⁹ Owen and his publications can thus be regarded as the Storm Petrel of Reform: these works appear at a point after which the context for British commercial activity evolves with rapidity, as evidenced by the flurry of activity from the British parliament which created a state-legislated world of work. The

²⁴ Robert Owen, *New View of Society*, (Richard Taylor & Co, 1813).

²⁵ Robert Owen, *A New View of Society, extracted from Daily Papers 30 July, 9th & 10th August 1817*, ([s.l.], 1817).

²⁶ See Chapter 9.

²⁷ Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man*, (J.S. Jordan, 1791).

²⁸ Jonathan Clark, *From Restoration to Reform - the British Isles 1660-1832*, (Vintage Books, 2014): 251-255.

²⁹ See B.L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *A History of Factory Legislation, with a preface by Sidney Webb*, (P.S. King, 1903): vii- xiv; Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 65, 67 (Balby V, XII).

Health and Morals of Apprentices Act 1802;³⁰ the Wages, etc., of Artificers, etc. Act 1813;³¹ the Abolition of the Slave Trade 1807;³² further Factory Acts of 1819,³³ (and later 1831 and 1833); the Roman Catholic Relief Act (1829); and the Reform Acts from 1832 onwards which extended the franchise. As Jonathan Clark notes: 'the British State was involved far more by 1815 than it had been in 1660, whether as tax gatherer, as bureaucratic structure, as contractor, as employer, or wielder of armed force.'³⁴ But then it could hardly have been less. Globally, increasing specialisation characterised the response to the complexities of sourcing, processing and selling in an ever-more international era of empire. In this context, Quakers formed a declining group: not only as the world got bigger, but in absolute terms as membership of the Society in England declined significantly by the end of the period – probably by more than half.³⁵ Inevitably, as the world 'got bigger' and the Quakers smaller, the efficacy of their internal networks that had helped to create wealth in the century following their inception declined, while a multiplicity of extra-Societal opportunities emerged by which any (if not all) might prosper.

The Discipline which had originally helped unite Friends, to consolidate their businesses, spread innovation, and reinforce behaviours, became increasingly regarded by subsequent generations as irrelevant, when not positively restrictive. Many of the mercantile Quaker

³⁰ Health and Morals of Apprentices Act 1802 (42 Geo III c.73); limited working hours for those under 21 years.

³¹ This finally ended the formal indenture introduced under the Statute of Artificers 1563 (5 Eliz. 1 c. 4), which had become outdated; see Chapter 9.

³² 47 Geo III Sess. 1 c. 36; not the Abolition of Slavery Act, later passed in 1833 (3 & 4 Will. IV c. 73).

³³ 1819 Cotton Mills and Factories Act (59 Geo. III c66).

³⁴ Clark, *From Restoration to Reform*, 248; see also Chapter 3 'Professions' on Quaker occupational choices.

³⁵ Alan Gilbert estimates the number of Quakers in 1800 at 20,000, having fallen from Braithwaite's figure of 40,000 at the start of the previous century while the population of England rose from some 5 million to around 8 million; Alan Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, (Longman, 1976); see also Andrew Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers—Re-quantifying the English Quaker Population during the Long Eighteenth Century' *Religions*, 10(2) (2019) for a more detailed discussion.

grantees produced offspring for whom neither millennialism³⁶ or disownment³⁷ held any fear, and they took themselves and their commercial advantages elsewhere.³⁸ Even when disownment did not feature, specific Advices which had formerly been sources of benefit subsequently became disadvantageous or irrelevant. Exogamy was required to create new unions of wealth and opportunity - as was evident from the marriages of children of the great Quaker bankers. When the French threatened to invade, and Pacifism threatened the prosperity of the London Merchants, some left the Society after forming volunteer defence corps.³⁹ With a less homogenous network, arbitration was increasingly redundant where significant contractual partners were not Friends. As the sufferings arising from non-payment of tithes which had dominated much of the first period diminished, so the attractions of land-holding increased in the uncertain climate of post-revolutionary France and America, not least after the burden of taxation was shifted to income.⁴⁰ The commercial world that was to become Victorian would run on different rails.

1.3 Quakers in Context

It is important to set the context for sectarian allegiance during the formative (pre-Quaker) period of 1650-1689 in order to establish why, for an informed (if not educated) Christian, the decision to become a Quaker represented a reasonable choice. This requires a review of the events preceding Fox's preaching, and an understanding of the state of mind of those who

³⁶ Millennialism, (also known, after the Greek, as chiliasm) concerns the rule of Christ and the saved for one thousand years, as described in Revelations 20:4; some contemporaries of the Quakers, notably the Fifth Monarchy Men, combined this with an interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of a fifth, indestructible, civilization (Daniel 2:35) and used numerology (Revelations 13:18) to identify 1666 as a start date; see David Brady, *1666: the Year of the Beast*, (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1979).

³⁷ Disownment describes the practice of the Religious Society of Friends of publicly rebuking Quakers who had 'walked disorderly' and remained recalcitrant; while the offences which might trigger disownment changed, it was always considered by Elders before sanction. Disownment was not always permanent.

³⁸ See Jacob M. Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families of Eighteenth-Century London: The Rise and Fall of a Sectarian Patriarchate', in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); see Chapter 9.

³⁹ William Beck and T.F. Ball, *London Friends Meetings*, (F. Bowyer Kitto, [1869] 2009): 151. Families cited from Gracechurch meeting, included 'Lloyds, Hanburys, Osgoods, Mastermans etc'.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 6 'Financial Context'.

joined the movement. It prompts the conclusion that for many - perhaps most - Quakerism was a practical option for those who took personal responsibility for providing both for their earthly selves and their souls. There has always been a spectrum of views on the underlying motivations of George Fox's Quakers. At one end, proposed by the Marxist historian Christopher Hill, is the notion that they were revolutionaries in the vanguard of a movement that inevitably swept across England in the wake of Stuart absolutism.⁴¹ At the other, championed by Rufus Jones and his followers, is a view of a movement which was 'at heart, profoundly mystical'.⁴² In between, some consensus forms around the view that they were 'no doubt genuinely uncertain how to relate their new insights about the eternal Christ to the old verities about the Saviour'.⁴³ The rationale for all who took a decision to join the Quakers had 'its roots tangled amid the radical impulses of the age of the English Revolution'.⁴⁴ As Hill puts it, Quakers at this time suffered

the dilemma of a highly individualistic religion which grew up in a millenary atmosphere and was at first organizationally influenced mainly by a desire to hinder hindrances to spiritual freedom.⁴⁵

For those engaged in trade, Quakerism was less about social revolution (always bad for business) and more about being best prepared for the next world through pursuing religious freedom, most simply defined as the eradication of paid clergy and relief from the burden of church taxation - the detested tithe. The century into which Fox was born saw perhaps the most disruptive and revolutionary collection of changes ever experienced by the inhabitants of the British Isles.⁴⁶ R.H. Tawney notes that in the 'triple reconstruction, political,

⁴¹ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, (Penguin Books, 1991).

⁴² Rufus Jones's Introduction, in Braithwaite, *Second Period*, xxiv.

⁴³ Melvin B. Endy, 'The Interpretation of Quakerism: Rufus Jones and his critics', *Quaker History*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Spring 1981): 15.

⁴⁴ H. Larry Ingle, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings', *Quaker History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Fall 1987): 79.

⁴⁵ Hill, *The World Turned*, 116; note that economic motives existed from the start for those who rejected tithes.

⁴⁶ See: Hill, *The World Turned*; Braithwaite, *Second Period*; Arnold Toynbee, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, (Oxford: OUP, 1956); R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Mentor, 1953).

ecclesiastical, and economic, through which England passed between the Armada and the Revolution, every ingredient in the cauldron worked a subtle change in every other'.⁴⁷ Society was materially defined by religion, with the 'divided mind' of secular and sacred addressed by E.B. Castle in his 1941 Swarthmore Lecture not yet a facet of daily life.⁴⁸ The Anglican church had finally become established after multiple incarnations,⁴⁹ and only the most ancient could recall a time before the Elizabethan Prayer Book had excised five out of every six 'holy days' rest from labour.⁵⁰ David Cressy argues that the calendar evolved into a 'highly charged and potentially divisive symbol of the unresolved business of the reformation', and ultimately into battleground for Catholics, emergent Puritans, and Laudites which would only be resolved by the growing secularisation of the political sphere which ended the 'Age of Faith'.⁵¹ For at least the first half of the seventeenth century, the shadow of national religion hid a mass of superstitions which were shared by the lowest and highest in the land, with a range of beliefs from alchemy to witchcraft.⁵² James I was active in the hunting of witches, and wrote in detail of the powers of the Satanists - powers which he reassuringly asserted would desert them if Magistrates were not slothful.⁵³ James signed the execution of the last martyred heretic to be burned as late as 1611.⁵⁴ Crucially, for much of the century, the date of 1666 hinted at an imminent coming of 'the Word', and possibly the end of this world - indeed for some, the removal of King Charles would only be justified by the arrival of King Jesus.⁵⁵ By

⁴⁷ Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 9.

⁴⁸ E.B. Castle, *The Undivided Mind*, (George Allen & Unwin, 1941).

⁴⁹ The 1571 definition of the 39 Articles of Anglicanism, from the 10 Articles of 1536, via the 6 of 1539 and the 42 in 1552, took 35 years (excluding the reign of Mary). Debate continued long after, *vide* Bramall, 1654.

⁵⁰ David Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Jan., 1990): 34. Holy Days were reduced from 125 to 27.

⁵¹ Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar', 43.

⁵² See Crawford Gribben, 'Angels and Demons in Cromwellian and Restoration Ireland: Heresy and the Supernatural', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Autumn 2013): 379; particularly on the ghost of Colonel 'Bowen of Swanzey'.

⁵³ James I, *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogie Diuided into three Bookes*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1597): 50; Epistemon is most reassuring to Philomathes on this point.

⁵⁴ Francis W.X. Fincham, 'Notes from the Ecclesiastical Court Records at Somerset House', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. 4 (1921): 117; Bartholomew Legate burned at Smithfield on March 11th, 1611 (Old Style); he was theologically a Unitarian.

⁵⁵ Hill, *The World Turned*, 72; on the Fifth Monarchists.

no means a uniquely seventeenth-century phenomenon, millennialism caught the imagination of the English through a combination of social turmoil and a superstitious numerology that was not informed by any wide knowledge of gematria or the origins of isopsephia. Taking personal control of one's soul would appear rational in such a context, and works such as George Fox's *Book of Miracles*⁵⁶ were compiled to adduce reasons why his version of control was to be believed. The unquestioned place of established religion remained at the top of the social pyramid, where it both sustained and was supported by a divinely appointed king. James had made clear his personal views on kingship and the dutiful role of the subject, going as far as to include the notion of a wicked king sent by God as a punishment for a sinful populous.⁵⁷ The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 had fuelled a country-wide fear that there were those abroad who would destroy the nation - head first. Public revulsion at the plot stigmatised papists, and raised up allegiance as the highest virtue - a virtue tested by the oath of allegiance.⁵⁸ During the interregnum, when Christmas and the rest of the 'holy seasons' were suppressed, the fifth of November alone was permitted to remain as a national day.⁵⁹ The Plot - with its associations of subverting the establishment - would remain the landmark event for the majority of Englishmen who encountered Fox, his Quaker message, and the Quaker refusal to swear oaths. After 1633, the tolerance of Archbishop Abbot (for whom both the 'relative stability and inclusiveness of the Jacobean church' were of prime

⁵⁶ George Fox's *Book of Miracles* was compiled during his lifetime, and described over one hundred and fifty cures he had achieved through 'God's power'. This work subsequently vanished, but a suggested reconstruction based on a contemporary index was produced by Henry J. Cadbury in 1948.

⁵⁷ James I's *True Law of Free Monarchies*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1598) sets out his personal style of absolutism, and the *Basilikon Doron*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599) offers his guide to the management of monarchy. It was reprinted 'in huge numbers' ahead of James' arrival as King in 1603; see Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, 'Folios Fit for a King: James I, John Bill, and the King's Printers, 1616-1620', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (2005): 471.

⁵⁸ *Popish Recusants Act* (1605, 3 Jac.1, c. 4) immediately followed the Gunpowder Plot, and was an extension of the existing *Act Against Recusants* (1593, 35 Elizabeth, Cap. 2). It prevented Catholics from practising the professions (law and medicine), acting as a guardian or trustee; and it allowed magistrates to search their houses for arms. A new oath of allegiance was created to deny the power of the Pope to depose monarchs. The recusant was to be fined £60 (around £12,000 in modern terms); or to forfeit two-thirds of his land if he did not receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least once a year in his Church of England parish church. See Henry Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, (New York: Macmillan, 1896): 498-508.

⁵⁹ Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar', 40.

importance)⁶⁰ became transformed into the sustained policy of extremism as practiced by William Laud, and the establishment found itself at odds with many in the country. Laud's soteriological anti-Calvinism contributed to clerical insecurity by sanctioning the persecution of all who did not subscribe explicitly to the 39 Articles, thus alienating many traditional 'Calvinist' Puritans. With the failure of the King's Party, both would be executed (Charles I in 1649, Laud four years earlier) as part of a process which reduced both monarch and bishop to components of a political state, with limited authority. Early Quaker Isaac Penington was 29 years old when his father supervised Archbishop Laud's execution in 1645 (although it is not clear if this accident of fact had any impact on Isaac's decision to join the Society of Friends in 1657).⁶¹ All the above contributed to the uncertainties felt by individuals across the country, but the failure of the regicide-episcopicide to deliver material improvements during the interregnum created a void into which the sectaries expanded - Quakers included.⁶² The social fractures arising in the parish because of wrangles over liturgical conformity gave momentum to wider issues, and for those seeking purification and more, the situation in 1650 was but a poor apocalypse which spurred a search for greater revelation. It was against this backdrop that itinerant preachers such as Fox poured out their insights as prophesy - itself a further sign that these were indeed the 'latter days' spoken of by scripture.⁶³ Groups included the Fifth Monarchists, (described as 'the political zealots of Puritanism') who wished all civil authority to reside in a church of the godly, and whose rising would cause the imprisonment of many Quakers for the first months of 1660); their 'extravagance' was as 'sobriety

⁶⁰ Kenneth Fincham, 'Abbot, George (1562–1633)', (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), 2004); Abbot's *Briefe Description of the Whole World* (1599) remains a genuinely engaging read, perhaps not least because it is boldly uncluttered by a single map.

⁶¹ Keith Lindley, 'Penington, Isaac (c.1584–1661)', (ODNB, 2004); Isaac senior was lieutenant of the Tower of London from 1642-1645. He was also a City Sheriff, Alderman, knight, Governor of the Levant company, member of parliament, Prime Warden of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, and a merchant and estate owner of significant wealth. He died in the Tower in 1661 following trial for High Treason on the Restoration, aged 77.

⁶² Hill, *The World Turned*, 97.

⁶³ See Kenneth L. Carroll, 'Early Quakers and 'Going naked as a sign'', *Quaker History*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Autumn 1978): 69-87.

compared with the obscurantist convictions of the Muggletonians, nourishing their faith out of the Apocalypse'.⁶⁴ The Ranters, by contrast, attracted devotees encouraged by free-spirit moral laxity and 'a cheap, half-digested spiritualism'.⁶⁵ The masses remained in a state of concerned puzzlement. A broadsheet ridiculing dissenters depicts a 'Seeker', looking both prosperous and perplexed, with his hat politely doffed in his left hand, with a verse beneath:

All Ordinances, Church and Ministry,
The Seeker that hath lost his beaten way,
Denies: for miracles he now doth waite,
Thus glorious truths reveal'd are out of date:
Is it not just such men should alwaies doubt
Of clearest truths, in Holy Writ held out.⁶⁶

Such 'miracles' were genuinely anticipated: Samuel Pepys records that he was offered odds of 10:1 on the 'true Messiah' arriving before 1668.⁶⁷ In this context we should consider Fox and his early proselytisers (the 'Valliant Sixty') as a not unfamiliar *concept* for the populace; rather their uniqueness arises from the notion of 'openings', gained through the Light of Christ.⁶⁸ With the breakdown of confidence in established forms of religion,⁶⁹ the prophetic aspect of Quakerism in attracted support from across sectarians. It appealed strongly to the Seekers, who while not a movement in either the doctrinal or organisational sense,⁷⁰ were those 'serious minded people...widely scattered around England at the time of the commonwealth'⁷¹

⁶⁴ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 3-12, 19.

⁶⁵ Rufus Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, (MacMillan, 1909): 469; quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 22; in an anti-hireling publication of 1737 (attributed to Joseph Besse) 'Rantism' is curiously defined: 'That taking of Money for any of these sacred Offices, as Marriages, Baptism, *alias* Rantism...' (Philialethes, *The Clergy's Plea...*, (T.Cooper, 1737): 56.

⁶⁶ Anon, *A Catalogue of the Several Sects and Opinions*, (R.A., 1647).

⁶⁷ Samuel Pepys' Diary, 19th February 1666; (*The Shorter Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Mathews (Penguin, 1987): 586.

⁶⁸ The case for the influence of Jacob Boehme's ideas of openings, flaming sword and light theology upon Quakers noted by Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 40-41, has been effectively refuted by Stephen Wright's thesis 'An investigation into the possible transfer of theology and practice from continental Anabaptists to the first Quakers', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013.

⁶⁹ Hill, *The World Turned*, 188.

⁷⁰ Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, (Temple Smith, 1985): 14.

⁷¹ Rufus Jones's Introduction to George Fox, *Journal*, 8.

and a product of the religious travail of the age.⁷² A belief that the day of the Lord was at hand 'united them the more closely both to primitive Christianity and to prophetic religion',⁷³ and it was this unity that enabled the Quakers to accept as Friends a membership that could not only create but subscribe to the 1656 communitarian Advices of the Elders of Balby. As the century moved on, and the end of the world remained conspicuous by its absence, a semblance of normality slowly returned, beginning with the Restoration of the monarch in the person of Charles II in 1660, and more significantly the 1689 Act of Toleration, which marked a decline in fear of Dissent. The Quakers continued to follow their Advices, but as Howard Brinton notes, while prophesy and miracles went together in the mind of the early Seekers, by the end of the century Quakers had changed with the times.⁷⁴ Henry Cadbury illustrates this transition with a later assertion by William Penn that 'truth, reason, equity, holines' were more sublime arguments by which the Quaker maintained their faith than miracles.⁷⁵ The reasonable Quaker had arrived.

1.4 Literature Review

This section reviews the current literature which has attempted to address the relationship between the Society of Friend's values in the long eighteenth century and their positive contribution to commerce, explaining the Quaker rise to a commercial prominence which was disproportionate to their numbers. From the perspective of Quaker scholarship, Pink Dandelion has defined the long eighteenth century (which includes Quaker Quietism') as running 'from 1690 into the 1820s', noting this is an 'under-researched and misunderstood' era in Quaker history.⁷⁶ While more work has been done in the last decade, out of almost 200

⁷² Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 25.

⁷³ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 249.

⁷⁴ Howard H. Brinton, review of 'George Fox's 'Book of Miracles' by Henry J. Cadbury, *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Spring 1949): 41-43.

⁷⁵ H.J. Cadbury, ed., *George Fox's 'Book of Miracles'*, (CUP, 1948): 30.

⁷⁶ Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 77.

works referenced in Dandelion's 'Extended Editorial' review of Quaker scholarship in 2009, less than fifteen include the eighteenth century, and only a handful concern Quaker commerce. Of these, most are the work of historians who, unlike previous generations of writers on the subject, do not personally carry a Quaker inheritance. Almost all seek to impose a structure on their subject: Richard Vann, Christopher Hill, Jack Marietta, Barry Reay, and James Walvin are in this sense no different. A distinction may be made between academics who are interested in aspects of the development of the Society of Friends, and those who use Quakerism to support wider theories. In general, the former see the Society as moving through a traditional set of (more or less established) positionings: first from inspirational millenarians to persecuted sect, then (post-Toleration), a passive, incubatory 'quietist' period, which then blossomed into a triumph of social activism, from which egalitarianism, abolitionism, pacifism and philanthropy would delineate 'modern' Quaker attributes by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The second group of historians have often found a use for Quakers to illustrate other frameworks; not least the Marxist interpretations of Hill and Reay which has subsequently influenced debates amongst Quaker scholars trying to establish the extent of proletarian values in early Friends.⁷⁷ The temptations of Marxist interpretation have even on occasion attracted those with a Quaker heritage: Douglas Gwyn's *Covenant Crucified* makes uniquely revolutionary claims for the earliest Quakerism using such an approach, albeit his findings are both essentially theological, and demand a fundamental change in Quakerism *before* 1656.⁷⁸ Subsequent writers, not least Adrian Davies and James Walvin, have taken a more synthetic approach, which has rendered the 'peculiar people' more rational, and consequently more comprehensible.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

⁷⁸ Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Philadelphia: Pendle Hill, 1995); compare Brinton's observation, above. Many historians would see the Quakers as requiring a longer period to evolve before any such 'revolution' could occur.

⁷⁹ Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000): 75; 'peculiar people' is a reference to Deuteronomy 14:2; James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, (John Murray, 1997).

The major works on early Quaker history remain William Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912) and *Second Period of Quakerism*' (1919). A Quaker from a family of Quakers, Braithwaite as a historian is fact-based, chronological, and reluctant to impose theory on the development of the movement. It is important to acknowledge that Quaker commerce has been a minor concern to almost all historians of this early time, and it is therefore as an incomparable source of both origins and context that Braithwaite's works remain essential to this study.⁸⁰ Rufus Jones, following on with his two-volume *Later Periods of Quakerism*, believed that eighteenth-century Quaker history seemed to many 'dull and uninteresting'.⁸¹ His work was critical of some definitions of 'Quietism', but see Quakers through a personal prism in fundamentally mystical theological terms (an attribute which has not proved to have been of importance in this research).⁸² While these works open the period, Elizabeth Isichei's *Victorian Quakers* (1970) provides a comprehensive end-point.⁸³ Ensuring the intellectual coherence of the temporal journey between these two sets of scholarship has been one major method by which the conclusions from this research have been validated.

The field of eighteenth century Quaker economic history is largely untitled: key sources remain Quaker records relating to governance, the testimonies of contemporary Quakers, and a handful of historic studies by Quakers. By far the most important work addressing commerce during the period remains Arthur Raistrick's 1950 *Quakers in Science and Industry*⁸⁴ being without equal in detail, if lacking analysis. Raistrick uses a business sector taxonomy to address sequentially discrete types of Quaker activity, and deals chronologically within these to establish developments in both that sector, and Quaker connections. The work displays a wealth of detail, not least in areas where Raistrick himself was an expert, such as

⁸⁰ But see this section below for a discussion of the contribution of Vann and Davies in respect of early Quaker occupations.

⁸¹ Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1921): Vol. 1, 5.

⁸² Jones' interpretation has been much criticised in turn – see Chapter 9.

⁸³ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*.

⁸⁴ Arthur Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, (The Bannidale Press, 1950).

seventeenth-century mining and subsequent iron manufacturing. It also contains multiple examples (some illustrated by genealogical tables) of inter-relationships between Quaker families over many generations. As such, it represents a substantial repository of information which has no equal. The work opens with a brief introduction to Quakerism, which attempts to provide some explanation of the Quaker commercial success described, and concludes with a short summary, outlining why the author believes he has identified a uniquely Quaker phenomenon. On publication, fellow Quaker historian Frederick B. Tolles noted the work's lack of analysis, and regretted the consequent failure to address the central question of Quakerism's connection with the capitalist spirit.⁸⁵ Raistrick's work mentions many of the components of the factors identified in this research as 'contributors' to Quaker success, without addressing why. A fundamental commitment to his personal understanding of Quakerism leads him to conclude that the most important factor which predisposed the Quaker to success were the 'high qualities of mind and spirit that were characteristic of many Friends'.⁸⁶ Without evidence or analysis he repeats the 'traditional' Quaker explanation that commercial success was caused by the exclusion of the Society of Friends from professions, universities, the clergy and state offices and 'even most trades',⁸⁷ and makes the erroneous suggestion that 'in the ordinary way such a group of people would have sent a high proportion of its members' into such occupations.⁸⁸ In describing Quaker service to the community, Raistrick omits the key point that this commitment was largely confined to the members of the Society of Friends, and fails to engage with the realities of Quaker social provision.⁸⁹ His claim that 'the desire for wealth *for its own sake* was regarded as a sin'⁹⁰ is heavily diluted by a tacit acceptance that wealth might be justified on other grounds - ironically through

⁸⁵ Frederick B. Tolles, review, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1952): 71-74.

⁸⁶ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 42;

⁸⁷ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 43; see Chapter 2 'Occupations', and Chapter 5.

⁸⁸ See discussion in Chapter 3 'Professions'.

⁸⁹ See analysis and discussion Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

⁹⁰ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 43; (italics added).

providing freedom from worldly concerns - which sits most uncomfortably with his concluding summary which correctly states that:

It is probably fair to say that the problem of accumulating wealth was not such as to call for much comment within the society, until well into the eighteenth century, and that through a great part of the first century of the Society's existence, the fact of possession of means by some and not by others was just taken for granted and accepted.⁹¹

Most unfortunately, Raistrick allows himself to construct a concluding conceit whereby Quaker commercial prosperity was a reward for 'going the extra mile' in exercise of a justification that, while compelled by law to appear 'poor and disobedient citizens' they were in fact, more serviceable than most.⁹² The work has (once) been described as 'very readable',⁹³ but also 'for the most part, a dry-as-dust biographical account of the day-to-day occurrences in the lives of his subjects [requiring] a special mania for reading and remembering unessential details in the lives of Quakers during this period'.⁹⁴ It is the latter that it still serves well.

Frederick B. Tolles wrote a major contribution to understanding Quaker commerce and its context in his 1948 *Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker merchants of colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763*.⁹⁵ Tolles' contribution is very different from that of Raistrick: while the promise of the title is delivered, *Meeting House and Counting House* additionally surveys a landscape far wider than the Philadelphia merchant, as Tolles' examination includes both the origin and the legacy. Tolles places strong emphasis on the importance of trade, noting the

⁹¹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 339-340; note also: 'social and economic differentiations between persons took on a very minor importance and were never allowed to intrude very far into the personal relations between individuals' (ibid, 336).

⁹² Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 338.

⁹³ Francis D. Hole; review of Raistrick *Quakers in Science and Industry* in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1951): 46-47.

⁹⁴ Percy Black, review of Raistrick *Quakers in Science and Industry* in *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (Aug., 1951): 139-140.

⁹⁵ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*.

Philadelphia Quakers' 'single-minded devotion to mercantile pursuits',⁹⁶ while acknowledging that the community sought a balance between the creation of personal riches ('which in their due place are not to be neglected') and the erection of 'temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in'.⁹⁷ The resolution of this conflict is key to understanding how an individual could be both Quaker and merchant,⁹⁸ and how, by aligning with core Quaker values, many could rise to become a 'Grandee'. Tolles notes that rising wealth 'through dint of industry and thrift' characterised Philadelphia society;⁹⁹ he also acknowledges negative contemporary portrayals of Quaker business practices, without accepting their veracity, or drawing conclusions as to their origin; instead, he draws a portrait of the 'businessman' inspired by Fox's demand for integrity, but less concerned by the burdens arising from great trade than the benefits.¹⁰⁰ Tolles' anecdotal evidence for success is backed up by disproportionately high numbers of Quakers featuring in tax returns. Tolles claims Quakers 'took for granted' the concept of a 'calling', in which they would not live idle, and states that all accepted that their purse was to be drawn on for the good of the Society of Friends.¹⁰¹ The question of the degree to which this claim upon personal wealth became a rationale for acquiring more, or how later Grandee Friends might extend philanthropy beyond the Society to justify its possession, is left unanswered, perhaps being somewhat after the period covered, but Tolles cites Anthony Benezet and John Woolman to indicate the vector of change in regard to what Friends would expect in terms of social equality. Ultimately, Tolles brings us the prosperous, common sense Quaker of the period, living a life 'of the best sort, but plain',

⁹⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 85.

⁹⁷ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 63.

⁹⁸ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 82; the critique of Acquisitiveness and Weber are discussed in Chapter 9.

⁹⁹ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 46; Tolles noted Benjamin Franklin – however (unlike Weber) fully appreciated that Franklin was **never** a Quaker.

¹⁰⁰ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 46-47; Pennsylvania Quakers also had access to the political and professional arenas: this seems to have had no diluting effect on their commercial success - indeed, this would have created further nodes and edges in the network to enhance both secular utility and the effect of Discipline (see Chapter 8 'Network' and Chapter 4 'Discipline').

¹⁰¹ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 110; their 'radicalism was sublimated into philanthropy'.

comfortable in the knowledge they could absorb individual losses without sinking, believing their standards made for a better society; a Quaker whose religion occupied an established place, and for whom any conflicts were best resolved economically.¹⁰² Tolles also acknowledges the shadow of *The Protestant Ethic*; noting that Weber's knowledge of Quakerism was the result of 'shrewd and fruitful insights rather than a wide reading in Quaker sources';¹⁰³ he 'admits...a certain affinity' between the 'Calvinistic ethic of the calling' and 'work, which declares that the earning of money with certain precautions is allowable'.¹⁰⁴ Ultimately Tolles refuses to 'venture into the disputed realm of priority or to take a position on the moot question of whether the Protestant Ethic created modern capitalism'.¹⁰⁵

Richard Vann's major contribution development is contained in his 1969 work *The Social Development of English Quakerism* which established how the composition of the Society of Friends evolved from its early enthusiasm to the Quietist position: meetings set up to support the sufferings brought on by early conflict evolved into a national organisation for discipline. With his research into the social origins of Quakers, Vann begins to explore how contemporaries understood, and used, the Society. Vann's work illustrates one of the central challenges of contemporary Quaker scholarship: that of a seemingly endless flow of regional or sub-regional studies which (necessarily) apply differing methodologies to more or less incomplete data, to generate inevitably more nuanced views which add to the 'micro' view without increasing overall clarity. Yet in the search to establish precisely how, where, and at what point Quaker social origins differed,¹⁰⁶ previous scholarship has failed to address the profound commonalities inherent in all findings as to commercial engagement. These

¹⁰² Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 123.

¹⁰³ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 266.

¹⁰⁴ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 52, fn.16; this rather dilute position he ascribes to Weber's follower Ernst Troeltsch citing 'Social Teaching II 915.'

¹⁰⁵ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 51-2.

¹⁰⁶ Largely, it might seem, in hope of furthering a crypto-Marxist claim to establish early Quakerism as a revolutionary movement.

arguments are considered in detail, and compared with new archive research and analysis to suggest a more synthetic conclusion.¹⁰⁷

James Walvin's 1997 work *The Quakers: Money and Morals*¹⁰⁸ relies heavily on previous scholarship to create a popular book which attributes the disproportionate impact of Quakers on social and economic affairs in Britain into the twentieth century as a result of austerity, morality, and a remarkable capacity for making money.¹⁰⁹ He suggests key roles were played in furthering commerce by financial and organisational structures first designed for mutual support, but lacks archival evidence; nor does he establish either the mechanism or the rationale behind the success. Walvin finds the existence of (great) wealth amid (relative) simplicity paradoxical: without understanding the Quakers' self-regulating approach, he misses both the nuances (within education, finance and network) and the peculiar nature of the social structure which acted during the long eighteenth century to reinforce aspects of Quaker Discipline that were by turn beneficial, detrimental and irrelevant to commerce (such as arbitration, endogamy, and crucially tithes).¹¹⁰ Instead, his sweep extends to look at slavery, prison reform and the philanthropic impact of nineteenth century Quakerism, along with the substantially different and significantly more paternalistic Quaker capitalism that dominated the first 'factory century'. Walvin typifies the approach taken by the general historian, interested equally in the myths surrounding Quakerism as in the evidence and explanations.

Outside the field of Quaker history, some key works are used here to provide context and a basis for analysis for each of the major factors. As with many aspects of the eighteenth

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

¹⁰⁸ Walvin, *The Quakers*.

¹⁰⁹ See Christopher Hill, Barry Reay, William Braithwaite, Arthur Raistrick et al. Helpfully, Walvin avoids the often intrusive Marxist interpretation which is a feature of the first two.

¹¹⁰ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

century, very few recent academic studies have been made into individual elements which comprise the social and economic history of the period. The study of early professions is currently fragmented, with little synthesis and less analysis; almost the only recent survey of the topic is Rosemary O'Day's *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*,¹¹¹ which draws on more specialist research to provide an assemblage which illuminates discrete times and places, and from which certain data points are established for Chapter 4. Much information for Chapter 5 is drawn from Nicholas Hans' thorough survey *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*;¹¹² for the financial context in Chapter 6, the fiscal background for the period was provided by Stephen Dowell's comprehensive (and necessarily lengthy) *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*,¹¹³ while Craig Muldrew provides insights into the importance of mutually-observed credit agreements in the early modern economy - his term 'the economy of obligation' neatly compresses the reality of trade during the long eighteenth century.¹¹⁴

One final discipline which is used in this research is that of Social Network Analysis (SNA). This approach enables an evaluation of the nature of the Quaker network, and here follows a recent study by Sherif Zedan and Wendy Miller to 'establish levels of connectedness, cohesion and clustering within the network as a whole'.¹¹⁵ The tool is used to assess levels of *density*, *degree centrality* and *structural cohesion* in the Quaker network, and establish its unique topology. A further refinement recognises the importance of Stakeholder analysis, particularly examining the implications of Timothy Rowley's theory that (subject to the topology of the network) the more stakeholders that share a set of values, the more those

¹¹¹ Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*, (Longman, 2000).

¹¹² Nicholas Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951).

¹¹³ Stephen Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, (Longman, 1888), Vol. III 'Direct Taxes and Stamp Duties'.

¹¹⁴ Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1998).

¹¹⁵ S. Zedan, and W. Miller, 'Using Social Network Analysis to Identify Stakeholders' Influence on Energy Efficiency of Housing', *International Journal of Engineering Business Management*, Vol. 9: (2017); see Chapter 8 'Network'.

values will be reinforced.¹¹⁶ This is of central importance in establishing the link between commercial success, the network, and the Discipline.¹¹⁷

Thus, none of the studies to date have sought to examine or explain the interrelationship of commerce and Quakerism as a central theme. Rather, this relationship is only considered as an occasional explanatory facet in the larger theme of the Society of Friends' development. Thus the commercial attributes of Quakers are intruded into the arguments when required, for example to explain early eighteenth century Pennsylvanian successes, or later century disownments. For a revolutionary historian such as Hill, Quakers were radicals who went soft; for Gwyn, they were the betrayers of their faith; in Jones, they become misunderstood mystics; while for Isichei they were the cradle of the flame for social justice. While these attributes hold true in context, the central fact is that almost all Quakers were engaged in some form of commerce,¹¹⁸ while ever trying to ensure that their emerging religious tradition came both first and foremost.

This thesis therefore makes progress in drawing together and enhancing earlier suggestions and claims through the application of a more structured approach to understanding the interrelationship between Quakerism and Quaker commerce over time. This is supported by an analysis which reveals a more granular view of those components which acted to promote commercial success. This research validates Tolles' views, while the work of Vann and Davies on social origins is used as a starting point for a wider geographical assessment establishing the dominance of commercial Quakers from the earliest records,¹¹⁹ while the

¹¹⁶ Timothy J. Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties: A Network Theory of Stakeholder Influences', *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct., 1997); see Chapter 8 'Network'.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

¹¹⁹ Registers used in the occupational analysis are from the period after Gwyn's perceived change in direction; however, he makes no reference to the (1655) Balby letter, which represents the early Quaker's position. His particular deployment (348-352) of aspects of the neo-Marxist 'late/latest Capitalism' model of Frederic Jameson, Ernest Mandel *et al* sits awkwardly in a seventeenth-century context in the absence of evidence for Quaker commerce as *bourgeois*.

more detailed tracking of its development highlights the effect of the Discipline.¹²⁰ More significantly, however, this research suggests that much previous work on the subject has been hampered through trying to address the 'wrong' question:¹²¹ academics have, following Weber, tended to view this subject through a 'looking glass' world, in order to explain why so many Quakers were commercially successful. This research removes the mirror, to provide an answer to the question why so many of those successful commercially were Quakers.

1.5 Sources and Method

This thesis centres on the relationship between Friends' ethics (as embodied in the evolving Discipline) and Quaker commercial success: the method employed in this research has therefore focused on establishing these two key components. Before identifying potential causal connections arising the long eighteenth century, the approach was first to establish the reality of Quaker activity in commerce, before establishing the nature of the evolving Discipline over the period.

1.5.1 Establishing a Quaker Ethic: The Discipline

As repositories of Quaker values, both the nature and evolution of the Society's internal Discipline are core to this research.¹²² The evolution of Discipline is a subject very much neglected to date: there exists a brief chronology of 'Queries and Advices', prepared by Richard Stagg in 1959,¹²³ and a short review of the 'first' (1738) centrally-authorized Book of Extracts, produced by David J. Hall in 1981.¹²⁴ Hall's useful account tends to support the prevailing view that, prior to 1738, discipline across the Society 'must have varied very much

¹²⁰ While Discipline is used in singular form, it is important to note that differing geographic 'Disciplines' were characteristic of early Friends, which converged (and shifted) over time as the Society became more centralised; see Chapter 4.

¹²¹ The complexity of the Weber proposition is manifest in the level of dispute; the simpler answer may be more likely to be correct - applying the *Lex parsimoniae* of Occam's Razor.

¹²² See note 1

¹²³ Richard E. Stagg, 'Friends Queries and General Advices', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XLIX (Spring 1961): 209-235.

¹²⁴ David J Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', *The Friends' Quarterly*, (July 1981): 505-515.

in content'.¹²⁵ In fact, as is discussed in detail below in Chapter 4 on the origins of Discipline, Friends were from the first governed by a codified set of values which emanated from the collective Elders, which became the touchstone by which behaviour was judged. These values, framed as Advices, are considered to have originated in the earliest Quaker gatherings, with the first documented collection of Advices being created at a meeting of Elders at Balby in Yorkshire, penned in 1656.¹²⁶ A copy has been preserved in the records of Marsden Monthly Meeting,¹²⁷ and shows the breadth of subjects where the Elders would seek to ensure 'Orderly Walking' through Discipline.¹²⁸ With the formalisation of the Society of Friends (which Braithwaite dates as after 1665),¹²⁹ the annual central meeting of Elder Friends at London Yearly Meeting circulated their minutes, promulgated through the Society in manuscript copies sent to monthly meetings. This is confirmed by a study of material previously unexamined in the archive of Friends House Library, discussed below.¹³⁰ Communication of Advices was subsequently formalised in an annual Epistle, first written and later printed, again circulated to regional meetings (known as 'Quarterly' from the frequency of meeting), and also to component 'Monthly' and local meetings of Friends. The first written Discipline consisted of Books of Extracts from the annual Epistles, plus Advices circulated by local Quarterly Meetings. The Advices were transcribed by clerks of constituent meetings into folio volumes, and later classified under key headings - a practice encouraged by Yearly Meeting minutes in 1680 and 1691.¹³¹ Such volumes were in existence from at least

¹²⁵ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 507.

¹²⁶ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 310; Braithwaite notes copies sent to other established meetings.

¹²⁷ Rosemary Moore, transcript, *Epistle from the Elders at Balby 1656*, (Quaker Heritage Press, 2001); Balby would become the location of one of the Monthly Meetings, and part of York Quarterly Meeting.

¹²⁸ Thomas D. Hamm, ed., *Quaker Writings - an anthology 1650-1920*, (Penguin Classics, 2010): 64-68.

¹²⁹ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 307, and fn. 2.

¹³⁰ TEMP MSS 298; Folders (2/1; 2/2; 2/3) epistles, advices, letters and other papers (1675-1760), London Society of Friends (LSF).

¹³¹ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 505-515.

1680, with a centrally-approved manuscript collection commissioned in 1736 circulated from 1738.¹³²

Together these formed an integrated and comprehensive set of regulations which would ultimately be issued in print as the first book of *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends* published in London in 1783, with a revised second edition published in 1802 to include additions up to that point, along with emendations in wording and order.¹³³ Thus there existed an extensive, evolving, and mostly consistent set of Advices which formed the Discipline for members of the Society, arising from Yearly Meeting and disseminated to clerks of constituent meetings in order to promote homogenous views on subjects of importance.¹³⁴ The Monthly and Quarterly Meetings provided the means to ensure members adhered to the Discipline, with Yearly Meeting a last resort in cases of dispute.¹³⁵

1.5.2 Primary Sources - Discipline

The principle primary sources required to evaluate the mechanisms and extent of Discipline amongst Friends throughout the period fall into three groups. First are the minutes of the (London) Yearly Meeting (YM), a series of 39 volumes of manuscripts,¹³⁶ of which the volumes 1 to 17 cover the period 1670 to 1785 from when the Discipline was first documented to the production of the first printed Book of Extracts. A second group of sources are the surviving manuscript copies of the 1738 Book of Discipline. Friends' House Library contains two surviving manuscript books from this period: one volume was

¹³² YM Minutes (LSF) (1736) VIII;187.

¹³³ London Yearly Meeting, *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in London*, (W. Phillips, George Yard, 1783).

¹³⁴ The role of 'clerk' in a Quaker meeting is similar to those of a modern secretary and chair combined, although without decision-making authority. See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹³⁵ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹³⁶ Yearly Minutes, (LSF); YMM Vols. 1-39; page numbers included when indicated, otherwise the year and paragraph number (where given).

maintained by the Peel Monthly Meeting in London,¹³⁷ and a further folio of the Discipline is preserved from Durham Monthly Meeting (Durham MS).¹³⁸ Both volumes contain the central 1738 YM set of disciplines, augmented by local additions up to 1771. The third group of material selected consists of a previously undocumented collection of papers for Balby Monthly Meeting and Yorkshire Quarterly meeting from the period continuing to 1760. The archive possess no accession details, apparently owing to the early date of the fonds,¹³⁹ and the material is filed under 'Clerk of Doncaster'. Given the passage of time, it is not to be expected that in collections of material from other meetings the same documents would have survived. Rather, this collection of material was selected on the basis that it had not previously been the subject of research, thereby preserving its contents in context.¹⁴⁰

As such, the collection is both representative of surviving contemporary documentation in general while indicative of the nature of the engagement between central and local meetings from the earliest times. An examination of the material preserved has revealed a variety of document types, including: correspondence; Quarterly minutes; local advices; personal notes; and transcriptions of early London Yearly Minutes containing early advices.¹⁴¹ The importance of this source lies in understanding both the content and transmission of Discipline across the Society of Friends from the earliest date.¹⁴² Where possible, surviving Balby manuscripts were compared with Advices issued from 1672-1698,¹⁴³ to validate the contents and structure of Advices before written Epistles became the established channel for

¹³⁷ MGR 11b5/MISC/3; (1727-1772), (LSF); *Christian and Brotherly Advices given by London Yearly Meeting, alphabetically digested under proper heads*; 'Peel MS'; for details of Peel Meeting see Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 102-213; and Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹³⁸ MS VOL 38; c.1738-c1771, (LSF); *Christian and brotherly advices given forth from time to time by the Yearly Meetings in London*.

¹³⁹ The MSS number of 298 indicates one of the first fonds recorded in the Library, but no date available.

¹⁴⁰ It is not impossible that in view of the early importance of Balby for Discipline, subsequent records were better maintained by this Meeting.

¹⁴¹ TEMP MSS 298; 2/1-3 (LSF).

¹⁴² See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹⁴³ YM 1672-1693; Vol. 1 (LSF): 363-370; contains a section entitled 'A Table', which provides an index of contents.

Discipline. The correlation shows that circulated copies of minutes were evidently used as precursors to the Books of Extracts, and used by constituent meetings to ensure alignment with the Yearly Meeting before the first centrally defined, manuscript Book of Extracts was issued in 1738; in this way the Society created a corporate set of behavioural and procedural codes. The analysis also reveals that these evolved: the mechanism of the Yearly Meeting allowed for representatives from the wider Society to engage, and thus shape the Epistles whose content became the Advices which formed the Discipline; both Peel MS and Durham MS contain additional Advices added after 1738 in response to Epistles.¹⁴⁴ Yearly Meetings provided a regular opportunity for Friends from all regions to refine (and occasionally redefine) the detail of Discipline. Rarely, controversies at Yearly Meeting were substantial, as with the validity of using Affirmations to replace Oaths.¹⁴⁵ The principle source used to provide a holistic view of Quaker values are the Advices, collated from the annual Epistles of the LYM, and collected in the *Extracts of Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meetings of Friends*. While other sources establish origins and transmission, the Extracts (and subsequent editions) evidence the established Quaker values over the period, while their slight differences illustrate nuances and trends. In general, values remained largely consistent, with controversies on a par with Affirmation both rare and diminishing. Over the long period between the 1738 collection and the 1783 edition, Friends in general became more concerned with imposing than changing Discipline.¹⁴⁶ From these two editions, representative Quaker values were obtained by isolating aspects of the discipline which had the potential to benefit

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹⁴⁵ For the Affirmation controversy, see Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 192-208; London Yearly Meeting records the absence of unity, indicating the range of views in the wider membership, while acknowledging that the function of the annual Epistle was to reflect the unity within the Society as determined by the Yearly Meeting - however ultimately unrepresentative that was. Perhaps significantly for this research, the arguments at YM 1712-1713 concerned a demand from those outside the metropolis for an amended Affirmation (the original being too like an Oath); the overwhelmingly commercial London Quakers were uninterested in this refinement, and eventually carried the day after an extended (sometimes acrimonious) debate. See also J. Harland, ed., *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, (Simkin, Marshall & Co, 1851): 86-87.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 4 for the mechanism of Discipline.

commerce. The contents of all forty-seven headings in the printed Book of Extracts¹⁴⁷ were reviewed to identify such values, which were then analysed to allow a clustering based on the main transmission effect, creating the four key factors described in the chapters below. A supporting assessment was made by a review of the evolving Queries to which the Yearly Meeting first required verbal answers in 1668, and would later require Quarterly responses in writing.¹⁴⁸

1.5.3 Establishing Quaker Commerce – Primary Sources.

Early analysis of first period data exists in the social and occupational descriptions of the earliest recorded Quakers – those who joined with Fox and other leaders in evangelising the message of Quakerism, and classed into two cohorts – the initial group known as the 'Valiant Sixty', and their first converts - a group of over two hundred - who became known as the 'First Publishers of Truth'.¹⁴⁹ Further data was collated by Richard Vann and David Eversley in their *Friends in Life and Death*,¹⁵⁰ research focused (as Vann's earlier work) on the social origins of Quakers. Vann and Eversley contributed a great deal of detailed analysis on a range of aspects of Quaker demographics between 1650 and 1900 using an analysis of twelve Quarterly Meeting Marriage registers created by the Society of Friends; however, their method of 'family reconstruction', as Taylor's earlier work, gives rise to issues in mapping their social concepts to commercial definitions.¹⁵¹ This study re-interprets both sets of data in

¹⁴⁷ Advices selected for analysis were largely dated prior to 1755; Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices' 507 records fifty two heads in 1738, and fifty eight after; he does not identify to which books of Extracts he referred; see Chapter 4 for analysis.

¹⁴⁸ See Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 209-234; for a chronology; Stagg helpfully also documented the later changes in 'Friends' Queries and General Advices 1860-1928', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol.49, No. 5 (Autumn 1961): 249-269.

¹⁴⁹ See Ernest E. Taylor, 'The First Publishers of Truth - A Study', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XIX (1922): 66-81.

¹⁵⁰ Richard T. Vann and David Edward Charles Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: the British and Irish Quakers in the Demographic Transition, 1650-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁵¹ An example can be seen in Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 70-71 (Table 2.5), where they define butchers bakers and tobacconists as 'retailers', cheesemakers as 'wholesalers', and hosiers, hatters, tailors etc as 'artisans'; the present study considers all these to be 'commercially engaged', irrespective of demographic assumptions on 'social status', but accepts any allocation is subject to challenge; see Chapter 2.

order to create a less controversial and clearer picture of the level of commercial engagement. Further, the basis for analysis has been broadened considerably by including additional records in order to test findings: the reality of Quaker commercial activity was derived from analysis of occupational data retrieved from five geographically distinct Quaker Quarterly Meetings, using the registers of Marriage recorded by Friends during 1659-1859.¹⁵² These registers were compiled from Monthly and Quarterly Meeting records, and contain both duplication and inconsistencies. Occupational information can be found for males under the heading 'Attributes', and was provided for identification rather than analysis. As a result this was frequently omitted where clarity was not thought to be required, resulting in the absence of such information for up to half of records remaining: extant records are therefore always indicative rather than definitive. A number of more or less contemporaneous 'Quaker Lives' and Journals associated with Quakers in commerce contributed additional perspectives. Of primary importance in this selection should be noted: early chronicler William Crouch (1628–1710);¹⁵³ minister and seaman Thomas Chalkley (1675-1741);¹⁵⁴ grocer William Stout (1655-1752);¹⁵⁵ minister and advocate Thomas Story (1670-1742);¹⁵⁶ minister and pharmacist William Cookworthy (1705-1780);¹⁵⁷ and merchant Richard Poor (1694?-17??).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² The sources used are the Digest Registers Index Vol.1-4, v1.0/1 (*Quaker Family History Society*, 2003 onwards); this digital collection was compiled from the Quarterly Meeting Registers of Births, Marriage and Burial for Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Durham, and London and Middlesex.

¹⁵³ Richard Claridge, ed., *Posthuma Christiana ; or, a collection of some papers of William Crouch : being a brief historical account, under his own hand, of his convincement of, and early sufferings for the truth, with remarks on sundry memorable transactions, relating to the people call'd Quakers*, (J. Sowle, 1712).

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Chalkley, *A collection of the works of Thomas Chalkley: In two parts*, (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1790).

¹⁵⁵ J. Harland, ed., *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, (Simkin, Marshall & Co, 1851). Cited as Stout, *Autobiography*; this edition, (available online), is for reasons of accessibility used in preference to that edited by J.D. Marshall (1967) which is at present both out of print and all-but unobtainable.

¹⁵⁶ John Kendall, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, (James Phillips, 1786).

¹⁵⁷ George Harrison, *Memoir of William Cookworthy*, (W. & F.G. Cash, 1864).

¹⁵⁸ S.D. Smith, 'The Account Book of Richard Poor, Quaker Merchant of Barbados', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Jul., 2009), 605-628.

1.5.4 Method - Approach and Analysis

Occupational analysis used the data described above, allotting occupations into three categories: those which involved production of goods (Craftsmen - all artisans, and including Food)); those which involved trading (Commerce - comprising Retail, Merchants, and Manufactures or Guildsmen), and those which did neither (Other - containing Agriculture, Professionals, and Miscellaneous occupations). The data was collated into cohorts of 25 years across the period, in order to identify any trends. The detailed analysis of the relationship between occupations and commerce is given in Chapter 2. Next were examined the arguments that Friends were forced into commerce as a result of being debarred from the 'Professions', an examination which concludes that such an interpretation is less likely than that Friends actively chose to so engage. The Advices which were contained in the Discipline were assessed in terms of potential impact on commercial success. This required an assessment of their intent, and also their effect. Significantly, no Advices were found incompatible with commercial activity. A long list of potential factors was created which attempted to rank Advices by their relevance, and an iterative theorising approach was taken which converged upon four key factors which facilitated success (Discipline, Education and Apprenticeships, Finance, and Network). These were analysed in historical context, and a synthesis produced to allow an integrated theoretical explanation of how they interacted to promote commerce. A key part of this context required the introduction of relevant contemporary sources - a selection which included both positive and negative depictions of the values of the Society of Friends in connection commerce during the period. Finally, an assessment of the factors during the closing quarter of the eighteenth century was conducted in order to examine the effects of the changing commercial environment as industrialisation spread, and the unique features of Quaker commerce became replicated by others, thus eroding their effectiveness.

1.6 Thesis outline

The structure of the thesis follows the logical argument. First, a detailed analysis of contemporary data for Quaker occupations is conducted for the entire period, producing trends in Quaker commercial activity (Chapter 2). This is followed by an examination of the utility of the universities and various professional occupations for Quakers, in order to address several anomalies extant in the literature, not least why Quakers engaged with medicine but not other professions (Chapter 3). Next, the evolution and practice of Discipline under London Yearly Meeting is analysed, and the advices therein which promoted commerce identified (Chapter 4). Next comes a discussion on the role and utility of Quaker provision of education and apprenticeships (Chapter 5), followed by chapters on Financial Context and the importance of Collective Finance (Chapters 6 and 7). Finally, the effect of these in creating a unique Quaker Network is evaluated (Chapter 8).

A lengthy final chapter (Chapter 9) draws together the argument, and addresses the impact of this theory on previous attempts to explain Quaker success. It further charts the context of the four factors over the period, and concludes that the secular utility of the Quakers peaked at the start of the eighteenth century, and declined as the century progressed.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlines the scope and purpose of the thesis. It reviews the key sources used in the research, the structure and method of the approach, and indicates the nature of the arguments set out below.

2 COMMERCIAL ORIGINS

This chapter assesses the occupational nature of those who became members of the Society of Friends in order to establish a) the relevance of commerce to the founding Quakers, and b) the commercial propensity of subsequent membership. New analysis uses enhanced and collated data from Quaker marriage registers to compare with existing scholarship in order to emphasise the underlying similarities, rather than the specific and often superficial variations that have characterised past results. The trend in commercial propensity is established through analysis of occupational attributes recorded in Quaker marriage certificates, supported by testimonies of the period. The first conclusion to be drawn is that Quakers were associated from the earliest times with commerce, and with the practice of attracting members through the prospect of better living standards, an accusation which caused concern to some in membership. The second is that Quakers at the time of marriage were ever more likely to be engaged in producing or selling goods, to the extent that ultimately the majority were so engaged by the end of the period. Further, that Quaker engagement in commerce was in excess of their contemporaries at all points in the long eighteenth century.

2.1 Relevance of Commerce: historical overview 1650 - 1700

Quakers began to be associated with worldly success from the time of the Restoration, even before the unsympathetic Commonwealth took delight in drawing unflattering parallels between Friends' financial prosperity and their piety. Claims that Quakers had bought up all the best horses were relayed to Cromwell,¹ while ballad-sheets mocked the Quaker crossing to the Americas in pursuit of wealth with primitive verses:

¹ 'May ett please yor honr in those parts the quakers haue and doe bye vp the Best horses the Conertery will afford'; letter from one Edward Potter to Secretary Nicholas; 'Extracts from State Papers', ed. Norman Penney, *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Supplement 9 (1911): 146.

Yet be it what it will
So we get our fill
Of Riches, and good possessions;
When occasion shall be,
We can change, you shall see,
Both our Habits, and our Professions.²

Contemporaries attacked the exclusive nature of trading between Quakers, implying commercial benefit was a well-recognized reason for membership:

...or that if a man hath been very meanly bred, and was never worth much beyond a groat in all his life, do but turn Quaker, he is presently set up in one shopkeeping trade or other, and then many of them will compass sea and land to get this new Quaking shopkeeper a trade... their custom being to sell to all the world, but they will buy only of their own tribe.³

Quaker convert Thomas Story recounts how his father's hostility to his turning Quaker in 1691 was ameliorated by hope that his son would prosper amongst those 'opulent people', joking that he might 'soon learn to preach among them, get Money, and become rich too'.⁴ By 1700 specific accusations could be levelled at the Society for using the prospect of better living standards as a means to attract new members. An anonymous pamphlet at the start of the new century specifically makes the accusation that Quakers used improved commercial prospects to target the impecunious: those identified for converts are 'small game, mean and needy persons...who are presently put in hopes of a better trade or livelihood by turning Quakers.'⁵ Such strong contemporary approbation would seem to indicate that some detractors felt the Society was vulnerable on account of commercial success - if not for the

² J.G., *The Quakers farewell to England, or Their voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the continent of Virginia, and bordering upon New England*, (Printed for J.G., 1675).

³ Anon., *Trade of England revived...*, (Printed for Dorman Newman, 1681): 27; quoted in Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 98.

⁴ Kendall, *Journal*, 56.

⁵ Anon., *Remarks upon the Quakers wherein the plain-dealers are plainly dealt with*, (Printed for Walter Kettilby, 1700): 3.

typical accusations of hypocritical excessive personal wealth or luxury, then for the employment of a 'financial carrot' to promote the Society's ends. That such criticism was considered at least partially valid is perhaps indicated by contemporaneous efforts to avoid those who, in George Keith's words, 'are crept into the form and profession of Friends' way... [from] some worldly interest or advantage &c.'⁶ Notwithstanding the veracity of the accusations, both the extent and endurance of such criticism point towards the reality both of Friends' presence - and success - in commerce. As noted above, their achievements over the long eighteenth century period have been chronicled by Raistrick in detail across both science and industry, and extended far beyond the 'iron masters' into banking, through groceries into pharmaceuticals, and ultimately chocolate.⁷ Edward Milligan identified almost three thousand Quakers in his commercial biographical dictionary (1775-1920),⁸ believing an equal number could be found in London alone, or even Yorkshire.

Arthur Raistrick provides the traditional explanation for such success, which has largely rested on Quaker principles. He states that '...probably the most important [factors] are the high qualities of mind and spirit that were characteristic of many Friends'.⁹ An alternative formulation of this prevailing explanation for success suggests that Quakers: 'by telling the truth and diligently refraining from putting sand in their sugar... rose to positions of wealth and importance'.¹⁰ This tradition rests on the twin assumptions that many (if not most) of those then engaged in commerce were not to be trusted, while Quakers, in comparison, were

⁶ Keith's paper, probably written in 1690, was first printed as 'Gospel order and Discipline' in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. X (1913): 70-75; Keith's concerns arose during a visit to Philadelphia in the early 1690's. Keith would subsequently leave the Quaker movement, as he had the Presbyterians, to propagate the gospel as an Anglican missionary; see J. S. Chamberlain, 'George Keith (1638?-1716)', (ODNB, 2004).

⁷ See Arthur Raistrick, *Dynasty of Iron Founders: the Darbys and Coalbrookdale*, (The Bannisdale Press, 1953); T.A.B. Corley, *Quaker Enterprise in Biscuits: Huntley and Palmers of Reading, 1822-1972*, (Hutchinson, 1972); Deborah Cadbury *The Chocolate Wars*, (PublicAffairs, 2010).

⁸ Edward Milligan, *British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920*, (York: Sessions of York, 2007).

⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 42.

¹⁰ C.F. Carter, review of 'Quaker Social History: 1669-1738' by Arnold Lloyd, *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 240 (Dec., 1950): 817-819.

exceptional in being truthful. Whatever the accuracy of this trope, it should be noted that the Advices of the Society of Friends included many exhortations to observe the ancient and approved practices of the earliest Friends, while keeping an ever-vigilant eye to ensure that other Friends act similarly. In such a manner did Friends become a self-regulating body, with the primary goal of preserving reputation through regulation of its membership:¹¹ a situation analogous with the earliest trade bodies - the Guilds. From their origins in the middle ages, Guilds acquired various functions over the centuries, including that of controlling of quality. In England and Wales, one very early attempt to control commercial quality is seen in the Assize on Bread and Ale of 1266, the result of lobbying by the Guild of Bakers, containing rules on content, weight, and price, with associated fees, fines, and amercements.¹² While there were often only limited successes,¹³ this need for quality control illustrates both the existence of a problem, and also the potential benefits arising from any regulatory role performed through the Society of Friends.

While there is no comprehensive research into the persistence of adulteration or malpractice in the period under study, useful confirmation may be gleaned from contemporary literature. The Reverend John Trustler was an energetic (if eccentric) compiler of information which he worked up into a rash of publications.¹⁴ His *Way to be Rich and Respectable* guides the impecunious Gentleman through annual household expenditure - accounted to the penny - and is grounded on the importance of avoiding debt;¹⁵ while *Modern Times* provides a detailed

¹¹ See argument from Fox's Epistle *CCLI*, below.

¹² See Alan S.C. Ross, 'The Assize of Bread', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, (December 1956): 332–342; to avoid punishments for selling short-weight bread, bakers began to add a thirteenth loaf to their dozens; the metal-working industries similarly policed quality through the administration of Hall Marks; see Christian Bessy, 'Institutions and Conventions of Quality', *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (142) (2012):15-21.

¹³ Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'Rehabilitating the Guilds: A Reply', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Feb., 2008): 175-182.

¹⁴ His subjects include *The First Four Rules of Mathematics*, *Principles of Politeness*, *A Descriptive account of the Principle Islands in the South Seas*, and his ambitious *Chronology* which promised 'every event in ancient and modern History, alphabetically ranged, with the dates'.

¹⁵ John Trusler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable...*, (R. Baldwin, 1780):74; these titles and those of many other of his works are included in the advertisement from his publisher included in the fourth edition.

survey of eighteenth-century trading malpractice.¹⁶ In this, his coaching inn serves old tea in fresh canisters; the tea-trader bows at carriages while selling the identical dyed and scented tea for 18 shillings or 36-shillings a pound; the Customs and Excise men make a year's money from one load of smuggled tobacco; smugglers' riders receive a guinea a week with 7 shillings *per diem* travelling expenses, secretly selling to every tea dealer in town or country; deceit delivers profits to the St James' china dealer; the cane seller charges double to the wealthier Gentleman; the servant robs his master's father and is rewarded; wine is not only adulterated, but manufactured; the merchant loses his argument as well as his purse when reminded by the highwayman that his wealth comes from privateering the ships of other countries.¹⁷ Many other examples may be found - if rarely in so much detail. Ned Ward, in his *London Spy*, gives a vivid account of life in the capital, and includes both traders and Quakers: in an unusual variant on the abuse of apprentice system, he instances a Quaker trustee who marries his apprentice into the estate, then forces him to buy his worthless stock at inflated prices, concluding 'amongst our worthy Citizens: ...they do not always tell Truth in their Shops, or get their Estates by their Honesty.'¹⁸ In such a context, it seems justified to conclude that honesty, or the pursuit of it, could play an important role in commercial success during the eighteenth century. The reputation for integrity that the Quakers established is charted in the books of sufferings,¹⁹ and Fox was aware from the outset that here was an essential quality of

¹⁶ John Trusler, *Modern times : or, the adventures of Gabriel Outcast. Supposed to be written by himself. In imitation of Gil Blas. In three volumes*, (Dublin: J.M. Davis, 1785).

¹⁷ See Trusler, *Modern Times*, Chapters IX-XI; he gives a recipe for adulterated wine: 'For the benefit of economical readers, the following are the proportions. Forty-eight gallons of liquor pressed from turnips, eight gallons of malt spirits, and eight gallons of good Port wine, coloured with Cochineal and roughened with elder tops. It should stand two years in casks, and one in bottles. If rough cyder is substituted for turnip-juice, and Coniac-brandy for malt spirits, the wine will be the better'; further research is required to evaluate this recipe.

¹⁸ Edward [Ned] Ward, *London Spy Compleat*, ([s.l.], 1703).

¹⁹ The Quakers termed as 'Sufferings' both indignities suffered at the hands of the rude public, and penalties imposed under civil and ecclesiastical law as a result of their holding to their beliefs - termed 'Testimonies'; these were accumulated by local meetings and compiled into registers, and later selectively published to influence the legislature.

Friends which must be preserved - even at the expense of trade. His journal summarized the transition that happened very early on in the life of the Society:²⁰

At the first convincement... many friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their customers at first, for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some friends could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea, and their nay was nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and would not cozen and cheat, but that if a child were sent to their shops for anything, he was as well used as his parents would have been; -- then the lives and conversation of friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, 'Where is there a draper, or shop-keeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?' Insomuch that friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.'²¹

In order to protect the good reputation of the Society of Friends, Fox again took the lead; referring to those in trade, he urged:

If there be any oppression, exaction, or defrauding, through the freedom which God hath given you, the world will see such, and say the Quakers are not such as they were: therefore, such should be exhorted to equity and truth. All Friends everywhere, loathe deceit and all unrighteousness, hard-heartedness, wronging, cheating or unjust dealing.²²

Repeated Advices would stress a subordinate role for commerce: Friends were advised to take on no more business than a man can 'manage honourably and with reputation' in order to

²⁰ Note on capitalisation of Friends: it seems early Quakers did not insist upon differentiating members by a capital 'F'; nor would nineteenth-century printed works invariably insist upon such practice; the modern use of 'Ff' to denote both categories of friends should similarly not be considered as having any historical precedent: the apparent 'double-f' found in early Quaker manuscripts is a calligraphic symbol for a black letter capital letter 'F'.

²¹ William Evans and Thomas Evans, *The Friends' Library*, (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1837-64): Vol.1, 36; date unclear, but circa 1654.

²² Evans and Evans, *The Friends' Library*, Vol.1, 131; 'Institution of the Discipline', dated 1661.

protect the Society, rather than to promote business success;²³ other Advices urged attention 'to the limitations of truth in their trade,' and to other outward concerns. That this also helped businesses to succeed was ever a secondary advantage.²⁴ It is thus significant is that the ethics of the Society of Friends formed in this context promoted behaviours which were both contrary to negative perceptions of common practice, and complimentary to good commercial common sense. In this compatibility lay the origins of success.

2.2 Quaker Occupational Data

Beyond the contextual role of Quaker honesty, it is clear that the occupational composition of Quakers at the beginning of the period must play a greater or lesser part in their nascent commercial presence: a preponderance of commercial engagement amongst those who became Quakers would help explain subsequent successes. Such an occupational analysis is in marked contrast to the delineation of sets of social identities which formed the academic debate in the early 1970s, and which has preoccupied many modern historians.²⁵ The earliest assessment of occupations is provided by Ernest Taylor in a list of Quakers engaged in the first travelling ministry.²⁶ Known as the 'Valiant Sixty', these were Friends active in gospel service before the Spring of 1654, collated from a collection of early eighteenth century records.²⁷ Taylor's assessment of the occupations of the Valiant Sixty notes that of the fifty men with clear occupations, 'thirty-four were closely connected with agriculture, eight with

²³ Extracts, 195-200 'Trade'.

²⁴ Extracts, 148 'General Advices' II; the Quaker 'trade-mark' of refusing to bargain, insisting instead on a fixed ('fair') price has been claimed as the consequence of this single standard of truth (Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 42); the question of how Quakers dealt with auctions or 'vendus' - a standard commercial mechanism then and now - is not dealt with.

²⁵ See W.A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 48, (1957); R. T. Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', *Past and Present*, No. 43, May 1969; Judith Hurwich, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug., 1970): 156-162; R.T. Vann, 'Rejoinder: The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug., 1970): 162-164; Andrew Fincham, 'Establishing Quaker Commerce - Occupations', *Quaker Connections*, Number 73, (March 2018): 23-35.

²⁶ See Ernest Taylor, 'The First Publishers of Truth - A Study', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XIX (1922): 66-81; see also Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 28-32.

²⁷ Taylor collaborated with Braithwaite to compile the list, which was finalised at 65 names, of which most had 'additions'.

trade, and eight with the professions.²⁸ His large number of agrarians include Yeomen, Husbandmen, a labourer, and a miller. Whilst all are undoubtedly involved in agriculture in some way, a more nuanced approach might differentiate between the income status of these groups - allowing (as Vann argues) that 'Yeoman' had a contemporary implication of a self-sufficiency just below that of 'Gentry', and perhaps more accurately representing the contemporary concept of 'middle class' than the word 'Farmer'.²⁹ The Yeoman-Gentleman distinction is historically one of lineage or 'quality' than income, and it is valid to recognise that the Yeoman 'addition' implies financial self-sufficiency.³⁰ Such an interpretation retains the connection with agriculture, while being more consistent with the economic behaviour of early Quakers, as illustrated by the Letter from Elders at Balby of 1656. While these Advices will be discussed in detail below,³¹ the nature of the cadre of Elders who created them should be noted here. The Advices undertook to provide mutual financial support for the growing membership, whether that need arose from the travelling ministry or the penalties of 'sufferings'.

Only two Balby signatories are known: Thomas Aldam and Richard Farnsworth; and their social status is worth consideration.³² Thomas Aldam's substantial fine of 40s for non-removal of his hat is recorded by Joseph Besse,³³ while non-payment of tithes are recorded in an account of Aldam's life published by his son.³⁴ Rosemary Moore describes Aldam as holding the 'highest' social position: a 'substantial Yeoman...who passed on considerable estate at his

²⁸ See Ernest Taylor, *The Valliant Sixty*, (York: Ebor Press, 1947): 40-67.

²⁹ Vann, 'Interregnum', 71, 82-84.

³⁰ Historically, a yeoman held a small landed estate freehold, with an annual value of 40 shillings; this qualified him for certain duties and rights, such as to serve on juries and vote for the knight of the shire (*Oxford Dictionary*).

³¹ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

³² See Rosemary Moore's *Balby Transcription*, (Philadelphia: Quaker Heritage Press, 2001).

³³ See Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers...*, (Luke Hinde, 1753): Vol. II, (Yorkshire).

³⁴ Thomas Aldam, Junior, *A Short Testimony concerning that faithful Servant of the Lord, Thomas Aldam*, (T. Northcott, 1660).

death'.³⁵ Aldam's disciplined interpretation of the purpose of Collective Finance is enlightening: in a letter to Fox he asks whether Quaker women who have used monies for support while in York jail to purchase new clothes should be asked to return it, or to dispose of the clothes.³⁶ Braithwaite describes Farnsworth as a Husbandman, or a free-tenant farmer, suggesting a lower degree of 'quality' than Yeoman, but notes that Quaker James Naylor referred to himself in the same way, despite being the son of Goodman (Yeoman) Naylor.³⁷ This may reflect early Quaker refusal to grant status through titles. It is interesting to note that the 'Directions' from London Yearly Meeting published to Quarterly meetings in the early 1700s specifically requests information on the 'quality' of the First Publishers of Truth,³⁸ this being a descriptor, usually occupational, while London Friends also used 'Citizen' (indicating free-man of a livery company). The two Balby signatories are described by Richard Hoare 'as leading members of the Balby group, all from yeoman families'.³⁹ Other members of the Balby group included the Stacy and Killam families (into which the Aldams married twice); the Stacy family would subsequently invest heavily in setting up the colony in West New Jersey, with both younger brothers emigrating as founding settlers in 1677.⁴⁰ Thomas Killam was considered sufficiently financially respected to serve as treasurer for Yorkshire Quakers,⁴¹ and the general affluence of this group is further evidenced by the 'substantial' contribution made by Killam on Yorkshire's behalf to the earliest call for central Quaker funds.⁴²

³⁵ Rosemary Moore, 'Leaders of the Primitive Quaker Movement', *Quaker History*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 29-44.

³⁶ Moore, 'Leaders', quoting 'A.R. Barclay Mss, 70, March 1652'.

³⁷ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 61 fn.1.

³⁸ Norman Penney, ed., *The First Publishers of Truth*, (Headley Brothers, 1907): 3.

³⁹ Richard J. Hoare, 'The Balby Seekers and Richard Farnworth', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 Article 6, (2003): 195.

⁴⁰ Hoare, 'The Balby Seekers', 198.

⁴¹ Hoare, 'The Balby Seekers', 197.

⁴² Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 136.

Another source of data on the very earliest Quakers can be obtained from the attempt at the end of the seventeenth century to record the 'quality' of the 'First Publishers' who travelled in early ministry, from which some data on occupations can be extracted.⁴³ As noted, an analysis of the occupational attributes was performed by Ernest Taylor, and revisited by Arthur Raistrick in 1950. Raistrick supports Taylor's conclusions that the proportions of Quakers engaged in Agriculture (59%), Trade and Commerce (22%), and the Professions (18%), appear much greater than the population as a whole.⁴⁴ However, a review of the data contained in *The First Publishers of Truth* suggests that the Raistrick/Taylor analysis may have slightly underestimated the commercial, while overestimating both the professional and the agricultural, for it seems Taylor chose to extrapolate missing occupational data for approaching half of his sample.⁴⁵ Using only those 'Publishers' with a descriptor places more than one quarter in the 'Gentleman-Yeoman' category, while rather less (45%) appear engaged in Agriculture, and rather more (28%) in 'trade & commerce', with perhaps 13% described as 'Professional' (or 20%, if Soldiers are included). Raistrick's analysis, on the other hand, takes no note of the type of occupations provided for First Publishers: analysing the fifty-seven different occupations shows sixteen were commercial, nineteen involved in trades or crafts, while soldiering is not mentioned.⁴⁶ Taking this data into account gives a corrected proportion of Trade/Craft and Commerce of 36%, indicating that over one third (rather than one quarter) of all the 'First Publishers' identified by contemporary Quaker records were engaged in commercial activity (Figure 2.1).

⁴³ Volumes 1-5 Supplement, *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, (1907); see Penney, *First Publishers of Truth*, Preface 2-4 for the historical context; 'quality' is the word used in the LYM minute requesting the description.

⁴⁴ Taylor, 'First Publishers', 70-74; Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 28-30; national comparison based on Gregory King's pioneering *Scheme* of 1688, a somewhat flawed attempt, discussed below.

⁴⁵ 86 of around 200 of Taylors' First Publishers are without 'quality' attributes.

⁴⁶ Penney, *First Publishers of Truth*, 370-371; itemising 'Trades, Professions, etc. of Friends'.

Figure 2.1: Occupations of the First Publishers of Truth

<i>Quality</i>	<i>Raistrick</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Corrected</i>	<i>%</i>
Gentlemen	12	11%	12	11%
Soldier	8	7%	0	7%
Professional	5	4%	5	4%
Schoolmaster	10	9%	10	9%
Yeomen	17	15%	17	15%
Husbandmen	28	25%	28	25%
Labourer	6	5%	6	5%
Trade/Craft	17	15%	19	15%
Commerce	11	10%	16	10%
Total	114	100%	113	100%

Subset of 114 'Publishers' with descriptors; 'Raistrick' shows data from Raistrick, 'Science and Industry' 28-29, while 'Corrected' assigns categories based on interpreting occupational data, rather than 'quality'.

There are obvious drawbacks in using such a small sample; to counter this, Raistrick re-frames the nineteenth century work of William Beck and Thomas Ball who catalogued some occupations in London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting.⁴⁷ Beck and Ball produced a comparison of occupations using marriage records selected for some 250 Quakers from 1680, and a similar number from a century later.⁴⁸ The attributes collated for both samples indicated that all but a small minority were engaged in either making or selling, and the trend indicated a significant increase in merchants and dealers, with an associated increase in 'professionals' (Figure 2.2). Thus the analyses by Beck and Ball and Raistrick suggest a trend towards manufacturing occupations, matched by a decline in simpler occupations, such as shoemakers and tailors. Overall, while there is a general increase in more skilled trades at the expense of the manual, a broad spread of artisan occupations can still be found, each one of which would produce a product needing to be traded or sold. Raistrick considers that the data shows that 'many more were engaged in the humbler pursuits in the former period than in the latter.'⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*.

⁴⁸ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 90.

⁴⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 30-32.

Status aside, and with the caveat that some poorer occupations may be underrepresented amongst those marrying, it seems safe to conclude that while the proportion of those engaged in producing goods declines, the numbers engaging in trade increases.

There are, however, certain issues arising from the data. First is the method by which the original 250 marriage records were selected by Beck and Ball. If one looks at the raw data, the Quarterly Registers for London and Middlesex record only 63 marriages in 1680 with 'quality' or occupational attributes, while the period up to 1680 contains 671 such records;⁵⁰ thus their sample must include earlier records in some manner unspecified. The gaps for certain attributes also suggest a need for validation; during the period up to 1680, marriages record:⁵¹ twelve Yeomen; eleven Haberdashers (including one specifically 'of Hats'); ten Husbandmen and Farmers; three Goldsmiths (bankers); and no less than five Surgeons - all categories where Beck and Ball register no records, while Merchants, Shopkeepers and numerous other retailers amount to some sixty records.

⁵⁰ Analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London & Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008).

⁵¹ Derived from 'London & Middlesex' Marriage register, (QFHS, 2008).

Figure 2.2: Comparative Marriage Occupations 1680-1780⁵²

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1680</i>	<i>1780</i>	<i>Class</i>
Banker	0	7	Other
Merchant	14	20	Commerce
Warehouseman/Salesman	1	7	Commerce
Brewer/Wine Merchant	7	6	Commerce
Victualler/Vintner/Tobacco	2	5	Commerce
Schoolmaster	5	2	Other
Yeoman	0	1	Other
Surgeon/Doctor	0	6	Other
Stockbroker/Skrivenor/Surveyor	0	4	Other
Guildsman/Merchant	8	41	Commerce
Manufacturer/Dealer	2	22	Commerce
Chemist/Stationer/Printer	1	9	Commerce
Block/Tinplate/Watch/Cabinet maker	4	13	Craftsmen
Hatter/Draper/Shopkeeper	0	17	Commerce
Seedsman/Farmer/Florist	0	5	Commerce
Metal worker	10	11	Craftsmen
Butcher/Baker/Grocer etc	21	13	Commerce
Hosier/Mercer/Silkman etc	12	12	Commerce
Basket maker/Cordwainer	8	6	Craftsmen
Cowkeeper/Husbandman	5	3	Craftsmen
Instrument maker	16	3	Craftsmen
Woolstapler/Cloth worker	12	5	Craftsmen
Smith/Sawyer/Carpenter/Wright	29	9	Craftsmen
Bricklayer/Mason/Plasterer etc	9	1	Craftsmen
Mariner	10	0	Other
Weaver/Silk-throwster (sic)	19	4	Craftsmen
Shoemaker/Tailor	39	5	Craftsmen
Cook/Brewer's man/Porter/Labourer	8	0	Other
Undescribed	8	13	
Total	250	250	

In order to establish the relative commercial proclivities amongst Quakers in the late seventeenth century, what is needed is a single re-classification of 'quality' into commercial (rather than social) categories.

⁵² Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 90.

As a first step, the Beck and Ball occupations can be re-assigned into a simple three-class occupational taxonomy:

1. Commerce - indicating a primary focus on selling, dealing or supplying
2. Craftsmen - indicating a primary focus on a trade or making goods
3. Other - including Professional, Agricultural, Labouring/Maritime etc.

Using this basis of comparison, the Beck and Ball sample shows a reasonable correlation with data derived from an extensive review of the *entire* set of London occupations on marriage in the registers 1659-1849 (Figure 2.3).⁵³

Figure 2.3: London Marriage Occupations (1659-1849)⁵⁴

<i>Class</i>	<i>Marriage Occupations – London</i>			
	<i>1659 to 1680</i>		<i>1681 to 1849</i>	
<i>Sub-class</i>				
<i>Other</i>	52	8%	105	3%
<i>Professional</i>	28	4%	224	6%
<i>Agriculture</i>	21	2%	180	5%
<i>Food</i>	48	7%	218	6%
<i>Craftsman</i>	371	56%	1192	34%
<i>Commerce</i>	105	16%	847	24%
<i>Citizens</i>	20	3%	525	15%
<i>Merchant</i>	23	3%	172	5%
<i>n. 4131</i>	668	100%	3463	100%

Using the triple segmentation above, it can easily be shown that in the first period, Beck's and Ball's figures for those engaged in crafts or trades amounted to almost two thirds (62%), with those in trade just over a quarter (28%) and the remaining one in ten in other occupations. (Table 2.4).

⁵³ Analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London & Middlesex', v1.1, (Quaker Family History Society (QFHS), 2008).

⁵⁴ London & Middlesex Marriage register (QFHS, 2008); for Occupational Classification see Appendix A.

Figure 2.4: Beck and Ball compared to London Marriage Registers⁵⁵

Class	B&B 1680	1659-1680	B&B 1780	1681-1849
Commerce	28%	29%	66%	52%
Craftsmen	62%	56%	25%	34%
Other	10%	15%	8%	14%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

A century later, and the proportions are almost completely reversed, with two thirds (66%) engaged in commerce, and one quarter exactly in crafts or trades. While the method used for the 1780 sample is also unknown, an analysis conducted over all London marriage records up to 1849 demonstrates a similar trend, if one slightly differing in magnitude. Demonstrating the difference between 'urban' and 'rural' Quaker occupations, a comparison with the sample from the First Publishers of Truth (approximately twenty-five years earlier) shows the proportion engaged in London commerce by 1680 is roughly double the 1655 figure, while those engaged in crafts or trades are three times the earlier number. This urban-rural difference is naturally exacerbated by the scarcity of agricultural engagement in London Quakerism.⁵⁶

The previous most comprehensive study to date of this pattern of Quaker occupations over the long eighteenth century was that carried out by Richard Vann and David Eversley and published in *Friends in Life and Death*.⁵⁷ Their overall objective was to trace the demographic transition of families within the Society of Friends from its inception until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Vann and Eversley estimated that they had 'usable data for between one

⁵⁵ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, reclassified; analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vol.1 'London & Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008); London marriage registers combine Food and Commerce.

⁵⁶ Analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vol.1 'London & Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008).

⁵⁷ Richard T. Vann, and David Edward Charles Eversley, *Friends in life and death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition, 1650-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

fifth and one quarter of the English, Welsh and Scottish Quakers', citing a figure of 6,209 marriages available for their study from the period 1650-1849.⁵⁸ While this would appear to provide a substantial data set for analysis, their methodology chose to include only those records of individuals where multiple sources of information could be used to build a larger, 'familial' picture, a decision which necessitated excluding most of the available information. The analysis of occupations presented for the period is arranged in cohorts of fifty years from 1650-1849, for both rural and urban Quakers. Unfortunately, only the occupations of bridegrooms whose age at marriage was known were included. Altogether, their sample was reduced by two thirds, with only 2,238 records used.⁵⁹ The authors grouped occupations and gave percentages for types of occupation in each half-century. Curiously, the occupations cited are **not** those practiced by those married during that period, but those that would later be practiced by those born in the period. This has the effect of blurring the distinctions between already very large cohorts. However, a far more serious issue arises from a methodological decision to include the same data under multiple headings. Of necessity, occupations are consolidated; Vann and Eversley use seven major groups: Agriculture; Textiles; Food; Leather; Professional; Commerce; and Artisans; while offering data on a further sixteen sub-groups.⁶⁰ However, the authors' explanation of the components of the groups, *in extenso* states:

"Total" is the number of bridegrooms, but many occupational groups are listed more than once. "Merchants" are included both under "Professional" and "Wholesale trade"; workers in Textiles, food and leather trades are listed again under wholesale trade or retail trade or as artisans. Grocers, brewers, distillers, maltsters, mealmen, millers, flourmen, and corn merchants are listed as wholesalers, along with cheesemakers,

⁵⁸ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 38; Dr Richard Allen has also pointed out that their alphabetical selection based on a limited number of surnames cannot but distort results for Quakers in Wales (Private communication, June 2019).

⁵⁹ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 70-71, Table 2.5.

⁶⁰ This is an inevitable compromise; this research finds over 150 different occupations in the marriage registers; an inventory of occupations is included in Appendix A.

vintners and salters. Butchers, bakers and tobacconists are listed as retailers. Drapers, mercers woolstaplers or woolfactors, and tanners are considered wholesalers; hosiers, hatters, tailors, glovers and shoemakers are also considered artisans.⁶¹

Including the same individual in more than one category distorts the occupational trends over time, as well as creating fundamental problems with double counting; there is also no indication as to how the remaining occupations (more than one hundred, or two thirds) have been allocated, which means it is not possible to validate or replicate the study using other registers. However, this is rendered irrelevant since the duplication of data means that their tables present findings for 3382 records, despite having reduced the sample size from over six thousand to two thousand. The extent of double counting varies across cohorts, with the most severe distortion in Urban records 1650-99 (68% duplicated) and the lowest Rural 1800-49 (27%); however, the inevitable consequence is that analysis of the distribution (curiously presented to a fraction of a percent) is highly problematic: it is difficult to concur with the authors' conclusion that their table is 'unlikely to be seriously misleading, especially for the later periods.'⁶² In all, the approach taken would seem to represent something of a missed opportunity with respect to understanding how the occupations of Quakers changed over the period.

Regarding a purely quantitative use of occupations obtained from the marriage records of the Society of Friends, the authors accept that such data is available, but claim that results may be distorted by a number of factors. Amongst these, Vann notes that some Quakers would already be married, possibly distorting statistics up to 1675;⁶³ while other problems arise from the perennial question of interpretation of 'attributes': what may be (safely) inferred from terms such as 'Husbandman' or 'Yeoman' at any specific date, or indeed place; did Quakers

⁶¹ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 72; Table 2.5; note 1.

⁶² Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 72.

⁶³ Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 68-70.

systematically avoid the attribute 'Gentleman'; how should multiple 'attributes' for an individual be treated? These issues were also of concern for Simon Dixon in his study of London.⁶⁴ He follows Vann in anticipating potential conflicts arising from grounding complex social conclusions on a narrow definition of single occupational attributes – a view shared by most addressing the problem. Dixon also identifies two further potential issues: the first concerns the gender gap caused by lack of women's records. Fortunately, for this analysis of (male) occupational trends, this does not signify, notwithstanding the role of the family in facilitating commerce. A second issue concerns what Dixon describes as 'misrepresentation' of attributes, which may cause higher status occupations to be claimed for the purpose of 'social kudos'. Dixon suggests that Quaker ethics could have diminished this risk, but might equally have concluded that since the recorded 'quality' served as an identifier within a networked community, any description recorded would indicate how the individual was identified by the recording clerk, rather than a pretension to a social position.

Notwithstanding, Dixon sees value in using marriage registers to establish the broad social trends in registered attributes over time: looking at 'Quaker Communities in London from 1667-c.1714', he applies the occupations for bride-grooms given in marriage registers to assess trends in social composition.⁶⁵ From the 1692 Poll Tax records, amongst other sources, Dixon estimates that between 40% and 60% of the London labour force was engaged in 'some form of industry', of which textiles formed just under half. As always, the challenge of categorisation intrudes, and he rightly acknowledges the blurring between 'manufacturing' and 'dealing' if the former made goods for sale. Dixon modifies a classification based on London Poll Tax data from 1692, giving seven primary categories and forty-four secondary

⁶⁴ Simon Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London, 1667-c1714', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2005.

⁶⁵ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 34.

categories.⁶⁶ His analysis collates occupations by decile, and clearly shows that between 1670 and 1719 there was a steady decline in marriages featuring 'manufacturing' Quakers (from 51% down to 35%), and a steady rise in 'dealers' (from 23% to 37%).⁶⁷ He concludes that over the period to 1719, the 'movement appears to have been deserted by those employed in forms of production, particularly clothing and textile manufacture' while 'its membership base among the generally wealthier traders and dealers remained strong throughout the period'.⁶⁸ This phrasing sits uncomfortably with the trends indicated (below) from an analysis across the long eighteenth century, which indicates that many 'manufacturers' continued to marry as Quakers, albeit in declining proportions, while an increasing number were attracted from commercial occupations. Dixon wryly acknowledges 'the social and occupational structure of early Quakers has been scrutinised more than any other aspect of the sect',⁶⁹ and understands the 'methodological and conceptual minefield' that surrounds such analysis.

Yet there are a number of common factors which can explain differing research conclusions. They arise principally from differences in geography, sample size, method, and interpretation. It is now generally agreed that traditional occupations would vary by county, and that the composition of attributes for rural and urban Quakers would also differ substantially. Focussing on discrete geographies, and largely in the period before 1675, detailed studies of the social origins of Quakers began with Alan Cole, who subjected a number of regional records to statistical analysis to conclude that early friends were largely 'urban and rural *petite bourgeoisie*' with some 'economically-pressed yeomen'.⁷⁰ Richard Vann claimed that Friends

⁶⁶ Dixon cites James Alexander, *Economic and Social Structure*, Appendix 5, 340-56 for a full breakdown of the classification scheme, and 74-75 for a rationale.

⁶⁷ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 310-311 Tables A2.2, A2.3.

⁶⁸ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 79.

⁶⁹ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 79.

⁷⁰ W.A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 48 (1957): 117.

included a larger proportion of higher status 'trader-yeomen';⁷¹ a view challenged by Judith Hurwich, who found a preponderance of 'artisans and poor husbandmen' in her study of early Warwickshire Quakerism.⁷² Barry Reay, while identifying regional variations in Quaker social composition, concludes that the Society was primarily 'middling';⁷³ while Bill Stevenson, looking at 90 members of an early Buckinghamshire meeting, finds 28.3% engaged in commerce, contrasted with only 20.0% working in crafts.⁷⁴ As Hurwich suggests, the evidence aligns with a view that: 'differences in regional economies and Quaker missionary work may have resulted in different social patterns'.⁷⁵ If we accept this as inevitable, then we can follow Tolles example and not 'venture into the disputed realm of priority'⁷⁶ – either that of Hearth Tax estimates over occupational analysis, or Warwickshire records over those of Buckinghamshire or Norfolk. Instead, a single approach to a statistical analysis of the Society's records, in a number of geographies, across the period, is necessary before generating conclusions based on both volume and consistency of data.

2.3 Revised Register Analysis: Method and Data

Given the difficulty associated with useful interpretation of the figures given by Vann and Eversley, and that associated with a comparison of local studies by Cole, Hurwich, and Davies, a purely quantitative analysis of registers remains necessary to establish trends. Fortunately, as is acknowledged, a sizable quantum of occupational data is available for study. Accepting appropriate caveats in recognition of potential distortion caused by the

⁷¹ R. T. Vann, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', *Past and Present*, No. 43, (May 1969); cited in R.T. Vann, 'Rejoinder: The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug., 1970): 162-164.

⁷² Judith Hurwich, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug., 1970): 156-162.

⁷³ Barry Reay, 'The Social Origins of Early Quakerism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11, (1980): 55-72; see also Reay's *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, (Temple Smith, 1985) 24; Reay claims a more plebeian element in Cheshire, Somerset and Essex, than Colchester, Norwich, Buckinghamshire.

⁷⁴ Bill Stevenson, 'The Social and Economic Status of post-Restoration Dissenters, 1660-1725', in Margaret Spufford ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 353 (Table 14).

⁷⁵ Hurwich, 'Social Origins' 161; her analysis uses records for 267 individuals between 1662 and 1720.

⁷⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 51-2, in respect of Weber's claim for his Ethic.

original data, the method used by this research was to employ a single, replicable approach over each of five sets of Quarterly Meeting marriage registers for the period 1655-1849 to generate a sample size of 5,510 records.⁷⁷ Using the digital digests created from original marriage registers by the Quaker Family History Society,⁷⁸ the approach first extracted all male records, which were then de-duplicated, removing entries caused by copying, as well as remarriages. All remarriages were cross-checked to identify any for which attributes had changed, and all such changes logged. Those without occupational attributes were tallied to establish the proportion of records included, as well as the overall number of marriages in each cohort. A comprehensive inventory of occupations was compiled from all registers; each occupation was assigned to a sub-class, based on its affinity with commerce.⁷⁹ These sub-classes were grouped within the three-class occupational taxonomy introduced above, according to commercial orientation: Commerce (including Retail, Manufacturers, Citizens and Merchants); Craftsmen (including Food); and Other (Agricultural, Professional, or other).

For each register, the entries were grouped into 25-year cohorts: up to 1675; 1676-1700; 1701-1725; etc. Within these cohorts, the percentage of each occupational sub-class was calculated, along with the number of such marriages per year, and the proportion of occupational entries with attributes.⁸⁰ The percentages of each sub-class per cohort was used to indicate trends in proportions over the entire period, for each register (geography). It can be seen that this approach removes several difficulties identified earlier. Firstly, gradations of social class amongst landowners can be put aside, as both 'husbandman' and 'yeoman' are in the same class, and any distinction is not of significance for this study. It is worth noting in

⁷⁷ Thus an increase of more than 3,000 over that examined by Vann and Eversley.

⁷⁸ Digest Registers Index Vol.1-5; 'Suffolk', 'Norfolk', 'Essex', 'Durham', 'London & Middlesex', v1.0/1, (QFHS, 2003-2012).

⁷⁹ See Appendix Ca-e.

⁸⁰ The latter indicators were used in order to establish how representative were the results from any given quartile - some registers having revealed anomalous figures caused by very low numbers of records; for example, Suffolk 1725-1750 has only three entries with attributes, compared with 58 and 26 for the cohorts either side.

passing that while the registers do in fact contain the very rare use of the quality 'gentleman', this may be because such a description failed to distinguish individuals sufficiently as much as from an administrative insistence on social egalitarianism. With respect to issues of multiple attributes, the registers are by intent both unambiguous and detailed, and sometimes even distinguish between 'occupational' roles, as in the case of the 'working brewer', rather than a brewery owner.⁸¹ On close inspection, they avoid the 'attribute duplication' that Vann anticipates, with exceptions proving statistically insignificant: in the five registers examined in detail for this research, multiple attributes occurred in only a handful of records, and then usually provided related occupations, including 'Draper and Salesman' or 'Farmer and Maltster'. A comprehensive review of the records kept by Friends over this period shows that overall, less than 0.25% of records contained more than one attribute (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: Registers: Duplicate Occupational Attributes 1655-1849⁸²

<i>QM Register</i>	<i>Records with Occupations</i>	<i>Items</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Multiple Attributes</i>
Essex	447	2	0.40%	Draper & Salesman, Farmer & Maltster
Suffolk	201	2	1.00%	Hatter & Hosier, Farmer & Grazier
Norfolk	479	2	0.40%	Grocer & Tallow Chandler, Salesman & Draper
Durham	262	2	0.76%	Grocer & Druggist, Grocer & Sail-cloth maker
London/Mddx	4131	4	0.10%	(See text).
	<i>n.5510</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>0.22%</i>	

Within the London registers, the duplicate attributes are also usually complementary, such as 'Merchant and Ship Owner', 'Schoolmaster & Writing Master', 'Tallow Chandler and Oilman', 'Tea Dealer & Grocer', 'Caulker and Shipwright'. The four instances which indicate the potential for distortion are: 'Broad weaver and wire drawer', 'Butcher or brewer', 'Currier and

⁸¹ For example, Aaron Gibbard 1712, Devonshire House MM, London and Middlesex Marriage Register, (QFHS, 2008).

⁸² Source: Marriage Register Analysis data base from Digests (QFHS).

leather cutter', 'Grocer or Weaver' - all may indicate confusion in the mind of a recording clerk, but ultimately are far too insignificant numerically to have any statistical impact.⁸³

With noted exceptions, the registers examined provide representational data for the entire period under analysis.⁸⁴ For each cohort, these Figures provide a total of entries, the percentage with attributes, and an average number of marriages per year. Overall, the data set of over five and a half thousand entries is heavily weighted towards the urban London and Middlesex; the results for the other geographies are therefore also presented separately for comparison: fortunately for interpretation, all exhibit the same trends.

2.4 Revised Register Analysis: Findings

The purpose of the analysis was to establish if there was evidence from a variety of records of Quaker marriages to indicate trends in classes of occupations, and in particular if the occupations of Quaker men at marriage supports the claim that membership of the Society of Friends was compatible with engaging in commerce. Having evaluated this claim, the aggregated data was examined to see if and how this compatibility varied over time, presented graphically below (Figure 2.6);⁸⁵ individual register results are shown in Figures 2.7-2.11.⁸⁶

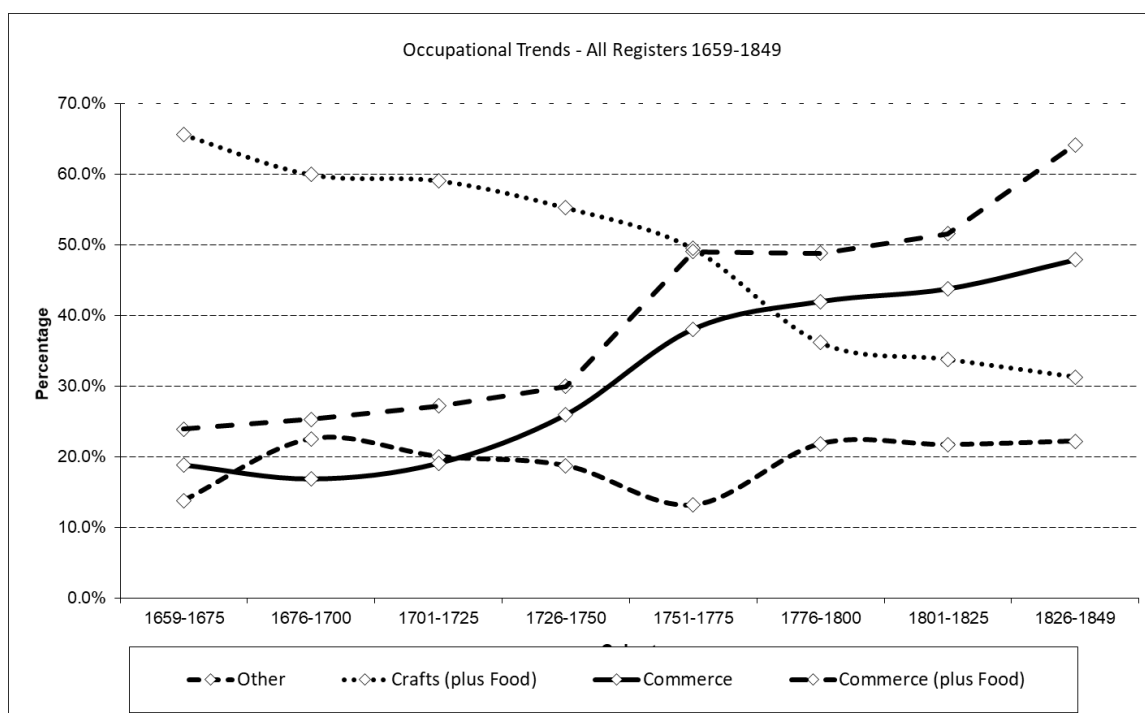
⁸³ For example John Lee 1687, m. at Devonshire house, Wiltshire MM; London and Middlesex Marriage Register, (QFHS, 2008).

⁸⁴ Only four exceptions are noted: once when the cohort was populated with only 3 records (Suffolk 1726-50), and two (Essex 1659-75, and 1726-50) where the number of marriages with attributes was <10% of the cohort total; Durham (1726-50 had no values for craftsmen. For all cases, the relevant tables in Appendix C present the *figures*, while the *data points* on the graphs below are smoothed to reflect trends.

⁸⁵ Note the figure for 'Craftsmen' includes those engaged in 'Food' production/trade/sales in order to facilitate comparison with previous studies. For clarity, a broken black line indicates 'Commerce plus Food'; the Food value should therefore be subtracted from the 'Crafts' value for direct comparison with this line. In the above chart, for example the delta in the final cohort is 20%, and the figure for Craftsmen alone is thus 14%.

⁸⁶ Data tables are given in appendices C.a-e.

Figure 2.6: Occupational Trends - All Registers 1659-1849⁸⁷



Using data from all registers, it is clear that over the period there is an upward trend in the proportions of registry entries which include attributes associated with commerce, and a strong decline in those associated with crafts. Removing the Food sub-class from the Craftsmen total, and adding it to Commerce, provides additional evidence as to the trends. The trend begins around the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and continues throughout the period. This would indicate that across the five registers analysed, for the period under review, an ever-increasing proportion of Quakers marrying were engaged in commercial activity, while those engaged in crafts declined from almost two thirds to less than one quarter. The trends for the 'Other' class, which includes Professional, Agricultural, and Other occupations, is broadly static. This class contains the sub-class of occupations which are not related commerce or Craft/Trade, and therefore can be set aside for the purpose of this analysis. However, in general, it can be observed from the data under review that what have

⁸⁷ Marriage Register Analysis data base from all five sets of Quarterly Meeting Registers (n.5510) (QFHS).

been typically regarded as the lower 'social' attributes (Labourer, Servant, Apprentice, Soldier, Army, Sailor, etc.) are largely absent from all registers.⁸⁸ An explanation would seem to need to distinguish between whether those in this social class were not present in the Society of Friends, or simply that they did not marry - possibly further research may confirm which. It may be that cross-generational occupational continuity, which tended those 'born' into an occupation to continue with it, would mean that the very low numbers of marrying labourers would, over time, reduce further. Certainly one effect of the Quaker ban on exogamy would be to increase the effect of any such transmission.⁸⁹

The aggregated data suggests that the trend continued throughout the period, and that the point where Commerce overtook Crafts as the main class of occupation was around the final quarter of the eighteenth century, while Crafts continued to decline as a class of attribute. The element of professions will be considered in due course, however, at this point it is worth observing that the decline in 'Other' class is largely the result of an ever diminishing cadre of labouring/maritime Friends marrying in the registers. As expected, there are regional variations in both the extent and timing of these trends.

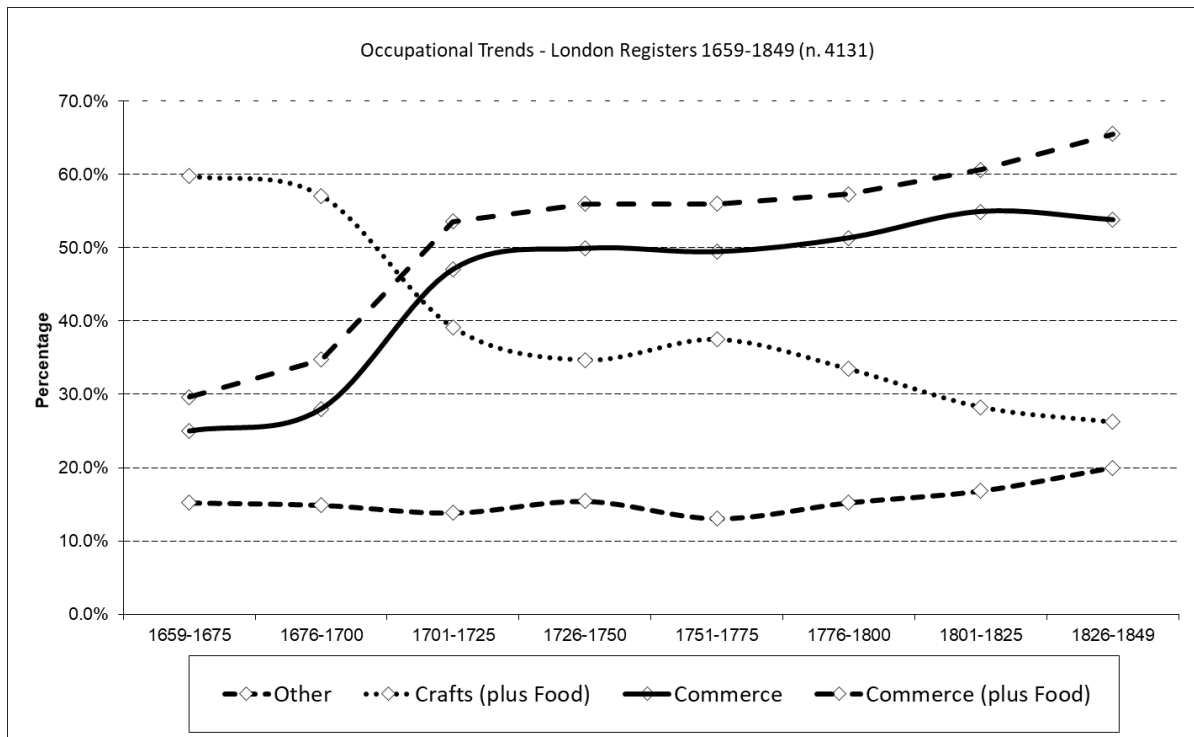
Considering London, Commerce has overtaken Crafts as the main class of occupation by the early years of the century, occupying more than half of marrying Friends from the first Quarter onwards. (Figure 2.7). While the final cohort data is thin (145 records), it is possible to see that the rise in Commerce has ceased while Professionals are steadily increasing to the point where they equal Craftsmen (14%)⁹⁰. Other registers show similar trends across the period (Figures 2.8-10).

⁸⁸ London alone contains no more than a handful of mariners; labourers are all but absent.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

⁹⁰ See data tables in Appendix C for figures; Durham data (while far smaller) also exhibits a rapid increase in the Professional class from the final quarter of the eighteenth century; while beyond the scope of this study, this may be a profitable area for further investigation.

Figure 2.7: Occupational Trends - London Registers 1659-1849⁹¹



⁹¹ Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Registers 'London & Middlesex' Vol. 4, (QFHS, 2008); (n. 4131).

Figure 2.8: Occupational Trends - Suffolk Registers 1659-1849⁹²

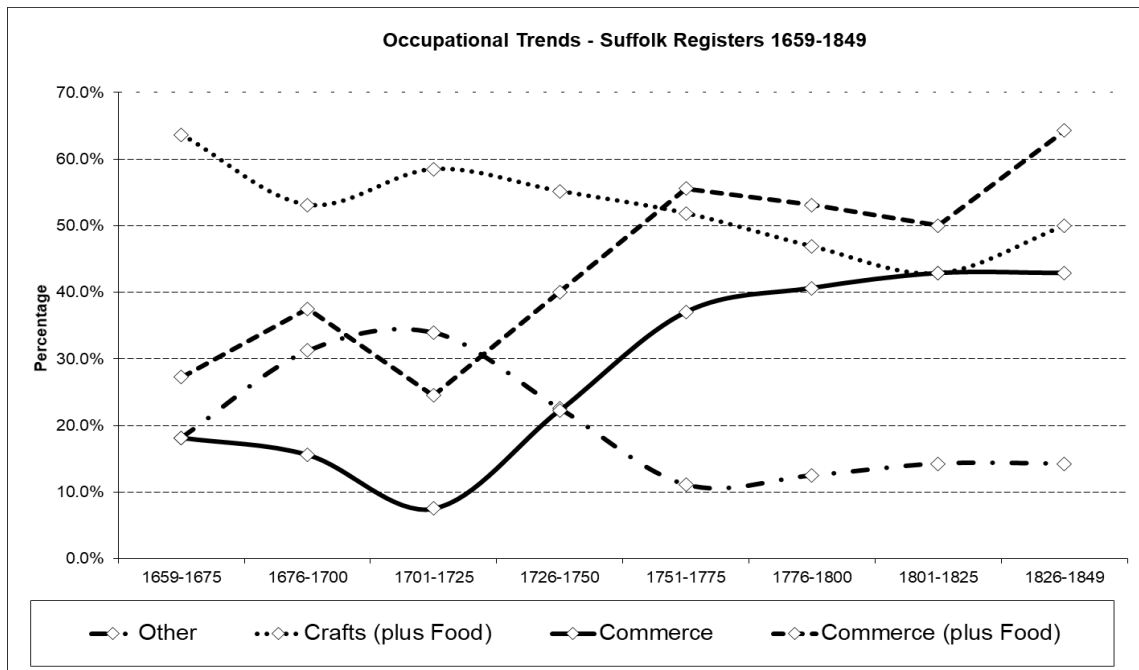
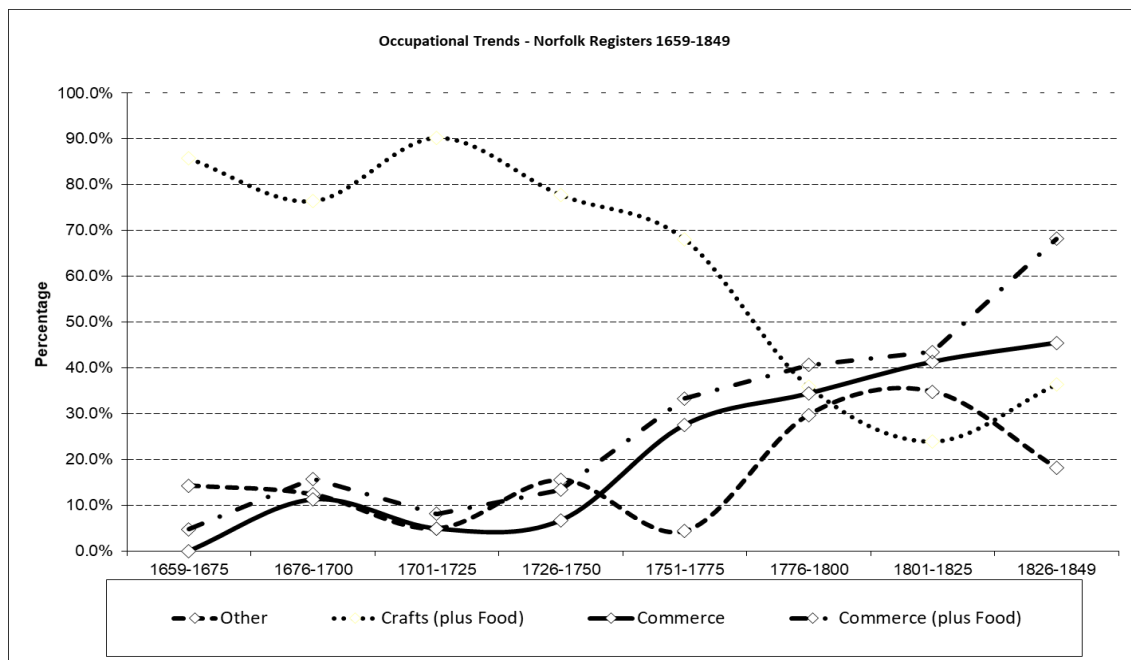


Figure 2.9: Occupational Trends - Norfolk Registers 1659-1849⁹³



⁹² Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Registers 'Suffolk' Vol.1, (QFHS, 2003); (n.201); note: 1726-50 corrected data as only 7 records in Cohort, taking the average of cohorts either side.

⁹³ Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Registers 'Norfolk' Vol. 2, (QFHS, 2004/5); (n. 479).

Figure 2.10: Occupational Trends - Essex Registers 1659-1849⁹⁴

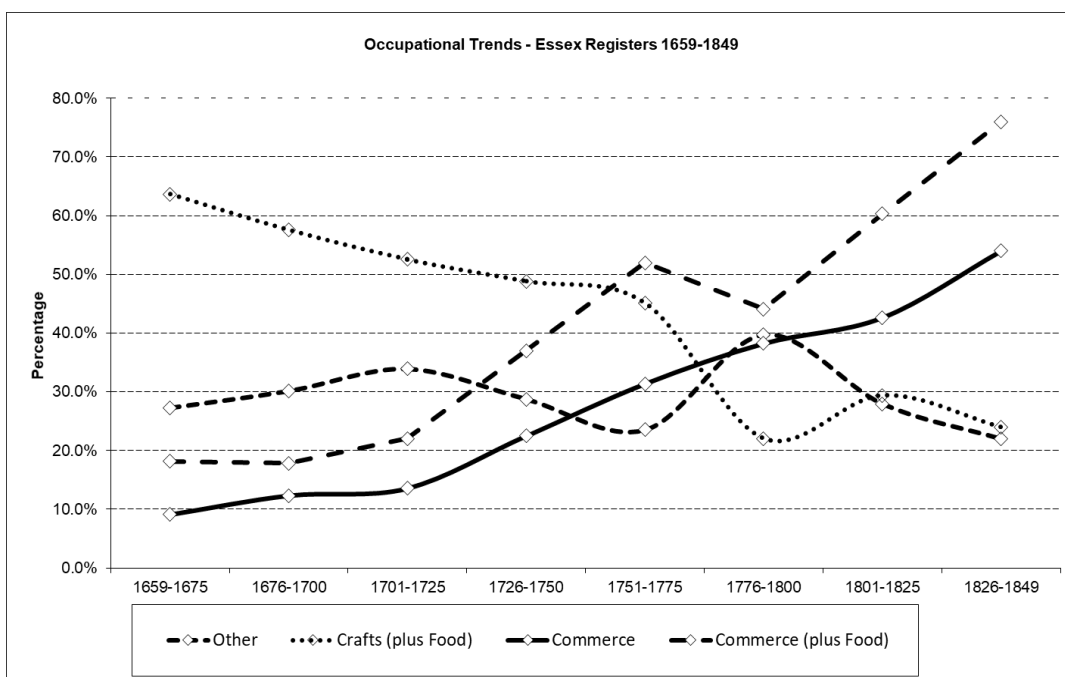
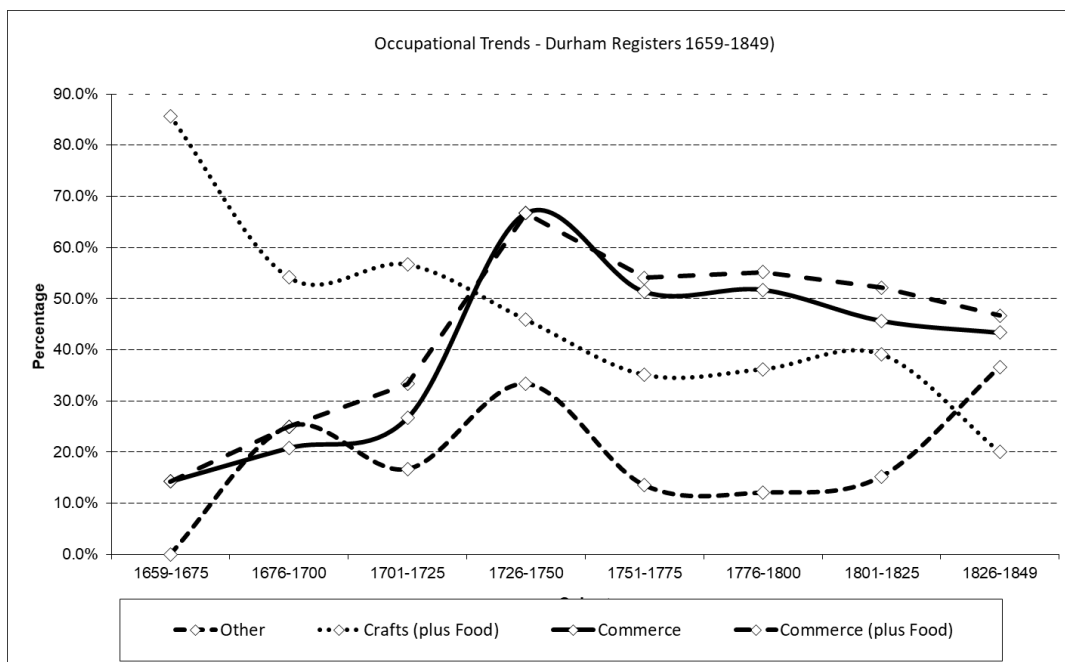


Figure 2.11: Occupational Trends – Durham Registers 1659-1849⁹⁵



⁹⁴ Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Registers 'Essex', Vol. 3, (QFHS, 2006); (n.447); 1659-75 cohort recalculated in line with trend (13 records 10% entries); 1726-50 uses a calculated average as only 3 records in Cohort.

⁹⁵ Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Registers 'Durham' Vol. 5, (QFHS, 2012); (n.262); 1726-50 cohort for Craftsmen recalculated in line with trend. The smaller data set results in more fluctuating dynamics, while the effect of a rapid rise in Professional occupations is reflected in the steep rise in 'Other' category, and accounts for the slowing 'Commercial' trend.

For the purpose of comparison, the groups offered by Vann and Eversley were re-consolidated into the three-class taxonomy to compare against the larger data set. Those engaged in the 'Food' category (bakers, millers, brewers etc) were also considered, on the basis that such occupations would usually include a commercial element (Figure 2.12).

Figure 2.12: Re-categorised Vann and Eversley Cohort Data 1650-1849⁹⁶

<i>V&E</i> <i>Occupational Category</i>	<i>QM Cohort</i>			
	<i>1650-99</i>	<i>1700-49</i>	<i>1750-1800</i>	<i>1800-49</i>
Rural Commerce	33%	45%	50%	47%
Urban Commerce	33%	44%	51%	63%
Rural Commercial and Food	41%	59%	63%	54%
Urban Commerce and Food	41%	54%	58%	80%

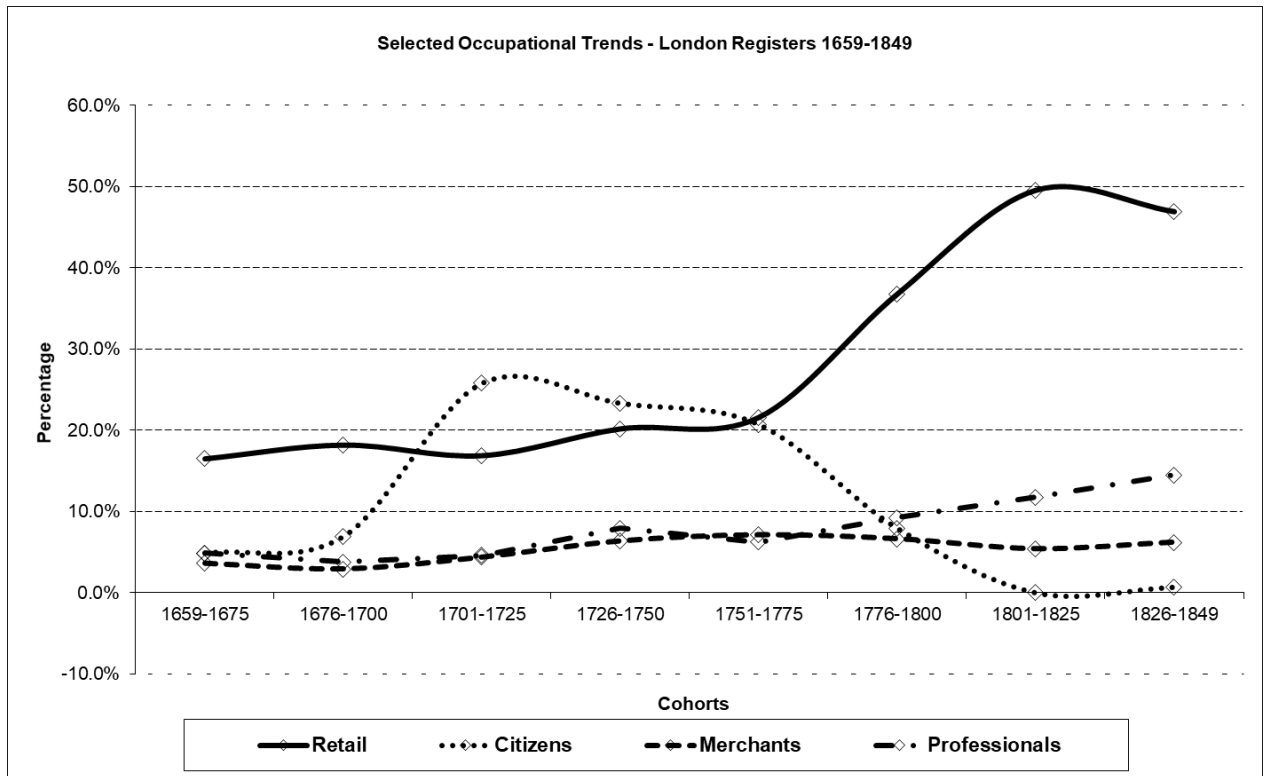
Thus reframed, it becomes apparent that the data presented by Vann and Eversley largely supports the claim that over the long eighteenth century, a greater proportion of Quakers included in the marriage registers were engaged in commerce, as were those engaged in commerce and food preparation/sales.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Vann and Eversley Cohort data reformatted, and re-categorised for purpose of comparison.

⁹⁷ While percentages of these occupations remain high in the nineteenth century, the Vann and Eversley data reformatted in Figure 2.12 suggest some decline in rural areas. As is clear from figures 2.7-2.11 above, this is not in line with the larger set of occupational-attribute data, or indeed that from any individual register, and is thus likely to have arisen from peculiarities in their methodology reviewed earlier.

One further point to be made at this introductory stage concerns the trends within Commerce sub-classes in London over the period (Figure 2.13). Of clear interest is the significant increase in professionals, a sub-class which appears to have grown at the expense of Retail.

Figure 2.13: Selected Occupational Trends - London Registers 1659-1849⁹⁸



London registers are unique in that their size provides a statistically significant sample of Quakers who can be shown to have remarried - some 310 males have been identified. Of these, some 86 have a modified attribute, of which 45 involve the addition of the attribute 'Citizen' to indicate membership of one of the Livery Companies.⁹⁹ However, it should be noted that there is a clear decline in the use of the attribute 'Citizen' from 1750, and it disappears from the registers by 1800. Given the corresponding increase in those in the sub-class of Retail, it seems likely that Friends marrying from mid-c.18th were identified instead

⁹⁸ Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting Register 'London & Middlesex' (QFHS, 2008).

⁹⁹ Analysis of Marriage records for London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting 1650-1849 (QFHS, 2008); see Appendix C.

by their commercial activity. Examples of the attribute 'Citizen' being subsequently omitted occur in the case of Thomas Westbrook (in 1721 and 1735), and William Jeffries (in 1729 and 1762); insufficient to prove, but perhaps indicative of a trend in clerking policy. The rate of change in the data towards 'Retail' occupational attributes continues to grow until the nineteenth century, when more than half of London bridegrooms were engaged in commercial activities.

2.5 Summary Findings

Previous analysis of Quaker occupational marriage data has been used largely to facilitate assessments of social structure, with a variety of methodologies and approaches deployed to interpret registers across a range of geographies for differing, mostly early, periods. Some studies have also used additional sources, including heath tax records, Poll tax records, and wills. The most comprehensive previous study, by Vann and Eversley, presents data that cannot be sufficiently differentiated for the purpose of identifying trends in commercial engagement. The analysis for this research has operated over both a larger data set (over 5,500 records), and for a longer period (1659 - 1849) than previous studies. It has also used a single source (Quaker Marriage Registers), across varied geographies, urban and rural, and a single methodology. This has ensured not only that statistical samples are composed of the same elements, but that interpretations are comparable between geographies and cohorts. By focusing on the relationship of marriage occupations to commerce, the analysis has been able to dispense with the filters of 'social interpretation' which have been the cause of much previous debate.¹⁰⁰ From these origins the current research demonstrates a clear set of trends towards commerce operating in all geographies, and across rural and urban Quakers. All registers indicate an upward trend in the proportions of registry entries which include

¹⁰⁰ Noting that while such debates should ever remain resolved, this would appear to be an inevitable result of their origins.

attributes associated with commerce. This trend is sustained across the period from 1659 to 1800, and levels off subsequently, with the proportion of marrying Friends engaged in commerce raising from approximately 20% to between 50 and 70% (Figure 2.6). As expected, the trend is much clearer and stronger in London and Middlesex registers, while rural records show a reduced, if similar, effect (Figures 2.7-2.10). Importantly, the analysis gives results which are supported by data outside the registers, suggesting Quakers in their first decades were engaged in commerce or crafts: the occupations given in sixty-two wills during the earlier part of the period show that in Westmorland (one of the least urban areas for consideration) roughly half the Quaker testators were Yeoman-Farmers, while just over half were engaged in some trade or craft.¹⁰¹ The new analysis challenges Richard Vann's conclusion that 'the stronghold of early Quakerism was among the substantial yeomen and traders; that there were some gentlemen and professional men among the first converts; and that poor husbandmen and artisans were numerically insignificant'.¹⁰² Instead, it seems that a substantial proportion of Craftsmen were present, which then declined at a greater or lesser rate over the next century and a half as commerce took over. The trend towards commerce is supported by data collected by Vann in Norfolk,¹⁰³ and by Adrian Davies' study of Colchester.¹⁰⁴ In the latter study, Davies notes a difference in occupational mix over the first seventy five years of Quakerism, and the variation between urban and rural roles. However, his claim that 'Quakerism attracted converts from both extremes of the social hierarchy' would appear to be of limited application outside Essex, and his early period.¹⁰⁵ Instead, the evidence suggests that Quakerism always had limited appeal to these extremes, and

¹⁰¹ J. Somervell, *Some Westmoreland Wills 1686-1738*, (T. Wilson, 1928) quoted in Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry* 30.

¹⁰² Vann, 'Interregnum', 78; also interesting evidence from the use of Quaker trade tokens in place of small coins of the realm during the interregnum as indicators of Friends in trade; see Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

¹⁰³ Vann, *Social Development*, 119, Table 10.

¹⁰⁴ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 145-151.

¹⁰⁵ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 150.

increasingly attracted those interested in commerce. It seems clear that, notwithstanding differences in nuance regarding early Quaker social composition, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in addition to their spiritual connections, a highly significant proportion of Friends would be involved at some point in a commercial network: whether as makers or sellers, as aggregators or dealers, or even proto-bankers.

2.6 Quaker Commerce in Context

Having established the clear trend amongst marrying Quakers towards occupations involving commerce, it remains to be established how this compares with the wider society in which they dissented. As noted above, Raistrick accepted the proportions presented in the 1688 'Scheme' of Gregory King, and concluded that that Quakers were indeed heavily over-represented in both 'Professions', and in 'Trade and Commerce'.¹⁰⁶ The 'Scheme' has attracted much attention in the half century which has passed since Raistrick, and King's reputation has shifted from nascent demographer towards that of Tory political manipulator, who in the words of Tom Arkell was striving to reverse the Whig policy of a mercantile war under William III's 'Whig Junto'.¹⁰⁷ Setting aside motivation, it seems safe to follow recent research in accepting that King seems to have been adept at constructing data for certain key areas of his Scheme - a fact which may perhaps have occurred to Raistrick who cites a King-derived figure of 2.3% of the population engaged in 'Trade and Commerce', with the caveat from Raistrick 'if these figures can be accepted'.¹⁰⁸ Recent work by Tom Arkell is typical of the 'wary collective attitude among current historians' regarding King's estimates, accepting that 'remote as they are from modern standards of accuracy' they remain the basis for estimate of

¹⁰⁶ Gregory King, *Scheme of the Income & Expence of the several families of England Calculated for the Year 1688-Two Tracts*, G. E. Barnett ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press [1688] 1936); Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 28-30.

¹⁰⁷ See Tom Arkell, 'Illuminations and Distortions: Gregory King's Scheme Calculated for the Year 1688 and the Social Structure of Later Stuart England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Feb., 2006): 32-69.

¹⁰⁸ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 29.

social conditions at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ King's approach was to first establish the number of households in the country, then allocate the head of each to a category. Settling on grand total of some 1,360,586 households (each with four or five members), his final version of the Scheme allocates some 40,000 as shopkeepers or traders (2.9%) with a further 10,000 household heads engaged in Mercantile Trade at Sea (0.75%). Following Raistrick, Quakers clearly exceeded these proportions by a vast margin at all points in the period. King's figures are now considered to be subject to a wide margin of error: indeed have been described as 'bizarre', 'myopic' and 'literally at sea'.¹¹⁰ a more recent attempt to examine the composition of occupations in the long eighteenth century by Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson estimated a further 16,000 merchants by land and 50,000 more shopkeepers and tradesmen, 'in which they were encouraged by King's own rethink 15 years later, which totalled 189,000 traders and publicans, including all those who did not head households.'¹¹¹ The same research revised King's 60,000 upwards by almost three times to give 170,000 manufacturing households, 73,000 engaged in building, and 14,000 for mining.¹¹² For the purpose of comparison with this research, it is also worth noting that King does not engage with the problematic attributes 'Yeoman' or 'Husbandman' which (as Vann suggested) would often indicate status rather than wealth, such that the income of the lower status Husbandman might exceed that of a poorer Yeoman.¹¹³ So substantial are the acknowledged difficulties that Lindert characterises his work as 'offering to replace King's old rough tentative guesses with new rough tentative guesses'.¹¹⁴ However, as an alternative set of benchmarks, Lindert's 'English Occupations 1670-1811' is of great value in not only

¹⁰⁹ Arkell, 'Illuminations and Distortions', 35

¹¹⁰ Arkell, 'Illuminations and Distortions', 45, 55; Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables, 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, 19 (1982): 385-408.

¹¹¹ Arkell, 'Illuminations and Distortions', 55.

¹¹² Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables', 387-390.

¹¹³ Income range can be considered in the region of £40 to over £200 per annum for this period.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Arkell, 'Illuminations and Distortions', 65.

covering the geography, and population, but the entire period here under examination.¹¹⁵ This uses Categories of Occupation created by the 1831 Census, and samples burial records and earlier census data to establish the 'new rough estimates' of the proportions of occupations over the period.¹¹⁶ Recalculating data from Lindert's categories into the sub-classes used by this research allows a comparison between Quakers (as shown in Figure 2.6) and wider national results (Figure 2.14).¹¹⁷

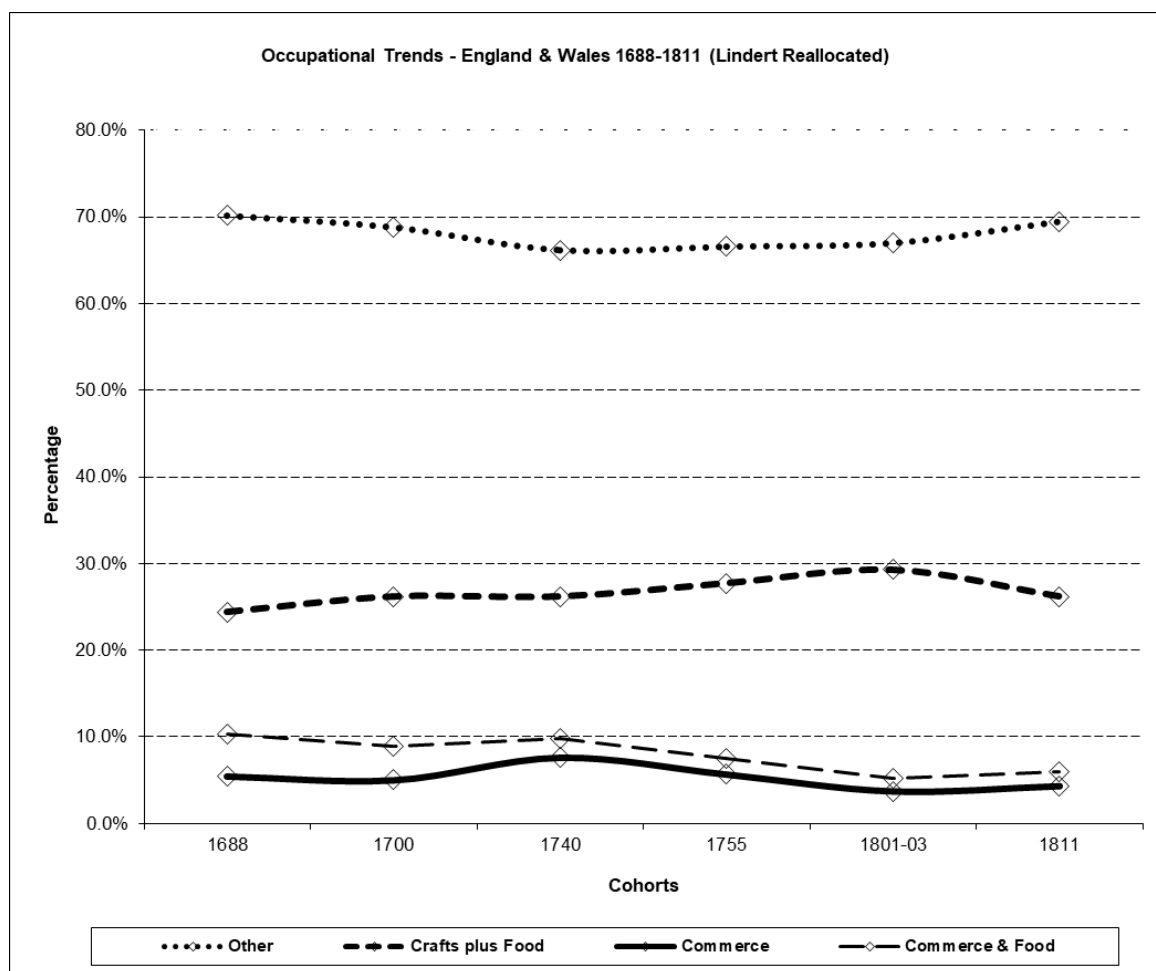
Lindert's results show a generally static pattern of occupational distribution across England and Wales throughout the period. The margin of error in these proportions - the best currently available, and modestly proposed as 'very tentative' - is given as 'up to five third's higher, or three fifth's lower'. Fortunately, this range has a very limited impact in comparison with Quakers over a similar period. Figure 2.14 shows Lindert's calculations give around 6% of employed males engaged in Commercial activity, fluctuating +/-2% in line with his estimates.

¹¹⁵ Peter H. Lindert, 'English Occupations, 1670-1811', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1980): 685-712.

¹¹⁶ Lindert's splendid warning that 'uncritical consumption of detailed estimates can be critical to intellectual health' ('English Occupations', 704) cannot be overstated.

¹¹⁷ Lindert, 'English Occupations', 702-4; data from Table 3.

Figure 2.14: Occupational Trends - England and Wales 1688-1811¹¹⁸



This is substantially below the number of Quakers in the marriage registers in all but two cohorts,¹¹⁹ and the general trend in increasing Quaker commercial engagement is clearly stronger than the general England and Wales 'flat line' shown by Lindert's wider data; similarly, his relatively stable proportion of Craftsmen is not reflected in the Quaker marriage data (Figure 2.6). In short, the most recent estimates of occupational distribution over the

¹¹⁸ Source: Lindert, 'Occupations', 1670-1811 data reformatted; Commerce is the total of Lindert's Merchants, Innkeepers, and Commerce; Crafts is the total of Manufacturing, and Building; Food is the total of Bakers and Butchers; Other includes Agriculture, Professions, and Other (Labourers, Mining, Maritime, Army, Servants, Apprentices, Services, and Titled). Poor, and Pensioners are excluded.

¹¹⁹ Norfolk 1701-25, and 1726-50; while the analysis gives figures similar to Lindert for these two cohorts, they are clearly statistically both anomalous and insignificant.

period in England and Wales is highly suggestive of the Quakers being disproportionately engaged in Commerce almost from their inception, and becoming more so over the period, in a trend that was not reflected amongst those employed across the whole community.¹²⁰

2.7 Chapter Summary

There are historiographical difficulties associated with reconciling previous assessment of the composition of Quakerism from its inception until the mid-nineteenth century. However, while previous studies of occupations differ, they largely support a modified version of William Braithwaite's original conclusion - that early Friends were drawn 'principally from the trading and yeoman classes, though there were also some artisans and labourers, a fair number of merchants, and a few gentry'.¹²¹ By focusing on the relationship between occupational attributes and commerce, this research has removed the distortions intruded by previous sociological interpretations.¹²² Using a single methodology over a variety of geographies, urban and rural, this research has enabled direct comparison to be made across a common source of data derived from Quaker marriage records from Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Durham, and London and Middlesex for the duration of the long eighteenth century. The findings present, for the first time, a comprehensive analysis of over a century and a half of records of occupations, demonstrating that the proportions of bridegrooms engaged in commerce steadily increased, before settling at just over half of married Quakers for the period. At the same time, those in lower status occupations disappeared, the numbers engaged in crafts halved, while the class of professional occupations more than doubled. The analysis carried out across the five regions over the long eighteenth century indicates that

¹²⁰ Further research may identify other groups in England and Wales similar to the Society of Friends; see Chapter 9.

¹²¹ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 512.

¹²² Accepting differing interpretations may be offered in the allocation of a small number of occupations - Millwright, for example, is considered as Professional (as a designer/engineer of Mills) rather than Craftsman – in none of these instances does re-allocation have significant statistical impact.

those marrying within the Society were increasingly from commercial backgrounds, while those from labouring backgrounds diminished. This supports the conclusions begun by Taylor and Raistrick, that Quaker records indicate that most Friends did not have to be drawn into trade: almost all made their living either by making, selling, or buying, or a combination of the three. The comparisons with Lindert also suggests that (following Raistrick) Friends were more likely to be engaged in commercial activity than non-members of the Society. Risks in the analysis that have been considered arise from the absence of Female data, and the use of marriage records, which exclude those who were married before joining the Society of Friends or who never married.¹²³

The results support the conclusion that a significant proportion of those 'convinced' to join the Society of Friends were characterised by a set of shared commercial values, as well as common preferences for religious observance, and that the two sets of values were compatible.¹²⁴ The remaining chapters of the thesis extend this premise to identify elements within the practice of Quakerism which could attract such men in increasing proportions, and show how the evolving Quaker Disciplines, with their overriding concern to promote and ensure the good reputation of the Religious Society of Friends, encapsulated both Advices and associated prohibitions which, by way of sanctioning access to the Quaker Network, co-incidentally facilitated commercial success.

¹²³ These factors are evaluated in respect of the wider effect of Quaker marriage discipline, in Chapter 4;

¹²⁴ For estimates of Quaker presence against the wider population, and a discussion on estimates with respect to births and converts, see Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', 83. The notion of common values is of great significance in discussing the Quaker network; see Chapter 8.

3 PROFESSIONS AND THE OATH

This chapter examines the claim that Quaker commercial success arose from the channelling of energies which would have been diverted into the professions, had Quakers not refused to take oaths. First, the nature of the oaths required are examined, and the relevant parliamentary acts reviewed to examine what oaths were required and when; this reveals that most barriers presented by oaths had been removed by the Affirmation Act as early as 1696, with some flexibility existing long before that. Next, evidence from Quaker membership of City of London guilds and corporations is considered to establish that where necessary, early Friends could either avoid the necessity of taking an oath, or may simply have taken oaths as required; this refutes Raistrick's claim that oath taking prevented Quaker membership of the 'larger trade guilds'. The chapter next looks at each of the options associated with contemporary professional choices in the context of Quaker views: the clergy and military options are readily dismissed as contrary to Quaker views on church and war; government office-holding is examined as to its nature, and the scale of opportunities, before being rejected on grounds of expense and patronage rather than oaths. Next, strong evidence suggests Quakers regarded the occupation of lawyer with the same abhorrence as they did that of the hireling priest – and for the same reason, believing law should be freely dispensed. The final professional option, medicine, is shown to have been practiced freely by Quakers, with evidence that many apparently took oaths in order to do so until into the eighteenth century. Quakers thus appear to have rejected most options while pursuing others which suited their purpose of economic prosperity without contradicting Friends' testimonies. The conclusion rejects entirely any suggestion that Quaker commercial success resulted from a 'diversion of energy', and concludes that Quakers actively chose commerce as a way of providing a living for themselves.

3.1 Quakers, the Law, and Oaths

To date much has been made of the claim that Quaker commercial success was the result of Friends being excluded from the 'professions' by virtue of oaths associated with the tests of loyalty to the crown and to the Anglican church, as embodied in acts of parliament known as the Clarendon Code, discussed below. Raistrick's detailed survey of science and industry emphasises the causality, and claims both that oath taking prevented Quaker membership of the 'larger trade guilds', and that 'in the ordinary way' such a group of people with an 'aptitude for study' would have sent a high proportion of its members' into professional occupations.¹ As recently as 2017, Andrew Reekes' portrait of George Cadbury treats as axiomatic this notion that exclusion from professions and university caused Friends to 'compensate' with commercial success.²

This picture is, however, beginning to change, led by Simon Dixon's detailed study of Quakers in London.³ Dixon has uncovered strong evidence that Quakers - as individuals, if not as a body - found ways to accommodate the requirements of the law well before the Affirmation Act of 1696 brought relief from the obligations of oath taking. These oaths were, as Braithwaite notes, the product of political fear rather than 'mere bigotry':⁴ the sacramental test of the Corporation Act (1661) was designed to root out disaffected persons from offices in municipal corporations, while the Conventicle Acts (1664 and 1670) aimed to prevent meetings of seditious sectaries, 'who under pretence of tender consciences do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shewed.'⁵ Similarly, the Five Mile Act (1665) was directed at former church office holders who would not conform. Quakers had already

¹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 42-43.

² Andrew Reekes, *Two Titans*, (West Midlands History, 2017): 11.

³ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 210-225.

⁴ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 7-8.

⁵ Conventicle Act (16 Charles II c. 4).

been identified as potential fanatics, and their refusal to swear on gospel grounds was only further evidence of those 'tender consciences'.⁶

The extent of this 'oath-effect' is widely accepted: Walvin claims that a 'refusal to swear oaths prevented them from becoming freemen, but commercial activity was often confined to the local fraternity',⁷ while Richard Turnbull, calculates 150 years of 'exclusion and persecution...from universities, from civic life... and professional life in the 'corporate' cities', by extending the persecution until the (partial) repeal of the University Test Acts in 1830.⁸ It seems evident, however, that the barrier was largely dismantled once Quakers no longer had to swear. Erroneously, Walvin dates this to an (unnamed) Act of 1722, while correctly noting that 'before that date, many had managed to circumvent the rules'.⁹ In fact, as Simon Dixon shows in his detailed account of the political campaigns marking the Quakers out as 'useful people', Friends had achieved the first Affirmation Act by 1696, and replaced the 'barrier' with a legal form of wording that (most) Friends found acceptable.¹⁰ While the 1696 Act did not apply to the oaths required when giving evidence in criminal cases, allow for Quaker jurymen, or the holding of any Crown office for profit, the much larger barriers with respect to commerce were overcome. Friends continued to be only lightly integrated with other communities for a further century, and it seems likely that the first two of these restrictions were of low importance;¹¹ the purchase of offices is discussed under 'Law', below.¹² This Act was renewed in 1701, and made permanent in 1715.

⁶ Such prompted the apologetic works such as *A Declaration from the people of God called Quakers against all seditious conventicles, and dangerous practises of any who under colour or pretence of tender conscience, have, or may contrive insurrections, the said people being cleer from all such things, in the sight of God, angels and men* (s.n., 1670?).

⁷ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 32.

⁸ Richard Turnbull, *Quaker Capitalism Lessons for Today*, (Oxford: CEME, 2014): 17; the notion is pervasive except for the most recent historians.

⁹ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 32. The Affirmation Act was 1696; his error is perhaps from following Geoffrey Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, (Oxford: OUP, 2005): 25.

¹⁰ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 238-247; as noted, Quaker arguments over preferred Affirmation wording continued until the 1722 Act.

¹¹ See Chapter 8 'Network'.

¹² Affirmation Act, William III, 1695-6; (7 & 8 Gul. III. p.9. n.3.).

Dixon carefully questions the level of 'real inconvenience caused by the doctrine on swearing' and concludes that post-1696 there was 'a change in the relationship between Quakers and the City of London'.¹³ Analysis of data from the London and Middlesex marriage records suggests support for both his question and his statement: in the thirty-three years of recorded marriages before the act, fifty-seven Quakers are recorded as Citizens of London by virtue of Guild membership, which required an oath; in the same period following the Act, 316 records are for Quaker Citizens.¹⁴ Acknowledging that some of the earlier marriages may have involved oath-taking prior to joining Friends, in view of the requirement of members to be well-known to the Society, and the convergence of the ages of marriage and completion of apprenticeship (early- to mid-twenties), it seems likely that some of the professing Quakers managed to find a mechanism for overcoming the barrier. It is also clear that the Quaker marriage records will understate the number of Freemen, since the descriptor 'Citizen' was not always applied, possibly owing to differences in local meeting clerking policy. This is evidenced by further analysis of Dixon's list of thirty Quaker Freemen of the Drapers Company (from 1667-1720) against the relevant London and Middlesex marriage registers, which show only twenty-two recorded as 'Citizens', with five others recorded simply as 'Draper', despite marrying *after* becoming freemen.¹⁵ As such, the discrepancy only strengthens this claim that Quaker representation in the Livery Companies has historically been underestimated, and that oaths did not present an insurmountable barrier. The question of exactly how strong was the Quaker presence might be a promising area for further study, although the inconsistency in the marriage records demands an alternative approach.¹⁶

¹³ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 247.

¹⁴ As a proportion of all marriage records, these are 3.5% and 13.0% respectively.

¹⁵ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 316; Table A6.1; compared to Digest Registers Index 'London & Middlesex', Vol.4, (QFHS, 2008).

¹⁶ A starting estimate might look at how Quakers were represented as a proportion of the total: using the Freedom accounts of the City of London for the period 1675-95, (CLRO, freedom accounts Vols. I/15, 2/15, 3/15; cited in Mark Knights, 'A City Revolution: The Remodelling of the London Livery Companies in the 1680s', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 449 (Nov., 1997): 1175; this shows between 1700 and 2200 freemen were created annually across all companies; estimates of London City population suggest a total population in 1695 of around 120,000 (P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges, 'London Population in the Late Seventeenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Oct., 1935): 45-63); this gives 3-

Dixon's analysis of the records of several Livery Companies provides evidence of Quaker membership before the Affirmation Act, suggesting individual Quakers had circumvented the problem of oaths, but oaths were not always a barrier when they were required.

David Scott's work on York Quakers confirms this view from the opposite end of the country:¹⁷ having noted that Quaker leader George Whitehead was waived the tendering of an oath in 1663 by the sympathetic Aldermen of Hull,¹⁸ he find similar leniency reflected in York for which he notes only nine cases of imprisonment for failing to take an oath over the period from 1660-1710 – all of which occurred in the first ten years of the Restoration.¹⁹ With respect to the Affirmation Act of 1696, Scott marks the contrasting reactions of the rural Lancashire friends (against) and those of York (for) concluding this was country-city divide,²⁰ and notes similarities with the traders of Bristol and elsewhere that Friends found themselves obliged to swear.²¹ The few sufferings noted over the period suggest that such may have been acts to demonstrate 'Testimony' since, had such requirements been enforced, many hundreds would have been required to swear. In support of this view, Scott finds only one Quaker who appeared to find problems with obtaining his 'freedom' of the Corporation, being charged ('fined') in 1681 a standard £140 license fee to trade in lieu of swearing; which was abated to £100 (at which price, since it included exemption from office holding and associated costs, it may ultimately have saved considerable expense).²² Scott concludes that the barrier of oaths 'presented no difficulty to Friends however, which strongly suggests that there was a considerable amount of complicity between the Quakers and the civic establishment on the question of oath-taking, further noting that 'Friends had little trouble becoming guild members

3.7% of males of all ages; if 30,000 males were of working age, (24-40), working life is fifteen years, then most males of working age could be Freemen.

¹⁷ David Scott, 'Politics, Dissent and Quakerism in York, 1640-1700', PhD thesis, University of York, 1990.

¹⁸ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 61.

¹⁹ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 78-79, Table 12.

²⁰ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 68.

²¹ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 72.

²² Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 84.

or performing their duties as such'.²³ Interestingly, he instances Friends being fined for refusal to hold office - often with the oath given as the reason – concluding that 'it is often impossible to say how Friends negotiated these obstacles without compromising their testimony'.²⁴ Scott does not go as far as to suggest that Quakers used the Testimony against oaths to actively avoid the expense of office holding, yet declares he finds it hard to account for the election of five quakers as Master and office holders in the Merchant Tailors in 1690, knew well that they could be 'fined' for refusal.²⁵ This illustrates an easily misunderstood distinction between the oath required by the 1661 Corporation Act (which did not apply to Livery Companies per se), and the use by the those Companies of administrative oaths both on admission and for various other functions, including office holding.

A similar picture emerges from Nicholas Morgan's detailed work on Lancashire Friends, which indicates that Quaker harassment in the matter of oaths was concentrated in the two-year period 1660-62, while for Lancashire as a whole in 'the sixty-two years for which data has been gathered only 13 Friends are recorded as having suffered for refusing to qualify themselves for office on oath'.²⁶ Significantly, he notes that at 'Lancaster at least 14 Friends have been identified as having held minor offices of the corporation during this period, and a similar situation seems to have existed at Bolton'.²⁷ While a further 80 prosecutions of Quakers were noted on account of non-swearing in title actions, these were spread over the 62 years of his study, and Morgan notes that a single impropiator was responsible for 47 of these (combined in just two actions: 12 in 1684 and 33 in 1691).²⁸ Commercially, Morgan's lengthy period under review finds only three cases of Quakers in the county suffering on

²³ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 89.

²⁴ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 90-91.

²⁵ Scott, 'Quakerism in York', 92.

²⁶ Nicholas Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers and the Oath, 1660-1722', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 54, No. 5 (1980): 235-254; 242. Nine of these were for jury service.

²⁷ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 242-243.

²⁸ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 243.

account of inability to access commercial adjudication in Chancery, leading Morgan to question the frequency of such actions, while simultaneously remarking on the absence of recorded 'sufferings' for customs oaths which were required on the import or export of goods: given the known extent of Quaker trade these must have been 'somehow avoided...', perhaps because in the contemporary mind such was 'but a Custom-House Oath; as if God who is omnipresent, did not see!' ²⁹

Usefully, Morgan also hints at two mechanisms by which Quakers might succeed in overcoming the oaths: in 1683 Meeting for Sufferings were made aware of Quaker testimony being accepted and recorded by court officers without an oath under the term *Jurat*, which Morgan believes 'was by no means exceptional'.³⁰ In sharp contrast is the response to a case of a Kent Friend who employed a substitute to make an oath in court, condemned in 1678 by Meeting for Sufferings as follows:

that we do utterly detest and abominate in our very souls the thought and much more the actions of employing or permitting any man to personate us in giving in any answer on oath...that we do esteem it a far greater crime to suborn than swear ...³¹

There are many situations in which such ruses might be applied: Richard Vann notes one John Wotton as giving evidence in court in 1690,³² and Geoffrey Cantor has evidence of Friends taking oaths when convenient at Edinburgh;³³ while Morgan quotes the case of a Friend who had taken an oath being ordered to write a paper of denial, and present the same to the court at which she had sworn, which would have scotched any impersonation attempt.³⁴

²⁹ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 246; citing Henry Crouch, *A Complete Guide to the Officers of His Majesty's Customs*, (London, 1732), 143.

³⁰ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 252.

³¹ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 252-253, citing "FHL, Book of Cases, Vol. i, p. 42-43".

³² Vann, *Social development*, 141.

³³ Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 70-71; see also fn.71; discussed in 'Medicine', below.

³⁴ Morgan, 'Lancashire Quakers', 236.

In respect of Raistrick's unsubstantiated claim that oaths excluded Quakers 'from the larger trade guilds', this is contradicted by further analysis of the marriage records for London and Middlesex: prior to the 1696 Act, marrying Quakers were recorded as present in nine of the 'Great Twelve' Companies (Grocers, Draper, Fishmongers, Merchant Taylors, Skinners, Haberdashers, Salters, Vintners, and Clothiers), as well as Freemen of nineteen further Guilds (Dyers, Surgeon, Glover, Distiller, Joiner, Sadler, Silk, Poulterer, Leatherman, Weaver, Blacksmith, Girdler, Clockmaker, Chandler, Draper, Feltmaker, Cooper, Cordwainer, Upholsterer). Of course, other Quakers, who did not marry between 1662 and 1696, might have belonged to others. Across the entire register 536 Quakers were recorded as Citizens, the last in 1795, over three quarters were concentrated in twenty companies, half in just ten, with sixty-six of approximately ninety Guilds represented overall (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Guild Distribution of Marrying Quakers 1662-1795³⁵

<i>Company</i>	<i>Top 20</i>	<i>Top 10</i>	<i>Great 12</i>
Bakers	13		
Chandlers	22	22	
Clockmakers	15		
<i>Clothiers</i>	25	25	25
Coopers	26	26	
<i>Draper</i>	43	43	43
Dyers	33	33	
<i>Fishmongers</i>			6
Glovers	24	24	
<i>Goldsmiths</i>			6
<i>Grocer</i>	18		18
<i>Haberdashers</i>	15		15
<i>Ironmongers</i>			1
Joiners	31	31	
Longbow String makers	10		
<i>Mercers</i>			1
<i>Merchant Taylor</i>	25	25	25
Pewterers	9		
<i>Salters</i>			3
<i>Skinners</i>	11		11
Surgeon	10		
Tinplate	19	19	
<i>Vintner</i>	17		17
Weaver	27	27	
Woolman	14		
<i>Bold Italic = Great Twelve</i>			
Total Citizens = n.536	407	275	171
Percentage of all Citizens	76%	51%	32%

During much of the period before the Affirmation Act of 1696 the regulation of the guilds was in some disorder. Mark Knights' research into the period under James II concludes that tension arose between the financial needs of the Monarch and the non-conformist interests which were 'particularly strong' amongst the trading interest of the city.³⁶ This conflict arose

³⁵ Source: Analysis of London & Middlesex Marriage Records 1663-1795 (n.3621); Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London & Middlesex', Vol.4, (QFHS, 2008).

³⁶ Mark Knights, 'A City Revolution: The Remodelling of the London Livery Companies in the 1680', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 449 (Nov., 1997): 1145.

from the tradition of monarchs from Henry VIII onwards to use the wealth of the Companies of London (and that of their membership) as a source of (often forced) finance, an approach which was echoed by that of parliament during its struggle with Charles I: 'massive loans had been squeezed from the companies' and many were not repaid.³⁷ As William Herbert put it, in consequence of having to 'furnish the loans, thus arbitrarily and rapidly levied...fellowship of these societies, which had formerly been highly paid for as a privilege, became a curse.'³⁸ The Companies, however, represented a powerful as well as a wealthy set of interests, and acted in their own defence politically and legally by achieving a ruling from Chief Justice Hale that the 'companies and inferior corporations of London' technically lay outside the provisions of the 1661 Corporation Act.³⁹ This ruling appears to have been overlooked by previous historians of Quaker business origins, and may help account for the presence of Quakers within the Livery Companies. Further attempts by the Restored Crown to interfere with Company business followed the *quo warrantos* attack on the City itself, by which the Crown retrieved (before re-selling) all benefits held under charter as rights belonging to the monarch.⁴⁰ Some Companies took action to protect their membership: Knights cites the Merchant Taylors as known non-conformists, who in 1680 removed the requirement for liverymen to take 'any oath except that required company's by-laws'.⁴¹ The 'especially recalcitrant' Skinners company (led by London MP, Thomas Pilkington) held a meeting in 1681 where 'an order was made to retain nonconformists who had become members without taking the requisite oaths'.⁴² At any event it appears that the ruling ensured a measure of confusion, amid which no clear policy was easily enforceable. Subsequent measures under James II attempted to ensure pro-royal Corporations by inserting a sacramental clause into the

³⁷ Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1173.

³⁸ William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, (Herbert, 1837): 176-180 for forced loans; see below for Companies as sources of funds.

³⁹ Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1144-1145.

⁴⁰ Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1147.

⁴¹ Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1146.

⁴² Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1146.

replacement charters - a short-lived manipulation which was further confused by the 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the penal laws associated with the Clarendon Code. Interestingly, Knights suggests that the declaration itself may have been 'under the influence of [Quaker] William Penn' as a powerful representative of nonconformist business, while noting that even before this (in June 1688) 'a Quaker was admitted as a freeman of the Skinners' without taking any oath, but sealing a bond'.⁴³ It is possible that the individual political alignments of the Guilds influenced Quaker choice for membership: The Merchant Taylors was the fourth most represented of the Guilds for Quakers in the marriage records sample, with twenty five members.⁴⁴ By contrast, the lowest Guild representation was a single member of the Mercers, the Company first in precedence, and whose lavish ceremonies included parading a 22-foot high gilded Chariot containing a live representation of the Virgin – a practice which may have been less palatable to Friends.⁴⁵ The degree of membership paints a picture at odds with the 'traditional' academic view of Quakers excluded from participation in Guilds either by religious persecution or legalities of oaths. Rather, it seems that Quakers were present in some numbers within the decision-making structures of the City ('The Great Twelve' Guilds), and had an earlier, more widely-distributed network as Freemen of the other City Guilds than has previously been implied by historians such as Vann and Cantor with their view of late-seventeenth century Quakers as sectarians - Fox's 'peculiar people',⁴⁶ preserving a careful isolation in all circumstances.⁴⁷

⁴³ Knights, 'A City Revolution', 1162, fn.1, citing 'Skinners' Company Archives, court bk. 6 (1687-97) fo.27'.

⁴⁴ See Figure 3.1.

⁴⁵ One Norris Purslow (m.1718); the Skinners, in contrast, had eleven marrying Quakers over the period, suggesting analysis of the Quaker membership offers interesting areas for further study.

⁴⁶ Fox Epistles, 164; (CLXXII, 1659).

⁴⁷ See Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 23-25; Vann, *Social development*, 197-208; also Thomas Hancock, *The Peculium: An endeavour to throw light on some of the causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its original claim of being the Peculiar People of God*, (Smith, Elder, 1860); this work shared with Rowntree's *Quakerism, Past and Present* the prize for an essay explaining the decline of Friends offered in March 1858.

Interestingly, Dixon's research also suggests that Quakers were under-represented in the higher Company offices as Liverymen, and office holders.⁴⁸ But before interpreting this as exclusion, one must consider if Quakers' avoided taking office when possible, since in payment for the status (of no interest to the Quaker), an incumbent was required to both host and fund the often lavish entertainments which would become an ever-increasing part of the attraction of Company membership as the century wore on. That contemporaries indeed took this view is supported by Perry Gauci, in his study of overseas merchants: he finds they felt no necessity to ascend the corporate ladder, and instances a case where freemen-merchants would 'incur heavy fines' in order to avoid the Livery.⁴⁹ Gauci notes that the commercial appeal of the Companies began declining after the Stuarts, (with their political role taking over), but observes that 'in 1700 merchants were still joining Livery companies in droves', which he largely attributes to the desire for commercial networks and information.⁵⁰ The declining practical utility of the Livery Companies for commerce during the century may perhaps account for the later absence of Quaker membership.⁵¹

Notwithstanding, the evidence shows that between one fifth and one quarter of all Quakers marrying in London and Middlesex between 1660 and 1795 were recorded as Citizens, or Freemen of the Corporation of London, with a peak of above 25% for the earlier decades of the eighteenth century.⁵² This would seem to refute the claim that oaths acted as an effective barrier to exclude Quakers from joining Guilds, either before or after the Affirmation Act, both because Quakers would find alternatives to oaths, or perhaps take them on occasion without fear of sanction.

⁴⁸ Dixon, 'Quaker Communities in London', 208-215.

⁴⁹ Perry Gauci, Perry 'Informality & Influence: The Overseas Merchant and the Livery Companies, 1660-1720' in Ian Gadd & Patrick Willis, eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002): 127-140; 131.

⁵⁰ Gauci, 'Informality and Influence', 127.

⁵¹ See Chapter 9.

⁵² Marriage data analysis: the absence of the word 'Citizen' from the record after 1795 (excepting one lone record in 1833) may indicate a change in recording policy.

3.2 Quakers and the Professions

Taking Raistrick's 'aptitude for study' to mean that Friends were not hampered by fundamental lack of ability, the nature of Quaker non-participation in 'the professions' can now be examined more carefully. The study of early professions is currently fragmented, with little synthesis and less analysis; of the few general approaches to the topic, Rosemary O'Day in *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*⁵³ draws on more specialist research to provide an assemblage which illuminates discrete times and places, and from which certain data points can be established. The data contained in O'Day is drawn upon heavily here, albeit to form distinct conclusions. Helen Jewel's definition of 'professions' includes the Church, Medicine, Law, with the armed services, the civil service, with possibly teaching bringing up the rear.⁵⁴ With regard to all these, it may safely be asserted that only the Clergy were sufficiently evolved during the long eighteenth century to operate as a holistically-managed 'profession'; the rest were beginning to emerge from traditions (and in the case of medicine, possibly superstitions) which had persisted over centuries, and were beginning to be re-examined through the beliefs of the enlightenment. However, such progress as could be made was at no time organised or regulated by the state, and remained hugely influenced by the belief that 'medicine, like the church and the law, was regarded as a God-given calling by many who selected it as a career'.⁵⁵ Outside military service (clearly unacceptable to Friends given their testimony on peace),⁵⁶ there was an absence of any central planning, or even control; many lesser bodies appear to have attempted to re-interpret their roles simultaneously with consequent overlaps and gaps as to how business was performed. This in turn allowed for, and even encouraged, a broad spectrum of activities in all three fields - from the highest

⁵³ Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*, (Longman, 2000).

⁵⁴ Helen Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1988): 60; the 'civil service' in its modern form of an organised state bureaucracy was nineteenth-century phenomenon; state office-holding is discussed below.

⁵⁵ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 250.

⁵⁶ For the anti-war stance of the Society of Friends see Extracts, 201-204 'War'; further Advices warned against the 'Militia' (Extracts, 87-88); and against militarism *passim*.

practitioners down to the pettifogger, the quack, and even the dissenting preacher. It seems that a similar erroneous anachronism underlies the popular belief that qualification from one of the two universities was a pre-requisite to a professional career, thus prompting the claim that exclusion was the reason for so few Quaker professionals. As is shown below, Quakers seem to have taken an entirely practical view of their occupations.

3.3 Universities and the Clergy

The original function of both English universities (Oxford and Cambridge) was the preparation of individuals for ordination in the Church. Jewel records that after the reformation, clergymen numbered some 15,000 (from a population of 3.5m), with 10,000 benefices, of which 300 fell vacant annually.⁵⁷ University attendance remained of value less because of qualifications (a degree was unnecessary for ordination); rather what was valued was the possibility of advancement through preferment by the conferring institute.⁵⁸ Stressing the political importance of the clergy, Hugh Kearney suggests 'the close watch which the government maintained upon Oxford and Cambridge illustrates clearly the extent to which they remained seminaries.'⁵⁹ Further, far from leading the development of a changing society after the Restoration, O'Day points to a reduction in university numbers between 1670 and 1809, that 'signified the withdrawal of the Universities from the life of the nation', while Stone estimates Oxford graduate numbers to be around 150 per annum from 1660-1720, falling to 100 graduates annually in the period from 1750-1780.⁶⁰ As late as 1752-1886, O'Day gives figures of 75% alumni listed as clerics, noting 'more significantly, neither university sent these students into the new professions or businesses in large numbers'.⁶¹ Given the very

⁵⁷ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 65; the Scottish Universities are discussed below.

⁵⁸ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 65.

⁵⁹ Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen - Universities and Society in pre-industrial Britain 1500-1700*, (Faber, 1970): 30.

⁶⁰ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 268; Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, No.28, (1964): 53.

⁶¹ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 269; 25% of students had clerical fathers, 55% were military or gentry; this persistence of the seminarian focus might explain Quakers absence from the Universities during much of the nineteenth century.

small number of Quakers involved, their family circumstances, and the nature and single purpose of an education for entry to the establish church, it seems highly unlikely that obtaining an English university degree had either value or relevance for Friends, even had the Test Acts never been in force. As Kearney states 'by and large the English universities stood for the Ancients...the new England went forward with the Whigs and the City of London'.⁶² Contrasting the classic gentlemanly values and those of commercial wealth and social mobility, he concludes 'the values inculcated in the curriculum were those of classical civilisation in which the merchant had counted for very little'.⁶³

3.4 Medicine

The College of Physicians was established in England under Henry VIII, and can be considered the first professional body in English Medicine.⁶⁴ Even at the Restoration, there were no medical faculties at either of the two universities in England, indeed, medical education was largely practical for most of the long eighteenth century, while O'Day claims that in the seventeenth century 'graduate doctors, least of all doctors with medical degrees, were few and far between'.⁶⁵ Noel Coley states that 'until the late eighteenth century there was no formal medical education available in London', and demonstrates that private lectures at hospitals or at private homes had become the norm by the second half of the century.⁶⁶ He cites practitioners such as William Saunders and George Fordyce, Henry Cline (Professor of Anatomy to the Corporation of Surgeons), Percival Pott (St Bartholomew's), and William Cruikshank (at William Hunter's Museum in Great Windmill Street, one of the few private medical schools in London).⁶⁷ Scotland fared little better, and most Scots medical students

⁶² Kearney, 'Scholars', 171

⁶³ Kearney, 'Scholars', 172

⁶⁴ James L. Axtell, 'Education and Status in Stuart England: The London Physician', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer, 1970): 142.

⁶⁵ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 213.

⁶⁶ Noel G. Coley, 'George Fordyce M.D., F.R.S. (1736-1802): Physician-Chemist and Eccentric', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sep., 2001): 398.

⁶⁷ Coley, 'George Fordyce', 398.

studied abroad, usually at Leiden, until departmental Chairs were established: Edinburgh created one for Anatomy (1705) and Midwifery (1739), while Glasgow made its medicine chair permanent in 1714.⁶⁸ Until the 1740s, Scottish university students would complete their studies in the Netherlands, until the rise 'during the eighteenth century of the respective vernaculars for instruction in place of the previously universal Latin.'⁶⁹ The growing reputation of Edinburgh may be inferred from the support given by nascent professional bodies like the Royal College of Physicians, with the medical school established in 1726 and the first hospital was established in 1729, while facilities and faculty increased from the turn of the eighteenth century;⁷⁰ by 1754 Edinburgh was the leading medical school in Scotland.⁷¹ The absolute numbers receiving Doctorates in Medicine remained, however, very small: Cantor suggests 'twenty in the 1730s';⁷² the number had doubled in the 1750s, and doubled again before the end of the century.⁷³ By this time efforts were being made to reduce the number of degrees granted *in absentia*, while in 1767 Edinburgh insisted that all students take three years, of which one must be in residence in order to gain a Master's degree.⁷⁴

One facet of the medical profession where Quakers would continue to fight throughout the century was perhaps surprisingly unrelated to either faith or practice: that of social class, or 'breeding'. Bernice Hamilton has described the profession during the period, and notes the importance of the education of a gentleman, rather than of a physician, as central to success, quoting a contemporary MD:

The character of a physician ought to be that of a gentleman, which cannot be maintained with dignity but by a man of literature... If a gentleman, engaged in the

⁶⁸ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 191.

⁶⁹ J.W.A. Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education - The Contribution of Dissenting Academies 1660-1800*, (Independent Press Ltd, 1954): 67.

⁷⁰ Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 63-64; O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 191; Chairs in Anatomy (1705), Midwifery (1739); lectures in clinical medicine from 1746.

⁷¹ Coley, 'George Fordyce', 396; and hence also the best in Great Britain.

⁷² Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 64.

⁷³ Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 64; he notes 'more than 1,100' by the 1830's.

⁷⁴ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 192; noting the sale of degrees had become rife.

practice of physic, be destitute of that degree of preliminary and ornamental learning, which is requisite ... if he do speak on any subject either of history or philosophy, is immediately out of his depth... which is a real discredit to the profession.⁷⁵

Quakers appeared to have overcome this, in their interest in pursuing a medical career. The Quaker context for university qualifications in medicine has been the subject of detailed research by Geoffrey Cantor, who establishes the first Quaker connection in 1734 at Edinburgh when John Fothergill arrived to complete his apprenticeship as an Apothecary. Two years later (and after taking the oath) he set up as an MD in London, from which point he helped as the locus of a network which aided a number of other Quakers to pass through the schools - Cantor's study notes eight before 1772 with a further sixty-eight affirmations until 1867.⁷⁶ With the small number of annual awards discussed above, Cantor's total figure suggests that the university would grant a medical Doctorate to a Quaker most years, a statistically significant number in terms of the number of students. Cantor's results are supported by a review of the marriage records of London and Middlesex between 1689 and 1826 which describe fifty Quakers as Doctors of Physic, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Druggists or combinations of these.⁷⁷ This is approximately 1% of all those marrying, which suggests a larger proportion of Quakers were engaged in this profession than in the general population, where professionals as a whole made up less than 1% of the population during the period.⁷⁸ Taking account of the financial barriers⁷⁹ and considering the likely numbers of males of a suitable age, it seems safe to conclude that not only did many Quakers enter this profession, but they did so in numbers which were far higher in proportion to their representation in wider society than the norm.

⁷⁵ Bernice Hamilton, 'The Medical Professions in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1951): 147; citing Thomas Withers, *Treatise on the Errors and Defects of Medical Education*, (York, 1794): page not cited.

⁷⁶ Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 71, fn.71; of the 68, Cantor records the 'vast majority' were Quakers.

⁷⁷ Surgeon spelled as Chyrgeon also appears; as does a single 'Doctor of Medicine' description (in 1826).

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

⁷⁹ Cantor, *Quakers, Jews and Science*, 67; he suggests a student at Edinburgh required £150 for three year's study - or approximately three to five times an average annual wage.

3.5 Law

The third profession poses an entirely opposite question to that of medicine: since oaths could clearly be either taken or avoided in medicine, why do the Quaker marriage registers sampled across five regions from 1660 to 1822 contain no descriptors for lawyers or attorneys?⁸⁰

Significantly, there are also no Freemen of the Scriveners Company, which held exclusive rights in conveyancing for London until mid-eighteenth century.⁸¹ Setting aside the possibility that for some unstated reason, Quaker attorneys did not marry, it seems safer to attempt to find more cogent reasons.

Robert Robson posits a distinction between the physical ills as a source of profit for the medical profession, (accepted as the lot of mankind) in contrast with the lawyer, whose existence was made necessary only by the depravity of man:⁸² such a distinction may have also existed in the Quaker mind. A more worldly explanation may be the very small numbers of those practicing in the professions - certainly at the higher levels. William Prest's detailed work calculated the context for the pre-civil war period (1590 – 1639), and found around 40 admitted to the bar annually; even by 1785, Prest cites a practicing bar of only 300.⁸³ O'Day has 2000 common law barristers practicing between 1600 and 1640;⁸⁴ which would suggest that at the time the Quakers were forming, the profession was equally dominated by the higher social groups, and miniscule in size.⁸⁵ In such exclusive company, any Quaker presence might be deemed unlikely, regardless of the need for oaths.⁸⁶ A Quaker presence

⁸⁰ Analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vols. 1-5 (QFHS, 2003-2012); one solicitor married in 1822, and marriage of an Attorney at Law is recorded in London (1834) and Durham (1835); for comparison, there were eight Quaker umbrella makers married over the same period.

⁸¹ See above; two scriveners are recorded, one as a Money Scrivener; neither are described as Citizens or Guildsmen.

⁸² Robert Robson, *The Attorney in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959): 135.

⁸³ Wilfred Prest, *Inns of Court under Elizabeth & the early Stuarts 1590-1640*, (Rowman and Littlefield, 1972): 28-45, 10; Prest notes 12,163 admissions to the Inns of Court, with 2,138 called to the bar; those admitted to Inns of Court were overwhelming of the peer-esquire-gentry social class.

⁸⁴ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 114; 200 civil law advocates, practicing in the ecclesiastical and university courts, can be excluded.

⁸⁵ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 89.

⁸⁶ O'Day notes a dearth of research into the training of the legal profession over this period (*Professions in Early Modern England*, 121).

outside the Inns might have been more likely, amongst the lower-status attorneys and solicitors. Here, an apprentice clerk was trained under a practitioner, and while career advancement required some social standing, no oaths were required to work as a clerk until after the Affirmation Act.⁸⁷ The best indication for numbers of attorneys entering the profession over the period comes from the Stamp payment records, beginning in 1710. Robert Robson suggested that by 1728 reforms were needed in view of the number of unqualified persons practicing, and the resultant Attorneys and Solicitors Act of 1728 (enforcing apprenticeships to control entry) required records of payments of apprentice fees (Figure 3.2).⁸⁸

Figure 3.2: Apprentice Fees - Legal Profession 1711-1803⁸⁹

Period	Area	Number	Annual	Apprentice Fee		Register
				<£50	%	
1711-1714	City	46	15	8	17%	PRO I.R. 1/1
						£51-£268
						38
1711-1713	Country	19	10	2	11%	PRO I.R. 1/42
						£51-£110
						17
1752-1754	City	241	121	82	34%	PRO I.R. 1/19
						£51-£400
						159
1750-1754	Country	108	36	38	35%	PRO I.R. 1/51
						£51-£300
						70
1799-1802	City	380	127	65	17%	PRO I.R. 1/38
						£51-£300
						315
1799-1802	Country	66	17	4	6%	PRO I.R. 1/70
						£51-£551
						62

Robson concluded that 'many men of humble birth and modest means could become attorneys', which does not seem entirely supported by this data.⁹⁰ Alongside the very low annual numbers in the registers cited, the apprentice fees recorded are substantially higher

⁸⁷ The 1728 act (2 Geo II c 23) required oaths on apprenticeship; affirmation was securely in place by 1696.

⁸⁸ Robson, 'Attorney', 52-58; data reproduced in Figure 4.2.

⁸⁹ Robson, 'Attorney', 55-59.

⁹⁰ Robson, 'Attorney', 59.

than most for the period:⁹¹ such fees were between £5 and £10, with some trades regularly making no charge.⁹² It seems safer to conclude that while numbers of attorneys continued to rise, those of the poor or even middling sort would need the equivalent of several year's wages in hand to enter this profession. This reality regarding legal education may be inferred from a contemporary observation on the relationship between apprentices and their legal masters, who:

consider nothing else than the sums they are to have with them - one two or three hundred pounds are given - he takes little care of his master's business, and the master as little to instruct him in the mystery of his profession.⁹³

Jewel states that the Inns of court had effectively the complete monopoly of common law professional qualifications, and while providing no supervision or teaching, nor test of aptitude, required a minimum of attendance and participation in non-academic activities such as dining while commanding annual fees of between £30 and £40.⁹⁴ Robson sees these institutions decaying by the eighteenth century, as 'membership of an Inn in London became increasingly pointless' to the large numbers practicing outside the City.⁹⁵ Craig Horle takes a view that Quaker beliefs were fundamentally antithetical to the law as it stood, claiming that 'by the end of their first decade of existence, Quakers had developed a collective set of principles which threatened the foundation of the English legal system'.⁹⁶ While Quakers certainly openly challenged procedures, it is easier to find evidence for his more moderate claim that:

⁹¹ See Chapter 5 'Education and Apprenticeships' for discussion on fees; Chapter 7 'Collective finance' for Quaker practice.

⁹² Evidence for this comes from the fees associated with more than 220 trades, as listed in *A General Description of All Trades, digested in alphabetical order*, (T. Waller, 1747), a compendium published in 1747 in order that 'Parents, Guardians and Trustees may with greater Ease and Certainty, make choice of trades etc'; a tabular extract of key data is presented in Appendix B; only four apprenticeships fees would appear to be substantially higher (namely those of Chemist, Merchant, 'Sope-men', and Salters).

⁹³ Robson, 'Attorney', 58; citing 'Stow's Survey of London', ed., John Strype (1755): Vol. II, 559.

⁹⁴ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 121-123.

⁹⁵ Robson, 'Attorney', 52-58.

⁹⁶ Craig C. Horle, *The Quakers and the English Legal System 1660-1688*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988): 16; curiously, Horle's work does not acknowledge the detailed earlier research by N.C. Hunt drawn upon here in Chapter 4.

Even after the millenarian excitement and the more “enthusiastic” aspects of Quakerism had died away...and the focus of the movement had shifted from the north to London and its environs, Friends still remained bound by law-breaking testimonies.⁹⁷

Horle sees the Quakers as fighting the tyranny of the law, and (as noted in Chapter 4 below) deploying legal means to do so when effective.⁹⁸ He cites a recommendation from (London) Yearly Meeting in 1682 that Quarterly Meetings obtain access to the *Statutes at Large* for 'better & more easy understanding when they are prosecuted & suffer in person & estate, contrary to law',⁹⁹ and notes the use of sympathetic legal counsel to provide opinions on cases, which were recorded and shared by LYM; however, his inventory of lawyers does not include members of the Society, which would seem to support the absence of Friends in the profession.¹⁰⁰

Perhaps another explanation for the absence of Friends from the lower ends of the profession is the avaricious reputation of its practitioners, expressed by the idea that the 'Common lawyer is bred only upon the purse'.¹⁰¹ The reputation of lawyers was undoubtedly low within the profession itself. An anonymous attorney writing in 1707 stated there was an excessive number, who:

do a 1000 knavish Things for Bread, and become common Nusances to that Part of the Country they live in, and generally deserve Hanging more than Highway-men, as has often been declared by the Justice Hales, and others : That to convict one Barretor was more Service to the Public, than to hang an hundred Felons.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Horle, 'Quakers and the English Legal System', 16; see discussion on Discipline in Chapter 4.

⁹⁸ See the chapter on Quaker Legal Defence, Horle, *English Legal System*', 187-254.

⁹⁹ Horle, 'Quakers and the English Legal System', 179.

¹⁰⁰ Horle, 'Quakers and the English Legal System', 188; see also his Appendix 2, *Lawyers Consulted or Utilized by Friends 1660-1690*, 285-291.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Powell, *The Attorney's Academy*, (Printed for Benjamin Fisher, 1623): Introduction.

¹⁰² An Attorney, *Proposals Humbly Offer'd to the Parliament for Remedying the Great Charge and Delay of Suits at Law and in Equity*, (Norwich: Henry Cosgrove, 1707): 12; a later self-explanatory work was entitled *Animadversions upon the present laws of England: or, An essay to render them more useful and less expensive to all His Majesty's subjects. To which is added, a proposal for regulating the practice, and reducing the numbers of attornies, sollicitors, &c' c., with a supplement, humbly submitted to the serious consideration of both houses of Parliament*, (Printed for M. Cooper, 1750).

There is strong evidence that Quakers, from the start, were minded to share these views on the profession; Fox was unequivocal as early as 1659:

Let all the laws of *England* be brought into a known tongue, that every Countryman may plead his own cause, without Attorney or Counsellor, or for money. Let men that fear God and hate covetousness decide and end things among People in all places, and let none do it for money and reward. Let it never be had in esteem among you, and away with the cap-men, and coys-men (as they are called) and thirty shillings and twenty shillings, and ten groat fees, and this oppression, that makes people pay eight pence a sheet, for not above fifteen lines. So away with all these Counsellors, that will not tell men the Law, a few words, without twenty, or ten, or thirty shillings, which is a great oppression.¹⁰³

As Braithwaite notes, this work is strongly Puritanical in its condemnation of 'the prolixity of legal processes, the unknown tongues made use of, the exactions of lawyers'.¹⁰⁴ The 'Fifty-Nine' particulars contain many more detailed suggestions as to how laws may be remedied, including 'justice without money'.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, these include calls for the abolition of the sinecure 'Office for Profit', essentially the nascent civil service driven by perquisites and sold for harvesting by the crown to the highest bidder in favour.¹⁰⁶ Allowing Fox to have influence in this matter as in other early values within the movement, this indicates negative Quaker attitudes towards office holding from the Society's formation, and it seems highly likely that both the perquisite and the legal process were always regarded as in need of reform. It may be that law was regarded, like preaching, as something that should be open to all men, and without cost, rather than a desirable calling from which to make individual financial gain.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ George Fox, *To the Parliament of the Comon-Wealth [sic] of England. Fifty nine particulars laid down for the regulating things, and the taking away of oppressing laws, and oppressors, and to ease the oppressed.* / By G.F., (Printed for Thomas Simmons, 1659): Particular #14. Cited as 'Fifty Nine'.

¹⁰⁴ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 558, and fn.3.

¹⁰⁵ Fox, 'Fifty Nine', *passim*; on-going particulars demand the abolition of Quaker obligations for specific church rates including tithes, and their exemption from hat honour and other causes of contempt.

¹⁰⁶ Curiously, two of these sinecure 'offices of profit' remain: the Crown Steward and Bailiff of the Chiltern Hundreds, and the Manor of Northstead, to be 'accepted' by parliamentarians wishing to resign.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Rufus Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religions*, (MacMillan, 1909): 317; on ministers: 'it was an element of the first importance that he took no pay...had none of the marks of a "professional" about him...'

Evidence that such a view persisted is the noted absence of descriptors for lawyers or attorneys in any of the marriage registers for more than six thousand marriages recorded over the period examined.¹⁰⁸ Certainly the 'reformist' agenda continued to be widely held throughout the period, both by those outside and inside the profession, with evidence for a persistent Quaker desire to distance the movement from the practice of law in England abundant in the Discipline. In the decade following Fox's *Fifty-Nine*, a substantial number of Advices directed Friends to avoid using lawyers or the law to settle disputes: the earliest contained in the advices on Sufferings, which from 1675 states 'this meeting doth not enjoin or advise any friends, in sufferings for our Christian testimonies, to take a course at law for remedy'.¹⁰⁹ A year later an Advice cautions 'That friends be careful of entangling themselves in law, because of some small irregularity in the proceeding.'¹¹⁰ Over time, attitudes within the Society appear to have hardened against the use of law in disputes: while those on Arbitration originate in the 1690s, that of 1696 actually forbids Friends to go to law with each other.¹¹¹ Almost half a century later, an Advice urges that Friends 'rather than contend at law' use such means 'even with those not of our persuasion.'¹¹² One instance as to why may be found in the records of the Upperside Meeting in Buckinghamshire, after relations challenged in Chancery a legacy of fifty pounds left to the Society; the Meeting reviewed the situation in 1685 to find that only £18 9s. 6d. remained after deductions of legal fees.¹¹³ Such Advice would seem to indicate that professing the *practice* of law was unwelcome within Society of Friends, in contrast to the practice of Friends, which was not to give rise to breaches in the law - unless it be for those religious scruples already sanctioned by the Society itself. This

¹⁰⁸ Analysis of Marriage database derived from Digest Registers Index Vols. 1-5, (QFHS, 2003-2012).

¹⁰⁹ Extracts, 181 'Sufferings' (#1).

¹¹⁰ Extracts, 181 'Sufferings' (#2).

¹¹¹ Extracts, 5 'Arbitration' (#2).

¹¹² Extracts, 6 'Arbitration' (#3).

¹¹³ Beatrice Saxon Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting (Society of Friends : 1669-1857: Buckinghamshire, E., The minute book of the monthly meeting of the Society of Friends for the upperside of Buckinghamshire, 1669-1690*, (High Wycombe [Buckinghamshire]: Printed for the Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1937): 150-151; of the remaining moiety, £5 was subsequently found to have been lent to a poor Friend on bond, then written off!

shown by Advices on Civil Government from 1692, insisting Friends always stay within the law, living inoffensively under the government.¹¹⁴ By 1730, the law-abiding nature of the Society was emphasised:

we therefore think ourselves obliged earnestly to advise friends, that they be particularly careful to behave with all dutifulness and gratitude; and especially to discountenance every indecent mark of dissatisfaction in word or writing, relating to the government.¹¹⁵

Thus the Society not only declined to participate in the profession of law, they urged Friends who found themselves at odds with it to arbitrate, or accept the consequences, rather than engage in legal dispute unless unavoidable. So central is this philosophy it seems difficult not to conclude that a desire to avoid the legal system in its entirety pervaded the Society of Friends throughout the period. This view was widely held: Defoe's *Essay on Divinity, Law and Physic* attacks all three professions, but the pecuniary obsession of the legal foremost:

But can any Gentleman pretend that the Ends of Justice may not be answered, that the Differences of the Subject may not be ended, without the amazing tedious Forms through which Parties are now obliged to pass, and the excessive Expenses to which they are liable. In the Case of a poor Felon, who either has no Money to hire Lawyers, or of whom a Lawyer, if hired, cannot expect so much as a second Fee, his Life and Death is determined sooner, and in fewer Hours, than a Matter of twenty Shillings coming into Westminster, which still dropping Fat to the Lawyers, requires Months, perhaps Years, to bring it to an Issue.¹¹⁶

Robson concurs, concluding 'professional men were merely parasites...doctors and lawyers were subject to almost universal abuse of satirists, ..they were quacks and pettifoggers, [who] exploited the mysteries of their craft for their own ends'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Extracts, 16 'Civil Government' (#3).

¹¹⁵ Extracts, 17 'Civil Government' (#4).

¹¹⁶ Defoe, *General Description of Trades*, xxix-xxx.

¹¹⁷ Robson, 'Attorneys', 134-5.

This hostility of the Discipline towards the legal system - while not all law - would naturally lead to the furtherance of a situation where Friends lacked a motivation for developing a commercial legal practice. The Advices simultaneously encouraged the already noted desire for internal trading relationships, and promoted arbitration, which reduced the opportunities for Friends to go to law, while simultaneously diminishing the financial prospects of Friends desirous of serving their community in a legal capacity. Taken all together, it is argued that for Friends during the period, practicing the law as a profession was simply unattractive.

3.6 Chapter Summary

During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the occupations subsequently designated as 'professions' must be understood to have existed in a very different form than that into which they emerged over the following centuries.¹¹⁸ Specialist education, legislation, the formation of regulated bodies, relevant admission criteria, licenses to practise based upon competence -were absent – although the potential for significant financial rewards and associated social status were nascent: in 1737,¹¹⁹ Henry Fielding summed up the contemporary view:

Religion, law and physick were design'd
By heaven the greatest blessings on mankind;
But priests and lawyers and physicians made
These general goods to each a private trade;
With each they rob, with each they fill their purses,
And turn our benefits into our curses.¹²⁰

It is not unreasonable to conclude that Quakers, along with the populace in general, saw such practitioners through a lens which refracted at least some of these negative attributes.

¹¹⁸ All the attributes which have come to be associated with professionalism were lacking, while those measures which would promote the existence of an effective professional body were only just beginning to evolve. (see O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, concluding chapter).

¹¹⁹ Just ahead of the Lord Chamberlain's act which would stifle much theatrical criticism (10 Geo 11, cap xxviii).

¹²⁰ Henry Fielding, 'Pasquin', IV:V.

With respect to oaths, additional evidence can be found principally from the Livery Companies and the medical records of Edinburgh University, which suggest that Quakers before the Affirmation Act of 1696 had obtained positions which nominally required oath taking - either by offering a bond, or by submitting to the necessary oaths. After this Act, the Quakers had a more or less acceptable set of words which effectively removed this barrier to any wishing to study medicine, join the City Corporations, or become articled clerks at law. There remained both financial and social barriers to developing a commercially successful practice in all fields, as exemplified by a widely held view amongst the College of Physicians that a successful medical man required the education of a gentleman. That this view was not held outside that body would appear to be upheld by the ever-increasing number who practiced outside its Fellowship.

There is much evidence that Quakers gained membership in a large majority of London Corporations, and were represented in the most powerful Livery Companies. Quaker under-representation as Office Holders has been suggested, but the explanation for this may lie equally with avoidance as with discrimination. Quakers also played a role in the development of medical practice throughout the century, and not least the professionalising of its representative bodies. That Quakers were not represented in the Clergy has long been accepted, for the reasons that such activity had no utility for the Society of Friends - such practice being contrary to their beliefs. This research suggests that their absence from the law may be subject to a similar explanation. Certainly, it would appear that the traditional explanation of the oath as a barrier is difficult to sustain.¹²¹

¹²¹ Compare Quentin Skinner: 'It cannot logically be a correct appraisal of any agent's action to say that he failed to do something unless it is clear that he did have, and even could have, the intention to try and perform *that* action.'; in Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History & Theory*, (1969): 8; this might suggest further research into the absence of 'legal' Quakers from the marriage records.

4 ORIGIN AND PRACTICE OF DISCIPLINE

This thesis argues for a connection between the values of the Society of Friends, and the early commercial success of its membership: this chapter looks at the origin and practice of those values as represented in the Society's Discipline. While it is generally agreed that the purpose of Quaker discipline was to provide guidance reflecting the corporate values of the Society, the prevailing academic consensus has been that there was a single set of rules emanating from the London administrative apparatus for the purpose of enforcing uniformity and order. This chapter argues that instead of this monolithic central control of enforced rules, Friends were for a period of over seventy-five years subject to varying degrees of enforcement of varying rules which developed geographically and changed over time, even after the first collected advices. Comparison of early eighteenth-century manuscript versions of the Discipline, both in and outside London, suggests both variation and changes in emphasis which may be inferred from the date and quantity of new Advices. The chapter first gives an overview of the literature, then goes on to consider the origins of the Advices as a set of assorted, local texts containing guidelines on how to live in accordance with the Society's values. Third comes an exploration of the historical process by which the extracts came to be controlled, developed and reproduced. Fourthly, the chapter analyses the Advices to identify those having an influence upon commercial activity, reviewed sequentially by headings. Fifth, the mechanism of Discipline is reviewed, establishing a common process by which the Society sought to impose its regulations, along with a detailed examination of the surviving evidence from contemporary minutes of the Society and a surviving Disciplinary record book from the period. A final section examines the implications of this evidence. The chapter concludes that, for the period under consideration, Quaker Discipline was administered in a nuanced manner designed to retain membership; that this was a deliberate consequence of the intention of those advising to exercise as much tolerance as was compatible with preserving

the reputation of the Society; that in consequence of this latter, the Advices contained in the Discipline were consonant with good business practice, and incidentally created a secular utility of membership.

4.1 Overview

The pervading academic position accepts that that the Quaker Discipline was a monolithic set of rules which gradually emerged from the Yearly Meeting at London in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and evolved in accordance with the deliberations of that central body over the course of the eighteenth. This belief shapes the wider understanding of the origin of the Discipline that would govern the lives of Quakers across the Atlantic world, and thus places London Yearly Meeting squarely in the centre of a uniform Discipline on both sides of the Atlantic for the duration of the eighteenth century.¹ William Braithwaite's histories of early Quakerism identify the components of what would later become codified, but having recognised the importance of the 'Formation of the Book of Extracts' by a heading in the table of contents, he dismisses the topic in less than half a page,² without considering the period before 1738 or the impact of local advices kept by subsidiary Meetings. His claim that 'Much of the counsel which had behind it the united judgment of the Church was issued by the Yearly Meeting in its epistles' stands without his customary supporting evidence - a matter of more concern since Rufus Jones cites this page as his key source of information on the subject.³ Jones states that eighteenth century Quaker Elders and Overseers 'had no absolute rules to guide them, but there slowly accumulated... a body of Advices and Queries'.⁴ However, his claim that the Book of Discipline was 'a thing of almost unconscious growth'

¹ The concept of the Book of Extracts endures within the Society of Friends: the 1994 rule book, termed 'Quaker Faith & Practice', is also described as 'The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain'.

² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 377.

³ Jones, *The Later Periods*, 142.

⁴ Jones, *The Later Periods*, 132; the first Book of Extracts was 1738.

and that 'No individual or even committee 'made' it' was refuted by the work of David J. Hall, who in his short review of the 'first' (1738) centrally-authorised Book of Extracts, records that this Discipline was the product of a commissioned abstract of Advices from the LYM epistles, submitted to Yearly Meeting for review before being referred to the Meeting for Sufferings for final scrutiny. Hall suggested that before this, clerks of subordinate meetings would have collected together important epistles and minutes, noting they were formally encouraged to do so (in Yearly Minutes of 1680 and again in 1691), and that the practice of keeping abstracts of such Advices is indicated by regional meeting minutes (instancing a book purchased expressly in 1701 for that purpose).⁵ The actual content of these local books of extracts have been largely neglected, except as a source of quotations to support various claims, while Jones illustrates one possible reason for the persistence of the 'uniformity' principle by regularly deploying the word 'discipline' without definition or exploration.

Recent historians have followed this trend, and focused on the incidence of discipline rather than the development: Jack D. Marietta's study of Quaker reformed discipline rather surprisingly devotes less than half a page to its 'origins and purpose', while the books themselves, their content and nature, are not considered at all.⁶ Jordan Landes' discussion of the nature of the trans-Atlantic world considers administration, publications of Friends' books, and the travelling ministry as mechanisms of communication of the Quaker values, but nowhere considers either the nature or effect of books of Advices, Extracts, or Discipline on the formation of that 'early modern community'.⁷ Other writers have promoted the uniformity principle across a broader canvas: in his formative study of western Atlantic commercial Friends, Fredrick Tolles acknowledges the existence of a 'Book of Discipline' and makes a

⁵ David J Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', *The Friends' Quarterly*, (July, 1981): 506-7.

⁶ Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism 1748-83*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984): 4.

⁷ Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World, the Creation of an Early Modern Community*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

handful of references to it, yet also without distinguishing which book or when.⁸ Similarly, Sarah Crabtree makes several references to discipline without discussion of origin, the diverse nature, or historical evolution of the books of extracts themselves: as for many, her Quakers find discipline typically something 'languishing' or 'waning', or a tool through which 'reformers strove to enforce' order, a warning to 'backsliders'.⁹ Crabtree promotes a particular view of Discipline in pursuit of purity. This must be contrasted with that purpose stated by Fox and others in the earliest period - where discipline is used as the source of Unity.

At the heart of all early Disciplines imposed by the Quakers can be found this common desire for the preservation of Unity within the Society of Friends. It accompanied the initial eschatological perspective of Friends, who saw in their worship the path to a new world in which *all* would be convinced.¹⁰ At this time, Advices centred on ensuring Friends drew the 'disorderly' back into the fold - 'carried on their backs', if need be.¹¹ Only as the vision of King Jesus faded did the second and subsequent generation of Friends adapt their disciplines into a 'hedge' to preserve the uniqueness of the 'peculiar people' from worldliness, and in so doing, ushered in the period known as Quietism.¹² Yet the central purpose of these self-imposed rules, even in the early eighteenth century, remained Unity. The drift towards discipline as a power for purity would not take hold until the passing of the next generation, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and under the flag of 'reformation'. Discipline, whether for Unity or for Purity, addressed the same fault of 'disorderly walking'. In time, 'disorderly'

⁸ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 58-59, 94, 120, 137.

⁹ Sarah Crabtree, *Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015): 36, 37, 71.

¹⁰ See the paper written by Fox in January 1669, beginning 'Friends' fellowship must be in the sprit', and ending 'go to visit them all that have been convinced from house to house, that if it be possible you may not leave a hoof in Egypt: and so every one go seek the lost sheep and bring him home on your back to the fold'; given in Beck and Ball, *London Friends, London Friends*, 47-52; also printed (by adverse hands) as: [s.n.], *Canons and Institutions drawn up and agreed upon by the General Assembly or Meeting of the heads of the Quakers from all parts of the kingdom at their New-Theatre in Grace-church-street in or about January 1668/9; George Fox being their president*. (1669).

¹¹ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 52.

¹² Quakers during the Quietist period are considered to have been following the advice in Deuteronomy 27:1, to both keep to and protect their testimonies; the wording for this is to guard/hedge about with thorns (from 'שָׁמַר'*shamar*); see Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 6, 77; 'peculiar people' is the KJV translation from Deuteronomy 14:2; what some now term 'holy nation'.

would increasingly be defined solely by reference to the potential damage to the corporate reputation of the Society, rather than consequences for the individual, but the common purpose of protecting the Society underlies all Quaker Disciplines; this was a product of the corporate 'testimony' of Friends to have a single standard of truth, from which deviations, either in word or deed, would leave the Society vulnerable to accusations of hypocrisy.

4.2 Early Advices

Braithwaite identified the first attempt to describe the general principles by which Quakerism would govern itself as the 'Epistle from the meeting of Elders at Balby',¹³ written in November 1656, and both quickly and widely emulated. At this formative stage Advices were not even to be considered as binding on future Friends: Braithwaite notes a 'fine warning against the invasion of tradition' in a letter from Durham Friends to the General Meeting in Kendal.¹⁴ By 1660, the practice appears to have been established whereby representatives from all parts of the country gathered to discuss matters of church business, with London increasingly used as the primary meeting place from 1661.¹⁵ Braithwaite uses a letter of Edward Burroughs to describe its purpose: 'The proper work and service of the Meeting is for the well-ordering of the affairs of Truth in outward things, among the body of Friends, and that a general concord and assent may be among the ancients of them.'¹⁶ Fox created an extended discipline by 1669, and a collection of Advices was published under the title 'Canons and Institutions' by Quaker opponents that year, with a condemnatory preface outlining their 'Ridiculous and infamous' regime.¹⁷ Avoiding articles of faith, the document aims to restore those who erred by redeeming disorderly persons who had 'gone from the

¹³ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 64-68.

¹⁴ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 329; see footnote; he records similar sets of Advices arising from a meeting in 1659 of Friends from four counties (Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire), and others (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, 314-316).

¹⁵ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 333, 337.

¹⁶ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 340.

¹⁷ Fox, 'Canons', unpaginated preface; those behind the printing in 1669 were clearly averse to Fox.

Truth', (including by marrying before the priest, wearing hats when Friends pray, or following 'the old rotten principles of the Ranters').¹⁸ Major sections advised on: Marriage, Remarriage (including finance); Slander; Railing; Cheating by borrowing; Poor relief; Arbitration; Tithes; Sufferings; Children; Burying-grounds; Registering births, marriages, and burials.

Significantly in terms of continuity, Advices would continue to be issued under similar headings in the first collection prepared centrally by the Society of Friends in 1738 - indeed most were retained in the revision of 1783. The challenge of these 'canons' arose, in Braithwaite's judgement, from 'a mass of wholesome though tedious advice'; to be administered by Friends who were (potentially and relatively) spiritually unenlightened.¹⁹ The precise form and nature of this administration remained, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, at the discretion of the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings themselves.²⁰ By the 1670s, the convention had arisen that the Yearly Meeting in London would not only record the deliberations of representatives in minuted form, but also issue an annual Epistle to each Quarterly (regional) and Monthly Meeting,²¹ which offered additional Advices on specific concerns of the meeting. The transmission mechanism(s) does not appear to have been subject to much research, but the un-catalogued fond 'Clerk of Doncaster'²² contains epistles, Advices, letters and other papers from Balby Monthly Meetings for the period 1675-1760, from which components the process of formation of early discipline may be reconstructed. Amongst the surviving documents are manuscript copies of London Yearly Meeting Minutes from 1695 and 1698. The former sets out Advices under twelve numbered sections:

1. Concerning Marriages of Kindred
2. Concerning Contracts in and to Marriage;

¹⁸ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 47, 49.

¹⁹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 259.

²⁰ This is discussed in the section 'Purpose of Discipline', below.

²¹ The Epistles are designated in the Extracts as Written (WE) or printed (PE). Both appear throughout the period; the earliest PE noted is Marriage (1690), the latest 1799 (Convinced Persons); W.E. exist from 1675.

²² TEMP MSS 298 (1693-1760), Folders (2/1; 2/2; 2/3) (LSF).

3. Concerning men and women Meetings;
4. ...sighing groaning & singing in ye Church;
5. Concerning our Testimony agt Tythes;
6. Concerning our open Testimony or Publick Meeting in Times of Suffering;
7. Concerning... Testimony & Condemnation agt Disorderly Walkers;
8. Our Judgement agt Contemptible Names given agt us;
9. Concerning expounding marriages;
10. Concerning Disputes;
11. Concerning Trading;
12. Of Friends Ancient Testimony agt ye Corrupt Fashions and ye Language of the World;

Comparing these (and Advices within) to those recorded in the manuscript Yearly Meeting Minute book reveals they are a complete copy, including signatories.²³ Manuscripts in the fond contain marginalia suggesting that these copies were sent by a postal service: a copy of the 1697 'Yearly Meeting Advices' from London Clerk Benjamin Bealing, is signed by one Thomas Hammond and addressed on the obverse to 'Thomas Aldam att Warnsworth' with the request that 'The Postmaster at Doncaster is Desired to send this as above Directed, PostPaid 2^d'. (see Figure 4.1).²⁴

²³ Yearly Meeting Minutes 1672-1693; Vol. 1; as are the second complete set of minutes from 1698.

²⁴ For Thomas Aldam see Chapter 2.

Figure 4.1: Obverse of copy of Advices signed B.B. 1697 Balby Papers²⁵

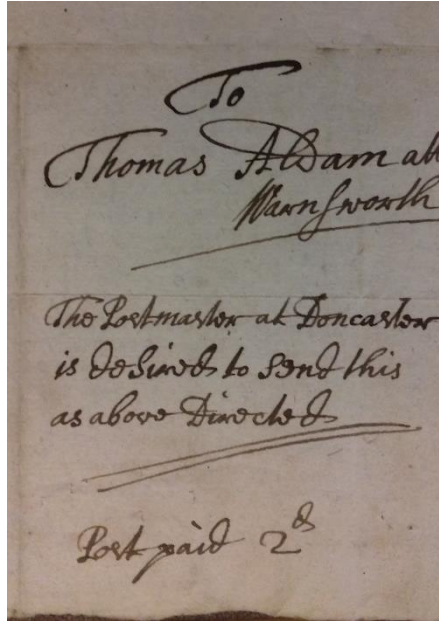
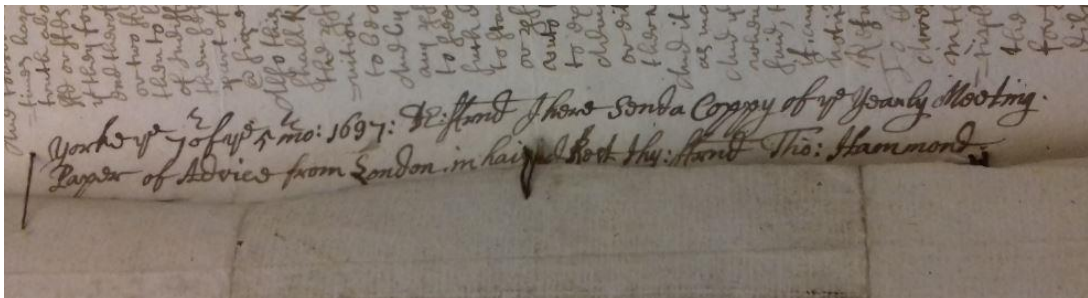


Figure 4.2: Marginalia from Thomas Hammond on copy of Yearly Meeting Advices

1697²⁶



From the marginalia (Figure 4.2), Hammond may have been present in London, or he may have been in York.²⁷ Certainly he copied then circulated the Yearly Meeting Epistle on behalf of his Quarterly Meeting. Beyond helping to establish the mechanism of communication of Advices, the Doncaster Fond contains strong evidence of the source and nature of diversity in Discipline amongst Monthly Meetings, indicated by the existence of multiple Advices

²⁵ TMP MSS 298, (LSF).

²⁶ TMP MSS 298, (LSF).

²⁷ He writes '7th of y^e 5th Month 1697: D^r friend; I here send a copy of y^e Yearly Meeting Paper of Advices in haiste I rest thy friend Thos: Hammond'; the cause for this haste is not apparent.

originating with the Quarterly Meeting at York.²⁸ One such example concerned a detailed Advice on plainness:

Quarterly Meeting Held at Yorke the 6th and 7th Dayes of the Second Month 1698

It was declared as the sense of this meeting that having great pewter cases with a deal of pewter & brass rounded up which may not be serviceable but only tends to make ffds life to the world ought not to be amongst us, and the setting of fringes upon curtains, or weaving of frogg poppets, or great buttons, are fashions of the world and ought to be denied by ffds; and y^t ye cutting of hair amongst young people & weaving of periwigs unless it appear that there be extraordinary occasion, is not commendable amongst us, but ought to be abstained from, and also all other things which tend to the gratifying to the prid of the eye or pride of life which things are not of god...

for Balby Monthly Meeting, Thorne[?].

Signed on the behalf of the Meeting Thomas Hammond.²⁹

The specific nature of this Advice, in its detail paid to possessions, clothing, and personal adornment, goes further than the usual broad Advices given to Friends.³⁰ In such matters the Discipline under York Quarterly Meeting would be expected to vary from that under other meetings. This Advice is specifically addressed to Balby Monthly meeting, suggesting that the copying and sending principle was replicated down the hierarchy, and that Quarterly Meetings thus imposed their own discipline on subordinate meetings.³¹ Other evidence of Quarterly Meeting communication concerns the circulation of a note warning 'All Friends Everywhere' against a 'Young Woman...found and proved...to be a very great cheat', and who is 'thick shouldered, round faced, red cheeks, thick lip'd, short chin'd, eyes a darke grey,

²⁸ Therefore are not replicated either in other Quarterly Meeting Advices, or in minutes from the Yearly Meeting.

²⁹ TMP MSS 298 Folder 2/2; loose sheet.

³⁰ Extracts, 130-135 'Plainness'.

³¹ TMP MSS 298, Folder 2/2; addressed on the reverse.

about eighteen years'. The warning is to be copied to 'all ye several Monthly meetings in the County'.³²

As the system of individual record keeping persisted for over half a century, the potential consequences for central control are clear: local Friends determined the nature and detail of the rules, and Quaker Discipline was the product of local interpretation. The physical nature of the collections of Advices - in the case of Balby, existing in sheets sewn together - must have exacerbated the problems associated with communicating any given set of central Advices, and this general lack of clarity may have prompted the Yearly Meeting minute of 1727 which instructed Quarterly Meetings to transcribe their collected Advices into a 'fair book'.³³ Local Discipline therefore depended not only on efficient communication of the LYM epistles, and the industriousness of the clerk, but also the number of local Advices. An invaluable document demonstrating the extent of the diversity is contained in the Doncaster Fond in the form of a clerk's list of Advices to be transcribed (Figure 4.3). This is undated, but clearly sometime after 1724 and most probably associated with the above instruction of 1727.³⁴

³² TMP MSS 298, Folder 2/2.

³³ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 507; Leeds (1711) and Yorkshire Quarterly 1723).

³⁴ Figure 3.3 Transcription:

An Exhortation to keep to ye Ancient Principles of Truth by G.ff
Advice from ye Qu: Meet: in 1709 touching Visiting familys
Advice from ye yearly meet: in 1697 concerning ending ye differences between friends
Advice from ye Qu: meet: in 1710 about suffering faithful friends in every particulars meet to see yt friends walk orderly
A Case propounded to G:W[?]: in his Questions & his Answers Dated 1714
A Copy of ye ffds agreemt att ye Qu: Meet in 1680 touching marriages in kindred
Advice from ye Qu: Meet: in 1685 touching too early proceedings in relation to marriage after ye decease of husband or wife
Advice from ye Yearly Meet in 1715 against pride and diverse other things
Advice from ye Qu: Meet in 1709 touching ye safe keeping of conveyances
Advice from ye yearly Meet: touching second cozens marrying
Advice from ye yearly meet: as to such as are under prosecution for Tythes
Advice from friends at London touching our marriage certificates being written upon stamp paper or parchment
Advice from ye Yearly Meet: touching Gravestones or outward marks of mourning for ye Dead
Advice from ye Yearly Meet: in 1718 abt dealing wth Offenders
Advice from ye Quarterly Meet: in 1719 against Pride
Advice from ye Qu: Meet: in 1719 abt paying debts in due time
Renewed advice against pride from ye Qu: Meet: in 1723
Advice from ye Yearly Meet: in 1723 abt dealing wth such Ministers as are not well approved
Advice from ye Qu: Meet: in 1724 abt Visiting familys
Advice from ye Yearly Meet: in 1724 abt ye settlement of ye Poor
note yt while I here do not mention them in order of time
yet I looke on it most proper so to do in transcribing

Figure 4.3: Balby Clerks Advice List (c.1725-1727)³⁵

An Exhortation To Keep to y^e Ancient principles of Truth by
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1709 Touching ^{visiting} Families
 Advice from y^e yearly meet: in 1697 abt: y^e
 finding Differences amongst y^e friends
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1710 about ^{finding} faithful friends
 in every parish to meet: to see y^e ^{order} of y^e ^{answers} Dated 1714
 A Case propounded to J. B: in his Questions & his
 A Copy of y^e Agreement att y^e Qu: Meet: in 1680 Touching Marriages
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1685 Touching ^{early} proceedings in
 Relation to Marriage after y^e Decease of y^e Husband or Wife.
 Advice from y^e Yearly Meet: in 1715 against Pride & Divers other
 things
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1709 Touching y^e safe keeping of Buriall
 places
 Advice from y^e yearly meet: Touching Second times Marrying
 Advice from y^e yearly Meet: to such as are under prosecution for Tythes
 Advice from friends at London Touching our marriage certificates
 being written upon stamped paper or parchment
 Advice from y^e yearly Meet: Touching Grave stones & outward
 marks of mourning for y^e Dead
 Advice from y^e yearly Meet: in 1718 abt: dealing wth offenders
 Advice from y^e quarterly Meet: in 1719 against Pride
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1719 abt: paying of Debts in due time
 General Advice against pride from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1723
 Advice from y^e yearly meet: in 1723 abt: dealing wth such Ministers as
 are not well approved
 Advice from y^e Qu: Meet: in 1724 abt: visiting families
 Advice from y^e yearly Meet: in 1724 abt: y^e settling of y^e poor
 note y^e although I here do not mention them in order of time
 yet I looke on it as most proper so to do in Transcribing

³⁵ TMP MSS 298, Folder 2/2; single sheet.

It can be seen that the Quarterly and Yearly Meeting sources of the Advices are approximately equal, and while this proportion may differ across Meetings, such a high proportion of local Advice indicates the potential for a wide spectrum of Disciplines across the Society of Friends by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century - a period of almost seventy five years - supporting Hall's view that collections must have 'varied very much in content'.³⁶ Significantly, the very first item refers to an (undated) epistle from George Fox on keeping to the 'Ancient Principles of Truth', and the same fond fortunately retains a fair copy of Epistle CCLXIII (263) from 1668, ending 'Read this in Meeting in the Fear of the Lord, as often as you see occasion, and record it in your book'.³⁷ The copy is written in an early eighteenth century hand, and validation with the later printed original reveals but a single transcription error: 'And against all the world's [evil ways, vain] worships, and religions, and to stand up for God's'.³⁸ Such errors would seem to be almost unavoidable; certainly they were accepted, since the next decision by the Yearly Meeting regarding codification of Advices was to select and circulate a volume in manuscript form. There would seem to be several motivations behind the decision not to print. First, this helped ensure traceability of all copies, reducing the risk of Advices becoming a target for attack by their opponents.³⁹ Secondly, the extant manuscript Books of Extracts contain blank leaves between sections, in expectation of supplementary Advices from subsequent Yearly Meetings.⁴⁰ In 1735 Yearly Meeting commissioned an *Abstract of the Written Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting; from the beginning*, the title of which provides some indication of the importance given to previous Advices. The following year, Meeting for

³⁶ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 507.

³⁷ See George Whitehead, ed., *A collection of many select and Christian epistles, letters and testimonies, written on sundry occasions, by that ancient, eminent, faithful Friend and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox*, (Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831): Vol. 1, 328. 'Fox Epistles'.

³⁸ The copy omits the bracketed phrase.

³⁹ As had happened with the 'Canons'.

⁴⁰ The existence of varying numbers of blank pages between the section headings in the surviving Mss Books of Extracts seems to confirm the 'update and expand' motivation; note blank pages were also subsequently provided in the first 1783 printed edition of the Extracts, but not (perhaps significantly) in the second edition of 1802.

Sufferings did 'maturely Consider and Digest and Abridge and Connect' and produced a compilation which was subsequently copied and dispatched to Quarterly Meetings for 50 shillings.⁴¹ This first centralised selection provided almost five hundred entries under fifty two headings.⁴² Future extensibility and flexibility would appear to be the reason for producing manuscript volumes, while the unchanging regulations on Removals and Settlements were printed in a stand-alone pamphlet.⁴³ This would seem to confirm that the discipline was not perceived as static, albeit with updates coordinated centrally to minimise divergence.

The correlation between the 1738 Extracts and Fox's Epistle CCLXIII indicates good degree of continuity: Fox's 'Ancient Principles' include: Plainness; Vanity; Marriage; Oaths; Defamation; Arbitration; Children; Servants; Poor Relief; Tithes; and Love and Unity; all of which are included as headings in the Alphabetised sections of Advices. Such continuity resulted not only from a wide circulation of the 'Ancient Principles', but its acknowledged importance and acceptance by representatives from the Quarterly meetings, reinforcing a core set of common values. While local autonomy was not questioned as to variation, or detail, this provided the foundation for a largely homogenous Quaker framework for discipline across meetings.

4.3 Evolution of Advices

In terms of evolution of the Discipline, it has been widely accepted that the publication dates of subsequent editions of the Book of Extracts are points of change in an otherwise static

⁴¹ YM minutes (1736) VIII; 187; 396 (1738); quoted in Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 514.

⁴² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 377-8; the volumes were entitled *Christian and brotherly advices given forth from time to time by the Yearly Meetings in London, alphabetically digested under proper heads* (1738).

⁴³ The precise date of this publication is yet to be established; probably 1737; they would not change until 1761; it may be that this was so *precisely because* they had been widely circulated in print. Importantly, this pamphlet defines 'membership' of the society for the first time, and is entitled 'Rules' to distinguish the contents from the Advices and Queries in the manuscript volumes of extracts; on membership see Vann, *Social development*, 152-4.

regime. In fact, the precise opposite may be more accurate. As has been shown, what became the Discipline originated in extracts from the Yearly Meeting's annual epistles, which augmented a pre-existing set of norms within each local meeting. What made up the core of the Disciplines thus nurtured seems to have originated in the shared experiences of their worshipers, shaped by external influences arising from interactions with the wider Quaker community, via travelling ministers, publications circulated by early Friends, and ultimately the growing regional and national organisation of the Society itself.⁴⁴ Local meetings acted to establish the precise content of their discipline,⁴⁵ but while doing so were from the start guided by the 'weighty' membership of the Society hierarchy. Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting had requested Yearly Meeting to create a central selection of extracts in 1737, suggesting that the need for a digest of practice and discipline was recognised outside London: intentionally or not, the 1738 Extracts provided the first standardised Discipline in the Society's history. That this was so was partially the result of the initially supplementary nature of Advices for centralised administration relative to the Queries; the nature (and evolution) of which would seem to indicate an increased desire of London to obtain evidence that Quarterly Meetings were acting in accordance with the Society's values. In a useful, if brief, survey of Queries and Advices, Richard Stagg notes chronologically how the key questions to Quarterly Meetings evolved from 1682.⁴⁶ From 1694, three questions had been asked after Prisoners (their number, discharged, and died) and three more about which Public Friends had died, which Meeting Houses built, and the prospering of 'Truth' and 'Unity' (in 1700 this was extended to include raising godly Children), while the seventh, (added 1703) required information on the implementation of Yearly Meeting Advices.⁴⁷ Queries were subsequently created for: Poor relief (1720); Tithes (1721); Taxes (1723); Education (1735); Prosecutions

⁴⁴ See below for discussion and examples of the role of Yearly Meeting in Discipline, not least as final arbitrator.

⁴⁵ See Figure 4.3.

⁴⁶ Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 209-234.

⁴⁷ A Query regarding the 'signal judgement that had fallen upon persecutors was also used between 1696 and 1707 (Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 511).

(1737); and a general revision in 1742 indicates both increased centralisation, and perhaps control over, Quarterly Meetings. Recorded responses were intended to be brief and direct, and the minute book indicates that Friends traditionally followed this instruction: 'nothing of Differences' (Norfolk); 'meetings lively; no separation' (Warwickshire); 'very well' (Essex); and Hampshire's impressively impassive 'Quiet generally'.⁴⁸ The increased importance of Advices is indicated by the new general Query of 1753, demanding to know 'How are the Several Advices of this Yearly Meeting made known and put in Practice?'.⁴⁹ By 1755, the continued desire of Yearly Meeting to increase their influence through tighter reporting is indicated by the creation of eight Quarterly Meeting Queries, reflecting information asked of Monthly Meetings, and to be answered quarterly.⁵⁰ As discussed in Chapter 9 these changes were manifest in intent, and Hall suggests it was not until 1791 that there is evidence of London Yearly Meeting beginning to shift back 'from the disciplinary to the devotional'.⁵¹

4.4 Advices and Commerce

This gradually evolving a code of conduct over the second half of the seventeenth century and the half of the eighteenth century contained much advice that had an impact on commercial behaviour. As discussed above, the annual advices issued by the London Yearly Meeting as 'Epistles' and shared in order to establish and preserve a common set of values, were sent to Quarterly Meetings with a view to 'cascading' down through the organisation to the lower Monthly and local Preparatory Meetings; these early advices were couched in terms which generally left the local organisations much flexibility, until (augmented by sets of Rules)⁵² first codified as a manuscript Book of Discipline in 1737 and sold to each Quarterly

⁴⁸ YM Minute Book, 1688 (LSF): 195-8.

⁴⁹ Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 230.

⁵⁰ Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 213-217; and see Chapter 9 below.

⁵¹ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 511.

⁵² Specifically for 'Removals and Settlements' (moving membership from one meeting to another) and for 'Marriage' (Extracts, 62-72, 160-168; the effects of these on commerce are discussed below.

Meeting.⁵³ It would appear from contemporary accounts that the circulation of this volume was tightly controlled:⁵⁴ evidence that access to the Discipline was intended for the few can be found in a 1747 letter of William Cookworthy to an Elder Friend requesting confirmation as to the length of time allowed for appeals, since he had no direct access to the Discipline - this despite his being an established Minister.⁵⁵ Limiting copies of the first centralized discipline to one per Quarterly Meeting the Society ensured that both the advices and their interpretation would remain strictly the province of those weighty Friends selected for regional administration.⁵⁶ A family anecdote recorded by William Cookworthy's grandson-biographer reveals that, some decades after the former's request for assistance with information of Appeals, his father surreptitiously contrived access to a book of Advices, and spent many hours transcribing items of importance, concluding:

Copies having been multiplied from my father's copy, Dr. Fothergill and other rulers of the day deemed it most prudent to issue an authentic print of such Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, as were fittest for general use. Such was the origin of The Book of Extracts.⁵⁷

The Advices which shaped the Discipline can be considered, therefore, to be largely for the guidance of those who administered it – not least the Elders of the Society, upon whom rested responsibility for its reputation.⁵⁸ Selected Heads are considered alphabetically below, with

⁵³ See this chapter, above.

⁵⁴ Fry's unauthorised volume of 1763 provided an updated set of Advices (see bibliography for full title); selling for just 18^d - far less than the earlier Extracts, while a second edition was produced in 1766 by Luke Hinde; a copy for sale in 2019 bears the signature 'John Elliott, Philadelphia, 1765', which suggests copies travelled, and quickly! See also Andrew Fincham, 'Friendly Advice: the evolution of trans-Atlantic Discipline in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *Quakerism in the Atlantic World in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Robynne Healey ed., (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2021).

⁵⁵ Harrison, 'Memoir', 37; letter dated '24th 9bris 1747': 'I desire thee to call on Coz. Tregelles, and turn to the Article of "Appeals"; the practice of restricting access appears to have persisted in Pennsylvania for a further century, evidenced by the preface to an unauthorised Discipline printed in 1832.

⁵⁶ Harrison, 'Memoir', 38.

⁵⁷ Harrison, 'Memoir', 38-40; the epithet 'ruler' evidences a strongly perceived hierarchy, albeit retrospectively.

⁵⁸ That Advices had been closely guarded may be inferred from the introduction to the printed Book of Extracts of 1783, which should be considered as the first to have been available to the majority of Friends, which expressed the practical hope that 'advices, being more generally known, may be more widely observed and put into practice (*Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London from its first institution*, (James Phillips, 1783).

illustrations of the advices contained therein which had an influence on the practice of Quaker commerce.⁵⁹

4.4.1 *Affirmation (and Oaths)*

While an accident of the alphabet, it is indicative and perhaps significant that the first Head contains an Advice of thanks 'to God and those in Authority' for the right to affirm.⁶⁰ The Head on Oaths contains a single advice giving a biblical rationale for not swearing.⁶¹ As noted, the option to affirm removed many legal barriers associated with Quaker commerce for those Quakers for whom swearing was not expedient.

4.4.2 *Appeals*

This Head is devoted to explaining the procedure for appealing against Discipline or arbitration decisions made through the hierarchy of Quaker meetings from Monthly through to Yearly (which became the final recourse in 1745). Established largely from 1727-1745, the Advices describe the selection of adjudicators, time limits for applications, and the process, and established that no Quaker sanction could be exercised upon members without recourse to review.⁶²

4.4.3 *Arbitration*

Legal redress, including suing for debts, was effectively denied to Friends as a consequence of their objections to taking on oaths.⁶³ While this was largely remedied by the Affirmation Act, this encouraged inter-Quaker trading to reduce risk.⁶⁴ The Society replicated the legal resolution functions through its arbitration process, delivered by trusted individuals, and

⁵⁹ Where the potential benefit arises from a single source – as in the case of thrift, the Heads are grouped.

⁶⁰ Extracts, 1.

⁶¹ Extracts, 120 (#1 1693).

⁶² Extracts, 2-4; see discussion below regarding instances of such appeals from Leek Monthly Meeting.

⁶³ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 182.

⁶⁴ Affirmation Act, 1696 (7 & 8 Gul. III. p.9. n.3).

without associated costs - two significant commercial advantages.⁶⁵ Use of such extra-judicial compromise (arising from Canon Law) was never a Quaker monopoly, indeed had been widespread in England since the medieval period, popular for property disputes between landowners and wrangles between Guilds, even issues between master and apprentice; as an alternative to proceedings at common law it offered a voluntary, simple and unencumbered procedure.⁶⁶ Muldrew's study finds, however, that by the late seventeenth century the process was becoming overwhelmed as disputes increased with economic growth, and that:

[m]ost conflict and litigation concerned economic matters because the economy was sustained by credit relations in which trust was very fragile, but which needed to be maintained if business was to continue⁶⁷

noting 80%-90% of litigation involved debts and contracts.⁶⁸ A key reason for this increasing litigation was the obvious major flaw inherent in the Arbitration process:

notably the problem of enforcing an award with which either party felt dissatisfied. When informal social pressures were ineffective, the only sanctions available to compel observance of awards were found in the courts, which of course the whole process was designed avoid.⁶⁹

In this respect, Quaker Arbitration was substantially different, if not unique, for the threat of the sanction of Discipline 'acted as a quasi-regulatory mechanism to govern member behaviour to ensure compliance'.⁷⁰ For most others (as indeed for Quakers who engaged with the world) 'even if the law was not resorted to, its rules, and the potential impact of its

⁶⁵ See Russell Mortimer, ed., *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol 1667-1687*, (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1971): xxiii; which notes 'Conciliation was offered in disputes, which seem mainly to have concerned business deals As a corollary to this, Friends roundly condemned frivolous legal actions'; a list of arbitration minutes follows.

⁶⁶ Edward Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law in England in the Late Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 33 (1983): 53, 56.

⁶⁷ Craig Muldrew, 'The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Dec., 1996): 921.

⁶⁸ Muldrew, 'Culture of Reconciliation', 921.

⁶⁹ Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law', 56-57.

⁷⁰ Andrew Fincham and Nicholas Burton, 'Religion and social network analysis: the discipline of early modern quakers', *Journal of Management History*, (2020): [ahead-of-print]. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMH-02-2020-0011>; accessed 11DEC20.

authority were considered necessary' in the resolution of disputes.⁷¹ As discussed above, early advices uniformly stressed avoidance of the legal route: an advice of 1684 obliged Friends to subject differences over matters of property to arbitration, abiding by the decision of persons nominated by their Monthly Meeting (1692).⁷² There was a prohibition on going to law with a fellow member (1696),⁷³ minimising the costs of lawyers internally, as no proceedings were to occur before Arbitration had been tried.⁷⁴ William Stout's *Autobiography* records several such legal wrangles: over corporations (in Lancaster); family affairs (Margaret Johnson); Chancery suits (the Widow Coward); expenses as an executor (for Thomas Metcalfe); and notes the passing of Robert Gibson with admiration as a lawyer who was a 'discourager of vexatious suits'.⁷⁵ Similarly, Thomas Ellwood recorded with some enthusiasm his legal wrangle against informers:

I got an Indictment drawn up against the Informers, Aris and Lacy, for wilful Perjury, and caused it to be delivered to the Grand Jury; who found the Bill: ...there being two Counsells present from Windsor ... (which I had before retained upon the Tryal of the Appeal) I now retained them both, and sent them into Court again, to Prosecute the Informers upon this Indictment, Which they did so smartly, that the Informers (being present, as not suspecting any such suddain Danger) were of necessity called to the Bar, and Arraigned.⁷⁶

Wider awareness of these informers was presumably the hope underlying the action.

Arbitration has also been noted as a way of saving legal costs,⁷⁷ however, where loss of money was concerned, in the specific form of renegeing on debt, or absconding, Friends were permitted recovery through the law;⁷⁸ as were they in cases where Friends considered the key

⁷¹ Muldrew, 'Culture of Reconciliation', 939.

⁷² Extracts, 5.

⁷³ Extracts, 5.

⁷⁴ As noted in Chapter 3, Quakers with legal knowledge were used to establish rights against non-Friends; see T. Elwood extract below.

⁷⁵ Stout, *Autobiography*, 30-32; ironically, his favoured lawyer Gibson died intestate.

⁷⁶ Thomas Ellwood, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood...*, (J. Sowle, 1714): 294-6.

⁷⁷ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 83.

⁷⁸ Extracts, 8 (#7 1720).

point impossible to establish without legal advice.⁷⁹ Yet as late as 1782, a Quaker engaging in such a legal proceeding could be stopped by the Monthly Meeting.⁸⁰

4.4.4 *Civil Government*

This Head begins with the acknowledgement of the power of the state in the famous Advice which followed the Act of Toleration, by which Quakers should give 'no offence or occasions to those in outward government, nor way to any controversies' but instead 'walk wisely and circumspectly'.⁸¹ Further Advices acknowledge the satisfaction of Friends 'in general' with the civil government,⁸² and their 'favoured' status under the law, and consequent obligations of gratitude and duty to government.⁸³ Such was reflected commercially in an Advice to avoid smuggled goods, and pay dues and taxes.⁸⁴ Such a positioning would help explain the reputation of Quaker traders for integrity, and perhaps also for unadulterated goods, while distancing the Society of Friends from any who erred.

4.4.5 *Covetousness, Plainness, and other 'thrift-based' Heads*

All were warned to 'take heed and beware of covetousness, over-reaching, oppressing, and defrauding of any, from whence strife, contention, and law-suits do often arise'.⁸⁵ Quakers were renowned for favouring restraint over luxury – a trait which certainly saved money, and allowed trading capital to increase.⁸⁶ Similar benefits associated from the preservation of financial liquidity and commercial capital arose from restrictions on Gaming, while under 'Moderation and Temperance' members are reminded that early Friends avoided spiritous liquors, and all excess, since 'to satisfy these wants, divers have been excited to enter into a

⁷⁹ Extracts, 8-9 (#8 1720).

⁸⁰ Extracts, 8 (#6 1782).

⁸¹ Extracts, 15 (#1 1689).

⁸² Extracts, 16 (#3 1692).

⁸³ Extracts, 17 (#4 1730).

⁸⁴ Extracts, 17 (#5 1757).

⁸⁵ Extracts, 28 (#2 1697).

⁸⁶ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 16.

larger extension of trade and commerce, than they had stock and ability to conduct', all the more lamentable since this risked the property of those who had 'placed more confidence in them on account of the self-denying profession they made to the world'.⁸⁷ That some need for clarity was felt regarding what was appropriate – perhaps reflecting the flexibility of interpretation in earlier years – is indicated by much later Advices which recognised the necessity of visiting public houses to trade, remarking only that members 'be cautious of remaining in them after the purpose of business...is accomplished'.⁸⁸ With respect to death, plainness required an absence of 'Gravestones', while 'Mourning Habits' proscribed the custom of wearing mourning dress and the giving of memorial gifts; again by then end of the century Friends had tightened the Advice to prohibit 'all extravagant expenses in the interment of the dead' - an indication of the change in funeral traditions which had significantly increased eighteenth-century funeral costs.⁸⁹ The emphasis on simplicity also may have had a secondary effect: Davies argues that the marked decline in sufferings following toleration 'removed a distinctive characteristic from the movement which had given the members a cohesion and sense of their own uniqueness' and had emphasised plainness as the common bond.⁹⁰ Certainly, plainness in all its forms provided the justification for Quakers to avoid expenses that other groups within the community considered necessary for propriety, or social intercourse.

4.4.6 Defamation and Detraction

As established above,⁹¹ access to commercial facilities such as commodities or finance were entirely dependent upon individual reputations. Of such importance was this to Friends, that it

⁸⁷ Extracts, 106 (#6 1767); such liquors, it may be noted, also attracted excise duty.

⁸⁸ Extracts, 107 (#7 1797); such nuanced advice sheds much light on Walvin's Quaker 'paradox'.

⁸⁹ Extracts, 116 (#2 1797); without cost of priest, sexton, or sometimes even a plot, Friends minimised the financial burden of interment on the living.

⁹⁰ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 46.

⁹¹ See Chapter 6 'Finance'.

required a dedicated heading, including a detailed Advice on proceeding against defaulters.⁹² Such reputation risk management helped traders to avoid a 'crash' arising from market-place speculation, particularly given the inter-related nature of Quaker business relationships.

4.4.7 *Liberality to the Poor*

As shown, the Society of Friends made significant use of common funds for the purpose of facilitating members into both apprenticeships, and in setting up trade.⁹³ Those targeted with producing the largesse were only 'those among friends as are endowed with plenty of outward substance',⁹⁴ which enabled the redistribution of wealth in pursuit of financial independence for all members, across the kingdom if needed.⁹⁵ While in theory this also gave Friends a reason to withdraw from paying local poor rates, such payments were not prohibited by the Advices.⁹⁶ Lindsay Varner goes as far as to suggest that financial, communal and spiritual activity were of equal importance, claiming early Durham Friends had 'worries that newly converted members would stray from the inner light if they were not receiving the same financial and communal benefits they enjoyed outside of the sect.'⁹⁷

4.4.8 *Marriage*

The marriage customs (and later rules) of the Society required members to marry only those who shared the profession of Friends, and whose fitness in such profession was established by suitable certificates of clearness,⁹⁸ and Peter Collins' study of Bolton Quakers identifies such endogamy as '[p]robably the most important aspect' of Quaker Discipline.⁹⁹ Much has been said

⁹² Extracts, 38-41 (#5 1718).

⁹³ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

⁹⁴ Extracts, 56 (#1 1696).

⁹⁵ Extracts, 56 (#3 1729).

⁹⁶ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 82-84; Davies believes that although Quakers might pay the local parish poor rate, they were 'prohibited from accepting assistance' therefrom; this is not evident from the Extracts, and may arise from a mis-reading of Advice #2 (1720) 'that all poor friends be taken care of, and none of them be sent to the parish to be relieved'; the weight of this seems clearly in its obligation for the wealthy, rather than a prohibition on the poor (Extracts, 136).

⁹⁷ Lindsay A. Varner, 'A Community of Quakers in seventeenth-century County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne', PhD thesis, Durham University, 2015; 230-231; see also discussion on the Quaker network in Chapter 8.

⁹⁸ Saxon Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, xii-xiii.

⁹⁹ Peter Collins, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton, Lancashire 1650-1995: The History of a Religious Community*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2010): 28-29.

on the subject of Quaker inter-marriage as a source of advantage in commerce, through both trading connections and associated opportunities for commercial efficiencies of scale, consolidation, regional expansion, or access to resources – capital, people, and raw materials; decades of such marriages undoubtedly both expanded the network and increased its intensity and density.¹⁰⁰ Importantly, Advices specifically recommended that marriage was not based upon obtaining 'large portions or settlements', but instead favour the 'diligent in business' while avoiding 'all mixed marriages, and unequal yoking of children therein.'¹⁰¹ Typically, Advices are against 'excessive, sumptuous, and costly entertainments at marriage dinners', rather promoting provision for the poor.¹⁰² Following the Marriage Act of 1753,¹⁰³ the Society of Friends added a detailed set of rules, including instructions to ensure the Quaker certificate included the government's 5s. Stamp tax.¹⁰⁴ Often overlooked, the dispute over Quaker marriage was equally about money as ritual: since 1695 marriage dues had been granted to the Crown for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the French War.¹⁰⁵ Marriage was administratively handled under the Men's Query XIII, reported each Autumn Quarterly meeting, and tended to echo the standard requirements of marriage in the established church.¹⁰⁶ Regarding the promotion of commerce amongst Quakers, specific Advices concerned the primacy of agreement on the disposition of 'outward estates',¹⁰⁷ and the repeated injunction against marriage outside the Society.¹⁰⁸ Combined with a ban on kinship marriage, and additional administrative difficulties for marriage across Monthly Meetings,¹⁰⁹ these strictures ensured that most matches were made within the immediate circle of

¹⁰⁰ See Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, *passim*; also discussion below in Chapter 8.

¹⁰¹ Extracts, 63 (#3 1722); 'mixed' here might refer to wealth i.e. social class, but generally indicates 'out of sect'.

¹⁰² Extracts, 64 (#7 1718).

¹⁰³ *An Act for the Better Preventing of Clandestine Marriage*, (1753) 'Lord Hardwicke's Act'; 26 Geo. II. c. 33.

¹⁰⁴ Extracts, 66 (#8.ix 1754).

¹⁰⁵ To prevent the evasion of this tax, any clergyman solemnizing a marriage without banns or licence was liable to forfeit one hundred pounds; discussed in H. S. Q. Henriques, 'Jewish Marriages and the English Law', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Apr., 1908): 391-449.

¹⁰⁶ Names of 'intendeds' were promulgated in advance of the union being recorded in front of witnesses.

¹⁰⁷ Extracts, 62 (#1 1690).

¹⁰⁸ Extracts, 70 (#13 1752).

¹⁰⁹ Notwithstanding, Quakers showed a greater propensity than the (low) norm to travel for marriage, and several marriages were unequal socially, if not precisely mixed; see Chapter 8 discussion of Peter Spufford's work.

association. For those engaged in a trade, this provided an opportunity for expansion of business, consolidation of market share, and extension of trade connections. Families in similar or related trades were a common source of inter-marriage, which consolidated costs and spread technical innovation.¹¹⁰ As noted, the resulting commercial benefits are well-illustrated by evidence reviewed by Raistrick.¹¹¹

4.4.9 National Stock

The general running costs of the Society were met by central funds administered by the Meeting for Sufferings.¹¹² Expenses included: clerk's salary; rent for storage of records; travelling expenses; publication and dissemination; and overseas ministers, all of which were funded through a dedicated collection.¹¹³ Such dealings demonstrate wide spectrum of uses Friends found for collective finance, and how financial mutual dependency had become of central importance from the later seventeenth century onwards.¹¹⁴

4.4.10 Removals and Settlement

These regulations covered transfers of membership from one meeting to another, providing further indication of the increasing focus on finance, and in particular debt, that occurred over the long eighteenth century, such that ultimately, even with a certificate of clearness, no Friend could be accepted into a new meeting until four years of financial self-sufficiency had been demonstrated.¹¹⁵ It is significant that these Advices represent the first published set of rules, indicating how the Society was driven to enhance its management of what became primarily a financial and administrative issue rather than a spiritual one. The importance of

¹¹⁰ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 45.

¹¹¹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 30-32.

¹¹² See Chapter 7.

¹¹³ Extracts, 117 (#1 1672-1676).

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 7.

¹¹⁵ Extracts, 284; the 'Removals and Settlements' Supplement was published around 1737; membership of transferring Friends could be rejected in the event of their 'Being, in the regular course of the exercise of the discipline, recorded, within four years immediately subsequent to the acceptance, as insolvent, either by the accepting or any other monthly meeting of which the party may be at the time a member'.

this print may be demonstrated not only by its length (the longest of all Heads, with Advice #7 running to six pages in fifteen subsections), but also by the revisions of seven further Yearly Meetings between 1737 and 1801. In terms of content, the Advice requires Friends wishing to relocate to first obtain certification from the current meeting; initially, this required confirmation of good conduct, but in time the focus became (first equally, then more) on financial independence.¹¹⁶ Advices on who, and how, Friends should be supported financially multiplied, with specific rules for widows, servants, discharged debtors and those who had previously required relief, all of which were handled differently.¹¹⁷ This emphasised the need for all Friends to regard solvency as a priority, which naturally facilitated commerce. Certification conferred the vastly important (and possibly unique) commercial distinction of international mobility on ordinary Friends, who could thereby prove their creditworthiness in places where they were unknown, and take a place in new communities without undergoing lengthy periods of establishing trust.¹¹⁸ Evidence from the Upperside Meeting shows not only how certificates of 'clearness' were sought ahead of leaving for the colonies, but those who travelled without such documents (often for lack of time) requested them retrospectively in order to satisfy various Quaker communities in West New Jersey, Carolina and Pennsylvania.¹¹⁹

4.4.11 Tithes

The tithe protest arose some decades before Quakerism adopted the cause as a rallying cry,¹²⁰ while the tithe testimony had a (largely underestimated) influence on subsequent Quaker commercial success. This ancient testimony lay at the heart of disputes with the clergy;

¹¹⁶ Extracts, 160-168.

¹¹⁷ Extracts, 168; see footnote to Advice 7.II for 'Servants (single or widows) and apprentices' (Extracts, 163).

¹¹⁸ The wealthy relied on letters of introduction, a facility later provided by banking houses. The effect of the failing to obtain a certificate is discussed in the conclusion and Chapter 9.

¹¹⁹ See Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, 66-67, 104, 118; many more international certification minutes occur.

¹²⁰ See for example Richard Overton, *The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted...*, (s.l., 1646); many similar pamphlets were printed in the following decades.

sufferings on account of tithes had been collected from the earliest times, and Friends guilty of payment were disbarred from ministry.¹²¹ The large number of Advices included (twenty-two before 1796) testify to the continuing importance of non-payment, while one expressly condemns Quakers who *accepted* tithes as lay impropiators!¹²² As a result of increasingly determined anti-clerical positioning through the rejection of tithes and the paid ministry, Quakers found themselves at odds with the Ecclesiastical Courts, and much was made of the collected 'sufferings' of Friends that resulted. However, as has been well established, the case for both clerical persecution and adherence to testimony has been widely overstated.¹²³ Eric Evans found that up to one third of the 1180 legal actions noted by Besse were instigated by lay impropiators, rather than clergy, and that (in the area he researched) many if not most Quakers passively complied, often through paying adjusted rents or by allowing tithes to be abstracted from unsupervised fields.¹²⁴ Evans also suggested that recorded prosecutions over the 40 year period appears very small for a population of perhaps 40,000 Quakers, indicating how few suffered as a result of the testimony.¹²⁵ In terms of detail, it is interesting to note that the figures given in Besse for distraint are the (estimated) total value of goods taken: this value was allowed by law to be several times the amount in dispute to allow for low recovery values at auction. The Advices record the administrative peculiarities of the Society: Friends were not to record as 'sufferings' any tithes satisfied through stoppages, or composited for via rents or neighbourly agreement - 'inasmuch as the debt is not thereby discharged; for if it were, the stoppage would be allowed, and the testimony suffered to fall'.¹²⁶ Nor, importantly, were any records kept of amounts returned should the sale of distrained goods

¹²¹ Extracts, 92 'Ministers and Elders' (#7 1745).

¹²² Extracts, 184-194 (#18 1706).

¹²³ See Eric J. Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System in England, 1690-1850, with special reference to Staffordshire', Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 1970: 190-213.

¹²⁴ Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System', 189-194.

¹²⁵ Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System', 199; Quakers were also (if perhaps not often) impropiators (*ibid*, 187).

¹²⁶ Extracts, 189-190 (#14 1702).

exceed the amount at issue.¹²⁷ A further Advice dictated Friends insist that the value of such excess should be returned 'in specie'.¹²⁸ While this might have worked with bushels of corn, returning a portion of livestock would be complicated; there are stories of money being thrown in at windows when a Friend refused to accept a refund in coin.¹²⁹

The tithe testimony had a very important if unintended consequence for commerce: given the ambivalence of many members towards payment,¹³⁰ those Quakers anxious to avoid confrontation with clergy or Elders were incentivised to take up activities unencumbered by 'God's Bounty' (as agricultural increases were termed).¹³¹ There existed no ecclesiastical argument for tithing minerals and ores of the earth, nor their 'fruits' of ingots or 'pigs'; thus mining, smelting and associated foundry work were additionally attractive to Quakers by obviating the burden of the testimony.¹³² In parallel, centres of manufacturing arose in remoter areas rich in resource but with very few incumbent hireling-ministers,¹³³ and neither charters¹³⁴ nor corporations:¹³⁵ these were therefore places where non-conformists could freely trade without oaths.¹³⁶ While this is far from suggesting that centres such as Birmingham or Sheffield were 'Dissenter towns' (there was always an establishment majority), the absence of barriers from guild or corporate demands for membership (on oath), or protests at Quaker intrusion in their markets, facilitated early entry and establishment in the new industries. Such incumbents as there were may have found the Quakers easier to tolerate,

¹²⁷ Richard T. Vann, 'Friends Sufferings – Collected and Recollected', *Quaker History*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Spring 1972): 25-26.

¹²⁸ Extracts, 191 (#17 1757); i.e. in the same form as it had been taken.

¹²⁹ Vann, 'Friends Sufferings', 26.

¹³⁰ It should be recalled that some of the Wilkinson-Storey schismatics were Friends who desired to pay tithes (Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 481).

¹³¹ Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System', 36; the ruling was from Justice Blackstone.

¹³² There is an absence of commercial Quakers noted in the record of tithe sufferings for Staffordshire; see D. Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement in Staffordshire 1651-1743: from open fellowship to closed sect', PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2001: 156.

¹³³ In 1700 there was only one parish church to support in the whole of Birmingham, and a population of 15,000; (Evans, 'A History of the Tithe System', 36; most future industrial centres (such as Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield) did not have established tithe rolls. These unincorporated towns expanded because they lacked antiquity or charter.

¹³⁴ *An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations*; 17 Charles II c. 2.

¹³⁵ Defined as a 'Citty or Towne Corporate or Burrough that sends Burgesses to the Parlyament'; 17 Charles II c. 2.

¹³⁶ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 52.

while Quakers found it easier to mind their own business. W. Giles Howson, noting the effect of restraints, suggested 'there can be little doubt that this was a factor in promoting the great movement of Friends into urban life and occupations that took place.'¹³⁷ As a result, Quakers were early movers into the regions and the industries where manufactories could flourish, and hence became early adopters in the practices which would enable the industrial revolution.

4.4.12 Trade

The nature of Friends' Advice on trade is central to any claim regarding the Society of Friends' attitude towards commerce. Without exception the Advices are clear in their support for good practice, and against anything that is 'prohibited by law; or doing any other thing that is against the common good, or to the hurt of the fair trader'.¹³⁸ The matter is given particular prominence through being the subject of a dedicated Query, to be answered by the Men's Meeting twice each year: 'Are friends just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements ; and are they annually advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?'¹³⁹ The second of the General Advices, to be read at least annually, further advised Friends 'To attend to the limitations of truth in their trade, and other outward concerns'.¹⁴⁰ Advices covered both business practice and morality: for the former, Friends were to honour the truth through use of few words,¹⁴¹ ensure timely repayment of debts, consult experienced Friends before 'adventuring' at sea,¹⁴² and generally avoid a 'hazardous pursuit after the things of this world'.¹⁴³ Morally, Friends remained obliged to repay in full despite any legal composition;¹⁴⁴ and allow the spirit to assist in balancing the clash of commercial aspirations and testimony, following ancient Friends' practice.¹⁴⁵ Those who

¹³⁷ Marshall, 'William Stout', 293; Appendix B.

¹³⁸ Extracts, 19 'Civil Government' (#11, 1719).

¹³⁹ Extracts, 143. Query V.

¹⁴⁰ Extracts, 148.

¹⁴¹ Extracts, 195 (#1 1675).

¹⁴² Extracts, 195 (#2 1692).

¹⁴³ Extracts, 196 (#3 1724).

¹⁴⁴ Extracts, 196 (#4, 1724, #5 1759).

¹⁴⁵ Extracts, 198 (#8, 1795, #9 1732).

failed to repay were excluded from Meetings for Discipline until they had 'done what is in their power to take off reproach';¹⁴⁶ accounts were to be kept clearly and accurately, and checked by visitors in the event of failure, who reported to the Meeting.¹⁴⁷ This last would seem to suggest a measure of Societal regulation, in that failure to maintain records could have been considered culpable. Finally, it is worth noting that individual advices could debar Friends from certain trades -with Slavery first specifically condemned in 1727.¹⁴⁸

4.4.13 War

This heading principally addressed ship owners, who were ordered not to arm – even for self-protection - as early as 1693,¹⁴⁹ and subsequently reminded neither to loan nor let their ships to those who would do so.¹⁵⁰ The testimony would seem to have arisen from a wish to demonstrate trust in the will of God; however, a more practical, commercial, aspect is indicated by the desire to avoid either Quakers or their ships being pressed into military service: 'giving occasion of more severe hardships and sufferings to be inflicted on such friends as are pressed into ships of war',¹⁵¹ while an advice specifically proscribed Friends from Privateering.¹⁵² Not until the very end of the century Friends were finally asked to 'be careful not to seek or accept profit by any concern in the preparations so extensively making for war',¹⁵³ and it is worth noting in this context that the while those 'engaged in the fabricating or felling instruments of war' were to be 'treated with love' and to desist; it would take until 1790 for an Advice to state that they would be disowned if they did not.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶ Extracts, 199 (#10, 1737).

¹⁴⁷ Extracts, 200 (#11, 1782).

¹⁴⁸ Extracts, 176 (#1 1727); a subsequent Advice of 1761 suggest this was not universally adhered to; remarkably, an Advice as late as 1795 urges Friends to pray for the souls of the slave traders; see also War, below.

¹⁴⁹ Extracts, 202 (#4 1693).

¹⁵⁰ Extracts, 203 (#7 1790).

¹⁵¹ Extracts, 203.

¹⁵² Extracts, 202-203 (#5 1744).

¹⁵³ Extracts, 201-202 (#3 1798); this latter Advice caused concern as late as WWII, when the firm Scott Bader debated the sale of waterproof glue to attach armour plate to ships; Friends drift towards renouncing profits from war is noted in Chapter 9 as a competitive disadvantage.

¹⁵⁴ Extracts, 203 (#7); this Advice would see the younger generation of Birmingham's Galton gunsmiths subsequently leave Warwick Monthly Meeting, while the founder of the business retired, and remained a Friend - a typically practical solution.

4.4.14 Wills

While perhaps not obviously a source of commercial advantage, Advice dating from 1691 urges Friends to make wills, and avoid the loss associated with the 'omission or delay thereof [which] has proved very injurious to many.'¹⁵⁵ Suitable Trustees are urged to be appointed, as are Guardians for minors, and Executors,¹⁵⁶ all of whom are advised to ensure that:

charitable gifts, legacies, bequests, and settlements of estates, by will or deed, intended and given for the use of the poor, the aged, the impotent, or putting poor friends' children to education or apprenticeships, may not be appropriated.¹⁵⁷

4.5 The Process and Practice of Discipline

While the implementation of Discipline began locally, a common process can be found to have been both widely understood and implemented across the Society, following steps set out as early as the meeting at Balby in 1656: 'disorderly walkers' were to be spoken to privately; then before two or three witnesses; next before the church; with the 'final resort to some of the Quaker leaders.'¹⁵⁸ Similar advice is cited from meetings at Horsham, Cerne, and Glastonbury in 1659, and Braithwaite concludes that early Friends saw an urgent need both to 'suggest wise lines of action in respect to these matters, and to exhort Friends in their various relations of life to walk worthily of their calling'.¹⁵⁹ The Advices contain many references to 'dealing' with those who are not in unity,¹⁶⁰ and it is legitimate to enquire linguistically as to whether such a phrase should be considered pejorative: certainly Friends did 'deal' with perceived transgressors rather than 'not deal' with them, which might suggest a belief in

¹⁵⁵ Extracts, 20 (#1).

¹⁵⁶ Extracts, 205-206.

¹⁵⁷ Extracts, 206 (#4 1715).

¹⁵⁸ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 310-318.

¹⁵⁹ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 314.

¹⁶⁰ See Extracts *passim*: examples can be found at Extracts: 39-40 'Defamation' (#3,#6); 47, 51 'Discipline' (#4, #20); 54 'Gaming'; 69 'Marriage' (#11).

cooperation if not complete tolerance.¹⁶¹ An Advice on Arbitrations from 1697 contains detailed references to the procedure for such 'dealing';¹⁶² importantly, this Advice defines a multi-stage process aimed at reconciliation, in which the errant Friend is first exhorted, then admonished, and finally testified against, before finally being disowned. And where 'dealing' was permitted, the transgressor remained part of the society until all steps of the process were exhausted.¹⁶³

The subsequent establishment of the hierarchy of Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings formalised the steps in the process, which was recorded (under the headings of Discipline and Appeals) in the Book of Extracts.¹⁶⁴ The contents of the section of Discipline show the desire of the Society both to protect the reputation of Friends in general and facilitate the continuance in membership of the reformed disorderly, as noted above: an Advice from 1694 states that if any professing faith fell into 'gross errors, false doctrine or mistakes...such persons ought to be diligently instructed and admonished by faithful friends, and not to be exposed by any to public reproach'.¹⁶⁵

A review of the minutes of some Quaker meetings for the period provides consistent evidence of the detailed process as practice, even if much is often left unsaid as to the specifics that gave rise to the offence. As Mortimer noted with respect to the Society at Bristol, 'the period 1667-1689 [was] when Friends Discipline was growing most rapidly';¹⁶⁶ and while some of the 'rules' were the results of suggestions from Friends from outside and others were of local origin, the minutes 'reveal the care and persuasion, the admonition and assistance which went

¹⁶¹ A Monthly Meeting for Discipline recorded at Bristol in 1669 refers to disowning a former Friend for attending Baptist meetings (Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 257-258); this would seem to confirm that this sanction existed long before the formal definition of Membership found in the printed rules on Removals and Settlements of 1737.

¹⁶² Extracts, 7-8 'Arbitrations' (#5, 1697).

¹⁶³ Extracts, 42-52, 'Discipline'.

¹⁶⁴ Extracts, 42, 'Discipline' and 2, 'Appeals'.

¹⁶⁵ Extracts, 50-51, (#20 1694).

¹⁶⁶ Russell Mortimer, ed., *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol 1667-1687*, (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1971): x.

on within the body of a Christian society, and gave it a structure'.¹⁶⁷ The procedure indicated follows that outlined above: Visitors were appointed on report of misdemeanour, and required to give a verbal account at subsequent Meetings; visits would be repeated if there was no clarity, and further opportunities would also be given if the offender was not immediately repentant, although ultimately the authority of the Meeting would be invoked to protect the reputation of Friends, at which point disunity was pronounced; this could be simply recorded in a minute, read out at worship, or circulated to local Meetings.¹⁶⁸ The exclusion was usually from participating in the business of the Society (allowing worship to continue), and remained in effect until a sense of the error brought the offender to desire reunion with the Society of Friends. While those who would not willingly submit to reform were faced with the sanction which became known as 'disownment', the disciplinary function was designed to facilitate the return of those who admitted they had erred: even in the middle of the eighteenth century, Elders were again advised 'in meekness and condescension to seek to recover that which is strayed'.¹⁶⁹ Record keeping was a key part of the earliest Advice on Discipline:

that the church's testimonies and judgments against disorderly and scandalous walkers, as also the repentance and condemnation of the parties restored, be recorded in the respective monthly meetings, for the clearing of truth, friends, and our holy profession.¹⁷⁰

Yet the same Advice states that such records were to be published by Friends only when 'in God's heavenly wisdom they shall see needful' – which in practice kept much of the Discipline behind closed doors, and highly confidential. That Friends believed such matters should remain so is indicated by the response of the Society in 1842 to the Registrar-General's requirement for the surrender of records for preservation. Mortimer cites the London Yearly

¹⁶⁷ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', xi.

¹⁶⁸ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', xii.

¹⁶⁹ Extracts, 48-49 (#15 1751)

¹⁷⁰ Extracts, 42 (#1 1675)

Meeting minute which sets out their preservation policy – which retained 'Papers illustrating the antient discipline of the Society', but (significantly for disciplinary research) required that records of 'Dealings with delinquents' be destroyed;¹⁷¹ it is in this context that the survival of an early, dedicated Book of Discipline (from Leek Meeting, reviewed below) is unusual.¹⁷² Mortimer's further observation, that 'it is remarkable how reticent the record can be on matters of contention', remains true of all Quaker minutes.¹⁷³

The minutes from Bristol demonstrate the repetitious nature of the discipline: the Meeting adjudged 'foure or five exhortacions & admonitions, accordinge to the good order of the gosple', and recorded each opportunity for reformation, either through marginal notation (such as 'Admonished 1')¹⁷⁴ or using a formulaic 'once spoken with & the same persons undertake to go againe' or 'once spoken with & the same persons undertake to speake to him again', or (in the case of success) 'once spoke with & confession made to the truth'.¹⁷⁵ As with all the minute records reviewed, the majority of Bristol cases of discipline concern improper marriages – arising from failure to seek clearness (of either party), exogamous liaisons, or those conducted by a priest.¹⁷⁶ Evidence for a local discipline is indicated by debate in 1670 over the interpretation of Advices on Gravestones,¹⁷⁷ and the particular visiting of tailors to enforce aspects of plainness in the apparel of Friends.¹⁷⁸ Financial misdemeanours or deceitful dealings are almost absent: in 1672 Bristolian Thomas Browne was the subject of letter of complaint from another meeting for using a magistrate in the matter of recovery of a debt of only 2s. 9d., and:

¹⁷¹ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', xiv-xv; Mortimer notes (fn.12) 'there is no doubt this policy was carried out'.

¹⁷² See 4.6 below; it is impossible not to speculate that the volume's survival may be accounted for by the removal of many of the later pages, which would have held information on those known or related to living members.

¹⁷³ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', xix.

¹⁷⁴ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 19; 'foure or five exhortacions & admonitions' were considered 'the good order of the gosple'.

¹⁷⁵ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 35.

¹⁷⁶ Of eleven surviving notes of contrition, six are for marrying before a priest (Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 19 fn.23).

¹⁷⁷ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 36-38, 40.

¹⁷⁸ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 48; this implies, of course, that Friends would acquire their apparel from Friends.

for that wee know him to bee of a buissy minde, of a darke understanding & of little sense in the truth, wee have all one by one judged him unmeet to frequent our mens Meetinge untill such tyme the freinds of this Meetinge are satisfied concerning his worthynes to come amongst us.¹⁷⁹

As was often the case, this ruling leaves the door open for a return, a common conclusion for even the most persistent transgressor. The extent to which a Friend would need to transgress before being disowned during this period can be illustrated by the case of Charles Woodward: the Bristol Meeting being alerted by several letters, it appears that Woodward (whose previous disorderly conversation had concerned them) left the city before 1670 and then engaged in travelling ministry, failing to obtain a certificate, and finally solicited from Friends a financial collection.¹⁸⁰ In 1671 the Men's Meeting minuted a desire that he:

waite upon ye Lord, that he may feele gods judgments for his horrible transgressions; & then as through the judgments he comes to find mercy; friends do beleieve they will have a sence therof, & unity with him.¹⁸¹

He was also required to cease to burden Friends by his preaching, in a minute signed by thirty Friends; but all to no avail; finally in March 1673 a paper of disownment was drawn up and Friends approached his employer to say that he was considered 'a deceitfull person & warne him to beware of him'.¹⁸² As his employer does not seem to have been a Friend, such a public Disownment might thus be considered more than a formality. Further local sanctions existed for those out of unity, not least the prevention of burial for those testified against 'unles they have first condemned such their practices to the satisfaction of friends of this meetinge.'¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 68.

¹⁸⁰ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 35, 56.

¹⁸¹ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 57.

¹⁸² Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 72.

¹⁸³ Mortimer, 'Bristol Minute Book', 72; that interment was of significance to Friends is indicated by the case of an individual 'dealt with' as a transgressing member simply because their child had been accepted for burial (ibid., xxii).

That this stance was not unique to Bristol is indicated by the Leeds Friends' Minute Book,¹⁸⁴ which recorded in 1698:

[it is the] sence & judgement of the Meeting and agreed unto by Friends, that any persons having had a publick testimony given out against them for their disorderly actions, and having not come to true repentance for the same...ought not to be laid in Friends buriall place.¹⁸⁵

The Leeds Minutes reflect the typical profile with respect to matters of Discipline, with a substantial majority of all cases arising from marriage before a priest, while many other cases are concerned with dalliances (of both sexes) with those outside the Society, including remonstrations with parents for failing to act to prevent such associations.¹⁸⁶ Of the remainder, most involve misdemeanours contrary to Advices, most often those against strong liquour and bad conversation.¹⁸⁷ Amongst the handful that differ by virtue of their rarity are two Friends censured for going to law, and a daughter who would not be dissuaded from lace-making.¹⁸⁸ A single case (over the twenty year period of the minutes) stand out for having a direct relationship with commerce: in 1702 the meeting 'finds it necessary' that one Jno. Parker 'give over his trade & pay his debts as far as his affairs will reach'.¹⁸⁹

The nuances of process demonstrated by Bristol records are also echoed in the Leeds volume: a particularly nice example involves the preparation of a testimony against one Martha Sykes, an obdurate recidivist who continued to associate with a beau outside the Society, upon which the Meeting found it:

¹⁸⁴ J. Mortimer and R. Mortimer, eds., *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1980).

¹⁸⁵ Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Minute Book*, 36.

¹⁸⁶ See, for example, the case of the Roe family in 1706-7 (Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 114, 117).

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, the aptly named Jonathan Merye, censured for alcoholic excess in 1698 (Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 31).

¹⁸⁸ Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 47,55.

¹⁸⁹ Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 80-81; the Meeting also 'send for his unkle' to facilitate compliance.

requisite that something be drawn up signifying our orderly dealing with her... so that if she go on in the same may stand as a Testimony against her; but rather desiring her to come to repentance, &c.¹⁹⁰

Exercise of restrained 'dealing' is well illustrated by the 1707 case of Mary Harrison, a school-dame whose exit trajectory was marked by a descent from her profession of friendship via an unruly tongue, fury and passion, leading to reproofing and exhorting, until complaints (made to several) led to a 'bringing under when spoken'; this was followed by a want of true watchfulness (instead of amendment and love for the reprovers), and topped off by a trip west from which she returned married (before a priest) to a man not of the Society – the same man of whom she had previously assured friends all connection had been ended.¹⁹¹ The testimony against her sincerely desires she be brought to true repentance, but stops short of offering her a way back into membership: it seems fair to conclude that Friends' tolerance (and certainly patience) could be exhausted.

Bolton Meeting also minutes conform to the pattern: Peter Collins notes the cascading of 'a welter of advice' from LYM to local meetings, while also observing some local Advices, not least over the acceptability of remembrance gifts at burials.¹⁹² In terms of unique Advices, the minute of 1695 against granting property to children who join themselves in marriage with unbelievers stands out as particularly strict, while that of 1703 against consuming tobacco 'too publicly' appears rather more accommodating.¹⁹³ Interestingly, Collins notes that 1708 the minute book of Marsden Monthly Meeting contains a summary of 'advices found in printed Yearly Meeting epistles between the years 1679 and 1702', which supports the notion of a movement towards establishing a more codified, if still localised, discipline.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 118.

¹⁹¹ Mortimer and Mortimer, *Leeds Friends' Minute Book*, 122.

¹⁹² Collins, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton*, 45; the minute of 1690 asks about exchanging of 'Ribbons, Gloves, Scarves, Rings and money, as the custom of the world hath been - The result of this meeting is that friends stand clear from all such things, & neither to give or receive as aforesaid.'

¹⁹³ Collins, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton*, 46, 47.

¹⁹⁴ Collins, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton*, 49; Marsden Monthly Meeting, Men's Minutes 1678-1918.

The minutes of Gainsborough Monthly Meeting may be cited to provide a further correlation of the Disciplinary process.¹⁹⁵ Beginning in 1669, the very first page explains that it holds records 'as well of publique as of particular concernment in relation to the pretious truth & those that make profession thereof', and goes on to give details:

Here is alsoe Recorded the Names of such who have been convinced of the precious Truth who afterwards fell from the same, & became Scandalous in their Conversations to the dishonour of Truth with the Visiting of them again by friends (in order to their Recovery by way of admonition & Exhortation & their Answers to Friends & what since that tyme is become of them.¹⁹⁶

There follows a note of the agenda, of which item 4 enquires as to any who have gone out into 'open profaneness', item 5 is concerned with those 'spoken to', while item 10 advises 'that the lost be sought out; and that such as have dishonoured God be reproved & warned to repent: and such as justify any wickedness; & are unruly be warned'.¹⁹⁷ The majority of the agenda items concern the usual aspects of running the Society, including the poor, widows, orphans, non-attenders, births, marriages, deaths, and finances, and it is with these matters that the minutes deal to a very great extent. However, some examples of the unruly are charted, if not in the same detail as suggested by the opening statement. In 1670 the meeting pursues John Cam for fighting in an ale house, ultimately recorded thus: 'a Man formerly convinced of Truth...continues in his wickedness...any Friend have freedom to speak to him again that if possible he might return to Truth againe'- which nicely illustrates the process.¹⁹⁸ Being a Monthly Meeting, the minutes reflect the more nuanced cases, of which that of 1672 of one Scarborough and his wife is illustrative: upon being visited, they claimed 'the thing charged

¹⁹⁵ Harold W. Brace, ed., *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends*, (Hereford: Printed for The Lincoln Record Society, 1948-1951).

¹⁹⁶ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 1.

¹⁹⁷ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 1.

¹⁹⁸ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 8-11.

upon them was not true', and the Meeting concludes the affair with a minute that 'they be admonished to frequent Friends meeting notwithstanding the blot that is upon them there being nothing positively against them', which seems to suggest a somewhat cloudy tolerance.¹⁹⁹ A further illustration occurs in the 1672 case of William Spaine, accused in 1676 of an unspecified offence described as 'very scandalous' which demanded his appearance; instead, he sent a letter of excuse, which was condemned, and the meeting minute declared him 'to be such a one & with whom they cant : att present have present Unity'; acquainting William with the judgement may have done the trick since next month he appeared and declared himself clear in thought and deed save for 'some light words spoken' aside, which may have given rise to the 'slander', acknowledging himself to blame for his letter and 'sorry for any thing he hath offended Friends in & desires Unity'; all of which gave the meeting full satisfaction, upon which he was restored to favour.²⁰⁰

It seems here that the Meeting took action not simply because of the offence, but as a result of Spaine failing to recognise its authority to demand he appear. One final example from the same year concerns one Nicholas Jackson, summoned on a general charge of 'remissness & careless walking' which he exacerbated by evading 'admonitions and counsell's' to the point where it was 'determined & adjudged, that Friends are clear of the bloud of the said Nicholas...and leave him to the righteous judgement of God',²⁰¹ a conclusion which is suggestive of an early usage by Friends of the term 'clear' as standing for 'clear of responsibility' rather than 'without doubt'. As with all the minutes examined, commercial misdemeanours are mentioned with exceptional rarity, yet sufficiently to indicate that such were matters for the Discipline. One example from 1679 features accusations by a neighbour of 'unequal proceedings' by Edward Chessman, which by the next month were reported as

¹⁹⁹ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 24.

²⁰⁰ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 50-52.

²⁰¹ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 54-55.

ended; subsequently Chessman was found to have felled young trees on land leased only for one year and required to make 'ample satisfaction...with all convenient speed', while simultaneously (and somewhat bathetically) required to share with his partner a moiety of 3s. received in compensation for a trespass; the final sanction – to discontinue meetings at Chessman's house - was left to his local meeting to determine.²⁰² Sometimes the meeting could fail to resolve the situation, an example being the sequence of four monthly meeting minutes in 1710 concerning David Crosby's handling of a legacy: illness first preventing his appearance, visitors were then told he had nothing to which to answer, and was actually 'out of pocket'; a further visit did not provide any more satisfaction in the matter, and the meeting finally desired the complainant be informed that 'Friends have done what they well can in it'.²⁰³ One example of deliberate dishonesty appears in the pages: Mary Champion was caught in 'that hainous crime of theft', and notwithstanding a testimony against herself, the Meeting (for the 'clearing of Truth') publicly testified against any unity with her, while 'desiring she may (if possible) find a place of repentance'.²⁰⁴ The severity of this penalty should be contrasted with the substantial number of those committing other transgressions (including 'marrying out') whose self-testimonies of condemnation were accepted.

The final comparative illustration can be made with early minutes from Buckinghamshire's Upperside Meeting, collated by Beatrice Saxon Snell.²⁰⁵ Snell's findings align to the above process of Discipline, with an established sequence of notification, visitors, report(s), followed by testimony in the cases of delinquency (sometimes shared publicly), while the ultimate sanction remained the possibility of disownment; Snell notes that offences were usually 'drunkenness, adultery, theft, marriage 'to one of the worlds people by a priest' and

²⁰² Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 1, 87; further trouble occurs with a Josiah Chessman in subsequent decades.

²⁰³ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 3, 2-5.

²⁰⁴ Brace, *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting*, Vol. 3, 22.

²⁰⁵ Saxon Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*.

apostacy', disciplined since 'scrupulous care for the good name of the Society was particularly necessary'.²⁰⁶ The Minutes show evidence of an evolving Discipline, with some Wycombe Friends standing against the recording of records of condemnation, wanting to restrict participation in Meetings for Business to delegates, while questioning the role of the Women's Meetings in sanctioning marriage: Snell observes that it is clear from the minutes that 'Marriage outside the society was strictly forbidden', but notes how discipline was challenged by a staunch Friend who considered that to seek permission from a Women's Meeting for marriage equated to seeking the intervention of a priest.²⁰⁷ Raised at both Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in 1683, the Friend eventually married without permission, earning the relatively mild reproof of private testimony, in which Friends hoped he 'may be recovered'.²⁰⁸ Of discipline for debt, almost no instances are noted: in 1680 a Friend was privately urged to repay outstanding debt, while the Meeting records public support for renewed efforts to repay in kind (with wheat); subsequent failure to complete the discharge of the debt causes the Meeting to acknowledge the failure, mediate with his creditor one last time, and offer the debtor a final chance.²⁰⁹ A much shorter route was taken in 1686 with one found to have taken from another's woodpile at night: the ensuing 'scandalous clamour' required the Meeting to send visitors to reprove – further recording they were not in unity, while hoping that the miscreant would clear 'Truth & Friends publicly'.²¹⁰

Thus Quaker minutes clearly evidence the threefold purpose of Discipline as set out early in the evolution of the Society of Friends: the serving of 'judgements against disorderly and scandalous walkers; as also the repentance and condemnation of the parties restored', and

²⁰⁶ Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, xii.

²⁰⁷ Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, xviii; a testimony recorded in the minutes begins 'It plainly enough appears... yt they whom the Lord hath gathered out of ye world's ways & worships, to be a peculiar people to himself... have always been forbidden to join themselves in Marriage with others yt were not in the same profession of Religion & way of Worship with themselves' (ibid, 122).

²⁰⁸ Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, 122.

²⁰⁹ Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, 88-89.

²¹⁰ Snell, *Upperside Monthly Meeting*, 165.

finally the keeping of a record 'for the clearing of truth, Friends, and our Holy Profession'.²¹¹

The jurisprudential concept of punishment was not identified as a component; such was reserved for the mercies of God. Importantly, an Advice from the Yearly Meeting of 1703 emphasises the local role (under the Spirit), telling Friends:

not to expect or depend upon this meeting for particular direction from time to time, how they shall proceed in the management of the concerns of those meetings, relating to truth's testimony and service; but wait for, and depend upon, the power and wisdom of God.²¹²

The concept of 'Disownment' has become a trope for Puritan rigour, which can easily disguise the primary reformatory objective of Discipline.²¹³ A further reason for this is a semantic shift noted above: offenders were usually to be 'dealt with', a phrase which has acquired an entirely negative connotation implying immediate sanction.²¹⁴ However, for early Friends such 'dealing' was a positive act which signified the start of the reformatory process, with sanctions only should that fail. That this is the appropriate reading is illustrated by the treatment of armourers: those 'concerned in fabricating or selling instruments of war, let them be treated with in love; and if by this unreclaimed, let them be further dealt with as those whom we cannot own';²¹⁵ similarly Slavers: 'If any member of the Society be concerned in the Slave-trade, such person to be dealt with, and not desisting therefrom, to be disowned'.²¹⁶ Similar (if more discrete) dealing applied to any who:

appearing as a minister, shall give cause of uneasiness or dissatisfaction to friends...the person so offending is to be dealt with privately in a gospel spirit and manner. If this shall not take effect, then let complaint be made of such person to the

²¹¹ Extracts, 42 (#1 1675).

²¹² Extracts, 43-44 (#4 1703).

²¹³ This may be attributed to the single work by Marietta on Philadelphia Discipline in the mid-eighteenth century; the English Discipline(s) remain under-researched.

²¹⁴ While the original portentous meaning of 'to be clear' ('[from the responsibility] of blood') has moved in the positive direction *vide* Acts 20:26.

²¹⁵ Extracts, 203 (#7 1790).

²¹⁶ Extracts, 231.

monthly meeting which he or she may belong to; that proceeding thereon be had accordingly, and the affair settled with all possible expedition.²¹⁷

Tithe transgressors posed a particularly thorny problem, with Meetings urged to 'use their best and utmost endeavours, in the spirit and order of the gospel, and in the exercise of great tenderness and brotherly kindness, to inform, admonish, and convince all such',²¹⁸ after which persistent offenders were deemed 'unworthy to be admitted to the meetings for business amongst friends, or to be received to join in the collections.'²¹⁹ For almost a century, such sanctions were interpreted as falling short of disownment, until an admonition redressed the 'misconstruction' denying tithers any 'such exemption from the invariable issue of our dealings with irreclaimable delinquents.'²²⁰

Thus, in general, an offender was given an opportunity to address their fault through a multi-stage process, which (while differing according to time and place) variously involved a journey through transgression, notification, remonstrance (through visiting), and ended either with the offender's acknowledgement, attempt at reform, and suitably confessed contrition (more or less public), or finally in some form of Societal condemnation - a testimony against the individual, or a formal 'disownment'.²²¹ The role of the Visitors from Monthly Meeting was therefore of great significance, since it was their report by which the transgressor was judged. The scope of such visits was wide, from fornicators to drunks and bankrupts, and more.²²²

As has been noted, there is limited analysis of the nature and extent of Discipline in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with most studies using the various minutes for illustrative purposes, rather than collating data for synthesis.²²³ David Scott's work on York

²¹⁷ Extracts, 97 (#17 1723).

²¹⁸ Extracts, 192 (#18 1706).

²¹⁹ Extracts, 192 (#18 1706); Sahle interprets this as an exclusion from receiving poor relief ('Faith of Merchants', 112).

²²⁰ Extracts, 194 (#22 1796).

²²¹ It is worth noting that Women's Meetings were not allowed this ultimate sanction (Extracts, 211, 1792-1801).

²²² Rather more esoteric faults were found: in 1718 Nathaniel Ruby on 'becoming bald cut off his hair & got a wig without consent of Friends 4 men Frds are named to visit him, he consented to put off his wig as soon as his hair was grown'; see J. Ernest Grubb, 'Presidential address', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XI No.3 (1914): 116.

²²³ Marietta excepted, with a survey of Pennsylvania.

Quakers describes a Discipline very much aligned to that described above, and provides a helpful insight in to extent and practice finding just over fifty examples in the Minute Book of the York Men's Preparative and Monthly Meetings covering the period 1669-1714.²²⁴ Confirming the relatively low incidence, these follow the pattern noted above, with most cases concerning marriage, the remainder either disorderly walking, drink or both, while only one outlier concerns tendering an oath - Thomas Smithson, 1677 (wrongly accused, as it later appeared); four of the entries chart the descent of one John Kay, the first for 'illegally buying his Freedom' (which might also imply avoiding an oath), then walking disorderly, thirdly drink and disorderly walking, and finally, non-payment of debts.²²⁵

Lesser alignment can be found with Ann Prior's conclusions in her reassessment of Raistrick over the long eighteenth century,²²⁶ or those of Esther Sahle, who attempts to cover Discipline across the Early Modern Atlantic (c.1660-1800).²²⁷ Prior's earlier work states that the Discipline was not only strict and authoritarian, but uniform across Quakerism. Her analysis does not examine either the local variations or general lack of availability of Advices for the first half of the period; and relies for the conclusion upon similarities between failures in business recorded in Leeds minute books, and those elsewhere.²²⁸ Some crucial claims have subsequently been shown to be without foundation, including that the 'Society held to the belief of a collective responsibility among the membership, towards any Friend in debt', that Friends were required to avoid debt, even that there existed 'the threat of disownment for debt' (rather than debt not repaid in a timely manner).²²⁹ Notwithstanding, Prior's work provides evidence that financial failure was proceeded against, identifies the relationship between the Quaker network and credit, and importantly, even suggests

²²⁴ Scott, 'Quakers in York', 84-85, Table 18.

²²⁵ Scott, 'Quakers in York', 84-85; the coincidence of impecuniousness and inebriation is common.

²²⁶ Ann Prior, 'Friends in Business: the interaction of Business and Religion within the Society of Friends 1700-1830', PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1995.

²²⁷ E. Sahle, 'A Faith of Merchants: Quakers and Institutional Change in the Early Modern Atlantic, c.1660-1800', PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 2016.

²²⁸ Prior, 'Friends in Business', 18-19.

²²⁹ Prior, 'Friends in Business', 19, 79, 142.

that Discipline underpinned the effectiveness of that network.²³⁰ However, Prior fails both to understand the network structure, or appreciate the significance of its topology. She concludes that:

Friends in business were subjected to a strict and uniform discipline which was intended to impose a collective adherence within the membership towards the highly moral Quaker code in business conduct. Moreover, collective responsibility within the Society for the solvency and honest dealing of individual Friends resulted in good business practice and sound business ventures.²³¹

While Friends certainly had a collective responsibility for the reputation of the Society, her conclusion errs substantially in extending that to collective solvency, a claim not supported by evidence. Ascribing a pro-active role in business supervision to the Society also obscures the rigorous responsibility of each individual for their affairs, in pursuit of the safety and integrity of the whole. Further, in failing to understand the unique utility of the network, Prior also fails to appreciate the likelihood that Disownment was effective because of the sanction of withdrawal.

Sahle gives herself a very broad remit, unfortunately her work is characterised by both a wide geographical focus, and a lack of chronology; consequently trans-Atlantic evidence is often deployed out of context. A lack of familiarity with the administrative mechanisms of Quakerism, in particular a failure to appreciate the independent nature of the yearly meetings of Philadelphia and London, not least a failure to acknowledge or engage with the variety and evolution of the Books of Extracts, results in a shaky foundation for many claims. The extent of this confusion is amply illustrated by her 'explanation' of what she terms the 'book of discipline of 1719':

This is an early version of Quaker Faith and Practice, circulated in manuscript form...; various books of discipline survive from the seventeenth century onwards. Until 1800, they are all in manuscript form. I surveyed them, and they deal very little with business or debts. The edition of 1777 includes a reminder to Friends to pay their

²³⁰ Prior, 'Friends in Business', 112, 22; there is a common mistake in assuming such failures arose solely from business errors, when the cause may have been bad personal financial management that resulted in Discipline – see note on Sahle below.

²³¹ Prior, 'Friends in Business', 246-247.

debts, as non-payment has recently been a problem. Other than that they include a lot of advice against drinking liquor.²³²

It should be apparent from the foregoing that not one of the above claims are valid.

Sahle uses the records of sanctions across London Monthly Meetings to identify the incidence of regulation of financial impropriety, taking those for 'insolvency and bankruptcy' to stand 'proxy for commercial misbehaviour'.²³³ This approach suffers by including other common causes of financial distress (such as misadventure, failure of creditors, or familial extravagance); while the variation in start- and end-dates of the various Meeting record books, combined with a lack of granularity in the aggregated totals, render estimates of trends and proportions impossible;²³⁴ consequently Sahle's claims are inaccessible at best for further scholarship. Certain raw data points can be indicative, principally those regarding the extent of testimonies against offenders recorded variously by London Monthly Meetings. Sahle offers a total of 177 sanctions 'related to honesty [including]...cases of embezzlement, theft, and fraud' including those by servants and apprentices';²³⁵ this is approximately half the figure given for irregular marriage, and some 50% more than that for non-attendance at Meeting.²³⁶ Usefully, Radcliffe meeting appears to have kept comprehensive records across London for almost a century (1697-1784), with a total of 670.²³⁷ If more or less accurate, this would indicate that (over the period, and across the six meetings), very few (if any) members would be expected to be sanctioned annually. Sahle finds adequate evidence for sanctions imposed under the Discipline of London Friends for financial impropriety, examples include: Joshua Stephens (ignoring Friends' counsel and many irregularities, 1699);²³⁸ William Clark

²³² Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 110, fn.36.

²³³ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 123.

²³⁴ The record books hold different and duplicated data; the first record book (Westminster) starts in 1666, the last (Horsleydown) ends in 1800 or 1805; Radcliff records extend from 1697-1764.

²³⁵ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 122.

²³⁶ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 122; the periods covered by these totals are not given.

²³⁷ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 117; this compares with n.818 in Beck and Ball, *London Friends, London Friends (1734-94)*; the catch-all category 'relating to honesty' exemplifies the lack of granularity, and consequent issues.

²³⁸ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 125; Sahle terms his offence 'specifically for fraud'; Friends declared rather that he was 'prevailed upon through ye subtilty of ye devil to fall into many snares in matters relating to conversation and trade of which he was timely caution'd and advis'd, but not regarding ye counsel of his friends, he persisted and run into many irregularities'.

(disowned for 'going into bonds for others & contracting of debts beyond my power to answer', 1711);²³⁹ and James Hoskins (disowned for absconding from his creditors, 1722).²⁴⁰ Illustrating reputational risk is the case of George Roberts, disowned for soliciting investors through 'a pretence of Charity & Religion' into losses in bullion extraction from lead (1729).²⁴¹ Sahle notes that 'Bankruptcy became an increasingly common cause of disownment in the 1780s',²⁴² basing the claim on the 'number of testimonies mentioning bankruptcy per decade: 1750s: 4; 1760s: 6; 1770s: 2; 1780s: 9.'²⁴³ Once again, the absence of any decile totals of other disownments prevents a relative assessment; further, since the 1770 decade shows the lowest number, and no figures are given for subsequent decades, no serious conclusion as to trend can be allowed from this. One observation that may be extrapolated is that, for a London Quaker population numbering several thousand, the annual number of sanctions for this offence show an extremely low incidence, averaging less than two per 10,000 members.²⁴⁴

Some wider claims and associated inferences are not supported by evidence. Examples include that 'The epistles of the London Yearly Meeting first discussed the Monthly Meetings' responsibility to enforce the discipline among Friends in 1719';²⁴⁵ this responsibility is specifically and expressly defined in the (printed) Epistle from 1700.²⁴⁶ Sahle claims that 'the Quaker discipline expected business people to enter only into contracts they could be certain they would be able to fulfil. This required being risk adverse.'²⁴⁷ This is contradicted by the risks Friends were content to take (under the will of the Spirit), and the failures reported in the Journals of Stout, Crouch, and Chalkley.²⁴⁸

²³⁹ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 130.

²⁴⁰ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 125; she cites '19 sanctions for dishonesty prior to 1750'; no definition of 'dishonesty' is presented.

²⁴¹ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 123; Sahle erroneously regards the fault here as 'alchemy', presumably unaware of the success of the silver extraction from the Quaker-owned London Lead Company; it is interesting to speculate on Robert's fate had the offending religious elements been omitted.

²⁴² Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 129.

²⁴³ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 129, note 82.

²⁴⁴ Assuming between 3,000–4,000 London Friends, and an average of 2–4 offences per decade.

²⁴⁵ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 108.

²⁴⁶ Extracts, 2–43 (#1 1700).

²⁴⁷ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 104.

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 7.

More seriously, despite providing evidence of seventeenth-century sanctions, Sahle concludes 'Monthly Meetings only began to regularly sanction any form of disciplinary breaches after 1750. Moreover, they first sanctioned bankruptcy in 1754.'²⁴⁹ While any definition of 'regularly' is rendered impossible by the lack of method in data collection and presentation in the analysis, the data presented clearly indicate a small but regular use of sanctions, if very infrequently in the case of financial impropriety. Such infrequency may simply reflect lack of occasion, indeed, the burden of evidence gathered from the minutes of meetings (above) suggests it is far more likely to result from very few financial offences than from the Society choosing to ignore one essential Testimony while pursuing others.²⁵⁰ With reference to bankruptcies, and given the widely communicated Lloyds' failure of 1727 noted above, this claim is either a misstatement, or indicative of a misreading of the archives.²⁵¹ In all, Sahle's work adds confusion rather than clarity, and wants the insights concomitant with an understanding of the Society and its membership.

The argument here, therefore, is furthered by Denis Stuart's work, using early evidence from Staffordshire,²⁵² with research focused on Leek Monthly Meeting (extant from 1672).²⁵³ His understanding is that 'the discipline exercised by monthly meetings through local elders and overseers was not oppressive, in the sense that every opportunity was given to erring Friends to amend their ways, but it was nevertheless persistent.'²⁵⁴ This is borne out by the evidence from Leek records, and would seem to reflect both the evolving Advices, and the increased role of Quarterly and Yearly Meeting requirements for Discipline.²⁵⁵ Stuart also finds the motivation behind the Discipline to be reformatory:

²⁴⁹ Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 102.

²⁵⁰ See the detailed study of Leek offences given below.

²⁵¹ See Chapter 7, and discussion below, with examples of bankruptcies in Staffordshire dated 1737 and 1738; (Denis Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement in Staffordshire 1651-1743: from open fellowship to closed sect', PhD thesis, University of Leicester; 156, 301.

²⁵² Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 215.

²⁵³ Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 209.

²⁵⁴ Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 132.

²⁵⁵ See Extracts, 42-52 'Discipline'; and Chapter 4 above. Leek records are examined in detail below.

Persistent efforts were made by these visitors to reason with the backsliders and to persuade them to make a public avowal of their contrition. Disownment was a last resort, and a great deal of patience was always exercised.²⁵⁶

Stuart provides evidence of eleven offences found from the Leek Monthly Meeting Minute Books from 1705–1743, none of which involve finance. He notes a twenty-year gap between the first two entries, stating 'There is no evidence to show how far the first generation of Quakers in Leek lived up to Fox's high expectations.' Fortunately, Stuart seems to have overlooked the early records of discipline from Leek Monthly Meeting itself, which happily provide one of the most complete collections extant, in terms of contiguity, chronology (1678–1729), and scope.²⁵⁷ A detailed survey of these records follows here to rectify the omission, and provide supporting insight into some long-running dilemmas faced by the disciplinary Monthly Meeting.

The Leek Discipline register records offences, visit reports, and judgements of the Meeting in matters of Discipline, for half a century. The register also contains a very early draft of the 1678 epistle from George Fox to the Meetings in Staffordshire,²⁵⁸ concerning the avoidance of strife. It seems clear that that this message was motivated by Fox's personal knowledge of the disputes recorded in the pages that follow, and as the unfolding events shed much light on both the process, and the claim of patient reclamation, these are given at some length below.

The first note records an undated confession of one Humphry Woolrich for his 'ill-judged paper against John Abraham'.²⁵⁹ Humphrey Woolrich is then recorded as being adjudged by 'GF and Alex. Laurence 4/4/77', with a further injunction as to keeping silence.²⁶⁰ There

²⁵⁶ Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 214; one may speculate that these few offences were dealt with at Stafford Quarterly Meeting, and recorded separately from the Monthly Meeting.

²⁵⁷ MS VOL 330 1670-1729; *Leek Book of Discipline* 1678–1729, (LSF).

²⁵⁸ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 136-137; see also Fox, *Journal* 225; letter dated 'Staffordshire, the 20th of the 6th Month, 1678'; it may be that the Leek draft is in GF's hand.

²⁵⁹ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 141.

²⁶⁰ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 145; this is about one year before the GF epistle.

follows a personal statement, which avoids mention of the topic while indicating how far short of a full retraction a Friend might venture in pursuit of unity:

I am not perswaded in my own heart and conscience but that it was the Lord who opened my heart that day to speak or pray yet this I say to you all wherein any word or words I did speak of old things out of the limits of that meek and gentle spirit that doth tend to hurt the weak rather than to edification, this I will not justifie but condemn.²⁶¹

The missal is in an educated hand, and concludes with what appears a necessary bow to authority:

And wherein I have give occasion of offence to ye Monthly & Quarterly meetings at any tyme and in saying Wm FF and WM Yarlay made men's meetings a cloak for bad things I likewise condemn, and further I desire unity with ffriends...
witnessed by George ffox - Humfry Woolrich²⁶²

Wm FF is presumably William Fallowfield, noted by Stuart as one of the 'First Publishers of Truth'.²⁶³ There follows a further (undated) confession to a wider audience:

I do freely forgive and of as by all my part wherein as anyone at anytime has wronged mee even as I desire that they do forgive mee. And wherein throw those differences I have I given just ocasion of offense at any time, or to y^e quarterly meeting, or to any ffriend, I am heartily sorry for that and do condemne it... HW
Let this be read at the QM for y^e satisfaction of my brethren.²⁶⁴

This last injunction clearly suggests that the hierarchy of Meetings had been invoked in pursuit of harmonious relations. It might be supposed that this would be last heard of HW in the records, but it was not to be: some years later it appears that his nephew Thomas was tempted to marry out, prompting this admission that he had:

'done Amise for not going to Darby, when my father pswaded me of it, to make an end w^t Alice Jolly, or in any other thing wherein I have disobeyed his wise commands gud

²⁶¹ Stuart actually notes his literacy ('The Early Quaker Movement', 283); the name is variously written; occasionally HW is used.

²⁶² *Leek Book of Discipline*, 145; this use of initials may be in pursuit brevity, or of confidentiality.

²⁶³ Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 283.

²⁶⁴ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 146; this appears in another hand.

and lawful commands and grieved my mother. Or have not had so much regard to y^e honour and reputation of y^e truth in my dealing amongst men... and not having had regard for my Uncle Humphreys just reproofs; I condemn it and hope for the future to be more careful. 25/5/1684.²⁶⁵

Thomas the Younger was probably no longer a minor; a lengthy record is made of the judgement of the Whitehough Meeting, noting complaints from people whom he had wronged in dealings, and which required satisfaction, plus advice that 'the way of obtaining certificates that has formerly been used be declined', along with obedience to his parents.²⁶⁶ The Woolrich brothers, Humphrey and Thomas next proceeded to fall out with William Fallowfield, accusing him of being the cause for Young Thomas to have become 'strengthened against the advice from Whitehough' - 'intentionally or on purpose', causing Thomas to have 'got up into a heady mind and unruly spirit which not only leads to disobey his Fathers just commands but to reproach his Father and uncle Humphrey after'.²⁶⁷ The Meeting examined a letter containing 'Matters black, foul and reproachful against the said Humphrey', from which the Meeting finds him 'not guilty of any of them'.²⁶⁸ Young Thomas on the other hand, and his 'scurrilous letters....bearing those charges and frothy vain expressions' were not to be believed by any Friend, and the local Meeting, 'having given our points and judgement and advice, leave it to the ffrriends in Staffordshire to deal with'.²⁶⁹ This is clear evidence of not only process, and escalation, but considerable forbearance in matters of Discipline. The register then records that the Quarterly Meeting noted the 'great hurt to ffrriends in the county of Stafford through great heats occasioned through calling out publick reflections against one another and publick debates occasioning strife',²⁷⁰ and goes on to advise the Woolrich brothers to:

²⁶⁵ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 150; (Thomas Woolrich).

²⁶⁶ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 151.

²⁶⁷ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 152; (29/10/1686).

²⁶⁸ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 152; it is not clear who was the author, presumably Thomas or Fallowfield.

²⁶⁹ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 154.

²⁷⁰ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 155.

watch against these things, and for the sake of the honour of God and the churchs peace study to be quiet... so shall the unity of the spirit which is the bond of peace compass them all about, and God for whom our council is given shall have the praise.²⁷¹

This perhaps unexpected turn seems to show a capacity in the Quarterly Meetings to see beyond the superficial issue and address causes of dis-unity. The last act finds Fallowfield and Woolrich a year later, seeking final arbitration in London, resulting in a signed paper:

whereas there have been differences between us which have been opened before GF and several faithful Brethren we do in the spirit of Christ trooly forgive each other – And this paper to be exposed by either of us to all such persons who have heard of the difference between us; witness our own hands.²⁷²

That such effort and time should be taken to re-establish harmony across the Society is indicative of a great desire for unity, and a high degree of tolerance; an admonishment to learn silence remains a long way from disownment. The notion of confidentiality occurs elsewhere: in a judgement recorded by Wm. Fallowfield and Wm. Yarley, they 'declare their unity with Jane Armits Word relating to ye matter they gave judgement in and whoever brings up this mater again they are sure to be condemned after y^e date hereof',²⁷³ an instruction for reticence being in line with Friends desire for peace.

The above sequence has no aspect of financial impropriety; this is reflected in the remaining forty years of records to 1729. As in London, exogamy is the most common offence, and most appear to have repented of it. John Holland wrote that he had 'been very troubled in my mind for it';²⁷⁴ Georg Goodrich desired 'to humble myself for giving occasion to the wicked to be glad or grieve ffriends that love the truth' for his sin in being 'married before a hireling

²⁷¹ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 155.

²⁷² *Leek Book of Discipline*, 156; 11/4/88; that Fallowfield was a First Publisher would seem to increase the effect, illustrating how this status did not protect him from strife.

²⁷³ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 145.

²⁷⁴ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 147-8.

priest';²⁷⁵ WM apologised for marriage before a priest;²⁷⁶ Jane Bradely (having married 'one not of our persuasion') 'beggs the Lord will pass by her former weakness', takes all blame on herself in order to 'clear all those who I have made a profession from any reproach occasioned by my unadvised conduct'.²⁷⁷ The transgressions of these apologists did not incur disownment; unlike others. William Reading was testified against for fornication;²⁷⁸ Nathaniel Cowen ignored a warning 'not to keep company with a young woman not of our profession', then married her, causing his disunity.²⁷⁹ The need to manage reputation is shown by George Welch, finally disunited by the Quarterly Meeting after refusing 'counsel Admonition and Advice for those offences (as in conscience) he has justly given by his uncircumspection to sober and well-disposed people'.²⁸⁰ Some decisions were even more difficult to arrive at: Margaret Phillips was:

a poor woman void of habitation whose irregular Actions might have formerly justified bringing a testimony against her, but we omitted any such proceedings in patience...[but] she has manifestly condemned our advice and christian admonition rejected, persisting in such whimsies lies and foolish imaginations which have transported her beyond the limits of modest behaviour... [and] diszerting her honest employment to wander about from country to contry under pitence of the service of truth.²⁸¹

'Diszerting' honest employment proved beyond endurance to the Quarterly Meeting, and twenty three members signed a warning 'to all to whose hands this may come' signifying 'disunity with her esteeming her a disorderly walker... lest our silence be interpreted to her encouragement.'²⁸²

²⁷⁵ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 144; 9/6/1688.

²⁷⁶ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 167; 10/3/1713 WM.

²⁷⁷ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 166; 17/5/1715.

²⁷⁸ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 149; 25/10/1680; namely 'ungodliness with his maidservant'.

²⁷⁹ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 162; men and women signed separately, women on the right 13/4/1710.

²⁸⁰ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 161; 6/8/1707; note the offences are unnamed.

²⁸¹ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 157.

²⁸² *Leek Book of Discipline*, 158; 18/5/1689; signed, with women in a separate column (on the right).

Another illustrative case was that of Samuel Rosel, whose response to visiting was less than required, and where the visitors advised the Meeting to offer a chance of re-instatement:

very blameable for giving himself up to company keeping ill example to his family, drinking to excess, unkind behaviour and bad language to his wife; on visiting he has been ready to confess in part and in part vindicate himself as he ought not, and denying that which was immediately proved to him. Cannot have fellowship until a hasty repentance and amendment of his life do manifestly show forth.²⁸³

An even shorter olive branch was offered to Hannah Dale; disowned for marrying out with no sign of repentance, the meeting hoped that she 'may yet come to know true penitence and by contrition be restored into Favour with the Lord and his people'.²⁸⁴ Reports were carefully worded: one HM had 'not walked so circumspectly as our profession doth require';²⁸⁵ Ruth Addison 'desired forgiveness' for marrying out;²⁸⁶ and in the last two entries, Francis French is noted as being 'contrary to truth in way of marrig' without noted censure, while one Elizabeth Firth is testified against for 'a degree of folly, extravagences and wantonness as shews she has turned her back on us'.²⁸⁷

The register concludes with these records from 1729; however, it is apparent that other pages - perhaps ten or twenty - have been cut out. One might speculate as to whether this was an early form of data protection, perhaps performed at some point to remove confessions of those still associated with Friends, or whether this simply indicates a method to facilitate (or perhaps avoid) copies required for other Societal purposes.

In summary, this half-century of Leek records shows the Society of Friends operating a discipline in which transgressing individuals appear to have been encouraged to recognise and

²⁸³ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 166; 7/5/1716.

²⁸⁴ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 176; 14/7/1729.

²⁸⁵ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 167; 12/6/1712.

²⁸⁶ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 176; 29/19/1728.

²⁸⁷ *Leek Book of Discipline*, 175; 11/9/1729.

amend the errors of their ways – usually over time, and without sanction. Stuart's additional offenders take the known records up to 1742,²⁸⁸ during which period approximately half of the offenders showed remorse, and retained membership – even those marrying out. There is a very small incidence of financial impropriety, which is as often associated with other ills (not least family misfortune and drunkenness) as with fraudulent behaviour.

The proportions of the rural records of Leek would seem to align with those taken by Sahle from London Meeting records, suggesting that there are no major dissimilarities in the nature of offences across these geographies; the very low incidence of financial irregularity in Leek Monthly Meeting indicates Quaker probity, the effectiveness of Discipline, or both;²⁸⁹ the greater incidence of commercial offences in the metropolis is exactly what would be expected given both the substantial London Quaker population and occupational bias.²⁹⁰

4.6 Conclusion - the effect of Discipline on Commerce

It is central to this thesis that the Society's Advices which guided quotidian Quaker practice were not only compatible with, but also actively promoted, business success and wealth creation. Further, that the evolving Discipline, while designed primarily to manage reputation risk, played a significant secondary role in encouraging practices which benefited Quaker commerce through threat of sanction.

The arguments above illustrate how key individual Advices had significant positive effects on commercial behaviours, while many others had a lesser impact. Focus on business probity

²⁸⁸ A comparison with Stuart's 'Discipline References to Misbehaviour' ('The Early Quaker Movement', 215, Table 6.1) reveals no duplication of names or offences; this seems indicative of records kept in distinct, multiple volumes; Stuart finds much evidence about the Woolrich family, ('The Early Quaker Movement', 283), including certificates of removal for a Woolrich daughter ('The Early Quaker Movement', 265).

²⁸⁹ The conclusion that selected impropriety was accepted is refuted, as argued above.

²⁹⁰ See Fincham 'Faith in Numbers', and Chapter 9 for estimates of population stock, and Chapter 2 for occupations; Leek MM membership declined from over 300 in 1700, to 157 by 1735 (Stuart, 'The Early Quaker Movement', 225-226); most of whom most were involved in agriculture ('The Early Quaker Movement', 208).

was key, as embedded in the Men's Query V²⁹¹ and Ambrose Rigge's 'warning' advice of 1678 for an annual review of Friends' finances.²⁹²

It appears valid to conclude that the risks associated with business were reduced by the advices intended to protect the Quaker reputation, and that certain advices - not least those on tithes, inter-marriage, and arbitration - were instrumental in facilitating Quaker wealth creation during the period through increasing the attractiveness of emergent industry, enhancing the Quaker network, and facilitating issue resolution.

Further regulations, not least those concerning certificates, enhanced trade opportunities by enabling commercial Friends to extend geographic 'reach' without the necessity of being known, or through the lengthy process of establishing trust. Such facilitation was highly controlled, especially internationally: for those travelling within the jurisdiction of PYM, careful administration is indicated by rules concerning the collection of used certificates on return, and the secure 'lodging' of those from new Friends.²⁹³

4.7 Chapter Summary

There is archive evidence for the existence of multiple versions of the Discipline, as the original seventeenth-century discipline developed locally from shared values, given form by the communitarian Advices from the Elders at Balby or similar epistles, before being shaped by the local hierarchy of meetings. The common purpose of these original Disciplines was to promote unity in order to preserve the salvation of the individual. These regional rule books might address different issues, and have different priorities; as a result, from the first days of the Quakers until almost the middle of the eighteenth century - a period of almost seventy five

²⁹¹ Extracts, 143; Men's Queries V *'Are friends just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling all their engagements ; and are they annually advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year?'*.

²⁹² See Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 67; Extracts, 200 'Trade' (#12 1739).

²⁹³ In a rare example of alignment with LYM, in 1721 and 1722 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) issued the advice: 'Of one mind with Brethren in England to continue use of Certificates' as 'good for the Society'; PYM also noted that all children required certificates of clearness from the remarkably early date of 1682 (MS VOL 50, 18-19).

years - Discipline 'varied very much in content'.²⁹⁴ It would appear that the desire for central uniformity increased from the early part of the eighteenth century in an attempt to preserve the reputation of the Society. The trends in Advices, based on the development of the Books of Extracts and the Advices included over the century, indicate the later clusters centre around administration, and the pursuit of uniformity, or purity. From this, it is legitimate to conclude that the culture of the Society of Friends changed from local to central, and the locus of responsibility from the individual to the core.

Those within the Society would have experienced a shift from a unifying spirit motivated by tolerance, in which Friends made choices for themselves amongst a network of the known within a self-regulating community, towards an increasingly relentless pursuit of uniformity, and individual conformity, under the authority of a Yearly Meeting. Becoming less flexible, less locally interpretive, and with ever more emphasis on records and process, the leadership of the Society after the third generation appears to have lost confidence in the ability of Friends to make decisions for themselves.

The understanding of Discipline in relation to commerce needs to be revised: Meetings did not appear to oversee Friends' business activities to ensure probity; rather, they reacted post-offence in order to address any reputational risk; any and all disownments occurred post-facto. Walvin's claim of an 'efficient bureaucracy... put to work to ensure that even the humblest of Friends accorded with Quaker standards'²⁹⁵ would seem to be far too pro-active: rather, only following the notification of an offence would Meeting Visitors act to assess the extent of an transgression, and recommend action. The evidence suggests some adjustment should also be made regarding the strictness of the Discipline, at least for the first one hundred years of Quakerism. An extreme view

²⁹⁴ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 507.

²⁹⁵ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 72-73.

sees the position thus 'Quaker discipline was direct, relentless, comprehensive and intrusive';²⁹⁶ yet as Stuart concludes, and the Leek records show in detail, this was not the whole picture. While those who ultimately refused to reform were excluded, those inclined to unity were not. There were many who did reform, and while disownment was clearly a threatening stick, the original disciplinary mechanism contained a carrot in the form of the strong desire to encourage disorderly walkers to return to the community. This is somewhat at odds with popular portrayals of Puritan intolerance often associated with sects, and suggests that Quakerism, at least during its first century, seems more concerned with unity than purity.

The very low incidence of sanctions for financial misconduct, as evidenced by the London records and those of rural Staffordshire, is significant. While it has been suggested that Friends ignored such incidents, this runs counter to all the evidence of the efforts made to manage Societal reputation, and suggests the Society of Friends would accept accusations of hypocrisy. On the early evidence, and persisting for perhaps the first century of Quakerism, financial impropriety appears to have been minimal; such as there was (of which the Meeting became aware), was assessed, reviewed by visiting Friends, then remedied or censured, as appropriate.

The operation and outcomes of the mechanism of Discipline having been described in detail, it remains only to posit an explanation for its effectiveness. While the threat of disownment may appear sufficient deterrent in itself, it should be remembered that the consequence was initially to bar those excluded from Monthly Meetings for business and from contributing to collections – while allowing continued attendance at meetings for worship. The sanction was thus not spiritual, but specifically secular. As such, it may be suggested that the avoidance of

²⁹⁶ Leslie Hannah, 'The Moral Economy of Business: An Historical Perspective on Ethics and Efficiency' in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack. eds., *Civil Histories: Essays in Honour of Sir Keith Thomas*, (Oxford: OUP, 2000): 290; quoted by Sahle, 'Faith of Merchants', 59.

wounded pride was the motivation; yet elements of confidentiality have been shown in some judgements, and it may be that not all were communicated. One may even conjecture that it some censured members continued to worship while 'under reform', without it being common knowledge: this would align with the Society's desire to avoid bringing public disgrace on God's people.²⁹⁷ As a sanction, a bar on contributing financially to the Meeting's expenses might seem somewhat meaningless – not least since the Peel Collections reviewed above list neither names or amounts of contributions, which would seem to lessen the potential shame of not contributing.²⁹⁸

It remains to conclude that a highly important (if not for all primary) motivation for staying within the Discipline was not to avoid exclusion from Quaker Meetings, but to ensure access to the utility associated with the Quaker network, (discussed in Chapter 8). An individual who was not in good standing with the Society, should that diminished status be widely known, would lose more than just respect, as access to the many benefits associated would vanish: free education, apprenticeships or known apprentices, capital, credit, trading partners, international contacts, contract-free dealing, arbitration and resolution.²⁹⁹ Insolvent persons could not change meetings, which demonstrates the significance of the certificates. Bankrupts would be disowned, from which a return was all but impossible.³⁰⁰ Under such circumstances, staying the right side of Discipline would not only make spiritual sense: for the commercial Quaker, it had the common sense of self-interest.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ The prohibition on Fallowfield, Yarley, and Armits noted above suggests this.

²⁹⁸ See Chapter 7.

²⁹⁹ See Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 below; this sanction not dissimilar to modern disqualification as a company director, only with more consequences.

³⁰⁰ Extracts, 166 'Removals and Settlements' XI; see also Charles Lloyd discussion in Chapter 7.

³⁰¹ See also Andrew Fincham, 'Factors Supporting the Rise of Quaker Commerce', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Quakers in Business and Industry*, Vol.4, *Quakers and the Disciplines*, (Philadelphia: Friends Association of Higher Education, 2017): 9, 25-27.

5 EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP

This chapter seeks to establish the commercial impact of the Society's policy and practice in respect of funding education and apprenticeships for members' children, and compares this with contemporary options in the emerging Quaker period. The chapter begins with a short review of education in the later seventeenth century, before considering the motivations of the Society, as illustrated by the development of both Advices and practical activities. It establishes that Quakers had two equal requirements from education: 1) to achieve cross-generational acculturation to ensure the continuance and spread of Quaker beliefs, and 2) to ensure all members of the Society had the means to both to support themselves and their multi-generational families. There follows a review of measures taken by the Society to further these ends through apprenticeships, and compares apprenticeships within Quakerism with those open to others in the parish. A final section summarises contemporary extra-Society opportunities, and demonstrates that the focus on practical schooling taken by the Society (in particular the curriculum followed), supported by apprenticeships organised and financed by the local Monthly Meetings, were all intended to produce individuals destined for occupations in trade or industry. The chapter concludes that in this respect Quaker membership offered clear commercial advantages in comparison with the norm during the period.

5.1 Education in Context

In the period immediately preceding the rise of the Quakers, education was characterised by a diversity which makes generalisations difficult and comparisons harder still. This challenge is further exacerbated by the relative paucity of scholarship on the subject: Goodman and Grosvenor's review finds the 'small number of scholars who have published in both history of education and history journals demonstrates that publication in both UK-based history of

education and history journals to be comparatively rare'.¹ Helen Jewel terms the period an 'Educational Revolution', but a revolution 'that passed most people by':² as late as the civil war, 'more than two thirds of men and nine-tenths of women could not write their own names'.³ Derek Gillard's 'History of Education' characterises the coming of the Restoration as a reversal of the efforts of the Commonwealth to extend educational opportunities:

The liberal movement was checked; the endowed grammar schools tended to become even more conservative than before; and it was only in the new 'dissenting academies' that further educational reform was pioneered. The education of the masses - such as it was - was left largely to the charity school and the workhouse.⁴

Rosemary O'Day has argued that such conservatism was a return to *ante-bellum* values, and that even before the civil wars, there was a view amongst the 'English élite' that 'a little learning was a dangerous thing in the hands of the lower social orders'.⁵ It seems for most who considered the subject, the acquisition of literacy remained essentially 'a tool for godliness', taught by clergy who supplemented a meagre stipend teaching a handful of pupils.⁶ Reading literacy may have been higher, and it is possible some may have been self-taught: books such as Edmund Windgate's 1630 *Arithmetique made easie*,⁷ and Edmund Coote's *The English Schoolmaster* (from 1596, and which achieved forty-eight editions)⁸ indicate that texts were available, and Jewel suggests that some craftsmen might have used similar, perhaps even to teach others while at work.⁹ The desirability of more general learning had begun to be considered in certain quarters: M.W. Keatinge noted one J. Cecilius Frey, a physician of Paris,

¹ J. Goodman, and I. Grosvenor, 'Educational research—history of education a curious case?', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (October 2009): 604.

² Helen Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1988): 26-27.

³ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 28-29.

⁴ Derek Gillard, *Education in England: a history*, (2018): Chapter 2. www.educationengland.org.uk/history; accessed 13OCT20.

⁵ Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, (Longman, 1982): 196.

⁶ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 30.

⁷ Edmund Wingate, *Arithmetique made easie : or, a perfect methode for the true knowledge and practice of natural arithmetique, according to the ancient vulgar way: without dependence upon any other author for the grounds thereof* (P. Stevens, 1630).

⁸ Edmund Coote, *The English Schoolmaster...*, (B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, and George Purslowe for the Company of Stationers, 1630).

⁹ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 29-30.

who in 1629 had advocated amongst other innovations that 'languages be learned colloquially, and attention...be given to arithmetic, geography, drawing, and mechanics'.¹⁰ Keatinge believed this work inspired Moravian Bishop John Amos Comenius, whose *The Great Didactic* of 1657 promoted education as a social prophylactic:

what will be the result if artisans, rustics, porters, and even women become lettered? - the answer is safely that they will use their time to read good books, and thus avoid that idleness which is so dangerous to flesh and blood.¹¹

Before the eighteenth century England was not unusual in having neither a state policy nor any system of education. As in many spheres of life during that confusing, post-conflict period, education in England during the early years of Quakerism was dominated by a struggle between those progressives who saw an opportunity to expand both the scale and the scope, and those who wished to use a restricted form of education to help establish a new Puritan homogeneity: all parties agreed on the need for reform.¹² The progressives believed that the traditionally classical curriculum, aimed at creating clergy, was unsuited for their present purpose: Armytage quotes the lament of one John Hall, from the short-lived Cromwellian foundation at Durham:

where have we anything to do with Chemistry...? Where have we constant reading on quick or dead *anatomies*, or ocular demonstrations of herbes? Where any manuell demonstrations of Mathematical theorems or instruments? where an examination of all the old tenets? Review of the old experiments and traditions which gull so many *junior* beliefs and serve for nothing else but for idle priests, to make their sermons more gaudy?¹³

¹⁰ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, (A. and C. Black, 1896). 'Comenius'. 13.

¹¹ David Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *Four Hundred Years of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Autumn, 1976), 301-320.

¹² For wider historic appraisal, see W.H.G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), especially 15-68; O'Day, *Education and Society*, 196-217; J.W.A Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education - The Contribution of Dissenting Academies 1660-1800*, (Independent Press Ltd, 1954), 246-269; Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 33-44, and *passim*; the most comprehensive account of education in the eighteenth century remains Nicholas Hans' comprehensive *New Trends* (1951).

¹³ John Hall, *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of Learning and reformation of the universities*, (Printed for John Walker, 1649).

This passion to replace the clerical monopoly of the Schools and the Universities with a far more practical curriculum was the key characteristic of the progressives.¹⁴ John Milton had called for academies to be set up in every city to serve as 'school and university' for 150 - 200 students from 12-21 years, while reformer Joseph Hartlib looked to further widen the scope of Gresham College, the charitable educational foundation in London, to study the scientific principles of trade; others looked to shorten apprenticeships, or create colleges of 'tradesmen', of 'science', and even colleges for women.¹⁵ A short book dedicated to the future Queen Mary went as far as to advocate education for women (if only to shame the men into higher standards) citing the historic achievements of members of the sex from ancient times.¹⁶ The wealth of new ideas contrasted with the paucity of established thinking, which still considered the advantages of literacy in terms of spreading 'godliness' through increased study of the bible; beyond that, education was directed towards creating a cadre of young men sufficiently literate in the classics to attend the Universities, from which some would proceed to ordination as Anglican clergy.¹⁷ There is some evidence that the perception of religion was evolving in the face the new 'sciences': as early as 1667 it was possible for the Royal Society historian Sprat to write that 'the universal Disposition of this Age is bent upon a *rational Religion*'.¹⁸ This can be contrasted with the ambitions of the newly formed Dissenting Academies, which held a far wider definition of the components of education, including mathematics, history, geography, and the experimental. Yet even these institutions considered the new subjects 'as a glow worm to the sun', when compared to religion.¹⁹

¹⁴ The English Universities were at Oxford and Cambridge during the period; England waited until 1829 to grant a Royal Charter to King's College London; Wales until 1872 (University College at Aberystwyth). Scottish Universities, first created by Papal Bull (1451, Glasgow) are discussed briefly below.

¹⁵ Armytage, 'History of Education', 22-23.

¹⁶ Bathsua Makin, *An Essay To Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen...*, (Printed by J. D., 1673); the author stumbles on occasion, as when citing 'A Lady of late, I have forgot her name, is so well skilled in the Mathematicks, that she hath printed divers Tables'.

¹⁷ Hans, *New Trends*, 15-20.

¹⁸ See John Spurr, "'Rational Religion" in Restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1988): 563-585; quoted, 563.

¹⁹ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 54.

The extent to which education was exclusively the preserve of the wealthy is uncertain: Lawrence Stone finds there were always some opportunities for poor, or poorer, boys in higher education,²⁰ while Jewel notes that there were always men in the Universities of very humble origins, since benefactors looked for them by deliberate preference.²¹ Hans calculates that the percentage of 'poor' (as opposed to wealthy or aristocratic) students was as high as 30% at the start of the century, reducing to 20% by the end, with some differences between the two Universities throughout the eighteenth century.²² A rare alternative for higher education was Gresham College, which while not a university offered elements of practical, even advanced education to the public at large, and was exceptional in offering free education.²³ The nascent Royal Society (began under Warden Wilkins of Wadham College, Oxford, in the 1650's) would later be housed here. As noted, the Universities remained throughout the period characterised by a regime aimed at providing Anglican ministers, and which required students subscribe to the thirty-nine articles (and later Royal Ascendency), although some short-lived attempts were made to found alternative northern universities under the Protectorate.²⁴ Some indeed saw dangers inherent in wider literacy, and as the 'Root and Branch Petition' shows, there existed some who demanded restrictions on the freedom of the presses, which were believed to raise sedition and incite lasciviousness.²⁵ The same petition also saw education as reforming, and a route to reverse the:

²⁰ Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28, (1964) 41-80; 66-68.

²¹ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 29.

²² Hans, *New Trends*, 44-46.

²³ Founded in 1597, by the time of the interregnum this had seven professors giving afternoon lectures on a wide variety of subjects, with morning sessions delivered in Latin for foreigners. Discussions amongst the attendees took place afterwards, which required those attending to have sufficient funding to take time away from earning a living.

²⁴ See J.T. Fowler, *Durham University, earlier foundations and present colleges*, (F.E. Robinson, 1904): 21-22; first tried at Ripon, Cromwell sponsored a college at Durham in 1657 using the manuscripts, buildings and income of the former Cathedral Chapter (dissolved in 1649); Fowler states the College failed for lack of students, opposition from Oxford and Cambridge to a grant of University status, and action by 'Quakers, led by George Fox, [who] attacked it on the ground that it was to prepare candidates for the ministry, and to any kind of ministers they had 'conscientious objections' - unfortunately no sources are presented for this claim.

²⁵ The *Root and Branch Petition* (1640) aimed to abolish episcopacy, and signed by 15,000 Londoners, was presented to the Long Parliament on December 11; it expressly called for action against 'the swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable books and pamphlets, play-books and ballads' which led to the 'withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the word of God, and other good books'; see Henry Gee and William John Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, (New York: Macmillan, 1896): 537-45.s8.

discouragement of many from bringing up their children in learning; the many schisms, errors, and strange opinions which are in the Church; great corruptions which are in the Universities; the gross and lamentable ignorance almost everywhere among the people.²⁶

Notwithstanding, most educational reformers in England under the Commonwealth and Protectorate were motivated by a desire to instil a homogenous English Puritanism, and predominantly inclined to view learning as scripture study, best delivered in the household, and designed to ensure the populace remained biddable.²⁷

Ten years on, Acts of Parliament created regional Commissions for the 'ejection of scandalous, malignant and non-resident school-masters and ministers', and empowered to re-apportion the income of the church to support these ends, using 'Rents, Issues and Profits of the said Rectories, Vicarages, Donatives, Sine Cura's, Portion of Tenth's, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions' to provide 'constant yearly maintenance...for the work of the Ministry, or the education of children...', while paying yearly maintenance of a 'Minister not to exceed One hundred pounds, or a scholl master Forty pounds'.²⁸ Following the Restoration, Jewel observes that the 'somewhat anarchic freedoms of the interregnum were reined in'.²⁹ The Clarendon Code made life difficult for every non-conformist,³⁰ but the Act of Uniformity specifically required that all teachers - even those in private homes - obtained an Archbishop's license requiring an oath of non-violence against the King and the acceptance of the liturgy of the established Anglican church.³¹

²⁶ Gee and Hardy, 'Root and Branch', s.7.

²⁷ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 33.

²⁸ 'February 1650: An Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and redress of some Grievances.', in C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, (Wyman and Sons, 1911): 342-348.

²⁹ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 36-38.

³⁰ Consisting of the Corporation Act (1661) Censorship Licensing Acts (1662-95), Act of Uniformity (1662), Conventicle Act (1664), and Five Miles Act (1665).

³¹ On penalty of three month's imprisonment, with a fine of five pounds for subsequent offences, equivalent to several month's stipend for the average schoolmaster; this persisted (at least in theory) until the Toleration Act of 1689.

Perhaps as a result of the degree of change in wider society, the debate over the optimum scheme of education at the turn of the seventeenth century remained both unresolved and of great importance, as it would throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. This is epitomised in the enduring influence of John Locke's 1693 volume *'Some Thoughts Concerning Education'* which, as James Axtell notes, reflected an increasingly secular and commercial trend in English society.³² Locke's work described a system 'suited to our English gentry' and was intended to produce young gentlemen³³ - although the practical and economic benefits of the scheme, designed to encourage the child to master virtue, wisdom, breeding, and learning, clearly had a wider appeal: if not to the 'abhorred rascality', then to the emergent middle sort.³⁴ Their choices are described in the section below.

5.2 Nature of Education

For convenience of review, rather than any inherent structure, the provision of English education at the time of the early Quaker movement will be considered below as five distinct types: Charity Schools; Grammar Schools; Great Schools; Dissenting Academies; and Home Schooling.

5.2.1 Charity Schools

Armytage gives a good introduction to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), founded in 1699 by layman John Chamberlayne as an inter-denominational society.³⁵ Charity schools had existed much earlier, an example being the Swinford Hospital foundation of Thomas Foley, Ironmaster of Stourbridge. This provided education for boys who were 'objects of Charity' to bring them us in the far of God and that when they shall be fit

³² James L. Axtell, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968): 60.

³³ See Locke's Dedication (to Edward Clarke, of Chipley, Esq.).

³⁴ Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth Century Response to Some Thoughts concerning Education', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17, No.2 (1983-84): 139, 40-43.

³⁵ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 40-49; this description accepts his data and analysis.

to be apprentices, care shall be taken to place them with such masters as may answer my great end, being the glory of God'.³⁶ By 1735 S.P.C.K. had amended the regime for over 1500 schools, drawing on the Bible as the chief source for a curriculum which sought to reinforce the social status quo, and by the middle of the century the Society was a specifically Anglican agency. The schools were funded by 'benefactions, corporations, colleges or livery companies, subscriptions, alms, collections' and the annual charity sermon.³⁷ Armytage also notes a hope that sale of children's work might contribute, a point which will be considered below when examining the Quaker Clerkenwell workhouse school.³⁸ The scale of the operation appears substantial, and Armytage claims 20,000 pupils and 10,000 apprenticeships achieved by 1715. However, considering the number of schools involved, such numbers suggest a school size of less than 10 pupils, with each creating one apprenticeship every two years. While this is more fully examined in the section on apprenticeships below, it is worth noting that an analysis of figures for selected London-City parish apprenticeships suggests an average of between six and nine per year for the eighteenth century.³⁹ Such 'success' should perhaps be viewed as the context for contemporary Bernard Mandeville's comments in his 1723 *Essay on Charity Schools*, which saw such institutions as a place which 'promotes idleness and keeps the poor from working'.⁴⁰

³⁶ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 43.

³⁷ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 43.

³⁸ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 44; see below for Clerkenwell.

³⁹ Analysis derived from correspondence with Alys Levine, see also her 'Parish Apprenticeship and the Old Poor Law in London', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Nov. 2010): 915-941; and P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges, 'London Population in the Late Seventeenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Oct., 1935): 45-63.

⁴⁰ See B. Mandeville, *Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church and National Happiness*, (T. Jauncy & J. Roberts, 1720); the essay is in the 1723 edition of *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, (Printed for J. Roberts, 1714); Mandeville gained an infamous reputation for this poem, which attacked the 'puritanical' opposition to luxury and military spending by demonstrating how the hive perished when the bees attempted to live honestly, and concluded: 'Bare Virtue can't make Nations live'; as both a pragmatist and a proto-economist, Mandeville holds views similar to those of Quaker John Bellers.

5.2.2 *Grammar Schools*

There were approximately 400 old grammar schools in existence at the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the average school roll consisting of a few dozen students. Hans' study of the eighteenth century elite notes that of these, perhaps half contributed to the education those who would merit an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography.⁴¹ Such foundations were maintained principally to prepare scholars for the Universities, and Armytage notes that the curriculum for most was unsuited to commercial needs having been 'fixed for many Grammar schools by their Tudor and Stuart founders'.⁴² Such a school might be typified by Chigwell, formally founded 1629 by an Archbishop of York who was also Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, which though founded to help develop poor and clever scholars, was also attended by the Quaker William Penn.⁴³

5.2.3 *Great Schools*

This category has very limited application for the Society of Friends: Hans classifies the 'great nine' English public schools,⁴⁴ designed to be receptacles for 'gentlemen commoners' which again followed an antiquated curriculum of dictation, translation and grammar that had hardly changed in centuries. The purpose of such schools was to provide the material for University entrance, which Lawrence Stone estimated at an average of 650 entrants per year in the last half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ No prominent Quakers have been associated with such schools to date.

⁴¹ Hans, *New Trends*, 20.

⁴² Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 61.

⁴³ Mary K. Geiter, 'Penn, William (1644–1718), Quaker leader and founder of Pennsylvania.' (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004); Penn's famous lack of understanding of commercial (and associated financial) matters would ultimately lead to imprisonment for non-payment of debt for most of 1708.

⁴⁴ Winchester, Eton, St Paul's, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Merchant Tailors', Rugby, Harrow & Charterhouse (by foundation)

⁴⁵ Stone, 'Educational Revolution' 51-54, gives decile averages for both universities combined for the second half of the seventeenth century: 753 (1650 to 1659); 740 (to 1669); 722 (to 1679); 558 (to 1689); and 499 (to 1699).

5.2.4 *Dissenting Academies*

The Clarendon Code was designed to promote the reality of a truly national Anglican Church removing dissenting clergy from their benefices, academic positions, meeting houses, and corporate towns. Some of those so removed went on to establish dedicated academies for dissenters, both as students and trainee clergy: Jewel notes the phenomenon of the single tutor academy as not unusual, run by a minister, with up to fifty pupils per annum in total during the 1660s.⁴⁶ After 1689 dissenters could, and did, register schools: it seems that while the remaining penalties were applied unevenly, dissenters still tended to practice remotely, and even in some secrecy, while attempting to replicate the (suitably modified) curricula of the Universities, which produced a 'bewildering diversity of early academies'.⁴⁷ Organised dissent, in the form of Independents and Presbyterians, created common funds to set up schools, with 23 schools created before 1690.⁴⁸ As noted above, the Test Act required schoolmasters to subscribe to the oath of loyalty; such schoolmasters needed to obtain a license from their Bishop or face substantial fines, although it appears that penalties were not regularly enforced, to which Armytage attributes these schools' survival.⁴⁹ Viewed by opponents as breeding grounds for principles directly contrary to monarchy and good government, the Academies were gradually accepted with the increase in toleration that accompanied the Hanoverians.⁵⁰ The cost of attending these Academies were beyond the reach of most: Jewel cites annual figures of four pounds tuition and sixteen for board at Northampton Academy between 1729 and 1751; perhaps in consequence the roll varied

⁴⁶ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 115, and *passim*.

⁴⁷ J.W.A. Smith, *Birth of Modern Education The contribution of the Dissenting Academies 1660-1800*, (Independent Press 1954).

⁴⁸ Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, 151-153.

⁴⁹ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 48; Armytage suggests avoidance led to some 150 private schools.

⁵⁰ Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of Education*, 27-29; Jewel notes that later in the century a Consistory Prosecution of Tutor Dodderidge at Northampton for being unlicensed was stopped by decree of King George II (Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 117); Dodderage was somewhat ahead of his time, giving pupils passages from the contemporary *Tatler* and *Spectator* to be translated in to Latin.

considerably.⁵¹ In general, such establishments suffered from limited facilities, endowments, and libraries, and until the last quarter of the century (when leaders such as Priestly attempted to introduce education for the counting house - writing, arithmetic, accounting - and science), followed the typical curriculum of classics required for ministerial training.⁵² Only towards the end of the century does specialisation begin to appear: McLachlan shows evidence from Warrington Academy that religion ceased to be the sole core of their prospectus, which stated it aimed both at training ministers and 'to give some knowledge to those who are to be engaged in commercial life, as well as the learned professions'.⁵³ Medicine became a subject for individual tuition at Warrington as specialisms grew; classes in theology, ethics and logic could be purchased for an annual £3-3s., as could classics; while 'commerce, history, geography, composition...book keeping and surveying' attracted a lesser rate of £2-2s.⁵⁴

5.2.5 Home Schooling

As noted above the annual cost of schooling would be in the region of twenty to thirty pounds. In the middle of the eighteenth century, an usher, or employed schoolmaster, could expect between ten and twenty pounds a year, with board.⁵⁵ This may help explain why home and private tutors were by far the most common solution for education during the period;⁵⁶ certainly the availability of home tutors at a lower cost than schooling would not act as a barrier.⁵⁷ Hans notes that even the most outstanding men of science could be persuaded to

⁵¹ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 117-118; forty pupils in 1730, 63 in 1743, but falling to 29 in 1747.

⁵² Smith, *Birth of Modern Education*, 154.

⁵³ Herbert McLachlan, *English Education Under The Test Acts, Being The History Of The Non-Conformist Academies 1662-1820*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931): 161. 'Non-Conformist Academies'.

⁵⁴ McLachlan, *English Education Under The Test Acts*, 161-2.

⁵⁵ Anon., *A General Description of All Trades, digested in alphabetical order*, (T. Waller, 1747): 187. 'Trades'. The author says: 'the Art of Teaching originally was with out doubt a Branch of Science, but for many Years it has been used as a Trade...and a proper Employ it is for slight-made, acute Lads, there being little or no Labour, but chiefly Application, required in it.'

⁵⁶ Hans, *New Trends*, 181-193.

⁵⁷ Such an apprenticeship was of middling cost: 'Writing-Masters, as regularly taking Apprentices as any other Calling, with one of whom is usually given 10*l*, sometimes 20*l*.' ('Trades', 187); an Advice of 1751 recommends that 'monthly meetings assist young men of low circumstances, whose genius and conduct may be suitable for that office, with the means requisite to obtain the proper qualifications' (Extracts, 170 'Schools' (#4)); see also the discussion of Friends' later proposals to share a schoolmaster's cost in Chapter 9.

accept 'domestic' posts, citing Joseph Priestley's association with the Earl of Sherbourne, as well as mathematicians Charles Hutton and John Bonnycastle, and the radical David Williams.⁵⁸ Lesser figures made up what amounted to a large group of professional tutors; some University men in holy orders looking for income, others with expertise, even if no formal training, such as Quaker John Hodgkin who tutored wealthy merchants' children, including the Gurneys.⁵⁹ A tutor might specialise as a mathematician, writing master, or possibly language tutor. In Hans' analysis, one third of the 'elite' of the eighteenth century were educated in this manner, with nine out of ten then proceeding to the Universities.⁶⁰ Hans also notes one very low cost option related to home education: the 'Autodidacts'; citing several dozen celebrated men who were self-taught (including Hodgkin's protégé, Thomas Young 'The Phenomenon', whose achievements included deciphering Egyptian Hieroglyphs).⁶¹

5.3 Quakers, Calling, and Commerce

The purpose of Quaker education was to raise children who would both accept, and continue to spread, the Quaker message.⁶² This led to an emphasis on the inward Light,⁶³ and the sect was freed from the orthodox dependence on traditional education for preaching, teaching and theologizing which formed the basis for most of the established schools and the Universities. Considering the options available, it is perhaps not surprising that for those following the Quaker path, home schooling represented the optimum choice for much of the period. The focus for Friends was equally vocational and utilitarian, with a view to equipping all members for occupations which could support themselves and their dependents. Perhaps because of this need for self-sufficiency, Friends had ever seen a value in particular practical types of

⁵⁸ Hans, *New Trends*, 182.

⁵⁹ Hans, *New Trends*, 184.

⁶⁰ Hans, *New Trends*, 191-193.

⁶¹ Hans, *New Trends*, 192.

⁶² Extracts, 121-129 'Education' (see #14 and #15).

⁶³ 'Inward Light' was an umbrella term historically used by Quakers, approximating to the direct experience of (the will of) God, extended to all; the Society in early years used 'Children of the Light' as an identifier; see Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 132-132.

learning: the 'Valiant Sixty' were recognised by William Penn as containing 'many of them of good capacity, substance, and account amongst men...some of them not wanting in parts, learning or estate', which suggests a level of literacy unusual for the time. At home or at school, suitable tutors were required, and a call had gone out for Friends to act as schoolmasters as early as 1695.⁶⁴ Even earlier, the Printed Epistle of 1690 had warned against the use of schools which were not led by 'faithful friends':

And not to send them to such schools where they are taught the corrupt ways, manners, fashions, and language of the world, and of the Heathen in their authors, and names of the heathenish gods and goddesses; tending greatly to Corrupt and alienate the minds of children.⁶⁵

Quaker advices made clear that suitable education for those within the sect should ensure children were not exposed to doctrines or ideas which were contrary to Quaker beliefs, and which bred the children up to 'some useful and necessary employments, that they may not spend their precious time in idleness' (1703).⁶⁶ Friends who did not employ a tutor were tasked to teach themselves, with advices noting that mothers 'have frequently the best opportunities'.⁶⁷ Friends were encouraged to 'stir up' families deficient in such care.⁶⁸ The printed epistle of 1717 contains remarks 'concerning the education of Friends' children', for which this meeting hath often found a concern', and suggests that parents are 'divinely qualified' to impart appropriate knowledge.⁶⁹ Education would become of increasing concern within the Society of Friends over the century.⁷⁰ An investigation into the Peel copy of the manuscript Book of Extracts finds a dedicated section on Children, with 27 advices, of which

⁶⁴ Extracts, 169 'Schools', (#1); in 1751 an Advice noted that 'the want of proper persons amongst friends qualified for school-masters hath been the occasion of great damage to the society in many places; Extracts, 170 (#4).

⁶⁵ *Epistles from the Yearly Meetings of the People called Quakers, held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in Great Britain, Ireland and elsewhere: from ... 1675 to 1759*, (Samuel Clark, 1760): 47; (XIII, 1690).

⁶⁶ Extracts, 122 'Education' (#2, #4).

⁶⁷ Extracts, 123 'Education' (#7).

⁶⁸ Extracts, 127 'Education' (#7, 1731).

⁶⁹ Collected Epistles, 132; (XL, 1717).

⁷⁰ Jones, *The Later Periods*, Vol.II, 667-669.

the earliest (taken from 1688) stresses the importance of Parents as role models.⁷¹ Other advices include avoiding bad learning from those that were not Friends (1696), the role of apprenticeships, (1697) education for useful employment, (1703) and a restatement of the importance of spiritual rather than worldly inheritance (1725).⁷² This central role of education was to remain throughout the century: Samuel Tuke's comprehensive review of eighteenth century Quaker Education recorded that in twenty seven of the first forty years of epistles, additional minutes restate its importance.⁷³ Much is, perhaps naturally, spiritual, and over the course of the century the repeated admonitions become somewhat repetitious as the epistles seek to reinforce the duties of parents while giving additional detail as the snares into which children might fall. By 1767 the Quaker educationalist is urged to guard their charges against 'the reading of plays, romances, and other licentious publications' and 'likewise against the public pastimes', which included games.⁷⁴ Friends were progressive in terms of the importance of languages:

let them be instructed in some modern tongues, as French, High and Low Dutch, Danish, &c. that so when they are grown up, they may reap the benefit thereof; and, as it shall please the Lord to dispose and incline them, may be of service to the church.⁷⁵

This was not the kind of education provided in schools, or even at the Universities; indeed, such a practical education was rarely valued in the homes of the gentry, where the paramount achievement was the ability to converse politely, a skill founded on the classics.⁷⁶

⁷¹ MGR 11b5/MISC/3 'Peel MS' (LSF).

⁷² MGR 11b5/MISC 3 'Peel MS': 39-51. The manuscript copy dates from 1737-8, with later additions.

⁷³ Samuel Tuke, *Five Papers on the Past Proceedings of the Society of Friends in Connection with the Education of Youth read at the meetings of the Friends' Educational Society, at Ackworth, read in years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (York: John L Linney, 1843): 37-41; the revised printed Book of Extracts, produced in 1783, continued this emphasis, with nine pages of advice (Extracts, 121-129).

⁷⁴ Extracts, 128 'Education' (#14, 1767); see also Extracts, 11-12 'Books' (#3, 1764).

⁷⁵ Extracts, 124 'Education' (#8, 1737).

⁷⁶ The absence of such drawing-room skills were used as arguments for exclusion from Fellowship of the College of Physicians - see quotation from Thomas Withers in Chapter 3.

Outside the home, the earliest established Quaker tutor was probably Thomas Lawson of Newby Stones, who took pupils from 1657.⁷⁷ Another early schoolmaster was Ambrose Rigg, whose later 'warning' was to prove an integral part of Friends' financial management.⁷⁸ The earliest school was actually run in the Friary gaol at Ilchester during 1662,⁷⁹ before Fox put in hand the formation of schools at Waltham Abbey and Shacklewell from 1668; tuition was to include Lawyers Latin, Court Hand and Quaker schoolmaster Charles Taylor's *Compendium Trium Linguarum*.⁸⁰ At the Sidcot school in Somerset (run by one master, William Jenkins, from 1699 until 1728) a pupil writes of learning grammar, the Latin testaments, arithmetic, and 'merchants' accounts'.⁸¹ Such practical choices of subject are significant, and unlike the classical eighteenth-century English education.⁸² While the gentlemen commoners attending the 'great nine' English public schools followed an antiquated curriculum of dictation, translation and grammar which had hardly changed in centuries, young Quakers were taught skills which would be of practical use. Quaker parents (following Advices on Plainness of style, language and behaviour)⁸³ would have seen little utility in a University environment focussed on classical cramming and a lifestyle characterised as one of 'extravagance, debt, drunkenness, gambling, and an absurd attention to dress'.⁸⁴ Neither the prospects arising from such education nor such a network of companions were attractive to the Quaker, for whom the purpose of education was honest activity with a continuity of discipline to the good of succeeding generations.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 102.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 7 'Collective finance'.

⁷⁹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 525, fn.3.

⁸⁰ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 525-529.

⁸¹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 531; letter dated 1714.

⁸² Hans, *New Trends*, 15-20; see also Chapter 3 'Professions'.

⁸³ Extracts, 130-135, 'Plainness'; this heading still ran to five pages in 1783.

⁸⁴ R. Archer, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921): 7; quoted in Hans, *New Trends* 42.

⁸⁵ Extracts, 137, 'Poor' (#3 1709).

5.4 Education and the Poor

Given this emphasis on home tuition for the middling sort, it is perhaps not surprising that the earliest steps towards creating specifically Quaker schools were motivated by the need to provide opportunities for children of somewhat poorer Friends, where finances would not allow for home tutors. These efforts should be set in the context of the widespread trends in poor relief which predominated in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Such 'charity' would appear to have been motivated by a combination of economic necessity and the obligations of 'Christian duty'. A good example of the reformist agenda of the period can be found in the work of former Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale (1683), who proposed the aggregating of parish spending to fund supervised institutions where the poor might learn a trade.⁸⁶ Hale's vision was comprehensive, and went as far as to provide a mechanism to ensure a 'living wage' during slack times,⁸⁷ concluding that 'the want of a due Provision for Education and Relief of the Poor in a way of Industry, is that which fills the Gaols with Malefactors'.⁸⁸ Later that decade the merchant Sir Josiah Child addressed the same issue as part of his *Discourse on Trade*;⁸⁹ making the significant claim that oaths be dispensed with for positions of 'Fathers of the Poor', as these would bar non-conformists 'amongst whom there will be found some excellent instruments for this work'. Child also recommended that a 'workhouse' be allowed to produce whatever is fit, without consideration of patents or privileges, while making specific reference to the children at Clerkenwell workhouse who had been prevented from making 'Hangings'.⁹⁰ While his publication predates the known start of the Quaker institution, it is suggestive of a close knowledge of both the institution and the

⁸⁶ Mathew Hale, *A Discourse touching Provision for the Poor*, (William Shrewsbury, 1683).

⁸⁷ Hale, *A Discourse*, 18: 'it is not unknown how that some covetous Masters in hard times, if they are well stocked and of Abilities, will set on work many Poor, but they must take such Wages as they are not able to live upon'.

⁸⁸ Hale, *A Discourse*, 25.

⁸⁹ Josiah Child, *A New Discourse of Trade...*, (Printed by A. Sowle, 1690): 68, (# 11).

⁹⁰ Child, *New Discourse on Trade*, 70 (#15); see also J. Child and M. Hale, *A Method concerning the Relief and Employment of the Poor humbly offer'd to the consideration of the king and both Houses of Parliament*, (Printed by the advice of some in authority, 1699): 11, 13; while this suggests the Quaker workhouse, but the Clerkenwell connection remains unclear; it seems the book was sold at the 'Three Keys', Nags-head-Court, Grace-Church-Street, next to the Friends' Meeting House.

issues Quakers would attempt to address in that parish.⁹¹ We are fortunate to have a detailed compendium of early Friends' educational activities, derived from substantial archive research into contemporary minutes, and produced by Samuel Tuke on behalf of the *Friends Educational Society* in 1843.⁹² This examines the provisions made for those who had not the means for private tuition, and cites the printed epistle of 1695 which advises that 'schoolmasters and mistresses, who are faithful Friends and well qualified, be encouraged in all counties, cities, or other places, where there may be need, and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage in order to apprenticeship.'⁹³ The purpose of the establishment is representative of practical Quaker thought: children were to be 'fit to be put out apprentices, or Capable to be masters or ushers in the said school'.⁹⁴

There was a long-standing concern of Friends to ensure that there was provision amongst the meetings for the aged and the poor, in particular widows with children.⁹⁵ The Epistles of Fox make reference to the need for collective management of those unable to provide fully for themselves as early as 1667; the text recommends providing 'a house or houses, where an hundred may have rooms to work in, and shops of all sorts of things to sell, and where widows and young women might work and live.'⁹⁶ Other epistles also refer to the needs of children of widows, often the importance of providing occupations through binding as apprentices, using central funding shared across monthly and quarterly meetings.⁹⁷

⁹¹ There is a record of a non-Quaker workhouse in Clerkenwell set up in 1727 in [s.n.] *An Account of Several Work-houses for Employing and Maintaining the Poor*, (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1725); see also Peter Higginbotham, *The Workhouse Encyclopaedia*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2012).

⁹² Tuke, *Five Papers*; this is drawn upon heavily for archive material in this chapter.

⁹³ Collected Epistles, 76; (XVII, 1695); these values were echoed across the Atlantic, where the first chartered Quaker school was created in Philadelphia in 1698, accepting both Quaker and non-Quaker children (the poor at no cost).

⁹⁴ Sydney V. James, 'Quaker Meetings and Education in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Autumn 1962): 93.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

⁹⁶ George Fox, *Collected Epistles, Letters and Testimonies*, (Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831): 343, (CCLXIV; 1667).

⁹⁷ Fox, *Epistles from the Yearly Meetings*, 342, (CCLXIV 1669); this is identified as a 'collected' epistle, for which the date of component paragraphs may be uncertain. The nature of apprenticeships is discussed in the section below, while the implications of collective finance are addressed the next chapter.

Friends saw education as a further route to eradicate poverty, through promoting an economic self-sufficiency, and a significant practical example of this at the turn of the eighteenth century was the establishment of the Workhouse school at Clerkenwell. The first movement towards this institution date from 1696, and have been represented by some as an attempt to implement some of the proposals contained in a *College of Industry* by John Bellers.⁹⁸ This seems highly unlikely since the 'College' was a commercial evolution of Hale's charity, and proposed using the sale of the produce of the effectively incarcerated poor to provide them with subsistence, while offering substantial returns for investors.⁹⁹ It is worth noting that while some subsequent commentators have attempted to champion Bellers as a pioneer philanthropist (following Karl Marx),¹⁰⁰ contemporary Quaker opinion was less enthusiastic: in 1697 the Meeting for Sufferings issued an Epistle on the subject of education, which made a recommendation that Bellers' project be evaluated, to establish 'how far it may answer the end by him proposed, and how much you may be willing to encourage it by a voluntary contribution...., it might, by right management, be of use to the end intended'.¹⁰¹ This cautious approach was recognised by Samuel Tuke, who, after an examination of the Yearly Meeting minutes, acknowledged that Friends' thought was 'thoroughly differing from John Bellers, having no faith in the superior virtue which would be found within the walls of his college, or in any better system of infant training than that to be found under the parental roof'.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ John Bellers, *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry*, (T. Sowle, 1696); see Vann 'Interregnum' 179. 'More or less the embodiment of Bellers' ideas'; also Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 361-2: 'doubtless John Bellers' plans were hailed with satisfaction'. Neither view is sustained by the records.

⁹⁹ The economic advantage arose from congregating some 300 more or less able 'poor' in a compulsory communal work-camp designed to service both agriculture and crafts, which Bellers estimated would consume only two thirds of its production for self-sufficiency. This, as Bellers recommended to the Quakers in 1695, would not only employ the poor, but enable investors to sell-off the surplus to achieve a substantial return of between twelve and eighteen percent annually (the typical return expected during the period was between four and five percent per annum - see father in law Fettiplace's transaction described in Chapter 7 'Collective finance'.

¹⁰⁰ Isaac Sharp, 'John Bellers - Lost and Found', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII No.3 (1915): 118; citing Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1 (1867): 'ein wahres Phanomen in der Geschichte der politischen Oekonomie'.

¹⁰¹ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 16-19; Meeting Minutes quoted in Tuke, *Five Papers*, 12-13.

¹⁰² Tuke, *Five Papers*, 18.

Charles Simpson's review of *John Bellers in Official Minutes* indicates that Bellers would later join those in favour of a Workhouse for Gloucester Friends at around the same time that Clerkenwell was set up,¹⁰³ which may perhaps suggest a wider interest in such proposals across the Society. While the projected College never again appears in either Simpson's or Tuke's reviews of the records, the Yearly Meeting epistle of 1700 does re-emphasise the importance of education, stating: 'it is the earnest desire of this meeting for the Lord's sake, the honour of his name and truth, and good of posterity, that a godly care be taken by you for the due education of Friends' children...'¹⁰⁴ The following year, in 1701, Friends took their economic-obligation 'philanthropy' forward, and the message is unequivocal: 'It is desired that no poor Friends children should want any such learning'.¹⁰⁵ Friends took the unusual step of commissioning a detailed national report from the whole Society, presented to a dedicated education committee.¹⁰⁶ This body concluded, (in harmony with the reformist agenda discussed above), that education be augmented with 'some profitable labour' in addition to 'languages, sciences and the way of Truth'.¹⁰⁷ The report identified needs, sought recommendations for suitable teachers, and asked for the finance to be met by Local Meetings.¹⁰⁸ This, it should be noted, was at a time when the role of teacher was in great transition from the classical pedagogue into a more practical purveyor of vocational skills, although usually with little training or understanding of method beyond that gained from experience – indeed in most schools, the pupils themselves would provide much of the teaching.¹⁰⁹ The Monthly Meeting contributions to the report reveal substantial regional

¹⁰³ Charles Simpson, 'John Bellers in Official Minutes', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII No.3 (1912): 120; citing 'Nailsworth Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 27 iii 1701'.

¹⁰⁴ Collected Epistles, 88 (XXIII 1700).

¹⁰⁵ Collected Epistles, 90 (XXIV, 1701).

¹⁰⁶ Tuke, *Five Papers* 24; 'Report of the Morning Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings under the direction of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends'.

¹⁰⁷ It is possible that Friends views on children in workhouses were influenced by similar ideas in John Locke's '*Essay on the Poor Law*' which appeared in 1697; certainly the approach is similar, although Locke's regime for the children, with a bread and water diet from the age of three, can only appear brutal, even for its time.

¹⁰⁸ One Richard Scoryer of Wandsworth is named as a teacher trainer; the need to train teachers re-occurs in a minute of YM 1715; and later in the Fothergill report of 1758.

¹⁰⁹ O'Day, *Education and Society*, 177.

variations in both Quaker education provision and need: Bristol 'has schools in our workhouse settled for the benefit of our youth'; Devonshire reports 'a want of Friends schools in many places; Durham 'have schools'; London 'have schools in many parts of the city'; Northamptonshire 'No Public Schools, but greatly wanted; Somersetshire 'have a school in good order'; Westmoreland 'have three schools'; Wiltshire 'have one school'; Worcestershire 'have two schools'.¹¹⁰ The reports also quantified the number of poor across London who might benefit from some central management of charitable care: 184 aged and 47 children were believed to be suitable - for both accommodation and work.¹¹¹ This number would seem to be modest: while it is very difficult to obtain accurate figures for the size of the Society of Friends, from the marriage data the total number of London and Middlesex members would be perhaps between six and eight thousand Friends.¹¹² The low number of suitable poor may illustrate the relative prosperity of the membership (and perhaps the relative affordability of home tutoring), accompanied by earlier provisions to address local 'needs' whereby the care of poor friends was already in place.

Thus the move by the Society to set up a workhouse school at Clerkenwell should be recognised as the realisation of an historic Society objective to solve the poverty associated with widows, orphans, and the elderly, rather than any attempt to provide education for its own sake. Clerkenwell was the precursor of what would become a typical hybrid 'labour-school' environment, such as became widespread after the Knatchbull Act of 1723.¹¹³

Clerkenwell was intended to provide collective care for the (aged) poor, with a mix of practical and educational activities aimed at occupying (poor) children, while equipping them

¹¹⁰ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 23; citing 'Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 1701'.

¹¹¹ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 362.

¹¹² This is a 'new very rough estimate'; based on an average 40-45 marriages per year, and a rate of 8/1000 population; see P.E. Razzell, 'Population Change in Eighteenth-Century England. A Reinterpretation', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 2; (1965): 314; for marriage rates; see also Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', *passim*; Braithwaite estimates that London Quakers would be around one fifth of the total ('Second period', 458-9).

¹¹³ *The Workhouse Test Act (1723)*; 9 George 1, c.7; this required those who wished to receive poor relief to enter a workhouse and undertake a set amount of work.

to become apprentices. There was both a charitable and a pecuniary motivation: it was considered that the Society's costs of managing their aged poor, and the poor children, should be reduced through communal housing, and that the sale of merchandise produced through work would contribute to running costs.¹¹⁴ To set up the project, the significant sum of £1888 was raised in less than a year, and in 1701 a substantial building of 46 rooms was leased to house around thirty poor, with boys introduced three years later.¹¹⁵ The boys' day began at dawn and continued until five or six in the evening, mostly spent spinning and weaving, and with two hours dedicated to reading and writing.¹¹⁶ From the reports cited in Beck and Ball, the financial aspect of the scheme proved ambitious, leading to regular calls on the Quarterly Meetings to meet arrears.¹¹⁷ Beck and Ball also note that the economies of scale expected by collocation failed to materialise, leading to higher charges for attenders, and causing Meetings to attempt to extract their poor from the venture.¹¹⁸ Ultimately the work contributed less than a half-penny per inmate, daily, and led a 1712 committee of Friends to end the attempt to make the institution pay through labour.¹¹⁹ Usefully, however, there exists an independent report from September 1731 which refers to the Quaker Clerkenwell workhouse as one which had failed prior to 1700 (possibly as the result of the issues identified by Childs, above) but which under the 'charitable Quakers...deserves taking Notice of, for the good Oeconomy and Cleanliness observed in it.... Children, obliged to great silence, spinning mop-yarn...the girls making and mending the linen... and the Boys learn to read, write and cast accounts'.¹²⁰ This

¹¹⁴ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 363-5; in 1706 the cost of provision for 30 aged poor was reckoned at £130, much less than Monthly Meetings would pay individually, estimated at £300 (Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 365); this is later contested (Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 368).

¹¹⁵ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 24-25; Saffron Walden school traces its origins back to this institution.

¹¹⁶ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 25, and Paper II passim.

¹¹⁷ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 367.

¹¹⁸ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 366; 368; 372-3; Quarterly Meeting paid weekly charges per child of between 12^d and 18^d up to 1750; see Chapter 9.

¹¹⁹ Tuke notes '1 1/2 Farthing per person, daily' (*Five Papers*, 25), equal to 3/8 of a penny; Bellers was on the committee, which did try other methods – including reduced rates, stabling, boarders and a mop factory.

¹²⁰ Anon., *An account of the work-houses in Great Britain, in the year M,DCC,XXXII. Shewing their original, number, and the particular management of them* ('London', M,DCC,LXXXVI. [1786]): 56; while mop selling was a great financial success, the Quarterly Meeting rejected calls for a 5am start to the children's working day (Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 371).

last is highly unusual for the time, and probably unique in an institution for the poor. This is indicative of the emphasis placed upon education as preparation for employment, and may indeed have contributed materially to the more than two hundred apprenticeships achieved for children within the Quarterly Meeting in the first twenty five years of its operation.¹²¹ The significance of this, in terms of both scale and investment, is discussed in the following section on Apprenticeships, below.

The emphasis on shared corporate responsibility for practical outcomes is central to the Quaker approach. It is reinforced by the printed Epistle of 1709, which clearly indicated the need for Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to collect funds to support the education of those Friends who 'want ability in the world', deploying the collective wealth of the Society so 'that the Children of the poor may have due help of education, instruction, and necessary learning. And that children (both of rich and poor) may be early provided with industrious employments, that they may not grow up in idleness, looseness, and vice.'¹²² Two years later, a dedicated meeting for Quakers interested in education was held as part of 1711 Yearly Meeting, indicating that the subject remained under active management by the Society.¹²³ As noted, the continued importance of education may be inferred from the additional twenty eight Advices issued to Friends between 1700 and 1740.¹²⁴ By the middle of the century Clerkenwell was housing ninety old and young, with over 500 children having been assisted.¹²⁵ Richard Vann concedes that Quaker education 'did not generally mean intellectual stimulation or training', and that poor children would learn elementary subjects only';¹²⁶ a statement contradicted by the casting of accounts taught at Clerkenwell, while his assertion

¹²¹ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 370; 'Report to the Committee of 1729'; 155 boys, 54 girls.

¹²² Collected Epistles, 112; (XXXII, 1709); this message is repeated verbatim in Epistle XLI (1718) from the number of entries in the Index, only Sufferings and Prisoners have more references during this 85 year period.

¹²³ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 21.

¹²⁴ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 37-41 has a complete list.

¹²⁵ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 372

¹²⁶ Vann, 'Interregnum', 180.

that Friends 'fully shared the conventional expectation' that richer children 'should have a more polite' education would seem to underplay both the emphasis Friends placed on the practical and utilitarian, as well as their insistence on avoiding the 'polite' necessities of the day, such as the classics, dancing, or fencing.¹²⁷

Tuke's review of education during the period is marked by the reticence of the educationalist, and his conclusion, that 'man cannot be put into a lathe' seems to reflect a Victorian distaste for the association of machines, children and labour.¹²⁸ Yet in this judgement he perhaps misses the financial aims of early Friends, and ignores the both the successful apprenticeships and the contribution to the educational solutions evolved later in the century, as Quakers created a national network of schools. Organised Quaker education had a scale and ambition which predated the Sunday Schools movement of Robert Raikes by more than a century,¹²⁹ and pursued a religious agenda in parallel with levels of literacy and numeracy which would not be made compulsory until the Elementary Education Act of 1870 (a bill championed by Quaker-educated W.E. Forster).¹³⁰

Ultimately, the Society of Friends would set up twenty board schools by 1780, serving almost 650 children – although, increasingly the emphasis was to achieve cross-generational acculturation rather than mere academic goals.¹³¹ By the end of the eighteenth century there would be quite a shift away from both the practical and the commercial,¹³² but this destination must not be allowed to foreshadow the beginning of the Friends' educational journey. This

¹²⁷ Vann, 'Interregnum', 180-181.

¹²⁸ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 112.

¹²⁹ See John Carroll Power, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox*, (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863); Hanna Ball is credited with the first Sunday School in 1769, inspired by John Wesley's teaching, while Raikes began in 1781; although he attended Cambridge, Raikes did not graduate, an early biographer stating 'he preferred being brought up to business.' (ibid, 31).

¹³⁰ Forster was disowned in 1850 for 'marrying out'; in England and Wales, the Elementary Education Act of 1880 made schooling compulsory until the age of 10. By 1891, it was also free; Scotland began a national system with the School Establishment Act (Scottish Privy Council, 10 December 1616), the Education Act 1633, the Act of 1646 forced parishes to provide education (attendance was not compulsory).

¹³¹ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 72-73

¹³² See Chapter 9.

remains best expressed by the Meeting For Sufferings Epistle of 1697 which concludes with an unambiguous perspective on the nature and the spirit in which Quakers pursued education at the turn of the eighteenth century:

Have such schools in your respective counties; wherein your children may not only be instructed in languages and sciences, in the way of Truth, but likewise in some profitable and commendable labour or industrious exercises, which may prevent many temptations attending idleness, and instil principles of Truth; with literature, both to rich and poor; which may also contribute to the poor children's maintenance, and take away the occasion of the reflections of the Dutch proverb on our English, viz., "that they keep their children to work to make things for ours to play withall".¹³³

5.5 The Role of Apprenticeships

Originating in the incentive for medieval villeins to become freemen, and traditionally the province of the Guilds, by the later seventeenth century it was economics that provided the rationale that underpinned apprenticeships.¹³⁴ The apprentice served a master under instruction for at least seven years, acting under the authority of a corporation (a recognised legal entity, originally the Wards of London) or a guild, in order to gain legal privileges. Such privileges were substantial, and included rights not only to work (within the City of London, or incorporated town), but to take a limited number of apprentices (a potentially lucrative arrangement), to obtain settlement (necessary for receiving poor relief in bad times), and (once a freeman), certain voting rights.¹³⁵ Legal rights exercised by the guilds originated in the Statute of Artificers of 1562, and included maximum wage rates, premiums or fees, property qualifications and marriage restrictions, which although eroded over time, were

¹³³ Quoted in Tuke, *Five Papers*, 13.

¹³⁴ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 20-24.

¹³⁵ A.H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Vol. 2, 1364-1381*, (HMSO, 1929): xxx-xlvii; 'Introduction: Apprenticeship'. Cited as 'Apprenticeship'.

claimed until repeal in 1814.¹³⁶ From the earliest records, it appears that the legal and commercial benefits associated with enfranchisement made apprenticeships the route to joining what Thomas described as 'the master class, the enfranchised aristocracy of the City'.¹³⁷ Control of apprenticeships had ever regulated the labour market; in the fifteenth century, attempts had been made to restrict apprentices to those whose parents held land above twenty shillings value, in order to address the deficiency of labourers on the land;¹³⁸ this measure was repealed after protests from the City.¹³⁹ Historically, freedom under the guilds and corporations drew apprentices to London from across the country: Thomas concludes that 'the general impression conveyed is that apprentices were mainly country-born, and that London's net was spread over the whole kingdom, from Cornwall to Northumberland, from Westmoreland to Kent'.¹⁴⁰ By early modern times, apprenticeship was established as the method by which a living could be secured through gaining the right to practice a trade, and began to be perceived as a mechanism for reducing the cost of supporting poorer children, and the *Apprentices Act* of 1536 empowered parishes to apprentice healthy beggar boys.¹⁴¹ All parishes desired to reduce the charges of the poor, and increasingly low-cost (or no cost) apprenticeships were used to in pursuit of reducing liabilities. Parish apprenticeships would usually put poor girls to learn simple needlework, although it seems that excellence in this skill might encourage dangerous hopes of 'better' employment: the 1728 Quaker Committee inspecting the Clerkenwell workhouse desired the girls not be taught the seamstry of a nicer sort' in case this begat apprehensions with social 'ill consequences'!¹⁴² Boys were commonly put without fee to learn unspecified 'husbandry'; Jewel believes this

¹³⁶ O'Day, *Professions in Early Modern England*, 22.

¹³⁷ In this Thomas follows other historians: see George Unwin, *Gilds and Companies of London*, (Methuen, 1908): 83; apprenticeships, and associated fees, might usefully be compared with a modern University degree.

¹³⁸ *Labourers Act* 7 Hen IV c. 17 (1405).

¹³⁹ Thomas, 'Apprenticeship'; City Customs (c); 8 Hen. VI c11 (1429).

¹⁴⁰ Thomas, 'Apprenticeship', 909; based on the earliest Rolls of 1309-12.

¹⁴¹ 28 Hen 8 c5 (1536).

¹⁴² Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 369-370; the Committee recommended (and achieved) the dismissal of the Schoolmistress, saving a salary.

signified years of drudgery and servitude, with 'a limit to what could be learned from a master who signed his name with a mark'.¹⁴³ Subsequent amendments through the Poor Laws of 1597 and 1601 created a two-tier apprentice system whereby parents with £3 per annum freehold could apprentice their children into a selection of higher status occupations: overseas trade, mercers, drapers, goldsmiths, embroiderers, and outputting clothiers, while lesser families were apprenticed into lesser crafts - smiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, bricklayers, thatchers, weavers and fullers.¹⁴⁴

The leading work on quantification of apprenticeships has been done by Tim Leunig, Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis: focussing on the early modern period, they have conducted analysis into the extent of apprenticeships, the nature of the premiums and 'fines' (entry fees) paid, and the influence of social networks.¹⁴⁵ With regard to the first, their data shows wide geographic variation in density of apprenticeships (Figure 5.1), ranging from less than 5 per thousand in the South West, to over 75 per thousand in London and Middlesex.¹⁴⁶ Such variation is consistent with Thomas' findings from the early Rolls, and perhaps to be expected, given the concentration of commercial activity in and around the capital. This trend is sustained over the long eighteenth century, although the data also shows clearly the decline in overall density of apprenticeships between 1600 and 1775. The Statute was ultimately repealed after 251 years by the *Wages, etc., of Artificers, etc. Act* of 1813,¹⁴⁷ which E.P. Thompson considered was a major catalyst in the development of the industrial revolution in Birmingham and the emerging cities.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 89-90.

¹⁴⁴ Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England*, 43; this is significant given Fox's selection of suitable trades funded by legacies: see Chapter 7.

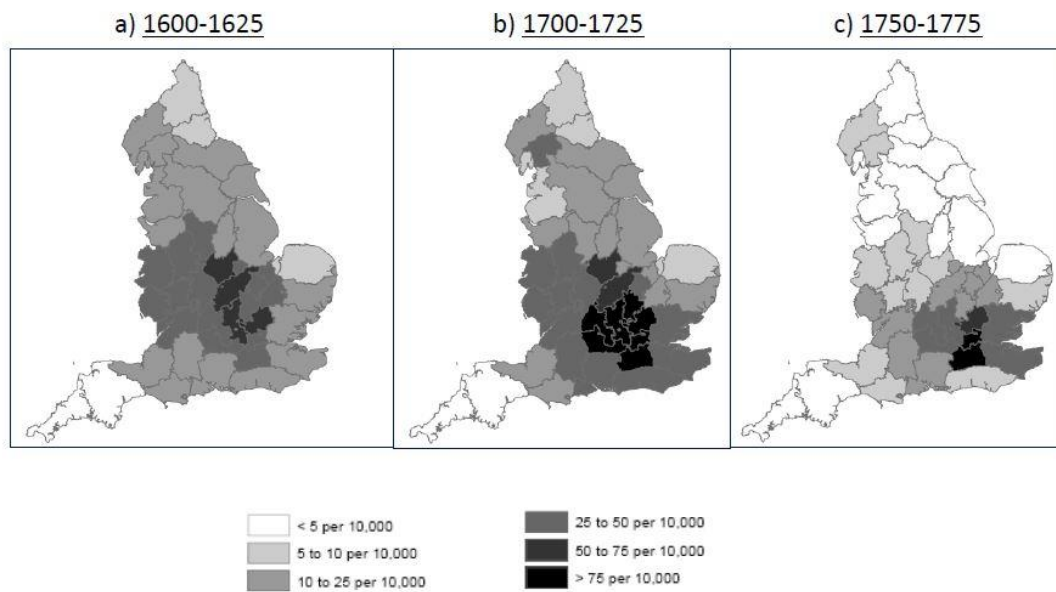
¹⁴⁵ See Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Rules and Reality: Quantifying the Practice of Apprenticeship in Early Modern England', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (May 2012): 556-579; also 'Why did (Pre-Industrial) Firms Train? Premiums and Apprenticeship Contracts in 18th century England', *Working Papers*, No. 155/11 LSE (2011); and with Tim Leunig, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: the Market for London Apprenticeships, 1600-1749', *CEP Discussion Paper*, No.956, November 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprenticeships', 27; (Figure 2 a,b,c).

¹⁴⁷ 53 Geo3 c. 40.

¹⁴⁸ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Penguin, 1963): 270-272.

Figure 5.1 Apprenticeships per head of population over time¹⁴⁹



It is not clear how many of those apprenticed actually completed their term. During the period under consideration, data from livery companies is incomplete, but indicates over half, although Wallis notes that at least a quarter of the missing cases have been found to have registered their Freedom in later registers, which seems to suggest that was not uncommon practice.¹⁵⁰ Analysis of premium data from the Stamp Duty records levied between 1710 and 1811 shows that while premiums varied by trade, they could typically exceed a year's agricultural wages for a moderately prosperous trade.¹⁵¹ Leunig *et al* conclude therefore that an apprenticeship was 'not a practice that would allow poor families to improve their economic status, but rather one that middle class families could use to provide human capital and economic opportunities for their children.'¹⁵² Given the emphasis placed by early Friends on using common funds to provide such opportunities for the Society's poor,¹⁵³ this

¹⁴⁹ Source: Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprenticeships', 27; (Figure 2 a,b,c).

¹⁵⁰ Patrick Willis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Pre-modern England', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sep., 2008): 841, fn. 29.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix B, 'Apprentice Fees'.

¹⁵² Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprenticeships', 3.

¹⁵³ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

interpretation has important consequences as an indicator of the aspirations, if not always the exact status, of early Quakers.¹⁵⁴

5.6 Quakers Records and Apprenticeships

As shown by the numbers of poor children apprenticed from the Clerkenwell workhouse, Friends took a systematic approach to ensuring access to apprenticeships, which would have had the effect in stimulating the creation of a commercially successful membership.¹⁵⁵ This was motivated by the well-established Quaker belief that all within the Society had a duty to engage in a useful occupation.¹⁵⁶ It has been suggested that this was a highly relevant issue for the Valiant Sixty, those who first spread the Quaker message: their median age was twenty-three, commonly the time of completion of an apprenticeship, and a decade younger than those who subsequently joined ('The First Publishers').¹⁵⁷

As with education, there is an abundance of early Quaker writing which specifically addresses the important role fulfilled by apprenticeships. The themes engaged include: Quarterly meeting responsibility; use of legacies as the source of funds; and the purpose of the investment - to enable the poor within the Society to become self-sufficient; these remain consistent and often repeated. The earliest appearance may be a letter from Fox of 1660, suggesting the allocation of legacies such that those to Quarterly Meetings be used for fees, while those to local meetings be used to set up businesses for those 'freed' of apprenticeships.¹⁵⁸ In the *Journal* of George Fox, the collection of memories and letters, assembled in 1694 under the guidance of Thomas Elwood, Fox is depicted as being drawn to

¹⁵⁴ It would also seem to run counter to Christopher Hill's claim that Quakers were radical proletarians.

¹⁵⁵ For the financial mechanics, see Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

¹⁵⁶ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 48-49.

¹⁵⁷ Frank C. Huntington, Jr., 'Quakerism during the Commonwealth: The Experience of the Light', *Quaker History*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Fall 1982): 69-88; attributed to Vann.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 76-77.

the question of apprenticeships again in late 1669; he writes that Quarterly Meetings should take responsibility for assigning children of the poor to apprenticeships, again principally as a means to ensure each might 'rear up their decayed families'.¹⁵⁹ Appropriate trades are given by Fox as 'bricklayers, masons, carpenters, wheelrights, ploughwrights, tailors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, nailers, butchers, weavers of linen and woollen, stuffs and serges, &c.' It is interesting, and probably significant, that in the analysis conducted of all apprentice fees, all the above named apprenticeships fall into the lower cost segment of the one hundred and more possible.¹⁶⁰ This suggests that Fox's selection was a deliberate identification of potential occupations, rather than a random selection of apprenticeships in general, and thus gives an indication of a Quaker view on the appropriate use of the Society's funds. While this letter does not appear in the Collected Epistles, one extant manuscript copy (from the orthography, possibly even Fox's original) bears additional marginalia, with references to indicate it was once part of a collection, and a superscript 'Being in the Quarterly Meeting Book of London; judge it not needful to print this' which may indicate it attracted contemporary importance.¹⁶¹ From the outset, Discipline subordinated education to apprenticeships, with the Advice of 1695 that 'care be taken, that poor friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage, in order to apprenticeship'.¹⁶² Advice on care regarding apprentices was extended in 1697:

that they are trained up in the way of truth, and fit to be put forth apprentices; it is the advice and counsel of friends, that special care be taken to put them apprentices to honest friends, that they may be preserved in the way of truth.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Fox, *Journal*, Vol. II, 76; dated 1st of 11th Month, 1669; it may be that marriage to Margaret Fell two months earlier had brought children to the fore.

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix B 'Apprentice Fees'.

¹⁶¹ TEMP MSS38/5/1 (LSF); dated 'Lo. 1d 11mo 1669', it carries the reference 'no.33.'

¹⁶² Extracts, 169 'Schools' (#1).

¹⁶³ Extracts, 122 'Education' (#3).

Similarly, the Queries, which formed the bi-annual report of Quarterly meetings with regard to adherence to the Discipline, indicate an early interest in managing apprenticeships: Stagg notes that London and Middlesex Quarterly meeting even created a specific additional query on the subject.¹⁶⁴ A supplement to the Queries, the much later General Advice of 1791, shows little change, requiring Meetings

to be careful to place out children, of all degrees, amongst those friends whose care and example will be most likely to conduce to their safety; to prefer such servants and apprentices as are members of our society; and not to demand exorbitant apprentice-fees: lest, they frustrate the care of friends in these respects.¹⁶⁵

Monthly Meetings would ultimately act as a clearing house for opportunities, instructed to inquire at least quarterly whether any master want apprentices, or boys want places, informing the Quarterly Meeting of unsupplied needs.¹⁶⁶ Thus Friends developed a clear process by which those in need of an apprentice should go about acquiring one, and the Monthly Meeting became established as the broking house for a county-wide, regional mechanism encompassing all Friends in all trades. Such access to an extended apprentice market, in an era when communication was both slow and incomplete, would have a high probability of providing Friends with both a more timely and possibly more appropriate matching of skills and needs than the prevailing norm. A wider access to more suitable opportunities would naturally have benefited those wealthy enough to take advantage, but the significant multiplier for those in membership of the Society of Friends was the management of the hypothecated legacy funds. Legacies were nominated as public stock, with Quarterly meetings to reimburse the fund if the moneys were temporarily used elsewhere, so that 'that the memory of the deceased just Friend, that gave it, may not be forgotten'.¹⁶⁷ The management of such legacies

¹⁶⁴ Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 221.

¹⁶⁵ Extracts, 148 'Queries' III; see also Stagg, 'Friends' Queries', 221-223; this was still echoed in a subsequent Advice of 1821 on 'Youth' which suggested Friends 'in their choice of servants, apprentices, and assistants, to prefer the members of our Society' (*Extracts 1822 supplement*, 204 'Youth').

¹⁶⁶ *Rules of Discipline of the Society of Friends with Advices...*, (Darton and Harvey, 1834): 138 (#30, 1806).

¹⁶⁷ Epistle CCLXIV; 342-3, 344, 345.

was also described in comprehensive detail, for both executors and trustees; an Advice of 1715 is worth quoting in full:

Executors and trustees, concerned in wills and settlements, are advised to take especial care that they faithfully discharge their respective trusts according to the intent of the donors and testators ; and that all charitable gifts, legacies, bequests, and settlements of estates, by will or deed, intended and given for the use of the poor, the aged, the impotent, or putting poor friends' children to education or apprenticeships, may not be appropriated or converted to any other uses than such as the donors and testators have directed and enjoined by legal settlement, will, or testament.¹⁶⁸

There is much evidence from the surviving contemporary records of the Quarterly Meeting at Peel to suggest that such advice appears to have been followed.¹⁶⁹ The meeting recorded both legacies and apprenticeships in opposite ends of the same volume. While the financial implications of this are considered in the chapter below, it is sufficient to note that apprentice fees, and any clothes, and even occasionally the associated legal costs (Binding Fees) were recorded from 1675 to 1715, often with the source of the legacy, in keeping with the above. The importance of preserving testaments for Apprenticeships was reiterated in the Disciplines in the 1715 Advices on wills.¹⁷⁰ During this period, some forty two apprenticeships are recorded as being found and funded by the Peel Monthly Meeting, an average of one per year (Figure 5.2).

¹⁶⁸ Extracts, 175, 206.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

¹⁷⁰ Extracts, 206, Wills, Executors and Administrators, (#4 1715).

Figure 5.2: Peel Apprenticeships (1671-1715)¹⁷¹

Date		Amount	Trade	Father's Co'y	Father	Notes	
1715	Hanah Sleighton	£ 5.00	Weaver	N/A			
1715	Joseph Hilton	£ 5.00	Cordwainer	Combmaker	Dead		
1714	Samuel Cooper	£ 5.00	Weaver	Glover	Dead		
1714	Geo Denton	£ 5.00	Taylor	Taylor			
1712	Edmund Dunstan	£ 5.00	Shoemaker	Shoemaker	Master		
1711	Ann Jupe	£ 5.00	Cook	N/A			
1711	Rich. Noakes	£ 5.00	Cordwainer	none		Binding charges of 16s	
1710	Martha Stayton	£ 5.00	Glover	Turner	Dead	Binding 9s6d	
1709	Mary Allen	£ 5.00	?	?			
1709	Joshua Smith	£ 5.00	Shoemaker	?			
1709	Danial Hewlit	£ 6.00	Scalemaker	?		A lad brought up at Friends Workhouse	
1709	? Squire	£ 12.50	Cooper	Cooper	Master		
1708	Jerehmiiah Clerke	£ 9.00	Joyner	Taylor	Dead		
1708	Benjamin Basham	£ 10.00	Joyner	Cordwainer	Dead		
1707	Robert Sleighton	£ 10.00	Cabinet	Turner			
1707	Geo Cooper	£ 5.00	Glover	?			
1706	Wm Searle	£ 10.00	Cooper			Eight years; brought up at Friends workhouse	
1705	James Jupe	£ 5.00	Costermonger & Syderman				
1704	James Tunn	£ 5.00	Joyner	Goldsmith	Dead	8 years	
1703	Joh Livingstone	£ 10.00	Tinman		Dead		
1702	Anne Bend	£ 5.00	Glover				
1702	Sarah Harrod	£ 3.00	Silkweaver		Dead	Her indenture survives	
1700	? Vears	£ 5.00	?				
1699	? Newel	£ 5.00	?				
1699	Mary Basham	£ 5.00	?				
1672	John Hinton	---	Haberdasher			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1685	Joseph Jowell	---	Shoemaker			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1692	Thos Vears	---	leatherseller			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1692	Sarah Smith	---	Glover			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1693	Susanna Perry	---	Glover			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1696	Sarah Adamson	£ 4.00	Button maker			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1697	John Newton	£ 5.00	Farrier			* No indenture, so no fine/fee data noted	
1683	Dan Neale	£ 5.00	Watchmaker				
1680	Margaret Hunt		?			About 8 years old, to Leicester	
1680	Benjamin Biddle	£ 5.00	?				
1680	? Spickerman	£ 5.00	?			A Gearl	
1678	Isaac Palmer	£ 5.00	?				
1675	John Chiko	£ 5.00	?			8 years	
1674	Peter Parker	£ 5.00	?			Both to John Spencer	
1674	John Baker	£ 5.00	?			Both to John Spencer	
1673	John Bradford	£ 5.00	Printer				
1671	Thomas Campion	£ 6.00	?				
		Total £	210.50				

It is abundantly clear from a comparison of this record with the typical fees for apprentice binding that the Society of Friends at Peel adopted the lower cost trades: the highest binding fee of twelve pounds, ten shillings is in the lowest half of possible fees, while a fee of five pounds represents the most common lowest cost of entry given. This supports the conclusion that Fox's inventory of trades was the result of a financial calculation, rather than being a random selection, or based on other criteria, although only the presence of a silkweaver could

¹⁷¹ Source: collated from MGR11b5/FPR/7 (LSF); the book notes some records were not copied directly from Indentures, which accounts for the non-consecutive entries, and the missing fees.

be said to suggest luxury. It is noticeable from the register that later entries contained more detail, perhaps explicable by a change in policy, or equally that of the recording clerk. Of the 22 apprentices from 1702, over a third had a deceased father, which may indicate a source of poverty. Fox, in the famous Epistle on the ancient principles of truth of 1668, urged the importance of apprenticing the fatherless.¹⁷² Significantly, there are two references to boys from the Clerkenwell Workhouse school, and based on the number of poor children identified in the Yearly Meeting survey of 1701 discussed above, it might be supposed that each London Quarterly Meeting might be responsible for a handful of poor children of varying ages. This being so, the approximate rate of one child apprenticed per year may be interpreted as providing apprenticeships for all that required them. It is interesting to note that the only two children to be bound into the trade of their father were actually apprenticed to their fathers, which would seem to indicate poor apprentices were bound into opportunities as they arose. Certainly the binding of Miss Spikeman, described merely as 'a gearl', and the departure of Margaret Hunt 'about eight years old, to Leceister' without further details, suggests a particularly practical approach prevailed. Yet this is to ignore the very real benefits in terms of financial security that came with a completed apprenticeship, and the privileges associated with the status of journeyman and master. As noted above, Leunig *et al* observe that the cost of acquiring training meant that becoming an apprentice was a choice available primarily to the sons of the middling sorts and the wealthy: and that apprenticeship in this period did not allow many youths to escape poverty. This would seem to suggest that the advantages offered by a Quaker Quarterly Meeting would be both unusual, and prized. The trio also suggest that 'within this broad income band, there is little evidence that social networks were particularly important', while accepting that their methodology may be at fault.¹⁷³ In corporate towns, artisans were required to be Citizens before accepting apprentices, and apprenticeship was

¹⁷² Fox Epistle, 329; (CCLXIII, 1668).

¹⁷³ Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprentices', 5.

monitored by local guilds and the civic authorities;¹⁷⁴ outside of the corporate towns, other networks would be required, such as that offered by the Society of Friends. Leunig *et al* note that some apprentices may have had links to London masters operating 'with several degrees of separation that are not captured through origin, family, or the occupation of their father':¹⁷⁵ certainly such degrees of separation can be seen to apply within the Society of Friends, where a child would become an apprentice through the efforts of the presiding Quarterly Meeting. Their view is that only a tiny proportion of apprenticeships were advertised, and that knowledge of apprenticeships spread through informal channels.¹⁷⁶ As shown in the Epistle above, the Society of Friends had a mechanism to disseminate such information formally. This is supported by surviving minutes of the Society of Friends from Balby,¹⁷⁷ which record the apprentice requirements of several members of the meeting, confirming that such information was both requested from membership and recorded. The great importance of apprenticeships to the Society appears in strong contrast to the attitude towards the professions.¹⁷⁸

5.7 Conclusion

Raistrick's statement that both Quaker apprentices and intellects were channelled into fuelling the rapid growth of ever more complex eighteenth century industrialisation and mechanisation remains a fact; however it seems safe to conclude from the above that this was due neither to Friends being excluded from the professions or other occupations as a result of discrimination arising from the Test Acts.¹⁷⁹ Hostile to traditional education, and in favour of the practical,

¹⁷⁴ Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprentices', 3.

¹⁷⁵ Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprentices', 13.

¹⁷⁶ Leunig *et al*, 'Early Modern Apprentices', 4.

¹⁷⁷ See Clerk of Doncaster, TEMP MSS 298; 2/1-3 (LSF).

¹⁷⁸ See Chapter 3 'Professions'.

¹⁷⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 122-132.

Quakers were not forced to 'make the best' of what opportunities remained to them: rather they pursued opportunities which had for them a commercial utility.

The relative prosperity of the membership allowed the early establishment of a mechanism to reduce the burden on the Society of its poorer members. Quakers had little use for education as an intellectual pursuit: Cantor notes that even after the removal of the Test Acts in the 1870s, 'contemporary Quakers saw little value in the education offered by Oxford and Cambridge'.¹⁸⁰ In this they were not alone: Hans' study of England's intellectual elite educated during the Eighteenth century finds that only one third attended the two Universities; the majority either were schooled abroad (in Scotland, Holland, or other foreign universities) or went directly to study under a professional. This would suggest that a university education was not a pre-requisite to elitism, or by implication, to success. Indeed, an indication of the numbers of Quakers which *might* have enrolled may be estimated by looking at Hans' statistics on Catholics during the eighteenth century: within the sample of 3500 'intellectual men' (collated from the DNB) 125 were Catholics;¹⁸¹ of these, 104 went directly into the professions, while 21 qualified abroad.¹⁸² During this period, English Catholics numbered around 80,000, (between perhaps 1% and 2% of the population); these figures suggest that they became over-represented in the intellectual elite despite similar barriers to University and civil progress to Quakers. It further suggests that a very low number of Quakers might have been expected to attend the Universities even had there been no barrier: Quakers were at most half the number of Catholics, and by the end of the century much closer to a quarter.¹⁸³ For the eighteenth century, mathematician John Venn calculated total University admissions of 25,000 for Oxford and 15,000 at Cambridge.¹⁸⁴ Applying a pro-rata factor to Quakers would

¹⁸⁰ Cantor, *Quakers Jews and Science*, 91.

¹⁸¹ Hans, *New Trends*, 17, Table I.

¹⁸² Hans, *New Trends*, 17, Table I.

¹⁸³ See Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', 13 (Table 4).

¹⁸⁴ Hans, *New Trends*, 42; thus a combined total of 400 per year; having fallen from the seventeenth century.

suggest one or at most two attending each year, while reducing the numbers to take account of social origins might reduce this number further to a level where even the most sensitive merchant would find it hard to detect a dip on the scale of Quaker commerce.¹⁸⁵

5.8 Chapter Summary

Quakers valued commercial success, and many who completed apprenticeships took up a trade, while others set up as shopkeepers, traders or proprietors, such as William Stout, John Lawson, and John Atkinson.¹⁸⁶ Of the professions, while medicine became gradually accepted, via the apothecary, neither the law nor the cloth ever did, probably because both were marked out by Fox's view that they should be freely dispensed: 'let not the Law be sold nor bought. Let not them handle the Law that will not do justice without money; for those will not do justice, but will favour the rich for a fee... which eates up the poor.'¹⁸⁷

Thus it seems fair to conclude that the bar on University education among the commercial classes had little effect: even towards the end of the century the increase in new fields of extra-curricular activity at Oxford and Cambridge scarcely changed the curriculum 'little if at all'.¹⁸⁸ Similarly the role of the oath as the impetus for commercial success has been overstated, if not entirely mistaken, both because of its relative short duration as an instrument, and in view of Quaker preferences.

Fox himself was well aware of this, and made a nicely crafted distinction: he claimed that Quakers were denied the right to speak in the name of God by Priests, because they had not served their 'apprenticeship' of seven years at college; he continued by drawing attention to

¹⁸⁵ For religious denomination statistics see Clive D. Field, 'Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c.1680–c. 1840', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 63, Issue 04 (2012): 693-720.

¹⁸⁶ See Stout, 'Autobiography,' *passim*; Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 61-65; Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 74.

¹⁸⁷ Fox, 'Fifty Nine'; see also Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 558, fn.3.

¹⁸⁸ O'Day, *Education and Society*, 261-2.

the trades of the Apostles, saying the priests 'make a trade of our friends words, who were of our occupation', before concluding 'Away with you to work, and away with your colleges!'¹⁸⁹

Overall, it seems that as a choice for the offspring of Quakers, the vast majority exemplify R.G. Wilson's more local observation: that those in the eighteenth-century business community were simply not interested in higher education.¹⁹⁰ But those in the Society of Friends did demonstrate a dedicated desire to develop the capacity for all within membership to become economically self-sustaining.

¹⁸⁹ Fox Epistles, 288-289 (CCXLIX, 1667); Fox also mentions 'he that will not work will not eat' (Thessalonians 3:10) subsequently referenced by Bellers on the title page of his 'Proposals', after Fox's death.

¹⁹⁰ See R.G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants, the merchant community in Leeds: 1700-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

6 EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FINANCE

This chapter describes a financial context for in the long eighteenth century by introducing the mechanisms of what Craig Muldrew has termed the 'economy of obligation'.¹ The chapter outlines the role of finance in commerce during the long eighteenth century, and examines those elements which had an impact on the daily lives of Quakers engaging in trade. The first elements considered are credit and debt, not least the interdependence of all those in commerce, and their reliance upon timely repayments from their debtors in order to meet promises made further along the supply chain. The second area considered is the function of borrowing, looking at the sources and the process of lending, statutory rates of interest permitted, and the usury legislation of the period. The third area outlines the origins of banking, which began to develop more rapidly in the eighteenth century, while remaining less than fully formed at its close. A fourth section looks at the contemporary bankruptcy legislation and the treatment of bankrupts, which evolved during the same period, and gives an overview of imprisonment, and debtors' prisons. A final section examines those aspects of taxation, both direct and indirect, which would have been noticeable to the commercial traders during the period. This provides the necessary background for the subsequent discussion on Quaker behaviours in the following chapter, which suggests that the practices and Disciplines of the Religious Society of Friends as set out in their Book of Extracts were aligned with contemporary views on what constituted best practice for successful business.

¹ Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1998).

6.1 Background

There would appear to be a rare consensus amongst historians that the end of the seventeenth century was marked by increasing prosperity for the nation and its individuals: Paul Slack states 'There is no doubt that England's wealth was increasing across the century, and increasing in per capita terms after 1650', the cause of which he ascribes to a decline in population growth accompanied by a continued increase in foreign trade and agricultural productivity in a trend that continued until 1750.² Richard Grassby concludes a wide spectrum of positive change in the seventeenth century:

the momentum of English economic development was sustained as an upward secular trend. The physical size of the market was extended, most obviously in international trade through re-exports and colonial settlement, and its structure changed. London was the most powerful engine of growth but, after 1650, it was equalled by the aggregated activity of the outports and provincial towns.³

Jan de Vries⁴ develops the revisions of Peter Lindert and Jeffrey G. Williamson in order to suggest a 'larger prerevolution industrial output',⁵ putting forward an 'industrious revolution' which was delivering prosperity a century before the traditional industrial landmark events of the eighteenth century. Tony Wrigley concludes that by 1700 the economy was marked by efficient agriculture, urbanisation, increased trade and commerce, and a shift into manufacturing and services.⁶ Importantly, economic success was driven by small firms, using

² Paul Slack, 'Material Progress and the Challenge of Affluence in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug., 2009): 576-603; 577-8.

³ R. Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1995): 395.

⁴ Jan De Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Papers Presented at the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting of the Economic History Association, (Jun., 1994): 249-270; useful supporting data is collected in Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson, 'Reinterpreting England's Social Tables, 1688-1913', *Explorations in Economic History*, 20 (1983): 94-109.

⁵ See Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, 19 (1982): 385-408; also C. Knick Harley, 'British Industrialization before 1841: Evidence of Slower Growth During the Industrial Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History* 42 (1982): 267; and with N.F.R. Crafts, 'Output Growth and the Industrial Revolution: A Restatement of the Crafts-Harley Views', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992): 703-30.

⁶ E.A. Wrigley, 'The transition to an advanced organic economy: half a millennium of English agriculture', *Economic History Review*, LIX (2006): 435-80.

personal capital in a structure of which 'the fundamental unit was still the partnership, usually dominated by one individual.'⁷

Contemporary observers certainly felt this was so: in the introduction to his first published work, Daniel Defoe claimed that 'it is easy to prove the nation itself, taking it as one general stock...was never richer since it was inhabited', and goes on to ascribe this wealth to the inventiveness of the 'true-bred merchant the most intelligent man in the world, and consequently the most capable'.⁸ Defoe was following earlier writers who celebrated the prosperity of the nation, perhaps the most prolific of which was Sir Josiah Child, a merchant's son who became a major supplier to the Royal Navy; while Mayor of Portsmouth he created the municipal market place in return for a ten-year lease, and after expanding into brewing and sugar, became a member of the lucrative naval victualling syndicate; this financed his obtaining the largest share in the East India company stock, which gave him its governorship, a baronetcy, and membership of parliament.⁹ Child first went into print in 1668, with an anonymous work entitled *Brief Observations on Trade*,¹⁰ the majority of which, together with other works addressing interest rates, usury and employment of the poor, were reprinted in 1693 as *A New Discourse on Trade* in support of an attempt to reduce the legal maximum rate of interest.¹¹ Child sets out to prove there is more money in England than twenty years previously, citing a doubling of English merchant shipping, one third more exports of manufacture, lead and tin, a doubling of yields on London house rents, and more; directing doubters to His Majesty's Surveyor of Customs for evidence.¹² Another indicator singled out by observers, then and now, was the increasing cost of apprenticeships, confirmed by Defoe's

⁷ Grassby, 'The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England', 401.

⁸ Daniel Defoe, *An Essay upon Projects*, (R.R. for Tho. Cockerill, 1667).

⁹ Richard Grassby, 'Child, Sir Josiah, first baronet (bap. 1631, d. 1699), economic writer and merchant.', (ODNB, 2004).

¹⁰ [s.n.], *Brief observations concerning trade, and interest of money by J.C.*, (Printed for Elizabeth Calvert at the Black-spread-Eagle in Barbican, and Henry Mortlock at the sign of the White-Heart in Westminster-Hall, 1668).

¹¹ Grassby, 'Child'; Child's *modus operandi* of bribery and manipulation stand in useful counterpoint to the values espoused by contemporary Quakers, and even Defoe.

¹² Josiah Child, *A New Discourse on Trade*, (T. Sowle, 1693): Preface xxi-xxiv.

later *Complete English Tradesman* which stated that 'the money taken with apprentices now being exorbitantly great, compar'd to what it was in former times', while noting that 'a customary present to the tradesman's wife to encourage her to be kind' had evolved into a demand at first 'kept within bounds, and thirty or forty pounds sufficient to a very good merchant,' but 'which is now run up to five hundred nay to a thousand; a thing which would formerly have been thought monstrous.'¹³ Nicholas Rogers' analysis agreed, and ascribed the increase in fees to the high profitability of trade in the post-restoration decades.¹⁴

Such economic opportunity was not appreciated by all: Izaak Walton lamented the 'money-getting men, men that spend all their time, first in getting, and next in anxious care to keep it ; men that are condemned to be rich, and then always busy or discontented'.¹⁵ Looking back to the turn of the eighteenth century from the middle, the energetic Reverend Doctor Trustler found time to remark on the:

great degree of luxury to which this country has arrived, within a few years, is not only astonishing but almost dreadful to think of. Time was, when those articles of indulgence, which now every mechanic aims at the possession of, were enjoyed only by the Baron or Lord of a district.¹⁶

Trustler ascribed the cause of this 'excess' to:

the increase of trade, riches increased; men began to feel new wants, they became gradually less hardy and robust, grew effeminate as their property accumulated, and sighed for indulgences they never dreamed of before. Methods of conveying these indulgencies from one part of the kingdom to another were then studied; roads were made passable, and carriages invented.¹⁷

¹³ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman...*, (Charles Rivington, 1726): 20, 193-4. *English Tradesman*.

¹⁴ Nicholas Rogers, 'Money, Land and Lineage: The Big Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London, *Social History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Oct., 1979): 444; he notes that by the third quarter of the century, Apothecaries appeared to be the favoured destination of the gentry, with apprenticeships at £100 offering better value than the great merchants.

¹⁵ Isaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, (The Bodley Head, [1653] 1908): 25.

¹⁶ John Trustler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable: Addressed to men of small fortune...*, (R. Baldwin, Paternoster Row; 1750): 1-2.

¹⁷ Trustler, *The Way to be Rich and Respectable*, 4.

While the benefits were inevitably social and geographically concentrated, the availability of finance played a key role in determining the distribution. The key aspects of this are introduced below.

6.2 Credit and Debt

The importance of debt, and its repayment, cannot be overstated. As context, it should be recalled that this was particularly relevant in the latter part of the seventeenth century, since in 1672 Charles II himself had partially stopped repayment of his government's debts, causing many substantial London creditors to go bankrupt;¹⁸ while evidence exists that 'by the 1700s many debtors too were backing a Stuart restoration, based on their belief that the Pretender would repudiate debts'.¹⁹ That there was a revolution in the state finance for the generation that lived around 1700 is generally agreed, and despite differing emphasis on priority of causes, much is made of the effectiveness of taxation, and which allied to the new monarch's dependence on Parliament allowed extended government borrowing.²⁰ The effect on individuals of this revolution is rather less clear: rates of interest applied to private loans varied according to status and assets, with lending restricted to the wealthy (if not solely aristocratic).²¹ Craig Muldrew has comprehensively established the importance of mutually-observed credit agreements in the early modern economy; his term 'the economy of obligation' neatly compresses the reality of trade during the long eighteenth century and the argument here follows his, while the details merit some unpacking.²² Muldrew's work seeks to establish that there were no alternatives to mutual and extended credit networks for any

¹⁸ J. Wells, J. and D. Wills, 'Revolution, Restoration, and Debt Repudiation: The Jacobite Threat to England's Institutions and Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic History*, Jun., 2000, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Jun., 2000): 423; see also 428, 436, and *passim*.

¹⁹ Wells and Wills, 'Restoration and Debt Repudiation', 426.

²⁰ Peter Temin and Hans-Joachim Voth, 'Private Borrowing during the Financial Revolution: Hoare's Bank and Its Customers, 1702-24', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Aug., 2008): 542.

²¹ See Stephen Quinn, 'The Glorious Revolution's Effect on English Private Finance: A Microhistory, 1680-1705', *The Journal of Economic History*, Sep., 2001, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Sep., 2001): 602-606; Quinn analyses the loan book of Sir Francis Child, a Goldsmith banker.

²² Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*.

trader hoping to prosper in the long eighteenth century, a necessity brought about by certain factors from the previous century in combination with the growth in commerce noted above. The key legacy issue remained the absence of *specie* – or coin of the realm. Muldrew uses evidence of wills to suggest that there were only small amounts of money actually available for circulation, calculating an average 15:1 ratio of debts owed to cash held.²³ Living debt ratios could be even higher, as inventories and debt comprised far and away the largest part of a trader's wealth: an extreme example is given of one William Turner, who worth a fortune with £41,295, had only £70 in ready money on the box in his shop, while being owed over £25,000.²⁴ A useful corroboration can be found in a study of the papers of Quaker druggist Thomas Corbyn:²⁵ 'casting up' upon the death of his partner in 1754 showed £3,293 was tied up in stock, with the remaining assets of almost £10,000 in 'good debts' (i.e. those expected to be recovered); these were accounted in various ledgers: £1,520 in the London 'Town Apothecaries Ledger', a substantial £5,318 in the domestic wholesale 'Country Ledger', while another £1,978 was in the 'Foreign Ledger'.²⁶ Only £105 of debt was recorded in the retail 'Patients' Ledger', while money held in the form of cash in hand, or even a bank draft, does not appear to figure.²⁷

Such a shortage of cash was exacerbated by the spiralling number of transactions, but it owed its origin from the practice of 'clipping' which had seen the silver coinage systematically debased, and occasioned both a re-coining programme and an act of parliament to pay for it through the introduction of the notorious Window Tax.²⁸ In 1696 the Royal Mint appointed a new Master, Sir Isaac Newton, who was tasked with replacing the 'inferior silver coinage...

²³ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 100.

²⁴ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 101.

²⁵ Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, 'The Rise of the English Drugs Industry: the role of Thomas Corbyn', *Medical History*, Vol. 33, (1989): 277-295. Cited as 'Thomas Corbyn'.

²⁶ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 277-295.

²⁷ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 287-8.

²⁸ *An Act for granting to His Majesty severall Rates or Duties upon Houses for making good the Deficiency of the clipped Money*. [Chapter XVIII. Rot. Parl. 7&8 Gul. III. p.5.n.4], in John Raithby, ed., *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol.7 1695-1701, (s.l.: Great Britain Record Commission, 1820): 86-94.

no longer acceptable to the foreign merchants'.²⁹ The scale of the problem is indicated by the amount of new coinage issued: R.D. Richards states that between 17 January 1696 and 24 March 1697, £2,458,882 10s.3d. was minted using clipped coin - with a nominal value approaching five million pounds.³⁰ Raistrick narrates in detail how the Quaker London Lead Company was selected to provide high-quality silver by-product to the Mint, resulting in the striking of a dedicated 'Quaker shilling' design between the years 1705 and 1737.³¹ The specie shortage, however, was not to be remedied for several further decades, giving rise to curious innovations. One such was the trade tokens, described by Vann as:

irregular but indispensable brass and lead farthings and halfpennies...made necessary by the chronic shortage of small coins; tradesmen were reduced to striking their own tokens for small change, periodically redeeming collections of them in coin of the realm.³²

Vann takes the presence and prominence of Quakers amongst token-issuing tradesmen as evidence of their honesty, since the prevalence of Quaker tokens may be taken to indicate high credit-worthiness of the issuers.³³ On the other hand, it might be argued that such evidence of a future pledge to pay would only assist the local retail trader, and only then where the customer was not considered suitable to run an account. Such tokens would have had no value in international or even wholesale transactions. Yet it is likely they would be needed only rarely, and for small local transactions: Muldrew argues that 'almost all buying and selling involved credit of one form or another', 'extended as a normative part of the tens of thousands of daily sales and services'.³⁴ Thus:

²⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 179-182.

³⁰ R.D. Richards, *The Early History of Banking in England*, (King & Son, 1929): 139-140; note 8 139; the exact figure (£4,875,920 1s. 4^d) is given in B.M., Harl. MS.,1282 (fols. 33-34).

³¹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 182; the 'shilling' was in fact a variety of denominations, marked with a quartering of the English rose and the Welsh plumes.

³² Vann, 'Interregnum', 86-87.

³³ Vann, 'Interregnum', 86-87.

³⁴ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 95; see his Chapter 4 'The Structure of Credit Networks' 95-122.

every household in the country, from those of paupers to the royal household, was to some degree enmeshed within the increasingly complicated webs of credit and obligation with which transactions were communicated.³⁵

Seventeenth-century traders agreed: the indefatigable commentator Thomas Powell cast his self-help guide towards a profligate with children in need of a living;³⁶ and showed his belief in credit as 'the soule of traffic'³⁷ (in a later work he would also observe that 'in the voyage to Promotion, Lending is the Rock, and Borrowing is the Gulfe...tender endeavours... tare against the one, and be swallowed up in the other').³⁸ This may be confirmed by a look beyond Corbyn's ledgers into his cash flow: for the single year 1770 from which a record has survived, it appears that total stock at the beginning of year amounted to £5,545, while a further £9,452 was spent on raw materials that year, along with around £2,000 of expenses in processing and running costs; total sales amounted to £13,966, generating a significant paper profit for the year of over £2,114.³⁹ Yet monthly sales ranged from £2,150 in February down to £493 in December, a fluctuation which would require significant levels of credit to balance cash-flow.⁴⁰

Thus the main consequence of this reliance on accounts was all that all involved in trade needed to keep records: Defoe's *Tradesman's handbook* was 'calculated for the instruction of our inland tradesmen; and especially of young beginners', and stressed the importance of this from the start (Chapter I – On Apprentices),⁴¹ while he devotes the whole of Chapter XX to 'keeping books and casting up'.⁴² Two further substantial sections address the correct management of credit: its value, and how to improve it (Chapter XXIV); and his final chapter

³⁵ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 95.

³⁶ Thomas Powell, *Tom of all trades. Or The plaine pathway to preferment... published for common good*, (B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, 1631).

³⁷ Thomas Powell, 'The Mystery and Misery of Lending', in the later (1635) edition of *Tom of all trades...*, (T[homas] H[arper], 1635): Epistle to the Reader [not paginated].

³⁸ Powell, 'Mystery and Misery', 'Epistle to the Reader', final page.

³⁹ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 289.

⁴⁰ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 289.

⁴¹ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 8-20.

⁴² Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 323-347.

discusses the advantage to credit of punctual paying of bills (Chapter XXV).⁴³ Defoe offers a pithy rearward view from the middle of the eighteenth century: the man who can survive without accurate accounting for trust given 'is not yet born, or if there ever were any such, they are all dead.'⁴⁴

6.3 Interest and Usury

The distinction between usury and interest had been resolved in the middle of the seventeenth century, at least with respect to the law; this set a maximum limit on charges, beyond which the arrangement was both illegal and considered usury; in 1651, an interregnum parliament had reduced the legal interest on money from 8 to 6 per cent.⁴⁵ It is perhaps significant that one of the earliest acts of Charles II on his restoration was to duplicate this law in the Usury Act of 1660, to ensure its provisions remained valid.⁴⁶ The regulation was designed to promote trade: as the wording of the act stated it:

hath beane found by notable experience beneficiall to the Advancement of Trade and Improvement of Lands by good Husbandry with many other considerable advantages to this Nation, especially the reduceing of it to a nearer proportion with Forraigne States with whom wee traffique.⁴⁷

Contracts with higher rates were voided; and scriveners subject to maximum rates, with punishment for any charging more than five shillings to set up, or twelve pence to broker loans.⁴⁸ Thus usury was proscribed by a law designed to promote ingenuity and industry. This is not to say that there were no longer debates over the circumstances in which making a charge for money was morally justifiable: Dwight Codr sets out the origins of the ethics of

⁴³ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 408-423; 423-447.

⁴⁴ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 326 .

⁴⁵ *An Act for prohibiting any person to take above Six pounds for Loan of One hundred pounds by the year*, (August 1651), in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, eds., (Wyman and Sons, 1911): 548-550.

⁴⁶ 12 Chas. II, c.13.

⁴⁷ Charles II, (1660): *An Act for restraining the takeing of Excessive Usury*,. in *Statutes of the Realm*, John Raithby, ed., Vol.5 (1628-80), (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819): 236-237.

⁴⁸ 12 Chas. II, c.13; see also Richards, *Early History of Banking*, 17-18.

uncertainty, centred on a controversial and eccentric clerical condemnation from the pulpit.⁴⁹ Then, as now, there were various views on the question; notwithstanding, the lenders of Lombard Street, and those who did business with them, knew exactly where they stood, and there were ways to get round this – not least by 'discounting', when less than the face value of the recorded loan was advanced; Quinn notes that bills of exchange used for international payments were commonly discounted during this period, 'typically...to conceal usurious interest rates'.⁵⁰ It is worth noting that following the successful conclusion of the wars in Europe, the usury rate was lowered in 1714 to five percent, arguably less as an incentive to commerce than a reflection of both reduced government demand and any risk premium.⁵¹

Trade credit discussed above must be distinguished from loans, which then (as now) had both term and percentage interest charges defined, as well as requirements for security - either assets or an individual. The Corbyn papers show how on entering a partnership with his masters' family in 1743 he needed to raise the substantial sum of £2000, in which he was helped by a loan from fellow Quaker apothecary Samuel Bevan.⁵² In order to expand his supplying business both nationally and internationally, the records show Corbyn borrowed at least a further £7,460 during the 1750s;⁵³ money required in a business which necessitated not only the purchase of expensive raw materials, but time consuming and labour-intensive processes.

Credit was offered as part of the trade, both wholesale and retail, and reflected an agreement where both parties would settle at a future date, usually specified, and an assumption that by that date other credits and debits would net off, with only the outstanding amount paid over

⁴⁹ Dwight Codr, *Raving at Usurers*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2016); the sermon was preached by one David Jones, who claimed money should be lent the King gratis; both this, and a failure to define his terms, resulted in ridicule.

⁵⁰ Quinn, 'English Private Finance', 606.

⁵¹ Temin and Voth, 'Private Borrowing', 543; in fact the rate on government borrowing would fall to three percent by the middle of the century.

⁵² Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 286; Corbyn & Co papers are held the Wellcome Archive, in 26 volumes, from 1726.

⁵³ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 288-289.

by whichever party was in debt. As Muldrew concludes, since money as a commodity was always in such short supply:

wherever possible reciprocal debts contracted between as many interested parties over a number of months, or even years, would be 'reckoned' and cancelled against each other, and only the balance paid in money.⁵⁴

Such an approach to transaction flows implicitly assumed a 'floating' balance would exist over the period; third parties might also be involved in triangular trades, with one trader buying goods from a second, and perhaps both from a third. Reconciliation would be performed, usually at least annually, from individual trader's records. Under such circumstances the cost of goods and the length of time to repay might be assumed to take some account of the cost of money. Defoe states a timeless commercial truth when he observed:

A tradesman whose credit is good, untouched, unspotted, and who, as above, has maintained it with care, shall in many cases buy his goods as cheap at three or four months' time of payment, as another man shall with ready money.⁵⁵

Thus both as a result of tradition, and in the face of complexities, there was no common practice of traders charging separate interest on trade credit – daily interest calculations would only later arise as customary between banks, and towards the end of the eighteenth century, as discussed below.⁵⁶

6.4 Commercial Banking

While the long eighteenth century undoubtedly saw the emergence of English banking, it did so only after a long gestation, and a somewhat awkward birth. At the turn of the century, the sole bank in the country was the privately-owned Governors and Company of the Bank of

⁵⁴ Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*, 101.

⁵⁵ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 76; (Chapter VI – Overtrading).

⁵⁶ See L.S. Pressnell, *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956): 406; for arrangements between Pease and Bolero, discussed below.

England;⁵⁷ this had been established in 1694 as a vehicle for managing government borrowing (to finance both the king and the war that accompanied him), under a complex measure known as the Tonnage Act which also set out policy, distribution, and governance of the nation's finances, while (significantly) offering eight percent annual return to subscribers in order to secure funds.⁵⁸ As its importance increased as the means of securing state finance, the bank subsequently received a monopoly on joint stock banking in an act of 1708.⁵⁹ Other institutions were thereby not only discouraged, but limited to partnerships of no more than six.⁶⁰ L.S. Pressnell's comprehensive *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution* is used extensively here, charting as it does in great detail the laboured development over this period of the financial services required by those whose business carried on outside London - the great majority of manufacturers, and substantial inland traders. Pressnell notes that even by 1784 there were only 119 banks, poorly distributed across the country: 'some half-dozen counties probably had no bank, and eighteen of the remainder had one or two'.⁶¹

Such banks had arrived by a number of routes: the first noted being industrial entrepreneurs, whose need to provide payments was exacerbated by the absence of currency noted above.⁶² Of these it is worth citing that of the Quaker magnates Gurney, whose role in facilitating the East Anglian manufacture and trade in textiles long preceded the formal formation of the bank in 1775.⁶³ Also worthy of note were the Lloyds and Barclays. The former had family connexions that would ultimately link them to banks owned by West Country Clothiers Fox-

⁵⁷ Richards, *Early History of Banking*, 132-188; two detailed chapters give the foundation and early transactions of the Bank of England; for the Tonnage Act see William and Mary, (1694) *An Act for granting to their Majesties severall Rates and Duties upon Tunnage of Shippes and Vessells...* in *Statutes of the Realm*: Vol. 6 (1685-94), John Raithby ed., (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819): 483-495.

⁵⁸ The Nine Years' War (1688-97), or War of the League of Augsburg, countered French influence in Europe, not least the Spanish Netherlands, home of William III.

⁵⁹ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 4-11.

⁶⁰ 7 Anne c.30.

⁶¹ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 10-11; see Table 1, *The Numbers of Country Banks in England and Wales 1784-1842*.

⁶² Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 14; the entire eighteenth century struck only 6% of the volume of new silver coinage produced between 1558-1694 ().

⁶³ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 236; the founding brothers Samuel and John both died in 1770, leaving over £70,000.

Fowler, the Quaker magnates Pease who banked in Newcastle and the Hoares of London, not to mention links with the Gurneys themselves.⁶⁴ Sayers describes the relational aspects of banking, below, looking at twenty prominent Lloyds, of which 'nine were sons of bankers and three others married bankers' daughters. Nine had sons or sons-in-law who followed them into banking. Seven were born Quakers.⁶⁵ In 1765, Ironmaster Sampson Lloyd II moved into banking on his own account at Birmingham, and on an initial investment of some £6000, produced profits of over £10,000 in six years, a rate of return Raistrick suggests 'far outstripped the parent iron manufacturing concern.'⁶⁶

Private lending was always restricted to those whose wealth included assets which could be used as collateral, but while credit under such circumstances could be provided by private banks such as those of Child or Hoare, this was neither common nor available widely.⁶⁷

Raistrick devotes his final chapter to the Quaker Banks.⁶⁸ His starting point is John Freame, clerk of London Yearly Meeting in 1711 and director of the Quaker Lead Company (producer of silver for the Mint), who had entered banking via the goldsmith route.⁶⁹ His daughter and grand-daughter both married a Barclay, and his son Joseph took into partnership a third, Robert, through whose family the current Barclay's bank evolved.⁷⁰ Raistrick also views as important the banking institutions set up by the Quaker families of Backhouse and Pease, and records their stability, survival, and championing investment in the emergent rail industry through the Stockton and Darlington railway.⁷¹ Such connections could be a two edged sword: a bank drawing on another with common correspondent relationships, or even partners

⁶⁴ R.S. Sayers, *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); see genealogical tables.

⁶⁵ Sayers, *Lloyds Bank*, 61; see Chapter 8 'Network' for kinship.

⁶⁶ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 323.

⁶⁷ Temin and Voth, 'Private Borrowing', 544-549; this study of Hoare's bank from 1702-1724 gives useful background detail for the period.

⁶⁸ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 319-333.

⁶⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 321.

⁷⁰ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 323; see diagram of 'Family and Business Connections of The Barclay Family'.

⁷¹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 331.

in common (memorably termed 'pig-on-pork' dealing)⁷² could prompt a run if the relationships were known. On the other hand, Joseph John Gurney's intervention saved Fry's bank in 1825: Fry's wife (famed Quaker prison reformer Elizabeth) was Gurney's sister.⁷³

A second route was via the money scriveners, a branch of the legal profession acting as agents, broking loans on a commission basis.⁷⁴ Given the virulent hostility shown by Quakers to the legal profession,⁷⁵ this was never a route trodden by Friends. However, several did follow the third (and most fruitful) entry into banking – through trade itself. A trader would 'handle [remittance] transactions as an offshoot to his normal business; the ubiquity of credit in commercial dealings trained him in quasi-banking operations.'⁷⁶ Here Thomas Corbyn's surviving papers are exemplars, such that the Porters' study concludes:

...above all, he inevitably acted as a bill-broker, discounteur, and *defacto* banker, especially to his overseas clients. In fact, a high proportion of the surviving business records comprise legal or quasi-legal records of financial transactions. It is hard to say whether Corbyn and his partners voluntarily undertook these dealings: some must have unavoidably arisen out of the necessity of collecting debts from deceased clients' estates, or from clients who defaulted or could pay only through the most Byzantine financial manipulations. Certainly, bad debts were a constant nightmare. All the same, Corbyn was never less than strict in his financial dealings-the business letters show him to have been a veritable money-making machine-and it is most unlikely that he undertook these general financial services without advantage to himself.⁷⁷

All three routes to banking ended in the same set of functions: these nascent enterprises evolved to supply means of payment, transfer and remittance, which they did through both the issue of notes, and the management of bank drafts and bills.⁷⁸ Innovations were suggested to

⁷² Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 30, fn.

⁷³ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 283.

⁷⁴ Richards, *Early History of Banking*, 16-17.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 3 'Professions'.

⁷⁶ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 41-74, 45; he questions the 'alleged bovine paternity of banking', denying cattle-drover precedence over the craftsman-trader.

⁷⁷ Porter and Porter, 'Thomas Corbyn', 289.

⁷⁸ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 136-41.

ease commerce, not least Defoe's Projected Bank that would lend to pay customs' duties in advance, thus securing a Crown discount of 10% for prompt payment, while charging 4% interest on debt.⁷⁹ Despite pointing out other savings on legal fees, and the cost of security, this eighteenth century revolving credit facility failed to appear. In practical terms, for almost the entirety of the period under consideration, banking as embodied by modern retail or commercial institutions simply was not extant.

6.5 Bankruptcy

Given the popular prominence of Quaker aversion to compounding with creditors, some introduction and context for bankruptcy is merited. Before the Restoration, bankruptcy was administered by convening a dedicated legal 'commission' of investigation, a mechanism that was both expensive and infrequent, with less than fifty per year.⁸⁰ Not until the turn of the eighteenth century were laws passed that granted the surrendering debtor discharge from all current debts, as well as an allowance for maintenance.⁸¹ Levinthal noted that the law considered both parties in a credit agreement to be taking some risk, and that the debtor pledged his assets, not future earnings.⁸² The move was partly in recognition that of the 8000 debtors estimated to be confined in England and Wales in 1650,⁸³ some were 'properly an object of pity'.⁸⁴ Defoe wrote copiously on debt,⁸⁵ and his works defending unfortunate debtors are considered by Nigel Stirk to have made 'an important contribution to a wider

⁷⁹ Defoe, *On Projects* 46, 36-38, *passim*; on the setting up of a national banking project.

⁸⁰ This sub-section collates the comprehensive work of the following: W.J. Jones, 'The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (1979): 1-63; Louis Edward Levinthal, 'The Early History of English Bankruptcy', *University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Jan., 1919): 1-20; and Sheila Marriner, 'English Bankruptcy Records and Statistics before 1850', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 1980): 351-366.

⁸¹ *An act to prevent frauds frequently committed by bankrupts*; 4 Anne, c.17 (1705), and 10 Anne, c.15 (1711) repealing the description of a bankrupt.

⁸² Levinthal, 'History of Bankruptcy', 19.

⁸³ Levinthal, 'History of Bankruptcy', 18.

⁸⁴ Levinthal, 'History of Bankruptcy', 18.

⁸⁵ Defoe, *On Projects* 191-227; see particularly 'Of Bankrupts'; debt also occupied much of his work on Trade.

movement for reform of the laws on debt.⁸⁶ The '*Complete English Tradesman*' warns against impecunious partners, and emphasises the precarious nature of credit, illustrated by scripture: 'Let him that *thinketh* he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'⁸⁷ Perhaps significantly, Defoe had personally experienced bankruptcy, and continued financial uncertainty;⁸⁸ in the early chapter 'of Bankrupts' (as he ironically notes, adjacent to that on Fools), Defoe points out the inequality of legal treatment for Creditor and Debtor who should ideally share the consequences of their transaction.⁸⁹ Having pointed out the common methods of fraudulent abuse, he recommends a project to modify the commission process.⁹⁰ That said, his views on repeat offenders, even after his own commission, indicate the seriousness of failure:

all second commissions should have some penalty upon the bankrupt, and a third a farther penalty, and if the fourth brought the man to the gallows, it could not be thought hard.⁹¹

Imprisonment was a common consequence for non-payment of debt, a practice which continued long into the nineteenth century.⁹² It should be noted that seventeenth-century gaols (as those in the century that followed) were run on a commercial basis, and officials at all levels saw inmates as a potential source of money – whether debtors or felons.⁹³ The parliamentary committee into the appalling conditions at the Marshalsea Prison in 1729 describes the extent of pecuniary abuse (known as 'garnish'), and found the cause to be that the Deputy Marshal (one John Derby) had without authority sub-let the right to 'farm' the

⁸⁶ Nigel Stirk, 'Arresting Ambiguity: The Shifting Geographies of a London Debtors' Sanctuary in the Eighteenth Century', *Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Oct., 2000): 324.

⁸⁷ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 273; Ch XIII, 'of Tradesmen making composition with Debtors, or with Creditors'; 1 Corinthians 10:12.

⁸⁸ P. Bakscheider, 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731), writer and businessman', (ODNB, 2008); despite a resurgence in his fortunes, by 1728 he was again being sued for debt by his tenant and manager, and by two women claiming £800 owed since 1692, forcing him to mortgage his house to provide a dowry for his daughter, and transfer other assets to his son, who too was forced to mortgage it rapidly and repeatedly; Bakscheider notes 'his last days were not happy'.

⁸⁹ Defoe, *On Projects*, 192-195.

⁹⁰ Defoe, *On Projects*, 199-227; his proposals are detailed and equitable, if not always administratively simple.

⁹¹ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 211; see Chapter 9 for changing views on Bankruptcy.

⁹² The letters of Benjamin Disraeli make frequent reference to the inadvisability of his being in public lest his creditors had him seized; see Christopher Hibbert, *Disraeli – a personal history*, (Harper; 2005), chapter on 'Debts and Dunns', 95-103.

⁹³ See the *Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the State of the Goals of the Kingdom*.

Relating to the Marshalsea Prison and farther relating to the Fleet Prison, ([s.n.] [s.l.], 1729). Cited as 'Fleet Report'.

prison to a butcher (William Action) for £140 per year, with a separate seven-year lease on 'lodging and other advantages' for a further £260 annually – to be paid 'clear of taxes'.⁹⁴

Charging prisoners was widespread, and certainly not confined to Quakers: the ubiquitous Reverend John Trusler (noted above for his warning against credit) was Chaplain to the Poultry prison in 1761, and later revealed the gaoler's procedure in his fictional account of fallen gentleman, *Gabriel Outcast*:

The common public room of our house [prison], was a miserable dungeon, under ground, calculated to convey an idea of horror, that men who had lived tolerably in the world, and who on an action for debt, were unfortunate enough to fall into his hands, might loath the very sight of the place, and be glad to give him five shillings a week to be admitted into a better room.⁹⁵

Trusler (ever the accountant) suggests that the Compter had a room which held twenty 'generally full at five shillings a head; this with half a guinea a week, for half a bed, and two shillings and sixpence a day from each, for a wretched breakfast and a worse dinner, put a considerable deal of money into [the gaoler's] pocket'.⁹⁶ Other expenses involved sheriff officers - notoriously corrupt - who would take money themselves to act as surety, while a guinea might see them release a prisoner to look for their own bail.⁹⁷ The word 'broke' deserves consideration: Marshall claims that Quaker merchants of the period observed the 'twin desideratum, reputation and reliability, and when the foundation was shattered, the man *broke*... spiritual as well as practical incapacity is involved'.⁹⁸ So the highwayman John Addison (hanged in 1711 for robbing a Serjeant of the Poultry Compter)⁹⁹ was imputing moral criticism when recorded as saying:

⁹⁴ 'Fleet Report', 2-3.

⁹⁵ John Trusler, *Modern times: or, the adventures of Gabriel Outcast. Supposed to be written by himself. In imitation of Gil Blas. In three volumes*, (Dublin., J.M. Davis, 1785); *Modern Times*; see also Emily Manners, *Elizabeth Hooton*, (Headley Brothers, 1914): 15, for Garnish and reform of gaols.

⁹⁶ Trusler, *Modern Times*, Chapter XI.

⁹⁷ Trusler, *Modern Times*, Chapter XI.

⁹⁸ Marshall, *William Stout*, 8.

⁹⁹ John Addison, *Newgate Calendar*, (1780).

Sirrah, was the tenth part of a farthing to save your life, nay, your soul, I would not give it, because thou art the spawn of a broken shopkeeper, who takes delight in the ruin of thy fellow-creatures!¹⁰⁰

Even the highwayman despises the man who has broken his credit. Edward ('Ned') Ward, whose reports tended to boldly show what others might leave out, described conditions in The Poultry gaol in his *London Spy*, in 1695: his party having been detained for late night drinking, they were offered 'Beds, but upon such unconscionable terms, that a Salt Sinner might have hired a Feather'd Conveniency in a Bawdy-House, with a Downy Bed-fellow into the bargain, for less Money than they exacted for the Sheets'.¹⁰¹ He describes the inmates as 'ill-looking vermin, with long, rusty beards, swaddled up in rags...[who] came hovering round us, like so many cannibals...all crying out, "Garnish, garnish"', for which he ultimately extended to them the sum of two shillings each.¹⁰²

An additional aspect of the debtors' life was the concept of 'sanctuary'; Stirk describes a shifting population of the indebted who sought to avoid their creditors through an anachronism arising from pretended rights of sanctuary associated with the remnant of long-abandoned Royal Mint of Henry VIII.¹⁰³ Inmates were self-regulating through an association of Mint Clubs, aggressively policing access to the motley collection of lanes and alleys which sheltered those who had not yet become bankrupt, as well as 'Rules-men', attempting to resolve their affairs having purchased day-release from the Kings Bench and Fleet goalers.¹⁰⁴ Bailiffs attempting to serve writs therein were abused roundly in ceremonies involving hooded-clubmen, sewerage ditches, and brickbats coated with excrement, before being made to swear they would not return; such treatment would prove effective as late as 1723; most

¹⁰⁰ John Addison, *Newgate Calendar* (1780): not paginated.

¹⁰¹ Edward [Ned] Ward, *The London Spy, compleat, In Eighteen Parts*, (Bettesworth, at the Red-Lion in Paternoster Row, [1695] 1718): IV; 82.

¹⁰² Ward, *London Spy*, 83.

¹⁰³ Stirk, 'London Debtors' Sanctuary', 316.

¹⁰⁴ Stirk, 'London Debtors' Sanctuary', 317-318.

simply did not venture in.¹⁰⁵ Surprisingly, perhaps, this phenomenon was not unknown to Friends: a review of the manuscript minutes of the local Peel Monthly Meeting reveals how the scale of this delinquency even attracted the attention of the prime gathering of London Quakers: the Six-Weeks Meeting.¹⁰⁶ This was 'a selected assembly of the grave and antient Friends chosen out of all the meetings in the metropolis and its district',¹⁰⁷ with an evolving focus that became increasingly secular and financial. Such was the perceived extent of the problem that the Meeting resolved in 1692 that:

an account of the names of those in the mint to be sent to several monthly meetings that they did formerly belong to by B. Bealing, that enquiry be made weather they have been dealt with by Friends, And that an account thereof be given to the next meeting in London that Southwark Monthly Meeting may be satisfied concerning them And to enquire whether they have satisfied their creditors.¹⁰⁸

That Bealing was Recording Clerk to London Yearly Meeting, which had met just two weeks before, confirms that the issue was under scrutiny at the highest level of the Society.¹⁰⁹

Amongst the general population there was a persistent view that it was possible for the debtors to maintain a claim to integrity – Stirk cites several publications, and asserts that support for the 'morality' of the Minters was common, and reflected a difference between these unfortunate debtors' and others, who had intentionally defrauded. In due course, a combination of greater powers for bailiffs, increased penalties for obstruction and the writing-off of debts of less than fifty pounds, with amnesties, led to an exodus of thousands of Minters; their families, animals, and possessions on carts, making for freedom through

¹⁰⁵ Stirk, 'London Debtors' Sanctuary', 323.

¹⁰⁶ MGR1b5/2 (LSF), Minutes of Peel Men's Meeting; '2nd 4mo 1692'.

¹⁰⁷ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 91-119, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of Peel Men's Meeting; 2nd 4mo 1692; MGR1b5/2 (LSF); unfortunately, no record of the reply exists.

¹⁰⁹ The role of Recording Clerk emerged with that of London Yearly meeting in the 1670s, as an individual paid to oversee the administration of the Society, effectively chairing the Meeting for Sufferings and London Yearly Meeting. Appointment could initially be for life, although incumbents might also retire on a pension funded by the Society.

discharge at the Guildford Quarter Sessions.¹¹⁰ Subsequently, many if not all those seeking the bankrupt route were suspected of deliberately seeking to get rid of their liabilities; Marriner states that such 'presumption of widespread fraud was well founded. Fraudulent activities were endemic amongst bankrupts, creditors, and their solicitors'.¹¹¹ The increasing volumes of discharged debtors led to legal changes in 1732, with a certificate of compliance required from Commissioners with the consent of four-fifths of all creditors; an 'assignee' would also monitor the bankrupt's affairs.¹¹² Certainly the numbers had increased exponentially: by 1780, annual bankruptcies had reached around 450, which had more than doubled by the turn of the nineteenth century, to double again before the end of the Napoleonic War, with some two thousand annual bankruptcies annually.¹¹³

6.6 Taxation

In order to place Quaker testimonies in context, it is necessary to understand the nature of funding government expenditure during the long eighteenth century, both direct and indirect measures. Generally speaking, efforts to both reduce and finance state borrowing found successive governments acting as if large amounts of expenditure were 'exceptional', and best met through temporary measures rather than annual direct taxation.¹¹⁴ The details of individual taxes and their evolution are highly complex, and this section draws almost exclusively from a meticulous survey prepared for the Inland Revenue, which remains the most detailed source.¹¹⁵ The basic taxes during the early Quaker period were a series of *per capita* ('poll') taxes; in 1641 a poll tax had been raised to pay the arrears due to the army, and

¹¹⁰ Stirk, 'London Debtors' Sanctuary', 325; Stirk uses a report from the 'Weekly Journal' of 20 July 1723; some 6000 names were later printed as discharged.

¹¹¹ Marriner, 'English Bankruptcy Records', 358.

¹¹² Levinthal, 'History of Bankruptcy', 20; 5 George II, c.30 (1732).

¹¹³ Marriner, 'English Bankruptcy Records', 353-354; Table 1: *A series of Bankruptcy Statistics (1780-1844)*.

¹¹⁴ J.V. Beckett and Michael Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Aug., 1990): 378.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Dowell, *A History of History of Taxation in England*, (Longman, 1888): vol III 'Direct Taxes and Stamp Duties'.

similar measures followed the Restoration of 1660, and the Revolution of 1688.¹¹⁶

Exigencies of war saw extensions of the principle both up and down the social scale: in 1692 all those worth above £300 were included; and in 1697 a weekly tax of 1*d.* was implemented upon all who were not receiving alms.¹¹⁷ The following year, a quarterly poll was introduced, taxing those 'reputed gentlemen' at £1, while tradesmen, shopkeepers, and vintners were assessed at 10*s.*; those charged with finding horses for the militia paid £1 per horse, as did those possessing a coach.¹¹⁸ This 1698 poll tax was the last, but signalled an evolving trend in taxing what might be termed 'luxury' goods and lifestyles which became established in the eighteenth century. Horses remained a favourite charge, largely paid by the ostentatious, who might need four or six to pull their private coaches out of the mired roads.¹¹⁹ Social ostentation through personal transport was a lucrative target: coaches themselves were taxed - per wheel - while combinations of numbers of wheels and horses determined the tax due, with different bands introduced later for horses of varying hands, with higher rates for additional coaches.¹²⁰ Successive taxes addressed 'plate' (silverware, 1756-1777),¹²¹ followed by liveried servants (male 1777-1885, female 1785-1792),¹²² in a potpourri of often short-lived measures which would eventually include horses, guns, dogs, clocks and watches, and wig-powder (this latter including exemptions for those with multiple daughters, and those signed up for the militia and yeomanry, as a reward for patriotism!).¹²³

A major contribution came from the land tax, required to fund the French-Dutch wars (1689-1713),¹²⁴ this was the only major form of direct taxation until 1799, and was always raised

¹¹⁶ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 4.

¹¹⁷ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 5.

¹¹⁸ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 5.

¹¹⁹ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 196.

¹²⁰ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 198-204; remarkably, this approach still dominates UK vehicle excise duties.

¹²¹ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 209-215; a story exists concerning John Wesley, who in 1776 declared his 'plate' to consist of 'two spoons in London, and two at Bristol', with no intent to 'buy any more while so many around me want bread'.

¹²² Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 215-218.

¹²³ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 195-201, 255-259, 260-275, and 258.

¹²⁴ It may be noted that England waged war for 56 of the 122 years between 1693 and 1815.

during wartime. During the 1690s the rate varied between 3s. and 4s./£1;¹²⁵ it dropped briefly to 2s. at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, then rose back to 4s. with the Jacobite rising in 1716; not until 1731 did the rate fall to the lowest rate of 1s., only to rise immediately on the government failure to secure additional Excise measures.¹²⁶

A second important revenue source was also introduced around the turn of the century in the form of the Window Tax of 1696.¹²⁷ This replaced the 1662 Hearth Tax, originally imposed to supplement the funds of the restored monarch, and which proved an expensive item at 2s. per hearth.¹²⁸ Scrapped at the 'Glorious Revolution' by the new regime 'as a lasting monument of their Majesties' goodness in every hearth in the kingdom',¹²⁹ it was soon replaced by the Window Tax which proved lower for most households, being 2s. for houses with less than ten window openings, while replacing the intrusive visits of the 'chimney men' with those of external assessors.¹³⁰ The tax would be extended significantly: by the second half of the eighteenth century houses with seven windows paid 3s., while those with over 180 paid £20,¹³¹ and the tax itself lasted until 1851 - testament to the significant sums raised.¹³²

However, the largest share of revenue remained that raised through Customs and Excise duties,¹³³ and when governments required money, their preferred procedure was an increase in duties levied on a variety of commodities.¹³⁴ Such taxation was designed to reflect consumption rather than possession of assets, and thus was carried by a large proportion of

¹²⁵ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 81-83; Assumed Income was derived from 6% of the capital value of other goods.

¹²⁶ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 85-87.

¹²⁷ Beckett & Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth', 378.

¹²⁸ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 165-167; properties worth less than 20s. rent were excluded, provided the inhabitants possessed less than £10.

¹²⁹ *An Act for a Grant to Their Majesties of an Ayd of Two shillings in the Pound*, 1&2 Will & Mar. c.10; quoted in Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 167.

¹³⁰ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 168-172; larger establishments first paid 6s. for less than 20, and 8s. over 20 windows; it was this 'banding' system led to the blocking-up of windows, rather than the cost of an individual aperture.

¹³¹ *Commutation Tax*, 24 Geo. III. c. 38.

¹³² Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 154, 168.

¹³³ Beckett & Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth', 378.

¹³⁴ Beckett & Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth', 378.

the population.¹³⁵ Items subject to Excise included basic goods including soap, salt, beer, and the malt tax (these last two accounting for two thirds of Excise revenue by 1787-8); Customs duties were raised on imported candles, tea, tobacco, sugar, and spirits.¹³⁶

With the Window Tax had come a 2s. levy on all householders, to which those who used their homes for shops objected as a burden on trade, not least as itinerant traders paid no tax;¹³⁷ this was remedied in 1697 when licenses were required for hawkers, pedlars, petty chapmen, and others going from town to town, at the not insubstantial cost of £4 per year; interestingly, those selling their own wares were exempted.¹³⁸ Despite this, Dowell notes that it was a 'common observation of all who directed their attention to the subject of taxation in England, that the trading class, though increasing continually in wealth and ability to pay taxes, bore no fair share of the burden of taxation.'¹³⁹ An attempt was made in 1759 to tax shops, but difficulties regarding assessing the extent of trade caused this to fail.¹⁴⁰ From 1785-89 a tax was implemented based on the annual rental value of the building, however, an exemption was made for buildings which already paid the lower inhabited-house tax - hence the thrifty reward gained by those 'living above the shop';¹⁴¹ again, the power of the London shopkeepers ensured its repeal.¹⁴² Further trading benefits would later be obtained by wholesalers and dealers in domestic goods, who gained exemption from licenses after 1789.¹⁴³

One final category of taxation which certainly affected the commercial life of the Quakers was the imposition of Stamp Duties, first introduced in 1694 as an additional fiscal measure to sustain the war with France which accompanied the Revolution, and which principally was

¹³⁵ Beckett & Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth', 387.

¹³⁶ Beckett & Turner, 'Taxation and Economic Growth', 391-4.

¹³⁷ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 27, 170.

¹³⁸ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 28; 8&9 Will. III c.25; briefly doubled to £8, from 1785-89.

¹³⁹ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 9

¹⁴⁰ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 9-10; the immediate need was to finance the Seven Year's War.

¹⁴¹ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 11; 25 Geo. III c. 30; warehouses and bakers were also specifically exempted.

¹⁴² Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 13; 29 Geo. III c.9.

¹⁴³ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 30; 25 Geo. III. c. 78.

raised on legal instruments.¹⁴⁴ The cost of the 'stamp' varied according to the perceived value of the instrument, with the highest charge of 40s. to address honours and preferments, including election to the College of Physicians, or the legal status of advocate, attorney, or notary, as well as certificates for degree from either universities, or an inn of court.¹⁴⁵ The middle band of 5s. was incurred on items including court deeds, marriage certificates, and probates of wills. Lesser categories commanded from 2s.6d. down to 6d. for certain proceedings in the law including admissions into corporations; the lower rate applied to indentures, leases, as well as insurance, bonds, releases, contracts or similar. The lowest rate of 1d. was required for all documents in courts of law courts (and copies). Significantly, Dowell notes that 'important mercantile instruments termed bills of exchange and promissory notes were specially exempted.'¹⁴⁶ These duties applied to every skin, or piece of parchment or paper used, with a requirement that all deeds and writings were required to be engrossed – that is copied in a full and final format – to prevent 'shorthand' tax avoidance.¹⁴⁷ It is also of interest to record the exemption obtained by Scotland upon the Act of Union in 1708.¹⁴⁸ Various changes occurred in the eighteenth century, of which the 1714 Deed Duty – a measure requiring 6^{d.} for *any* engrossed document not otherwise mentioned – is the most commercially significant.¹⁴⁹

6.7 Chapter Summary

Notwithstanding the desire of its eighteenth-century leadership to preserve Quakerism as a sect apart by promoting the observance of 'ancient testimonies',¹⁵⁰ the membership - mostly

¹⁴⁴ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 285-286; known variously as the Nine-Year's War, or that of the League of Augsburg.

¹⁴⁵ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 287.

¹⁴⁶ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 288.

¹⁴⁷ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 287-288.

¹⁴⁸ Dowell, *History of Taxation*, 289.

¹⁴⁹ 12 Anne Stat II, c.9.

¹⁵⁰ 'Ancient' occurs in an Advice as early as 1675 (Extracts, 184 'Tithes' #1); the compilers of the Books of Extracts increasingly use the qualifier for those practices which are to be encouraged; this is discussed in Discipline, below; for examples see Extracts, 12, 16, 20, 30, 38, 45, and *passim*.

engaged in commerce of some sort - of necessity engaged with a complex society marked by mutual interdependence, and proscribed by fiscal custom and statute.

Thus did the economy of obligation, with all its necessities, dependencies, and associated uncertainties, provide the environment in which all commercial activities in the long eighteenth century were conducted. Quakers engaging in commerce must be seen as acting within business parameters, with timely rather than immediate repayment of debt not only customary, but essential for nurturing the maintenance of credit - without which none could hope for success. This replaces the traditional view of Quakers linked by strong religious affinities backed by familial alliances and kinship networks with a far more practical connection, where credit-dependencies were intensified because of the propensity for Quakers 'to sell to all the world, but buy only of their own tribe'.¹⁵¹

The effect of these financial factors on the development of Quaker collective finance, and on the rules of conduct which became formulated into the advices of the Discipline, are considered in the following chapters on Collective Quaker Finance, and in that on the Network (Chapter 8).

¹⁵¹ See Chapter 2.1 'Occupations'.

7 QUAKER COLLECTIVE FINANCE

This chapter looks at the Quaker history of collective finance, and assesses evidence for Quaker financial interaction during the latter part of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth through a detailed examination of the records of the London Monthly Meeting at Peel. First, the Quaker view of the role of money is set within the contemporary ethics surrounding wealth and its social obligations in the eighteenth century. There follows a review of Quaker attitudes to debt, which questions and rejects the notion that the Quakers 'evolved' from an initial proscription to a subsequent acceptance of a unique 'Just Debt' concept; it is shown that Friends not only borrowed and lent money, but provided funds for others to do so. Then follows an account of an early eighteenth-century Quaker bankruptcy, illustrating the range of Friends' reactions to financial failure. Next is an examination of Quaker collective finance through early sufferings; followed by a review of the Peel Meeting collections process, and the developing uses to which such collections were put as the Society of Friends grew after the Act of Toleration in 1689, including the importance of the relief of sufferings associated with imprisonments. This is further supported by an analysis of the legacies and gifts made to the Peel Meeting which provides evidence for the extent of such funds, while the long delays associated with receiving associated monies illustrate some of the difficulties associated with the economy of obligation discussed in the previous chapter. The records are used to illustrate the spectrum of use to which such funds were put, including lending (both gratis and at interest) to members of the Society, to third parties, and to the Society itself. An analysis of one substantial legacy (that of John Mathews) is used to show how money held in trust by the Meeting was made to earn interest, and accounted for under a periodic (if neither regular nor frequent) regime of 'audit' inspection. It is argued that the evidence indicates that Friends were very familiar with handling and accounting for money, that legacies were considered as a source of investment income, and that many calls upon the

collective purse were both made and answered. It concludes that Friends were highly sophisticated in the financial dealings conducted on behalf of their Meeting, and exploited such funds as they held in trust through commercial lending in order to assist both Friends as commercial borrowers, and those who were personally necessitous.

7.1 Wealth, Social Obligation, and Inequality

Most seventeenth century wealth was represented by land holding, or in rarer cases, invested in mortgages or advanced in the form of personal bonds, both brokered through agents as described above. In the early eighteenth, as in the previous century, inequality was the accepted norm. This acceptance originated in a rationalisation (dating from the middle ages) which used a functional theory to reveal a moral purpose in society; by the end of the eighteenth century a theory of economic harmonies had been developed which attempted to show that 'to the curious mechanism of human society a moral purpose was superfluous or disturbing'.¹ The Society of Friends echoed the wider society of which it formed a disparate part in holding views on wealth which were shaped by social obligations, rather than by social equality. For Friends, spiritual equality was of far more significance than differences in station and the inequalities of wealth that implied: Friends were united in the belief of equality before God for men, women and children,² and this belief was codified in a temporal equality under the regulations of the Society on issues of discipline, including the importance of spiritual welfare of servants - a logic that would ultimately provide the basis for Quaker opposition to slavery.³ Partly as a result of the social obligations of wealth, money played a highly significant role in the Society of Friends from the start, since Friends shared the Christian views that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive', and that 'he that hath pity upon

¹ R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Mentor, 1953): 28.

² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 270-273.

³ Extracts, 167 'Removals and Settlements'; see Rule XV, which states that all such provisions applied equally to both sexes, although 'not particularly expressed'; this clause was re-affirmed no less than seven times between 1737 and 1801.

the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again."⁴

Financial collections for their poor formed part of this duty, indeed collections and distribution of funds were a significant part of Friends activities.⁵ If the teachings of Fox and his followers supplied the bones on which the Society was built, and the strength of will of the membership the muscle, then finance acted as the blood in having an impact on almost all aspects of the Society by transmitting the sustaining force.

The Society's attitude to inequality can be shown by the prominence given to the financial 'Warning' written by Ambrose Rigge, a 'weighty' (influential) Friend from the earliest days, and one who remained so (being one who preached at Fox's funeral).⁶ Rigge suffered several imprisonments in the years before the Act of Toleration - for attacks on church practices, failing to pay tithes, or take oaths.⁷ He charted the collective injustices in several tracts, of which the most long-lasting was his *Brief and Serious Warning to such as are concerned in commerce etc.*, of 1678.⁸ Greaves' claim that this work 'articulated a code of ethics for Quaker merchants' somewhat overstates the case:⁹ Rigge did not concern himself with merchants, with trade, nor the wealthy, or even those who had capital to risk. Rather, he provided a short tract directed against those who, on the back of the Quaker reputation, might attempt to improve their worldly portion through raising credit. Rigge's tract states that any profits that might accrue from 'the hazard of rending another mans estate' were 'not blessed', and urges all such hazarders to rest content with their lot.¹⁰ The 'Warning' assures the man of integrity, that notwithstanding the obligation to 'labor with their hands night and day' they will find it far easier to '...live with a cup of water, and a morsel of bread in a cottage, before they

⁴ Extracts, 136 (#1) cites both Acts xx:35 and Proverbs xix:17.

⁵ Extracts, 136-137 'Poor'.

⁶ Richard L. Greaves, 'Rigge [Rigg], Ambrose (c. 1635–1705), Quaker preacher and writer', (ODNB, 2008).

⁷ Greaves, 'Rigg' (ODNB, 2008).

⁸ Ambrose Rigge, *A Brief Warning to such as are concerned in commerce and trading who go under the profession of truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in righteousness, justice and honesty towards all men*, ([s.l.] [s.n], 1678).

⁹ Greaves, 'Rigg' (ODNB, 2008).

¹⁰ Rigge, *A Brief Warning*, 10.

can hazard other mens' estates to advance their own'.¹¹ Rigge's emphasis is on the immorality of risking others' wealth, and the consequent reputational damage to the Society, for failure 'brings a great reproach upon the blessed TRUTH he professeth, which is worse than all; and this hath already been manifested in a great measure, and by sad experience witnessed.'¹²

Rigge does not appear personally to have been troubled with making or selling, preferring to host a school at his Surrey estate, Gatton Place; he is also recorded as a first-purchaser of 5000 acres in Pennsylvania, and acquiring 1/12 of the land in East Jersey from the deposed King James II.¹³ One rare insight into his personal circumstances is provided by a documented vision of 1675 in which he dreamt that, following an encounter in which he cautioned dissenting Friend John Story 'not to disquiet y^e seed and Heritage of God', there was

on a sudden... a terrible noyse in a dove house adjoining to my house which frightened y^e doves so y^t several of y^m flew outt att y^e top of y^e house into y^e aire giving sore blows with their wings as they flew away and y^e ferment [?] which frightened them flew away with them & appeared no more, butt some of y^e doves returned again to y^e house att which I rejoiced.¹⁴

The possession of an estate with dovecote, and substantial holdings in the Americas, is not incompatible with the practice of a schoolmaster, but is far more common amongst the gentlemen class, which is how Rigge is described in the list of proprietors of East Jersey.¹⁵

The source and extent of Rigge's wealth aside, his earlier sufferings may have helped him to acquire some authority to act as a spokesperson for the Society of Friends; certainly his 'warning' echoed that of the printed epistle from London Yearly Meeting of three years' earlier, which later became the cornerstone of Friends' advice on Trade:

ADVISED, that none launch into trading and worldly business beyond what they can manage honourably and with reputation; so that they may keep their words with all

¹¹ Rigge, *A Brief Warning*, 7.

¹² Rigge, *A Brief Warning*, 9.

¹³ Greaves, 'Rigg', (ODNB, 2008).

¹⁴ Luke Howard Collection, 21 (LSF); the copy is contemporary, but may not be in Rigge's hand.

¹⁵ As noted in Chapter 2, this was always an unusual description for a Quaker throughout the century.

men, that their yea may prove yea indeed, and their nay, nay: and that they use few words in their dealings, lest they bring dishonour to the truth. 1688. P. E.—1675.¹⁶

Rigge's words would prove enduring, within the Society hierarchy at least: almost a century later the Society minuted what were rather euphemistically described as 'a series of reproachful failures' in trade.¹⁷ This led to propositions from the Quarterly Meetings of London and Surrey, which in turn prompted the Society to appoint a committee to consider action, which produced a recommendation that Meeting for Sufferings

cause the Tract written by our Friend Ambrose Rigge to be reprinted...together with such minutes of this meeting and other Advices as they may think expedient to remove the reproaches that are cast on Truth and Friends, by such Misconduct.¹⁸

This meeting also produced as a forward a lengthy minute on reputational damage, beginning:

...a sorrowful consideration of the reproach brought on Truth and our religious Profession, by some late instances of persons under our name, who have shamefully deviated from our principles as well as from common honesty and justice amongst men, in failing of paying their just debts, and there by involving themselves and others in misery and ruin.¹⁹

This would seem to confirm a century of continuity within Friends with respect to wealth and its obligations, whereby those with means accepted their duty to assist the Society's poor, who in turn accepted their lot, and took responsibility not to allow any personal aspirations for their betterment to risk the standing of their benefactors.

¹⁶ Extracts, 195 'Trade' (#1 1688); citing the Epistle of 1675.

¹⁷ Privately copied 1737 Book of Discipline, Woodbrooke Collection, Gift of H. Lloyd; QC2; Trade; 1771. 'Lloyd'.

¹⁸ 'Lloyd', 506.

¹⁹ Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes 15th 11mo 1771; see reprinted *A brief and serious warning to such as are concerned in commerce and trading, who go under the profession of truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in righteousness, justice and honesty towards all men. Written by Ambrose Rigge, in the year 1678. And now reprinted, together with the advices of several yearly-meetings. ...* (Printed by Mary Hinde, 1771); the tract was again reprinted by Daniel Lawrence in 1805.

7.2 The Myth of 'Just Debt'

The term 'just debts' requires attention, particularly as some confusion may have arisen from a recent notion to ascribe to it a Quaker origin and associated meaning.²⁰ Karen Tibbals has claimed that historic antipathy for usury was a catalyst for a Quaker 'prohibition on borrowing [which] started as an absolute', citing a Balby Advice of 1656,²¹ and that the 'first recorded mention of the topic of 'Just Debt' was the LYM advice on trade of 1692,²² which thereby marks 'a shift to acceptance'.²³ From exegesis on this single advice, Tibbals proceeds to construct a unique category of Quaker 'Just Debt' which she defines as money borrowed in pursuit of expenditure approved by 'a wise Friend'.²⁴ By ignoring the Usury Acts, Tibbals fails to distinguish the clear contemporary distinction between state-regulated lending and proscribed usurious financial dealing.²⁵ She also fails to note that the term ('just debt') was used in English (bankruptcy) law as early as a statute of 1543.²⁶ Further, it appears to have been in use outside of Friends - Defoe deploys the term 'Just debt' in half a dozen places in one volume alone,²⁷ and the usage it would last into the nineteenth century.²⁸ The indications of any shift in Quaker positioning is equally weak: the Balby letter clearly acknowledges that Friends may have debts; the advice reads: 'all who are indebted to the world, endeavour to discharge the same, that nothing they may owe to any man but love one another'.²⁹ While there are elements of the aspirational in this, it seems that the Friends were acknowledged to have debts, and that such should be repaid when due, a reading dismissed by Tibbals who sees

²⁰ Karen Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion., eds., *Quakers in Business and Industry*, Vol. 4, (Philadelphia: Friends Association of Higher Education, 2017): 133-159.

²¹ Hamm, *Quaker Writings* 67; #15.

²² Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', 139; this claim appears to be general, and not confined to Quaker usage.

²³ Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', 140.

²⁴ Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', 141.

²⁵ Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', 149; the Acts of 1650 and 1660, discussed above.

²⁶ Jones, 'The Foundations of English Bankruptcy', 18; citing G. Billinghamurst, *All the Statutes now in Force and Use Concerning Bankrupts*, (London, 1695): 105.

²⁷ Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 124; 125;125; 220; 335; 347.

²⁸ See *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review: conducted by Freeman Hunt*, Vol. 11, (Hume Tracts, 1844): 361.

²⁹ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 67.

this recommendation as 'an additional thought' rather than an integral part of the advice.³⁰

Tibbals' proposition of a shift in position is further undermined by the propensity of early Friends to lend money at interest, as evidenced in the 1678 'Gifts and Legacies' book of Peel Meeting, which gives accounts for the income generated from loans brokered by a third party deploying legacy funds.³¹ And while Fox might have wished to remain debt-free himself, and advised others to follow, this was clearly not binding even to his immediate family. There is evidence that Sarah Fell borrowed £75 to fit out a ship in 1674 – a very risky venture;³² closer still, when writing to wife Margaret the same year, Fox refers to obtaining two tranches of £50 in order to repay a debt at interest to one Martha Fisher, who was subscribing for loans to build a meeting house.³³

Having now considered and dismissed the claim that Quakers first proscribed debt, before almost immediately accepting the need to accommodate a limited, 'just' definition, it is regrettable that Tibbals' argument misses the single important difference which marked the evolving Quaker positioning: that of continued moral liability following bankruptcy, regardless of legal discharge.³⁴ While this can be portrayed as an example of moral integrity, it must be stressed that the exclusivity of the Quaker supply chain, indeed the homogeneity of their commercial network, ensured the highest levels of inter-dependency amongst Friends, and multiplied the potential for contagion in the event of a credit failure. In the face of this, it was to the Quakers' advantage to assert the necessity of paying twenty shillings in the pound as a practical consideration given that those to be compounded with for lesser settlements would be, almost without exception, fellow Friends. For as long as the trading network

³⁰ Tibbals, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', 139.

³¹ MBR11b5/FPR/7 (LSF): 100-106; this is discussed below in detail.

³² Norman Penney, ed., *Household Accounts book of Sarah Fell*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920); quoted in Raistrick 'Science and Industry', 57.

³³ John L. Nickalls, ed., *The Journal of George Fox*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952): 693; alluding to Margaret's expenses in London, Fox commands 'clear your debts, and clear this city' (£100, it should be noted, was a very substantial sum in 1674).

³⁴ Extracts, 196-200 'Trade' (#4, #5, #10, #11).

remained almost exclusively Quaker, this policy would therefore work to the benefit of the majority; however, as is discussed below, when the intensity of the network diminished as the Quaker element became diluted, this requirement clearly put the Quaker trader at a disadvantage, which, it will be argued, would ultimately render membership of the Society of Friends to have less commercial utility.³⁵

7.3 The Reality of Bankruptcy

Quaker attitudes to bankruptcy are well-illustrated by reference to Charles Lloyd, scion of the famous, landed iron-family, two generations of which 'broke' in 1727.³⁶ Humphrey Lloyd's account shows a leading Friend, Charles Lloyd senior, extracting £900 by mortgage in the months before, then trying and failing to raise capital at Yearly Meeting in Marlborough before crashing with debts of £16,000; declared bankrupt, he paid just five shillings in the pound.³⁷ His son Charles Lloyd junior behaved even more notably: he first fled to France, then denied his liabilities as a partner, before it was proven in court (by his letters) that he lied; finally he borrowed £1,700 from a wealthy aunt to purchase some of the business assets from the creditors.³⁸ The responses of the several Quaker meetings involved are illuminating: at their Quarterly Meeting, Friends of Montgomeryshire 'could not agree to join in a condemnation or denial' of Charles Senior;³⁹ Shropshire Friends (who were not his direct neighbours) did.⁴⁰ Ultimately it took the Yearly Meeting of Wales to disown him in 1730.⁴¹ Two years later, after administrative errors were discovered in the settlement paperwork, the bankrupt Charles Senior eventually required 'exalted lawyers' and a private Act of Parliament

³⁵ See Chapter 9 for an extended discussion to 1800.

³⁶ Humphrey Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution* (Routledge, [1975] 2006): 56-61; Lloyd credits the family with an estate of 1,000 acres ('Quaker Lloyds', 4). While the Lloyds iron works was geographically in Wales, the nature of their business was conducted at least as much outside the Principality, and with English Friends, as the discussion shows.

³⁷ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 56-57.

³⁸ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 58.

³⁹ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 59; fn. citing 'Quarterly Minute Book, CRO, Gloucester; ref.320'.

⁴⁰ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 59.

⁴¹ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 59.

in order to salvage money to create a Trust fund for his daughters.⁴² In 1742, he applied for re-admission to the Society at Birmingham, where satisfied they had received 'proper acknowledgement of sincere repentance for his misconduct therein', he was allowed back into membership.⁴³ His son did not re-apply. Raistrick, a reliable chronicler of Friends' ethically-founded business success, augments his account with many of the contemporary Advices on Trade, while noting that the failure was sufficient to drive the Lloyd's dismayed steward to record events in his diary in Latin, with the word 'bankruptcy' represented only by its capitalised initial letter.⁴⁴ Raistrick omits the conflict of the Quarterly Meeting, but prints the re-admission paper *in extensio*, implying that judgement of contemporary Friends should stand sufficient. It is clear from this paper⁴⁵ that the Monthly Meeting of Birmingham followed Friends' preferred procedure in both satisfying themselves and obtaining reassurance from Lloyd's previous meeting that re-admission was appropriate.⁴⁶ Raistrick's approach may be illustrative of enduring attitudes within the Society of Friends towards those that have failed to live up to expectations: a priority being to minimise reputational risk, and allow the erring to find a way back into the fold.⁴⁷

By the Quaker rules of 'Removal and Settlement' set out after 1737, insolvent persons were excluded from the financial maintenance of their new meeting, along with their family.⁴⁸ This right was regained only when the individual had 'fully discharged their debts'.⁴⁹ Insolvents' widows, and children on reaching eighteen years, could gain maintenance rights provided they were not currently chargeable.⁵⁰ The rules were complex: should a solvent Friend

⁴² Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 60; the Act for supplying a defect in a Conveyance of Charles Lloyd (5 Geo.II c.30).

⁴³ Lloyd, *Quaker Lloyds*, 62.

⁴⁴ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 116-118; Raistrick notes that John Kelsall, the steward, was 'sent to Abbeystead School for a while, then later to school with Gilbert Thompson at Penketh' ('Science and Industry', 112)

⁴⁵ BN.2755 Vol. 1; Bevan-Naish Collection, (Woodbrooke Library).

⁴⁶ Extracts, 111 (#10); c.f. Advice to Monthly Meetings on readmission after disownment is dated 1763, but may codify older practice.

⁴⁷ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 127; see Chapter 9 discussion on the mores of Bankruptcy.

⁴⁸ Extracts, 162.

⁴⁹ Extracts, 166; (#7, XI).

⁵⁰ Extracts, 166.

remove, but subsequently require support within three years, the previous meeting was to refund all costs incurred by the destination meeting.⁵¹

Failure to repay was thus by no means confined to Ambrose Rigge's poor, or even the badly connected: the spectacular crash into debtor's prison of William Penn was a grievous blow to Friends' credibility, and raised the importance of individual finances and 'attention to' rather than Penn's 'neglect' of detail.⁵² These failures acted as a spur to Friends for a renewed focus on the Society's financial reputation in particular, as evidenced by the reprint of the 'Warning' discussed above. If needed to preserve credibility, on rare occasions the Society did collectively raise considerable amounts of money to ensure a worthy Friend was spared the worst consequences of financial failure. While the Lloyd case provides an example of how the Society implemented its rules, Friends could on occasion also rescue those who failed in financial obligations: two examples are given by Grubb who notes the cases of Amos Strettell in 1720 and Edward Browne in 1729, both Friends of some repute.⁵³

The actions of Friends in the case of Lloyd display another key attribute: the distinction between the Discipline of local, subordinate, meetings and their hierarchical superiors in the Quarterly and London Meetings; local Friends would know the disorderly walker personally, and many appear to take into account such personal knowledge in pursuit of tolerance, while working to draw the errant Friend quietly back into the fold; contrast, the stance of the superior meetings, from which impersonal exhortations demanding discipline or disownment would regularly descend.

⁵¹ Extracts, 163 (#7 II).

⁵² In 1708 Penn was committed to the Fleet Debtors prison at the suit of his Steward, Ford, who claimed £14,000 owed; he spent 9 months, with Ford eventually settling for £7,600 after Penn sold his estates, see Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn, Vol. 4: 1701-1718*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981): 569; curiously Mary K. Geiter omits mention of this in 'Penn, William (1644–1718), Quaker leader and founder of Pennsylvania', (ODNB, 2004).

⁵³ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 90; £1,000 was raised for Amos Strettell in Dublin, his financial failure put down to a failure to keep 'a sufficiently careful check on his financial affairs'; following emigration to London, and later Pennsylvania, his son Robert would become Mayor of Philadelphia for 1751-2.

7.4 The Relief of Sufferings

In order to enable financial interventions, Friends of substance were expected to contribute in proportion to their means. Mutual financial support deployed against the repression of non-conformity can be traced from the very beginnings of Quakerism, with cooperation embedded as early as 1656 in the Epistle from the Elders at Balby.⁵⁴ Within the twenty Advices were several which held the essence of collective finance, including: timely collections for the poor, and relief of prisoners (Advice v); care to be taken for families of those in ministry, or imprisoned (Advice vi); that those in need be helped to work (Advice xii); and that (without being 'busy bodies'), each to bear another's burdens (Advice xvii).⁵⁵ These focus areas continued to be of prime importance to Friends, and are examined below.

Collections as an activity were first institutionalised through local efforts both to relieve poor Friends, and provide general aid for those enduring 'Sufferings'; a further centralised fund known as the National Stock was created to run the Society from the last quarter of the seventeenth century,⁵⁶ and for which meticulous records were kept of all transactions and approvals.⁵⁷ The central funding of the Society's activities is important when considering how the Society developed, for while the role of wealth changed, it did not diminish as the Society evolved during the Second and subsequent periods. Broadly speaking, as the need for funds to relieve Sufferings declined, so funds for the implementation of policy and administration increased in importance.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 64-68.

⁵⁵ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 65, 67-68.

⁵⁶ Extracts, 117 'National Stock'; minuted in 1672 and 1676.

⁵⁷ Much early Quaker documentation reveals detailed financial records, or refers to financial matters; financial affairs occupy a considerable proportion of meetings for business.

⁵⁸ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 7.

The earlier sufferings of imprisoned Quakers were recorded, and where they could be, were alleviated by finance.⁵⁹ Initially, the Society used finance as a way to mitigate the consequences of conflicts with authority, following the 1656 advice of Balby for timely collections for those 'imprisoned for the truth's sake', with money raised and accounted for locally.⁶⁰ Another early example of financial cooperation was the Box Meeting, which managed collections for poor Friends in London.⁶¹ Braithwaite charts the rise of centralisation;⁶² first in the Yearly Meeting of Ministers, then (in 1673) the establishment of the Meeting for Sufferings which collated reports to be laid before Parliament.⁶³ A significant development came in 1679 when the Yearly Meeting declared that the expenses attendant on lobbying King, Council, Courts and Parliament concerning sufferings should be funded by national collections from all counties, while only the Meeting for Sufferings could approve expenditure.⁶⁴ Braithwaite notes that in time this 'came to be treated as conferring control over all expenditure.'⁶⁵ Shared financial contributions were solicited in order to defray costs incurred when suffering as a 'witness' to Quaker beliefs, sufferings recorded and subsequently later collated by Besse and published in the mid-eighteenth century both as a lobbying tool, and a reminder to a 'new' generation of Friends how precisely an earlier had suffered.⁶⁶ Persecution thus provided a catalyst which helped establish Friends' financial inter-dependence, as well as providing a common bond of suffering. In this way finance played an important role not only as one of the means by which the Society achieved its aims, but which subsequently, through the preponderance of financial interactions which continued after

⁵⁹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 8.

⁶⁰ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 65-66; (Advices v & vi).

⁶¹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 272.

⁶² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 274.

⁶³ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 284.

⁶⁴ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 285.

⁶⁵ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 285.

⁶⁶ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers...*, (Luke Hinde, 1753) 2 vols; Besse had been at this work for some years, earlier publishing several volumes under the title *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers, For the Testimony of a Good Conscience, From the Time of Their being first distinguished by that Name, Taken from Original Records, and other Authentick Accounts*, (J. Sowle, London, 1733-8).

Sufferings had declined, left a legacy of commercial transactions which would come to be, for many, a mark of Quaker identity.

Thus, one substantial aspect of the significance of common, collective finance is that it became established through the alleviation of sufferings. Quaker meetings defrayed the costs of imprisonment, and Braithwaite notes that where gaolers charged Friends for board and lodging, this could be paid for by collections at Quarterly Meetings, although there always remained limits to how far Friends could ameliorate conditions.⁶⁷ Regular items of expenditure included 'chamber rent' and 'deputation money', and when inmates were not close-confined, even fees for leave of absence from the gaol.⁶⁸ An early example concerns Fox, imprisoned with companions in Launceston Castle for eight months in 1656. Detained awaiting a hearing, they had paid for board and the keep of horses, and were 'fairly treated.'⁶⁹ But on being fined for contempt of court (for refusing to remove hats), the Quakers refused to pay the gaoler's fees, and were removed into the filth of the Doomsdale region of the castle.⁷⁰ After protests, they were given to leave to clean their quarters, to buy their meat in the town, and walk on the castle green; later still, they were offered release on paying their outstanding fees to the gaoler, which they refused. Eventually, after enquiries from Cromwell with whom Fox remained on good terms, the authorities gave in, and he and his companions were released without charge - financial or otherwise.⁷¹ A further illustration comes from William Crouch, who records unofficially obtaining his liberty when taken in (for tithes owing) to be gaoled at the Poultry Compter:

⁶⁷ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 239; noting the gaolers at Launceston, York and the Poultry; these are unlikely to have been exceptions.

⁶⁸ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 569; see also Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, ; or, a collection of some papers of William Crouch : being a brief historical account, under his own hand, of his conviction of, and early sufferings for the truth, with remarks on sundry memorable transactions, relating to the people call'd Quakers, (J Sowle, 1712): 29-30.

⁶⁹ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 232-240.

⁷⁰ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 233.

⁷¹ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 239.

under which confinement I continued about one year and three quarters: but through Favour of the Gaoler, I had I some Liberty to be at home to look after my business, after two months.⁷²

Freedom cost a chamber rent of 3^d per night, and the chamber could be let as many times as there were those willing to pay not to use it.⁷³ Crouch had learned the hard way: prior to this arrangement, he'd found himself 'shut up in the Hole, amongst the Common Poor Prisoners' for refusing to pay the gaoler's rate.⁷⁴ Similar fee arrangements existed elsewhere - and were often less onerous: York Castle Gaoler granted access to the town for trading purposes at a modest 3^d per week. Such 'garnish money' could be met by the Quarterly meetings, who also largely funded the defence of Gaolers prosecuted for granting liberty.⁷⁵

Richard Vann considers sufferings to be at the heart of Quaker identity and considered that 'religious persecution... was the principle mechanism' by which Quakerism evolved,⁷⁶ Certainly imprisonment was to become a badge of honour amongst the Quakers, if never a rite of passage. 'Sufferings' brought only distinction upon the sufferer, and was recorded and used as material in the printed war with the authorities, much to the annoyance of the State, whose papers record that Quakers kept 'registers of all the affronts and injuries that is done to any of them, when, where, and by whom' as an indication of their 'subtle' nature.⁷⁷ Such registers of 'Sufferings' functioned as a tool for lobbying for a change in the law: all non-conformists were subject to varying degrees of repression, with specific measures to 'persecute' Quakers being very rare.⁷⁸ Thus a consequence of imprisonment was to provide a catalyst which gave rise to

⁷² Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, 29.

⁷³ Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, 30.

⁷⁴ Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, 29; compare Trustler's account of the same place, in Chapter 6.

⁷⁵ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 569-570; and footnotes.

⁷⁶ Vann, *Social Origins*, 90.

⁷⁷ Extracts from State Papers, *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (1919): 8.

⁷⁸ The exception being Charles II, 1662 'An Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawfull Oaths' see *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. 5, 1628-80. (Great Britain Record Commission, 1819): 350-351; note this also included 'other names of separation'.

a genuine 'bond', between Friends which led in turn to the kind of financial mutual support documented in the Balby Letter. In this context, the importance of Friends' ability to alleviate conditions through collective finance, even to the point where prisoners nominally imprisoned could be at liberty, cannot be over-stated. Financial inter-relationships created lasting structures, which out-lived repression and shaped the Society of Friends throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, when 'Sufferings' were being forgotten.

It is in such terms that finance plays a critical and hitherto overlooked role: it was not only the means by which the Society supported its goals; but that which subsequently, through the preponderance of financial interactions which accompanied sufferings, and which later replaced them, gave emphasis to the transactional, and which ultimately modified the Society of Friends itself.

7.5 A Monthly Meeting: Peel Collections and Collective Finance

Thus the level of mutual dependency associated with the 'economy of obligation' helped establish credit for the initially humble domestic trading practiced by most Quakers. In time, returns from these markets would generate sufficient capital for the early Quaker lending, which ultimately enabled the foundation of the merchant banking houses of the Gurneys, Peases, Lloyds and Barclays.⁷⁹ Yet as discussed previously, and notwithstanding its attraction for historians keen to illustrate the disproportionate success of Quakers in banking, this last stage was far less important to Quaker commerce than the previous.

A comprehensive survey of the financial activities of a Quaker community can best be gained from a study of a particular meeting. As discussed above, records of the Peel Meeting in London are perhaps unique in that a comprehensive set of relevant documentation survives for

⁷⁹ See Walvin, *The Quakers*, 67-69; Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 319-333; Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 182-4.

much of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century. While Monthly Meeting records survive from 1667, the volume from 1684-98 provides copious detailed minutes, as well as a chronology.⁸⁰ Uniquely within the London Society of Friends' collection, there also exists for this period a volume recording gifts and legacies, and the expenditure on (and recipients of) apprenticeships provided by the Meeting.⁸¹ Taken together with the survival of the Peel Meeting manuscript copy of the 1737 Book of Discipline (together with its unique annotations), analysis of these sources together provides unrivalled context.⁸²

Situated in Clerkenwell, Peel was one of the London Friends' Meetings, and the historians Beck and Ball note that from early origins at the house of John and Mary Elsom, it grew and thrived during the period under study.⁸³ Peel also had interactions with two uniquely London institutions: the Six Week Meeting - which looked after the common interests - and the Meeting of Twelve, which focussed on financial and legal matters.⁸⁴ The records provide a window onto the finance-related activities of a group of Quakers into the early part of the eighteenth century.⁸⁵ It is worth noting, perhaps that aside from a handful of Disciplinary matters, and some copies of marriage certificates, the minutes in the volume, (which covers a twelve-year span), contain very little non-financial material, which indicates the importance of finance in a Monthly Meeting.⁸⁶

Peel Men's Minutes contain records of two main types of collections: those for the Poor, and those noted as designed for 'The General Serving of the Truth'.⁸⁷ The former are more

⁸⁰ MGR 11b5/2 (LSF); Men's Minute Book, Peel Monthly Meeting.

⁸¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 (LSF); Gifts and Legacies Book; at rear Apprentices Accounts c.1678-c.1721 [Gifts and Legacies], 1675-1715 [Apprentices]; a handful of 'legacy books' are held in the Quaker Collection at Leeds University - none are before 1700: see Carlton Hill B2, D13, H2 and Q2 for the earliest.

⁸² MGR 11b5/MISC/3 (LSF); this is one of only two copies in the Archive, the second survivor being that of Durham.

⁸³ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 192-201.

⁸⁴ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 91, 112.

⁸⁵ The volume and nature of the financial interactions recorded, or the balance, would not necessarily be emulated in all Monthly Meetings; however, Peel records, as evidence of practice, illustrate the extent the spectrum of such interactions.

⁸⁶ A notable exception is the wonderfully preserved 'Certificate' for the Peel meetinghouse, copied with care, the original sealed in with wax, signed Wagstaffe, which marks the registration of the conventicle; 7/8/1689.

⁸⁷ MGR 11b5/2; Poor Collections; see minute dates as per Figure 7.1; General Collections see minute 28/2/1692, and *passim*.

numerous, taking place usually on a quarterly basis. Such collections were at Peel subdivided into two categories, one for 'Rent and Coles', and the other specific disbursements, usually to identified individuals.⁸⁸ The records provide insight into the amounts made available for poor relief by the meeting, and the number of recipients, over a period of a dozen years. In addition, the minutes note exceptional expenditures, as well as concerns over individuals whose situation is uncertain, and require visiting.

7.6 Poor Relief

Beck and Ball conclude that 'the care of the poor seems to have been a heavy burden' to the Peel Monthly Meeting since the Clerkenwell area attracted London's poor, and occasioned both local and Quarterly Meeting action to alleviate.⁸⁹ In pursuit of generating employment, the Society had made central efforts in London from as early as 1677, with collections such as the Quaker cloth fund of 1677.⁹⁰ However, this did not relive the responsibility from local meetings, and the Peel minutes record collections from 1684, when £15-5s. was raised of which £10 was put aside for rents and £3-18s. to distribute. The next collections are £11-18s. (2nd May), £10-11s.-06d. (August 1684), and £20-14s.-00d. (7th November), then one for 5/5/85 of £8-15s.-00d. after which the record becomes temporarily difficult to decipher.⁹¹ Sufficient can be read from 1690 to 1696 to indicate variation, average amounts collected and number of recipients.

⁸⁸ See MGR11b5/2 (LSF) 'List of Recipients' attached to inner cover, and *passim*; also MGR 11b5/FPR/7 (LSF) 13, 14 and *passim*.

⁸⁹ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 206.

⁹⁰ Minute of Six Week's Meeting, 13th First Month 1676/7; quoted in *JFSH XII*, (1915): 122.

⁹¹ All from MGR11b5/2 (LSF).

Figure 7.1: Collections for the Poor: Peel Monthly Meeting 1690-1696⁹²

Date of Minute	Number of Recipients	Amount Collected		12 month Total
		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	
31/10/90	18	17	16	
14/11/90	18	5	8	£46.40
25/01/91	21	17	7	
24/04/91	17	16	15	
03/07/91	24	17	19	
06/11/91	17	17	4	£69.25
06/02/92	23	17	17	
06/05/92	17	15	5	
28/07/92	26	19	5	
04/11/92	23	20	8	£72.75
05/02/93	24	7	5	
28/04/93	20	18	18	
03/11/93	30	18	17	£60.00
04/02/94	34	17	17	
27/04/94	20	15	1	
03/08/94	25	17	12	
02/10/94	24	7	15	
26/10/94	27	17	10	
30/11/94	49	12	2	£87.85
27/01/95	28	18	4	
03/05/95	35	17	10	
02/08/95	26	17	2	
01/11/95	33	23	9	£76.25
25/01/96	29	23	2	
18/05/96	26	19	11	£85.30

The collections outlined in Figure 7.1 would seem to suggest a fairly standard amount was contributed by the membership towards poor relief. The average amount collected is £17; while annualised amounts (doubled in the case of the start and end years) are fairly constant with a median amount of just under seventy pounds. Similarly the numbers of poor to whom the monies were disbursed, while ranging from 17 to 49 individuals, has a median value of 25. Thus one might conclude for this period that the Society of Friends in Peel had a fairly

⁹² MGR 11b5/2 (LSF); data extracted from legible minutes.

static membership, contributing a similar amount to each collection, to service a fluctuating but known community of 'the poor' associated with the meeting. Amounts given to individuals varied from a shilling or two, up to 10s., and almost never more; while the total amounts distributed were always less than those collected. Some interesting observations may be made from the minutes themselves. One disbursement notes 3s. given to 'a poor woman in grubb street',⁹³ suggesting she was not known to the meeting, while supporting Beck and Ball's view that the area was home to many in need. While statistically irrelevant, this suggests Friends' on occasion showed concern for non-members. A similar anomaly arises with two separate annotated payments for poor burials: one is a modest '2s burial charge', while a second 'for 2 coffins and shrouds for 2 poore' accounted for a considerable £1-14s.-6d., the largest single disbursement.⁹⁴ Very occasionally, a receipt has also survived, as in the case of a list from 1694 identifying the recipients (and their location) of 22 loads of 'Coles and Sacks' at a precise cost of £15-13s.-11½d.⁹⁵ Finally, it may be significant to note that the lowest collection (that of £5-8s., in November 1690) coincided with the distribution of a legacy to the poor of £10-16s.; this is such an anomaly that it is tempting to speculate that Friends, once made aware of the disbursement, did their individual calculation and gave proportionately less. If so, this would indicate a very commercially-minded philanthropy indeed.⁹⁶ In this context, it is interesting to note that the Meeting records instances of legacies being used to 'help out the collection of y^t day' - once for the substantial sum of £5-10s.⁹⁷ There are also instances where interest, earned from lending out legacy money, was used for collections, recorded as for 'collections which had fallen short'.⁹⁸

⁹³ MGR 11b5/2; 4/2/1694.

⁹⁴ MGR 11b5/2; 4/11/92 £1-14s.-6d.; 2s. burial charge 3/5/95; compare with the cost of an apprenticeship at £5-00-00.

⁹⁵ MGR 11b5/2; Attached to front cover of Men's Meeting Minute book.

⁹⁶ MGR 11b5/2; 14/11/1690; the legacy disbursements were recorded at the very same meeting as the collection.

⁹⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7; f.r. 23, from the legacy of Eliz. Meux.

⁹⁸ MGR 11b5/FPR/7; f.v. 13; amounts for £3 19s.6d. (2/2/1701) and £1 14s. (2/5/1701), (Mathews Legacy).

7.7 Other Collections - General Service of Truth

Outside of poor relief, the main collections indicated in the minutes are two substantial amounts raised for the 'General Service of Truth'; £43-13s. was recorded at the end of 1691, while in February 1692 a further £57-10s. was raised.⁹⁹ There are a few indications as to what this fund was used for: Beck and Ball note that the Friends purchased the Freehold for the meeting house buildings at Baker's Peel in 1692 for £450,¹⁰⁰ and given the title it may be safe to assume that it also funded the Monthly Meeting costs outside of special collections. This would later include the salary of Joseph Besse, who is noted as receiving some £4 annually as meeting record keeper.¹⁰¹ It might also have included the costs of apprenticeships (assuming legacy money was insufficient), funds for those travelling in the ministry, and the cost of buildings and services. Interestingly in the last category, the disbursements for the poor sometimes contain items of 5s. for 'maid', and sometimes similar for 'Cook';¹⁰² it is not possible to say if these are names, or servants retained by the meeting - possibly poor Friends in need of employment. One major expense recorded in the minutes is that of an extension to the graveyard (presumably Bunhill Fields) in 1685. The minute states:

Buy addition to burying ground charges being £100 – ffriends not formerly recorded in y^e purchase of burying plots (to y^e such, as many as have freedom) they may contribute to y^e charge aforesaid.¹⁰³

Aside from the substantial cost, this can be interpreted as indicating that individual Friends effectively 'purchased' their resting places, albeit at a price suitable to their means. A later minute does not help to clarify, asking that 'Poor ff to notify if anyone is burried', which might suggest some poorer deceased Friends did not rest in Bunhill's Quaker plots, but elsewhere;

⁹⁹ MGR 11b5/2; 24/12/1691; 28/2/1692.

¹⁰⁰ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 192-3.

¹⁰¹ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 201.

¹⁰² MGR 11b5/2; 14/11/1690.

¹⁰³ MGR 11b5/2; 26/6/1685; 'freedom' may perhaps be read as 'ability'; the minutes do not mention any Peel Friends imprisoned.

this being the time that Friends Burial Registers were implemented, it may equally indicate some administrative motivation.¹⁰⁴

Two further special collections are to be considered here. The earlier was for Friends held captive in Turkey, requested in March of 1695; by June, the sum of £9-6s.-10d. was collected.¹⁰⁵ By contrast, rather more had been raised the previous year following a direct appeal from MfS for money to assist a commercial Friend who had endured a fire:

James Smith of Ailsbury [suffered a] loss of eleven hundred pounds; through the tenderness of his creditors his loss was reduced to about £800, their particular abatements, towards which in several counties there is about 200 pounds collected; but standing in need of some further help and assistance we thought it meet to recommend it unto your charitable consideration.¹⁰⁶

The letter is noted a minute of 23rd December 1693, and within four months a respectable £14-15s.-6d. was noted.¹⁰⁷ The wording is unclear: it may be that the collection is to help reimburse creditors for the remaining £100 abated, which would be a remarkable gesture at any time or place. However, whether the money was for Trader Smith, or his business partners, a generous response was forthcoming.

Two minor entries are also worthy of note in this section. Rather surprisingly, one records (when summing up accounts) an entry of '£10 lost'; no mention of circumstances or individuals expands on this.¹⁰⁸ There is also a marginal entry concerning books ('those of Thomas Elwood being given away to Friends')¹⁰⁹ confirming that at least some engagement continued with Yearly Meeting in this sphere; however, at a cost of 6s.-6d., this was not

¹⁰⁴ MGR 11b5/2; 30/9/1685; it is tempting to conclude that Friends expected their deceased to occupy a Quaker plot, and thus that the investment in the extended burial ground was the result of planning and projections of usage.

¹⁰⁵ MGR 11b5/2; 27/3/1685; 26/6/1685.

¹⁰⁶ MGR 11b5/2; (copying MfS) 23/12/169.

¹⁰⁷ MGR 11b5/2; 23/12/1693; 6/4/1694.

¹⁰⁸ MGR 11b5/2; 3/5/1695.

¹⁰⁹ MGR 11b5/2; 25/4/1690.

significant, and more similar items might have been expected, given the prominence given to exchanges of books by some.¹¹⁰

7.8 Gifts, Legacies, and Apprentices

As noted above, the Peel Monthly Meeting records of receipts and expenditure associated with legacies and apprenticeships are extant,¹¹¹ with information from c.1678-c.1721 for Gifts and Legacies, and approximately 1675-1715 for Apprentices. While entries are more or less chronological, later insertions, and similarity of penmanship suggest that some of the entries are backdated, possibly transcribed from other accounts.¹¹²

Table 7.2 provides a sample of gifts and legacies for the years 1688-1708, and shows the year of the donation, the donor and amount, and intended purpose. The total donated over the twenty years is a little under nine hundred pounds, which averages just under forty-four pounds per annum. Of the 48 entries, twenty are for £5 or less; the most common amounts are £10 (fourteen entries) and £20 (eight entries); three legacies over £100 are recorded.¹¹³

Approximately one tenth of the donations were specifically intended to fund apprenticeships; a similar number specifically mention both the poor and apprentices. However, Peel Friends appear to have considered funds designated 'for the poor' to include funding apprenticeships: two examples are indicated, both used to fund apprentices in 1704.¹¹⁴ Significantly, one legatee specifies the funds should be used for interest-free loans to poor apprentices 'who may faithfully serve out their time' – an early Quaker commercial incentive-scheme.¹¹⁵ Several

¹¹⁰ Both Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*, 107-125, and Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 152-57, stress books as an essential element of Quaker 'networks'; however, this may be considered relevant in respect of colonial Friends.

¹¹¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7.

¹¹² For example the initial pages for Legacies appear to be in one hand, with the same pen and ink. Some later dated entries of legacies 'brought in' are recorded with earlier dates of wills (see f.v.9, f.r. 11).

¹¹³ A fourth, of £300 from John Mathews, was left in the form of a trust, and is dealt with separately below.

¹¹⁴ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.11 (1702); f.r.15 (1703).

¹¹⁵ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r. 11.

legacies (marked with an asterisk) record partial receipt over many years, illustrating the problems associated with the economics of obligation discussed in the previous chapter. Friends left money to the Society that was not necessarily in their possession at death, requiring executors to bring in the sum in tranches over periods which extended to years. An example is the legacy of Jonathan Buckley: in December 1696 William Widowson acquainted Peel Friends of a legacy of £2-10s.; a second note of May 1702 records 'remained y^e 50s. in WWs hands'; while a final entry suggests that his accounts from May 1715 included the amount!¹¹⁶ Another rather chaotic record, of Thomas Cooper's legacy of £20 from December 1699, is annotated thus: ¹¹⁷ £10 'received and not disposed of' (1702); £5 brought in by executor Thomas Devitt and disposed of (1704); a note that Monthly Meeting 'ordered to be paid £3' (1704); next W. Elwood brought in a further £5 (1706); then a separate note records he brought in the 'remainder £2'(1706); finally in 1707 what is described as the 'remaining five pounds' is added to the Quarterly collection at Peel. Mathematics notwithstanding, such entries are evidence of the time taken to realise legacy assets.¹¹⁸ Account was also made of where and when the legacy money had gone out - a double line has been scored across certain entries where the full amount was recorded as disposed.¹¹⁹ Entries for apprentice legacies sometimes name the recipients, as in the case of John West, whose legacy of 1698 included £16 towards four boy apprentices, recorded as put out between 1704 and 1709.¹²⁰ Complex reconciliation does appear, such as with the £20 left by Dorothy Peacock in 1701:¹²¹ subsequent marginalia records this being passed to John Edge in May 1702, then references the Monthly Minute book to account for disposal of £9 in December 1702, and £7 and £1 in 1703.

¹¹⁶ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.8.

¹¹⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.9.

¹¹⁸ Despite a disproportionate effort, the figures in the minutes have not so far proved susceptible to an accountable interpretation.

¹¹⁹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 see f.r.5, f.v.6, f.r.8 and *passim*.

¹²⁰ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.9.

¹²¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.10.

Table 7.2: Gifts and Legacies: Peel Monthly Meeting 1688-1708¹²²

Year of Legacy	Donor	Amount <i>l.s.d.</i>	Notes
1688	W. Briggins	20l	£10 for Widows, £10 for Poor
1688	Geo. Watts	30l	£10 for 2 Apprentices, £10 for Poor; plus £10
1689	Samuel Cole	10l	For the Poor
1689	John Jones	40l	Apprentices
1690	Hanah Taylor	21l	£6 originally donated for the poor; & £15 in 1694
1691	Mary Hopjohn	2l	For the Poor
1694	W.R.	5l	Apprentice
1694	John Jukes	1110s	For the Poor
1695	Nath. Marks	5l5s	For the Poor - wife's legacy
1695	Mary	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1696	Jane Jones	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1696	Thos. Taylor	5l	Apprentice
1696	R. Turner	10l	Legacy for the Poor
1696	Henry Ford	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1696	Jono. Buckley	2110s	Legacy for the Poor*
1697	Grissel Golderway	1712s	Legacy for the Poor
1698	Nath. Low	20l	Legacy for the Poor; wife left £5
1699	Widow Checcho	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1699	Thos. Cooper	20l	Legacy for the Poor*
1700	Widow Wallington	2l	Legacy for the Poor
1700	Mary Francis	20l4s6d	Legacy for the Poor*
1700	Elizabeth Dixon	10l	Gift for the poor
1701	John Elson	10l	Legacy for the Poor
1701	Dorothy Peacock	20l	Legacy for the Poor (3l overseas)
1702	John West	20l	4l to the poor; 16l for apprentices
1700	Joan Carter	10l	Legacy for the Poor
1702	Eliz Clay	5l	Gift for the poor
1702	Name not Exposed'	5l	Apprentice
1702	Phillip Ford	8l6s8d	Legacy "to lend gratis to poor Friends' Apprentices"
1702	John Shorter	1l	Gift for the poor
1702	Ann Richardson	10l	Legacy for the Poor* (Apprentice fee 1704)
1703	Ann Anderson	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1703	Ellin Green	100l	5l to the poor; [balance unaccounted for]
1703	Peter Vincent	10l	Legacy for the Poor (Apprentice fee 1704)
1703	Widow Russell	10l	Gift for the poor
1703	Hester Browning	10l	Gift for the poor
1703	Thomas May	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1703	Henry Kenoal	10l	Left for use of the Meeting
1703	Thomas Arnold	5l	Legacy for the Poor
1704	Rebecca Turner	5l	Gift for the poor
1704	Jacob Camfield	100l	Legacy for the Poor
1704	Jane Fosket	20l	Legacy for the poor and apprentices
1704	Salem Osgood	10l	Legacy for the Poor
1704	Mary Meux	10l	Left for use of the Meeting
1706	Mary Elson	20l	10l to Meeting of xii; 10l to poor; plus 48l6s5d
1707	Mary & Eliz Meux	290l	Legacy For 'General Use'
1708	Sarah Southern	1l	Gift; used "in pt of our charge at Ffs workshouse"
1708	Joseph Wright	25l	10l to Peel; 15l to Aldergate Quaker poor

¹²² Source: extracted from MGR 11b5/FPR/7 (LSF).

Uniquely, a final item notes that Widow Edge 'said' the remaining £3 had been disposed of 'to friends y^t were going over sea';¹²³ the burial records of Peel Meeting record that a John Edge of Peel Meeting died in 1704 at Kensington Gravel Pits, aged 70,¹²⁴ and it may be that this death prompted these updates as to the balance of the legacy. John Edge appears multiple times in the record as holding such funds, which suggests local Friends trusted individuals to act financially on behalf of the meeting over long periods, while meeting accounts were made to balance periodically.

In 1684 the Peel Monthly Minute book asks that all apprentice indentures be brought in, as evidence of their investment, suggesting also that all apprentices paid for to date be recorded in a book.¹²⁵ Thriftily, these dedicated records were made using the reverse of the 'Gifts and Legacies' volume, simply recording the name of the apprentice, fee, and date; later the master's name was usually added.¹²⁶ The entries from 1671 to 1702 appear to be a fair transcription of earlier records from the minute book. The vast majority of earliest fees given are for £5, while lesser sums accompany the rarer apprenticeships of girls.¹²⁷ From around 1704, £10 fees become more frequent, along with sums of two or three pounds for clothes.¹²⁸ Interestingly, and demonstrating the link with Clerkenwell, there is also a record of 'a lad brought up at Friends Workhouse'.¹²⁹

The financial information recorded by the Meeting concerning gifts, legacies and apprentices can be best described as highly detailed, if not meticulously comprehensive. This demands a more nuanced view of Quaker recording, for the quantity of surviving material can mask its quality. However, such records should not be judged by current standards for financial

¹²³ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r 10.

¹²⁴ Digest of London and Middlesex Quaker Burials; 25 May 1704.

¹²⁵ MGR 11b5/2; 25/11/1684; the final page of this minute book shows an attempt to do this from 1670.

¹²⁶ MGR 11b5/FPR/7; reversed; note that these folios are unpaginated, and reference is by date only.

¹²⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 reversed; Margaret Hunt £2 (1680); Sarah Harrod £3 (1702); compare legal costs noted in Chapter 3.

¹²⁸ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 reversed: Robert Sleighton £10 (1707); Benjamin Basham '£10 and cloaths'; Jerimiah Clerke '£9 and cloaths' (1708).

¹²⁹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 reversed; one Danial Hewlit, 7mo 1709, put apprentice as a scale-maker, for £6; see Chapter 5.

accounting: the marginalia, inserted where space was available to augment the original entries, seems to have been intended more as an *aide memoire* to the clerk, while its existence is evidence that Friends were concerned there should be some audit trail of accountability over time.

7.9 Financial Case Study: John Mathew's Legacy

The true extent of the intricacies of Quaker finance are perhaps best illustrated, however, through the records associated with the substantial legacy of one John Mathews, the detailed accounts of which take up many pages throughout the Peel 'Gifts and Legacies' volume.¹³⁰

While it is not useful to discuss each transaction, the methods of investment and deployment of monies associated with this £300 legacy amply demonstrate the complexities and sophistication of Friends' financial dealings both within and outside a Monthly Meeting.¹³¹

Details of the legacy are recorded in an abstract of an indenture made on 27th February 1689,¹³² in which a trust consisting of a loan and mortgage totalling £300 is to be managed for the sole benefit of John Mathews, then on his decease for his sister, by three Quaker trustees (Citizens John Bush and John Staple, and John Edge); on the reverse (dated 4th March 1689),¹³³ the trustees are subsequently assigned to use the said £300 for the benefit of 'such of their poor friends commonly called Quakers... at Peel Meeting in the parishes of St Sepulchors and Clerkenwell... which meeting y^e s^d Joⁿ Mathews did belong to or frequent.'¹³⁴ The trustees were given freedom to use the money for purchase of land or houses, or to put it out to interest, or to distribute 'the same to such poor or some of them or by all some or any of those or any otherwise...' as they or their assigns saw fit; the indenture was both signed and

¹³⁰ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.6-f.r7; f.v.12-f.r14.

¹³¹ Examples of loans can be found in other minute books: see Snell's note on loans given to Friends (*Upperside Meeting*, xiii) and the loan to Mary Tod of £5 repaid in 1684 after seven years (*ibid*, 136).

¹³² MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.6.

¹³³ Both dates are written as 'heathen' months, presumably copying the legal indenture.

¹³⁴ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.6; note the absence, or avoidance, of the concept of 'membership'.

sealed.¹³⁵ Fulfilling the first part of the indenture was achieved in 1690 through lending the £300 to the central London Meeting of Twelve, at a distinctly non-usurious rate of 5%.¹³⁶ Over the next twelve years, this meeting paid Peel a total of £146-5s. in interest, at irregular but ever extending intervals, from as little as quarterly in 1690 to every eighteen months, with a final period of three years ending in November 1702 attracting interest of £45; all of which are noted as being received by John Edge.¹³⁷ With respects to disbursements over this period, it seems that John Mathews must have died at some point in 1691, since his sister received a payment of £26-5s. in March of 1692, and further payments to £63-15s. by her death in 1694.¹³⁸ There is a detailed record accounting for the remaining expenditure to 27th December 1702.¹³⁹ Interest was used for various purposes: legal expenses to reassign the mortgage accounted for £1-10s., with a later 10s. to 'a lawyer in this affair';¹⁴⁰ three loans of £5 were made;¹⁴¹ £1 was paid to teach a Friend to spin;¹⁴² £5 for an apprentice;¹⁴³ 'short' meeting collections were supplemented;¹⁴⁴ various disbursements were made to several poor, illustrations of extended largesse include: a substantial £3-17s. 'to y^e blackmoor at various times',¹⁴⁵ 18s. to 'a woman/one of them from Ireland',¹⁴⁶ and the same amount to 'Jane Sneed, a prisoner'.¹⁴⁷ This account appears to have been drawn up in one sitting, some months before the death of John Edge. The interest balance of £9-16s-6d. he held at death was transferred subsequently,¹⁴⁸ and several new trustees were assigned.¹⁴⁹

¹³⁵ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r. 7.

¹³⁶ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v. 12.

¹³⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v. 12.

¹³⁸ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; remarkably there does not appear to be a record of his death in the London & Middlesex Digest; either this is an oversight, or he was not buried in London as a Friend.

¹³⁹ All subsequent items appear on MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13.

¹⁴⁰ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1697; 1702.

¹⁴¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1697; 1700.

¹⁴² MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1697; 1702.

¹⁴³ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1699.

¹⁴⁴ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1701.

¹⁴⁵ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1702.

¹⁴⁶ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1702.

¹⁴⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.13; 1702.

¹⁴⁸ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.13; 1705; to W. Elwood.

¹⁴⁹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r. 7; four new trustees are named.

A significant development occurs in 1705, when the £300 capital ceases to be loaned to the Meeting of Twelve, and is lent instead to two individuals – John Staple and Thomas Cox (the latter a Vintner) at a bargain rate of only 4%.¹⁵⁰ From the sums collected on the credit side it seems this rate was later increased to 5% by 1709.¹⁵¹ A further six small loans to named Friends are noted up to 1708,¹⁵² which from the credit side of the ledger appear to have been interest-free.¹⁵³ Importantly, such communal-sourced loans had been publicly offered as early as 1660 in a broadsheet, and were expressly distanced from usury as monies were lent 'for a time freely'.¹⁵⁴ A similar, elegant (if smaller) construct can be found in the case of a wealthy Gloucester Friend, Giles Fettiplace, who supplied capital of £100 to five Friends, each of whom took £20 at an annual interest of five percent; the five pounds thus raised provided his annual contribution to Friends' poor relief.¹⁵⁵

Interest on the Mathews legacy was received until 1712,¹⁵⁶ but sometime later John Staples died, and it was not until 1718 that Thomas Cox is recorded as taking a bond for the entire amount, at the same time 'paying' the four-year's interest of £60 with a note of hand.¹⁵⁷ This was subsequently redeemed by two tranches of £40 and £20,¹⁵⁸ his note handed back to him 'with the consent of other friends', and the books swung back into balance;¹⁵⁹ it would appear from a comparison with the evidence in the loan books of Sir Francis Child that such irregular repayment installations were not unusual.¹⁶⁰ Intriguingly, the final entries for 1719 show interest repayments of £12 per annum, which would suggest this experienced trader

¹⁵⁰ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.13, 1705.

¹⁵¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.13, 1710; interest payment of £27 for two years separately noted as £12 and £15.

¹⁵² MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.13; total value £30; 1705-1708; no rate is noted.

¹⁵³ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.14; vide John Staples £10, Alex Middleton £8 repayments.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Atkins, *Some reasons why the people called Quakers ought to enjoy their meetings peaceably*, (Robert Wilson, at the Sign of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Windmill, Martins Le Grand, 1660): Reason XVII.

¹⁵⁵ *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII (1912); Fettiplace's wealth descended to John Bellers, who married his daughter..

¹⁵⁶ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.27.

¹⁵⁷ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.28; such notes later evolved into the 'fictitious kind of paper credit' advised against (Extracts, 197 'Trade' (#7, 1771).

¹⁵⁸ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.100.

¹⁵⁹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.28.

¹⁶⁰ Quinn, 'English Private Finance', 603.

negotiated a rate reduction down to the former rate.¹⁶¹ Thomas Cox, Grocer, thus had the use and benefit of a substantial loan over many years, priced well below the market rate, and without the great credit risk necessitated by regular repayments. The Friends at Peel at first obtained a market return on a safe investment with the Society, before offering members of their local meeting cheap funding on flexible terms. In thus restricting their areas of investment they were not unusual, since the investment market in terms of stocks was limited and— as in the famous case of the South Sea Company - could be volatile.¹⁶² The interest raised was used to benefit other members of the meeting through interest-free loans, general gifts of money, rents, and other services.¹⁶³ This would seem to confirm that the financial inter-relationships within and around the Society were not only important, but symbiotic; and that their utility in terms of membership of the Peel Meeting was significant.

7.10 Chapter Summary

The key role played by financial interrelationships between members in the shaping of the Society of Friends has been neglected. As the eighteenth century approached, and repression took a lesser claim on the corporate purse, Friends found themselves looking for new uses to which the funds, 'accumulating unused', could be put.¹⁶⁴ Quakers eschewed becoming part of the landed gentry,¹⁶⁵ thereby avoiding most state taxation. Instead they focussed on commerce, where their accumulated capital was lent to other Friends,¹⁶⁶ who would borrow but generally avoid paper-credit.¹⁶⁷ Debt was accepted - even when risky – always provided

¹⁶¹ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.100.

¹⁶² See Ann M. Carlos, Erin Fletcher, Larry Neal, 'Share portfolios in the early years of financial capitalism: London, 1690-1730', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (May 2015): 574-599; the authors identify 5,614 unique investors in London stocks over their period; it would be interesting to collate this data set with that of members of the Society of Friends.

¹⁶³ Those running the meeting enjoyed rather less for their efforts: aside from regular wine, a pair of meeting house curtains (£1, 1709) appear to be the main perquisites in the accounts (MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.r.9).

¹⁶⁴ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 84.

¹⁶⁵ Vann claims that 'persecution' made Quakerism much less attractive to those in the male line of descent of landed property, noting Margaret Fell and all her daughters would be converted, but neither husband or son (see Vann, *Social Origins*); tithes must have played a substantial part - see Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹⁶⁶ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 16.

¹⁶⁷ Extracts, 197 'Trade' (# 6).

the borrower could sustain the loss personally. Bankruptcy was a matter for disownment, with Friends morally burdened with the debt until repaid in full.¹⁶⁸

What always mattered most to Friends was that they should find useful employment for all talents - that 'none be idle in the Lord's vineyard'.¹⁶⁹ Money was no exception, and it was put to work with the typical Quaker requiring a return on financial assets, even if that return did not benefit them personally.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Extracts, 196,199 'Trade' (#4, #5, #10).

¹⁶⁹ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 64-68; Balby, advices xii, xiv, xv.

¹⁷⁰ MGR 11b5/FPR/7 f.v.14; marginalia on the Mathews' Legacy: 'noat no interest made of it by us from 13th 6mo unto y^e 18th 8mo'; the loss, amounting to over two pounds, was worth explaining.

8 THE UTILITY OF THE QUAKER NETWORK

This chapter examines the importance of networks in the development of Quaker commerce, and establishes the mechanisms which made Quaker networking particularly effective in the long eighteenth century. First, the concept of 'networks' is examined, and the context in Quaker historiography established through considering the traditional network typologies of kinship, marriage, worship, travelling ministry, geography, books, politics, as well as multiple aspects of the mercantile.

Having established the extent of Quaker connections, the chapter then proposes replacing the existing construct of multiple, discrete, networks: instead, mercantile Quakers are introduced as managing a single network comprised of nodes of individuals performing multiple functions as their roles required.

Social Network Analysis is combined with Robert Currie's concept of the 'organisational utility'¹ within religions to examine the potential within the network for secular benefit, and to demonstrate how the overall network of connections made a positive contribution to Quaker commercial success. The network is viewed as a set of enablers supporting the nascent enterprise over the business lifecycle from start up to succession, and allowing the creation of an integrated value chain uniting Quaker efforts at all stages (including: training and apprenticeships; access to investment capital; credit; supply of stock; commercial intelligence; business stakeholders; risk sharing; manufacturing and production; retail and wholesale sales; distribution; and geographic reach).

¹ Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert, and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

Next, stakeholder network theory is used to analyse the nature of the Quaker network, showing this to be characterised by a high density of interactions. In this highly integrated structure, composed of individuals connected in multiple ways through both commercial and non-commercial functions, support for the values of the Society of Friends was required in order to participate, while continued access was regulated by the Discipline which could be invoked to exclude. Finally, this is used to explain the link between the Quaker ethic represented in the Discipline and the mercantile world: any Quaker seeking to take secular advantage of the network was obliged to satisfy the expectations of the non-secular elements. The conclusion is that the inter-connected nature of the Society of Friends required extended cooperation across a wide spectrum of activities, and that the scope and extent of the engagement with other Quakers characteristic of this period provided a density of connections that not only enabled Quaker business to succeed, but demanded in return an adherence to Quaker Discipline in order to ensure continued access.

8.1 Traditional Quaker Network Typology

There is a general acceptance amongst historians that networks played an important role in the development of the Quaker movement, contributing both to the initial expansion and the subsequent high levels of internal organisation through which the Society of Friends became an enduring sect.² Perhaps as a result of this consensus, many writing on the subject deploy the word 'network' as a stand-alone explanation for an effect: an extreme example is provided by Jordan Landes, who depicts a trans-Atlantic Quaker community of 'connections and interconnections of dispersed groups' created by 'cultural, economic and political networks',

² See: Walvin, *The Quakers*; Davies 'Quaker Communities in London'; Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*; discussed in detail below.

sustained by Quaker networks that 'enabled the movement of ideas, goods and people'.³ Her conclusion evokes 'networks' six times in a single half page,⁴ but unfortunately at no point does the argument attempt to define what is meant by 'network', nor engage with any of the corpus on network theory, or even explore how the various interactions operated. As a result, Landes does not differentiate between different network topographies and structures, or their associated mechanisms, and consequently fails to address the essential questions as to why and how the connections of the Quakers formed a network which was more effective in creating 'community' than those of other contemporary groupings. In order to address this question it is important to consider 'network' as a portmanteau concept which requires unpacking, and to examine both the claims for efficacy, and the mechanisms for transmission.

David Hancock has usefully examined the evolution of 'network' as a construct, and concludes that early-modern writers tended to use 'connection' and 'correspondent' as contemporary equivalents;⁵ 'network' remained a term describing constructions resembling a net until well into the nineteenth century.⁶ Even in the late-nineteenth century, pioneering economist Alfred Marshall did not use 'network' when identifying the inter-relationships that underpinned the dynamics of his 'industrial districts',⁷ preferring the nebulous term 'atmosphere' to explain the mechanism for transmission of essential skills through a group, where the 'mysteries of the trade become no mysteries; but are as it were in the air'.⁸ Only by the later twentieth century does Hancock believe that 'network' began to convey the modern concept of an interconnected group of people.⁹

³ Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*, 1.

⁴ Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*, 166.

⁵ David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn, 2005): 467-491; 470.

⁶ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 472.

⁷ See Fiorenza Belussi and Katia Caldari, 'At the origin of the Industrial District: Alfred Marshall and the Cambridge school', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol. 33, Issue 2, March 2009, 335-355.

⁸ Belussi and Caldari, 'Industrial Districts', 337.

⁹ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 471.

This time-line is supported by Quaker literature: Quaker historian William Braithwaite did not employ the concept of networks in his monumental two-part history published in the early twentieth century;¹⁰ and by mid-century, while historians of the Society of Friends had begun to consider seriously the role of commerce the term 'networks' was all-but absent. Tolles' influential *Meeting House and Counting House* devotes more than a chapter to identifying the origins of success, and notes the Philadelphia Quakers' 'single-minded devotion to mercantile pursuits'.¹¹ Yet while his analysis discusses first-mover advantage, the 'oath exclusion' effect, the importance of the Protestant Ethic, and traits of frugality, honesty, and order, he does not consider 'networks'.¹²

Raistrick's contemporary *Science and Industry* was the first attempt to examine in detail the interrelationships between sets of Quaker business ventures, and considered the impact of linked individuals in terms of themed groups; but after once referring to 'a close network of concerns tied together by family relationships', he largely avoids the term, preferring to stress the importance of the 'closeness' and 'interlinking' between the Society of Friends and Quaker businesses.¹³ It is his chapter on 'The Quaker as Citizen and Trader', however, that pioneers the process of network classification by allocating sources of advantage to discrete groups of interrelationships, including the 'Close knit society with mutual trading and help', 'Intermarriages', and the 'Freedom and leisure to travel on the affairs of Ministry and the Society'.¹⁴ In this, Raistrick provides the starting point for the thematic categorisation of networks subsequently relied upon by historians. Angus Winchester shows there is some historical basis for such a classification, citing the journal of a Cumberland Friend from 1763 who distinguishes trans-Atlantic visitors by function: 'At Meeting. Two Friends from

¹⁰ Published in 1912 and 1919, supporting Hancock's view that the terms evolved in the later part of the 20th century.

¹¹ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 85.

¹² Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 45-63; the 'oath exclusion' idea is here credited to Voltaire (see Chapter 4).

¹³ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 45.

¹⁴ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 35-53; as noted in Chapter 1, this research acknowledges Raistrick's pioneering work.

Philadelphia, not publick. The one over on the account of trade; the other to see his relations.¹⁵

Winchester's study of 1991 is highly important as a development stage in the understanding of the Quaker network, recognising the inter-dependent nature of Quaker relationships by establishing that the strength of the Pardshaw Quaker meeting during the eighteenth century was related to the level of trade between Whitehaven and the American colonies.¹⁶

Winchester found sufficient links to propose a triple-strand of interwoven relationships: religious, kinship, and mercantile, and considered all members of the Society of Friends as 'enmeshed in a web of bonds which tied Quaker to Quaker'.¹⁷ Importantly for the development of my argument, Winchester specifically makes the claim that the three strands cannot be viewed in isolation.¹⁸

Walvin's popular volume draws on the work of past scholars, and adopts a broad-brush narrative which attempts to illustrate what he terms a 'curious paradox' of Quaker success while avoiding deeper explanation.¹⁹ Ignoring the complexities within the Society of Friends, his short chapter devoted to Quaker networks fails to build on Winchester, and instead rehearses traditional ideas without adding insight: those of Raistrick and others regarding the centrality of kinship, and intermarriage, and the importance of the travelling ministry are replayed; as is the centrality of the organisation of the Society, which he claims enabled the transfer of commercial intelligence, as well as the facility for diversification into other Friends' areas of success, (through investment, marriage or acquisition).²⁰ Walvin relies heavily upon a few exemplars: the successful apothecary Thomas 'Pope' Corbyn for trade,²¹

¹⁵ Angus J.L. Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, Vol.80 (1991): 85-99.

¹⁶ Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants', 93; quoting Isaac Fletcher Diary 1.ix.1763.

¹⁷ Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants', 91.

¹⁸ Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants', 85.

¹⁹ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 50.

²⁰ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 81-90.

²¹ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 82-85.

the Darby family for manufacturing, and the Barclay dynasty for banking and brewing; while Hanbury's are mentioned as 'enormously successful' in North American trade.²² Fortunately, Winchester's idea of inter-connectedness reoccurs in Robynne Rogers Healey's recent consideration of networks during the eighteenth century: she observes that while 'ministry and commerce were to be kept strictly separate', some Quakers might successfully manage the two.²³

Support for this position is evidenced by the Journal of late seventeenth-century Friend Thomas Chalkley, minister and master mariner:²⁴ some entries confirm both an abjuring of trade (and family interests) in pursuit of the Lord's work,²⁵ while others show the need to 'trade a little at sea for their support and maintenance'.²⁶ As a mariner, it should be remembered that Chalkley would expect payment for his maritime services, and thus trading was an additional source of income to be engaged in as needed. When trade, and hence mercantile business, was low, Chalkley happily reports that he remained in harbour and preached to the locals.²⁷ Chalkley exemplifies the early Quaker acceptance that the spiritual and commerce life were interwoven. believing in a:

liberty from God, and his dear son, lawfully, and for accommodation's sake, to work or seek for food or raiment; though that ought to be a work of indifferency, compared to the great work of salvation... The farmer, the tradesman and the merchant do not understand by our Lord's doctrine, that they must neglect their calling, or grow idle in their business, but must certainly work, and be industrious in their callings.²⁸

²² Walvin, *The Quakers*, 85-89; Walvin's unsupported suggestion that Quaker commercial success declined as England moved on a war footing in the second half of the eighteenth century ignores the wars that had been constantly starting and ending since the Society's inception.

²³ Robynne Rogers Healey, 'Quietist Quakerism 1692-c.1805', in Stephen Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 52-57.

²⁴ Thomas Chalkley, *A collection of the works of Thomas Chalkley: In two parts*, (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1790).

²⁵ Chalkley, *Works*, 73; for twenty months in 1709.

²⁶ Chalkley, *Works*, 84; Bermuda, 1715.

²⁷ Chalkley, *Works*, 99; 'Barbadoes', 1719.

²⁸ Chalkley, *Works*, 100.

A very similar position was taken by that of his contemporary, Thomas Story, who also crossed the Atlantic to preach in 1698.²⁹ He has been described as a 'noted preacher and writer, lawyer, and scientist, one of the comparatively few first-rank Friends of the early eighteenth century.'³⁰ His *Journal* is also useful in revealing contemporary attitudes - after informing his father he had no wish for a legal practice, family friends spotted an opportunity:

We know your Son very well ; tho' young, he's no Fool: You know the Quakers are an opulent People, and their Principles lead them to refuse the Payment of Tythes to the Clergy; which, together with other Oppositions they meet with from one or other, occasions many Law-suits, and much business: And as they favour one another in all things, particularly in Trade and the like, you'll see he'll have as much Business soon as any Man in England; and will be well paid, without Question.³¹

When he opted for the ministry, he records his father joking that Quakers 'went often abroad preaching, and as often brought home good Sums of Money; and that his Son, being ingenious, would soon learn to preach among them, get Money, and become rich too.'³²

Possessed of private means, Storey's legal advice was subsequently used by the Society of Friends, and he later served as an administrator to London Yearly Meeting, and to William Penn.³³

8.2 Travelling Connections

Chalkley and Storey, along with Thomas Corbyn, are amongst the better known exemplar of the 'minister-trader', not least because the Society of Friends published and distributed their edited 'Journals';³⁴ however sufficient numbers of those ministering are also recorded as doing

²⁹ Norman Penney, ed., 'An Account of Ministering Friends from Europe visiting America from 1656 to 1703', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. X No.3 (1913): 123.

³⁰ Isaac Sharp, 'John Bellers - Lost and Found', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* Vol. XII No.3 (1915): 118.

³¹ Kendell, *Journal*, 46-47; Story would ultimately help Friends in legal difficulty, although not in pursuit of gain.

³² Kendell, *Journal*, 48; Story reports the joke fell flat.

³³ C. Gerona, 'Story, Thomas (1670?-1742), Quaker minister and journal writer' (ODNB, 2008); later to be acquitted on two accusations of impropriety (once of finance, once seduction) his will of 1741 (PROB 11/722/51) disposed of estates in Justice Town, Carlisle, and Pennsylvania, with bequests to Clerkenwell workhouse and the local Friends' meeting.

³⁴ For Corbyn see Chapter 6, and Walvin, *The Quakers*, 83-85.

business (such as John Salkeld, Isaac Hadwen, and John Oxley across the Atlantic, or John Ashton, Jonathan Barnes, Anthony Sharp, and James Bolt in Ireland) to suggest this was far from unusual amongst the scores of Friends who travelled in the ministry before the end of the eighteenth century.³⁵ Landes provides a list of 31 'Ministers from England with approval or acknowledgement from Morning Meeting', citing approval dates from 1694 to 1725.³⁶ It is unclear why this period has been chosen, but presenting the selection in isolation is highly misleading. A more comprehensive context might be gained from consulting the data collated in 'An Account of Ministering Friends who visited America 1656–1703'.³⁷ This comprehensive survey shows over fifty voyages *before* those counted by Landes, and a further sixty three before the end of the eighteenth century. Significantly, one third of the names given in the Account as sailing between Landes' selected dates are not included in her list of the 'approved' (including: Robert Wardell, 1695; Henry Payton, Jonathan Tyler, James Dickenson, Jacob Fallowfield, 1696; John Salkeld, 1700; Samuel Wilkinson, Patrick Henderson 1707; Thomas Wilson 1714).³⁸ There is also an incomplete correlation between Landes' dates and the Account's voyage dates: many names are given as sailing in the years before 'approval' (including William Ellis, Aaron Atkinson, Thomas Storey, Thomas Turner, Mary Rogers, Elizabeth Webb, amongst others). In consequence, comparison of the larger data set with the smaller suggests that the role of London Yearly Meeting in controlling these travellers has been overstated; if Landes' extract is comprehensive, then a large proportion (approaching half) travelled without gaining prior 'approval'.³⁹

³⁵ Penney, 'An Account of Ministering Friends', 125, 164, 230, 237.

³⁶ Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*, 173-174, Appendix 2.

³⁷ Penney, 'Ministering Friends', 117-131.

³⁸ Norman Penney ed., 'Some Incidents in the Life of John Salkeld (1672-1739)', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XIII No.1 (1916): 1-5; Salkeld should be celebrated for proving Quaker's could have a sense of humour; naming the families with whom he had spent the day, he quipped he had had 'Breakfast with the Lads, dined with the Lords, slept with the Hoggs'.

³⁹ One minister (Roger Gill, 1699) may possibly even have died before his acknowledgement arrived.

Challenging Landes' claim for the London-centric nature of early trans-Atlantic travel in the ministry unveils a group willing to travel without (or at best, some with post-facto) central acknowledgement; such a group suggests not only highly independent individuals, but helps illustrate their belief in the strength of their personal connections across the trans-Atlantic world. Reducing the importance of centrally-organised travel, and London's administrative (and financial) support, also suggests that many such connections were not facilitated by the centre, and that those of local origin, created and sustained through Winchester's strands of family, business and meeting, were of equal if not greater importance. While travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was certainly difficult, this should not be understood to imply no movement, nor does it demand a population content to die in the village in which they were born. In fact, Peter Spufford has shown that the opposite model holds for families without both local land and community status; for the rest, mobility was the norm.⁴⁰ Citing figures as low as 5% for two-generational continuity in the mid-seventeenth century, he implies that many, if not most, would leave their place of birth;⁴¹ many made for London, proportionally less for provincial cities, while some took to closer parishes.⁴² The propensity of Quakers to migrate in a like manner has been noted above in the discussion on Occupations.⁴³ One major difference, thanks to the opportunities created by William Penn's Pennsylvania, (and to a lesser extent, the Quaker proprietors of East and West Jersey),⁴⁴ was the Quaker option for emigration. The existence of known connections on the far side of the Atlantic, and the regular (perhaps frequent) encounters with those who had already made the journey, can be conjectured to have reduced the perceived risks of transition. The extent of migration is now a matter for debate, although traditionally tens of thousands were believed to

⁴⁰ Peter Spufford, 'Mobility and Immobility in Early Modern England', in Margaret Spufford, ed., *The World of rural dissenters: 1520-1725*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 310-311.

⁴¹ Spufford, 'Mobility', 311.

⁴² Spufford, 'Mobility', 310.

⁴³ See Chapters 2 and 3.

⁴⁴ Amongst whom were Quakers Penn, Ambrose Rigg, Richard Barclay *et al.* See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

have left for the New World. This belief arose from John Stephenson Rowntree's famed study in the mid-nineteenth century, which assumed five hundred Quakers per annum between 1676 and 1700, and a 'very considerable number' after.⁴⁵ Unfortunately his source for this was an appendix to an amateur collection of statistics, created in the mid-nineteenth century, and lacking provenance.⁴⁶ Richard Vann noted Joseph Illick's estimate of 8,000 by 1685, observing that other historians have been 'less venturesome in committing themselves to figures',⁴⁷ while arguing for a lesser earlier total (based on the number of surviving Quaker removal 'certificates') of about 1000 before 1685, with a further thousand in the 1690s.⁴⁸ Regrettably, Landes' recent full-length study of the subject makes no attempt to address the issue.⁴⁹ A recent attempt to reconcile the births, marriages, and deaths evidence from London Yearly Meeting suggests a total of between eight and ten thousand over the long eighteenth century, tailing-off sharply after 1700.⁵⁰ This estimate demonstrates that emigration was considered a practical option; while any total numbering in the low thousands, drawn from across English Quakerism, would require many scores of Friends to leave from each Quarterly meeting, and thus create extensive 'local' connections across the Atlantic – even in the absence of a travelling ministry (approved or not).

Statistically, those who succeeded in trade were unlikely to be recognised ministers: a typical example was Richard Poor, the son of a merchant, scrivener, and planter who owned two small estates in Barbados, and who was possibly convinced by Fox in 1671.⁵¹ Poor's account book shows him to have been a provisions dealer and importer of British manufactures,

⁴⁵ John Stephenson Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present: an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline*, (Smith, Elder & Company, 1859). See also Chapter 9, and Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', *passim*, for a comprehensive discussion.

⁴⁶ Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 74; citing 'Appendix to [John?] Thurnam's 'Statistics', 12'; no such work has been located.

⁴⁷ Richard T. Vann, 'Quakerism - Made in America', in Richard S. Dunn & Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

⁴⁸ Vann, 'Quakerism – Made in America', 163.

⁴⁹ Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', 10, 83.

⁵¹ S.D. Smith, 'The Account Book of Richard Poor, Quaker Merchant of Barbados', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Jul., 2009): 607. Cited as 'Richard Poor'.

transacting widely and regularly, and taking extended visits to London to make business contacts.⁵² Analysis shows links with Friends in London: his sister Mary married twice at the Horsleydown Meeting (to merchant William Woodcock in 1705, then one John Smith in 1709/10); another sister, Temperance, followed in 1710; while a further sister Eve married the into the Quaker Raper family, which included an apothecary and mercers.⁵³

Poor's English equivalent may be William Stout of Lancaster, a reasonably successful middleman during the first fifty years of the period, described by J. D. Marshall as 'more or less representative of the second generation', an opinion supported by his journal containing thoughts and deeds, as well as some financial accounts.⁵⁴ His origins help illustrate his nascent network: from farming stock, Stout was apprenticed to a family friend (Quaker grocer, Henry Coward) who was highly successful, with a great acquaintance as a trader and horse dealer, while acting 'in a large way' as proto-banker.⁵⁵ Coward hosted house-meetings during Charles II's repressions, ('projected to have driven them all to the province of William Penn...and ...many went');⁵⁶ while for those imprisoned, he provided 'bedstocks,... firing and candles', 'which charge was defrayed by the quarter meeting of the county.'⁵⁷ On completing his apprenticeship, Stout collected the sizeable sum of £119 10s. (both by retrieving money owed from his father's estate, and sale of land), and with ten pounds borrowed from a sister he travelled to London (with neighbours, and on his brother's horse);⁵⁸ he obtained £200 of goods (paying half in cash), while further dealings in Birmingham- and Sheffield-ware enabled him to set up shop with a stock of £300.⁵⁹ Following best practice, he cast his accounts after a year ('that I might pay what was owing, to clear accounts yearly as I ought to

⁵² Smith, 'Richard Poor', 609.

⁵³ Smith, 'Richard Poor', 610 fn. 4.

⁵⁴ J.D. Marshall, ed., *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665–1752*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967): 2. Cited as Marshall, *William Stout*.

⁵⁵ Stout, *Autobiography*, 8-10.

⁵⁶ Stout, *Autobiography*, 11.

⁵⁷ Stout, *Autobiography*, 11-12.

⁵⁸ Stout, *Autobiography*, 20.

⁵⁹ Stout, *Autobiography*, 20-21.

do'),⁶⁰ and 'computed that [he] had gained £50., besides shop rent and boarding'.⁶¹

Subsequently, like Poor, Stout learned to become a trans-Atlantic trader. A useful illustration of his network, as well as his attitude to risk, is shown by his investments of 1698: Stout was invited by five Friends to share the cost of fitting out a ship of 80 tons for a voyage for Virginia, to purchase a cargo for sale in the colonies which would in turn fund the purchase of a cargo of tobacco to be sold on return.⁶² As his share of this substantial investment, Stout was required to visit London, choosing a time to coincided with the Yearly Meeting. The trip looked in jeopardy when his brother's horse died, but the ever-thrifty Stout found a borrowed horse to return for a neighbour, thereby saving both hire and stabling costs.⁶³ He 'duly attended the general yearly meeting which was large, unanimous, peaceful, and edifying' and afterwards bought 'sails, rigging, anchors cables etc', and sailed home via Liverpool.⁶⁴ A second transaction in the same year saw him send £110 of 'woollen, linen, and other goods' to Philadelphia wholly in the care of one George Godsolve ('a young man brought up in a drapers shop' and keen to try a career as a merchant);⁶⁵ Godsolve's father was Stout's neighbour, whose wife's brother was from the Coward family, and a Virginia factor.⁶⁶ George was one of twenty Lancaster Quakers who sold up and shipped out from Liverpool to extend the network.⁶⁷ Marshall notes Stouts connections with the Darby iron-Masters, and recognises the role of his Quaker network in facilitating commercial success, stating 'much of Stout's store of information...on movements in trade and industry was garnered by virtue of these connections'.⁶⁸ Marshall makes the further claim that the commercial benefits such connections offered were also unusual:

⁶⁰ Compare Chapter 6 on Defoe, and Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

⁶¹ Stout, *Autobiography*, 26; this was 1689; ten years later he computed he was worth £1,100 (*Autobiography*, 46).

⁶² Stout, *Autobiography*, 48.

⁶³ Stout, *Autobiography*, 48.

⁶⁴ Expenses when travelling on QM business were often reimbursed; it is not known if Stout's were; see Chapter 7.

⁶⁵ Stout, *Autobiography*, 50.

⁶⁶ Stout, *Autobiography*, 55; after four years, Stout concluded neither investment ultimately made him money.

⁶⁷ Stout, *Autobiography*, 50.

⁶⁸ Marshall, *William Stout*, 13.

It is certain that Stout was able to buy goods in a place as far away as Sheffield with complete confidence in the reliability of the Friend whom he employed to purchase for him; comparatively few small provincial traders, outside the world of the Quakers can have enjoyed such advantages.⁶⁹

8.3 Endogamous Connections

Both within and outside trade connections, kinship and marriage provided strong links between Quakers from the inception of the Society, and the practice of endogamy was subsequently enforced through multiple Advices.⁷⁰ Such religious allegiance was commonly transmitted through kinship networks, and Margaret Spufford finds dissent was a family phenomenon and could spread through a community on this basis.⁷¹ Hill suggested that Quaker adherence to endogamy was not unique, and that 'unequal marriages' were 'antichristian yokes', and therefore that marriages outside the sect should be disallowed'.⁷² As noted above, Raistrick's work introduced the now accepted commercial importance of inter-marriage – indeed, he notes that it was the 'frequent occurrence of Quaker names' encountered while writing a history of technology that stimulated the work.⁷³ His analysis of relationships within the fields of science and industry illustrates the level of connectivity through charts of family and business connections, and for a number of extended Quaker families, including those of: Gurney; Pease; Backhouse; Fox and Were; Rawlinson; Lloyd; Darby; Champion; and Barclay.⁷⁴ This painstaking work comprehensively established the extent of the Quaker commercial relationships through kinship and marriage; and exemplified the reality of the cognomen 'Quaker cousins'. Kristianna Polder has assessed the earliest Quaker marriage

⁶⁹ Marshall, *William Stout*, 13.

⁷⁰ Extracts, 62-72; analysis of the Advices is given in Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

⁷¹ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974): 299.

⁷² Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford University Press for University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971): 106-107.

⁷³ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, Foreword.

⁷⁴ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 75, 77, 79 83, 103, 121, 123, 191, 323; and *passim*.

discipline,⁷⁵ and recognises that this marked a typical dissenter regression towards ensuring common consent, while considering what she terms the 'approbation' process to require some verification through direct divine revelation: since her first period analysis is extrapolated from the union of George Fox and Margaret Fell it is perhaps safer to draw conclusions from the Advices given in the later seventeenth century by when the process is described in rather less revelatory terms, requiring only that 'all persons concerned seriously wait upon the Lord for counsel and clearness in this weighty concern'.⁷⁶ Obviously, during the early years of the Society when growth was at its height, many new Friends would have already been married, and their spouse may or may not have become a member; similarly, as shown above, while marriage before a priest was a subject for Discipline, it seems that many who did so were allowed to testify against themselves and return to the fold.⁷⁷

That endogamy remained important to Friends is evidenced both by journal evidence and Advices. Chalkley gives an account of his formal marriage procedure in 1699: first identifying 'a religious young woman',⁷⁸ then gaining approval from both sets of parents; subsequently obtaining certificates from their respective Monthly Meetings, before a solemnising marriage at a third.⁷⁹ The certification process is worthy of note: Chalkley produced signed papers of clearness to marry, as well as his suitability in 'industry and labour in the Lord'.⁸⁰ Stout illustrates both the rationale and the difficulties associated with the practice of endogamy: 'being always resolved never to marry any other woman other than professors of the people called Quakers'.⁸¹ Having secured parental support, the intended

⁷⁵ Kristianna Polder, *Matrimony in the True Church: The Seventeenth-Century Quaker Marriage Approbation Discipline*, (Routledge, 2015).

⁷⁶ Extracts, 56 (#1, 1690).

⁷⁷ See Chapter 4; while consorting with those outside the Society of Friends was considered a more serious fault, it may be that at various times a gender imbalance in certain meetings might possibly have encouraged considerations of leniency, although this was never expressly permitted in any version of the Discipline.

⁷⁸ Chalkley illustrates this with a paper in her own writing beginning 'Wo, wo! to the crown of pride!' (*Journal*, 30).

⁷⁹ Chalkley, *Journal*, 29-30; Devonshire House, London; a Chalkley appears in the records, curiously described as a 'Sawyer' (*Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker marriages*, Vol.4,(QFHS, 2008): 834).

⁸⁰ Extracts, 62-72 'Marriage'.

⁸¹ Stout, *Autobiography*, 63-65.

spouse proves uninterested in his worthiness, and Stout (lamenting her addiction to 'lightness and vanity'), withdraws.⁸² Thomas Storey's *Journal* mentions attending many marriages, and describes contemporary criticism of the Quaker 'forms' when at a marriage interrupted by a Ranter who 'hooted like an owl', and demanded 'Liberty for the oppressed seed'.⁸³ He also recounts his concern over God' people engaging in 'mixed marriages between them and the world', and cites giving testimony that redeemed one young man intending to marry out.⁸⁴ Importantly, Storey provides an illustration of the difficulties such unions could cause; he visited a Monthly Meeting:

that was in Agitation, between a young Man, not in the Profession of Truth, and a Friend's Daughter who did profess with us; and her Father having given Consent, with Proviso, that if the Meeting would agree to it, and some weak Friends likewise having countenanced it, the more substantial Part of the Meeting had been weakened therein : But our appearing there in the Testimony of Truth against it, strengthened the better Part, so that it did not pass the Meeting.⁸⁵

The impact of 'visitors' on matters of discipline has been discussed above;⁸⁶ notwithstanding, this indicates a degree of local flexibility when enforcing marriage regulations.

It is not proposed to offer either further or contrary evidence to that of Raistrick; however historians have failed to place Quaker behaviours in context, thus failing to establish what, if anything, is unique about their pattern of marriage beyond process and form. With respect to endogamy, further context should be sought by comparison with custom and practice in England at the time. Keith Snell's comprehensive study of 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy' examined 18,442 marriages from the published registers of

⁸² Stout, *Autobiography*, 64.

⁸³ Storey, *Journal*, 220; this does not suggest such an incident can be taken as representative.

⁸⁴ Storey, *Journal*, 161.

⁸⁵ Storey, *Journal*, 376; note this was not a Meeting under London Yearly Meeting.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

69 parishes, across eight counties, from 1700.⁸⁷ For all, 'Foreign' marriages, where one party was not resident in the parish, exhibited 'the same major reduction...to very low percentages of all marriages after 1754', declining from approximately one third in 1700 to almost zero.⁸⁸ 1754 marks Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which imposed severe penalties for those transgressing residency requirements, while incidentally legitimising marriages conducted by the Society of Friends. The Quaker Monthly Meeting, being across parishes, continued to enable and even encourage geographical marital exogamy, supporting a contention that Friend's marriages could be contracted from a wider network than was usual, particularly after 1754. Analysis of the equivalent data for the Quaker marriage records requires a separate study; however, a sampling of early London Marriage Records suggests that, as might be expected, up to three-quarters of couples were recorded as coming from different Meetings.⁸⁹ The co-location of parents of the couple may be taken to indicate geographic endogamy; a second sample of 250 marriages between 1680 and 1685 does not indicate any in-laws residing in the same town, with the great majority residing outside of London;⁹⁰ a third sample (between 1780 and 1790) finds just two couples whose parents co-located.⁹¹ This suggests that most London Quaker marriages at least involved partners originating from a different parish, and that this pattern was sustained as the century progressed; whether this effect was partially the result of a lack of local marriage partners, or perhaps even an overall gender imbalance across meetings does not, of course, have an impact on the resulting network density.⁹² Since London has been shown as the centre of Quaker commerce, it can be considered that Quaker endogamy throughout the eighteenth century involved an opportunity to marry into an atypically diverse geographical pool.

⁸⁷ K.D. M. Snell, 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy, 1700-1837', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (May, 2002).

⁸⁸ Snell, 'English Rural Societies', 223-273.

⁸⁹ Random sample of 50 marriages 1680-1690; Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Marriages, (QFHS, 2008).

⁹⁰ Consecutive sample 250 marriages 1680-1685; Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Marriages, (QFHS, 2008).

⁹¹ Lawley-Reeve (1783) and Withers-Brooker (1783); Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Marriages, (QFHS, 2008).

⁹² Analysis of endogamy may perhaps prove a suitable area for further research.

8.4 Political Connections

Since all connections made within the Quaker world had the effect of increasing the density of the network, and thus had potential to facilitate commerce, one further set of connections remains to be examined: those between the Society of Friends and government. That these have received little prominence from historians may be in consequence of the challenge presented to the favoured trope, repeated by Walvin, that Quakers were regarded 'a dangerous and subversive body, their ideals too democratic for late seventeenth-century England'.⁹³

Walvin states that 'a century on, the Society was viewed at worst as a body of eccentrics for whom the state was willing to make allowances'.⁹⁴ In fact, as shown above,⁹⁵ the acceptance of Quakerism's eccentricities was demonstrated a century earlier by the Toleration Act of 1689, while the personal intervention of powerful friends occurred before that, with both Fox and Cromwell, and Penn and the future king, James II, and further demonstrated by Penn's influence on the Declaration of Indulgence of 1687 which suspended penal laws enforcing religious conformity.⁹⁶ Of equal importance to these personal connections was the political lobbying mechanism set in place with the Meeting for Sufferings in 1675. Helpfully, this aspect of the Society has been examined in great detail by Norman Crowther-Hunt in his *Early Political Associations*, which chronicles the relationships between Protestant Dissenters and the government.⁹⁷ Hunt charts the Meeting's developing role,⁹⁸ gathering and presenting evidence of 'sufferings' to the parliamentary 'Committee for Grievances' in 1678; galvanising Quarterly Meetings to lobby local M.P.s; refunding some £73-13s.2d. spent 'attending Parliament and managing the business of friends upon the statutes made against Recusants';⁹⁹

⁹³ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 93; such sentiment reflects the continuing dominant historical positioning of the school of Christopher Hill.

⁹⁴ Walvin, *The Quakers*, 93.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 2.

⁹⁶ N.C. Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, (Oxford: OUP, 1961): 13; Hunt's detailed work deserves wider acknowledgement.

⁹⁷ N.C. Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 13; James II's desire to relive recusant Catholics was significant.

⁹⁸ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 5-23.

⁹⁹ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 9.

raising a national collection (between £1000 and £2000);¹⁰⁰ lobbying to release individuals (judges, bishops, ex-M.P.s, and peers were frequently approached';¹⁰¹ propagandising ('half a sheet of most remarkable sufferings be weekly published...');¹⁰² while from 1688 Friends monitored parliament daily, with John Edge (of Peel Meeting) making copies of bills that might affect Friends, while London Yearly Meeting Clerk Benjamin Bealing took count of votes;¹⁰³ Hunt instances many other actions. A first legal victory came as early as 1688, when a draft law included a clause addressing the Quaker scruple to take oaths, allowing 'It shall be sufficient for every such Person to Make and Subscribe the *Declaration of Fidelity*'.¹⁰⁴ Letters survive showing Friends managed to combat potential problems in the Clandestine Marriage bill, and inserted protective clauses on affirmation into other proposed legislation during 1690,¹⁰⁵ well before the passing of the Affirmation Act was achieved in 1696.¹⁰⁶ Hunt's survey continues into the eighteenth century, citing such success as the renewal of the Affirmation Act (1701), its being made perpetual (1715), modifications of the act (1722);¹⁰⁷ the Relief of Debtors act (1734);¹⁰⁸ and the Tithe Bill campaign of 1730 onwards.¹⁰⁹ Hunt amply demonstrates that Quakers had an organised approach to leveraging connections to influence both the formation and the enforcement of laws, and that their achievement of tolerance was well underway by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. One further aspect of this effort is worth noting – the centralised management and dissemination of legal advice. As noted above, the Society of Friends were antagonistic towards the legal profession;¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 81; citing the 'Book of Cases, Vol. i'.

¹⁰¹ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 12.

¹⁰² Minutes of Meetings for Sufferings, MS Vol. ii 7th 3rd mo 1683.

¹⁰³ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ *An Act for a Grant to Their Majestyes of an Ayd of Two shillings in the Pound for One Yeare*; 1&2 Will & Mar. c.10; (Raithby, Vol. 6): 104-142; italics added.

¹⁰⁵ G.L. Lampson, ed., *A Quaker Postbag*, (Longmans Green, 1910): 50; Letter from Henry Gouldney to Sir J. Rodes, 1690; note the editor is Mrs. Godfrey Lampson.

¹⁰⁶ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 32-42.

¹⁰⁷ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 47, 49-61.

¹⁰⁸ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 22.

¹⁰⁹ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 62-112.

¹¹⁰ See Chapter 3 'Professions'.

however, if consultation uncovered methods to alleviate the penalties imposed on Friends by law, this was widely publicised within the Society. Hunt notes several instances where the Meeting for Sufferings took counsel and communicated advice to the Society at large, including: application of the Poll Act (1692); interpretation of the Affirmation Act (1696,1697,and 1723); appeal against prosecutions for back-payment of tithes (1698); administration of Aberdonian affirmations (1714); and the avoidance of oaths for registration of estates (1723);¹¹¹ and others. Such use of the organisation to provide some legal shield to members served both to ameliorate potential penalties arising from membership, and to extend the reach of individuals seeking advantages from their Quaker connections.

8.5 Family Connections

That there were so many overlapping functions was perhaps inevitable from the origins of the Society. Robert Currie identified the motivations for associating with a religious movement,¹¹² and suggested growth of membership is divided primarily into 'autogenous' growth¹¹³ (arising from families and friends) and 'allogenous' (recruitment from outside), a classification in which the Quakers are noted as the 'subject of some discussion'.¹¹⁴ The Society of Friends relied on both sources of membership at different periods, starting with a nucleus around the family and friends as noted with the Aldams and the Seekers at Balby,¹¹⁵ and finding adherents in similar communities of families and friends as the 'First Publishers of Truth' discovered individuals who demonstrated conviction. Membership then spread into the wider community during the millennial speculations of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, while by the mid-eighteenth autogenous recruitment again dominated, reflecting the

¹¹¹ Hunt, *Two Political Associations*, 28, 29, 26, 31, 27.

¹¹² Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*.

¹¹³ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 8.

¹¹⁴ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 3.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 2.

predominant 'Quietism' of the period.¹¹⁶ Thus many of those that formed the early membership came as a group, with pre-existing networks, and often as a family; Braithwaite describes Balby in 1658:

The chief persons in the group that now accepted [Fox's] message were Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam and his wife Mary, and John and Thomas Killam and their wives Margaret and Joan, who were both sisters of Thomas Aldam.¹¹⁷

Thomas Taylor joined with his anti-tithe community in Brigflatts, while his brother would keep Quaker schools:¹¹⁸ the term 'friend' might thus indicate more than 'Friend of Truth'.

When Smith suggests that Richard Poor found entering business 'relatively easy', the phrase is particularly apt.¹¹⁹ His journal shows how he began trading:

Before 1707 a quarter of the younger Poor's transactions were with kin - his father and mother; siblings Benjamin, Elizabeth, Eve, Mary, and Temperance Poor; uncle Benjamin Poor; and brother-in-law William Woodcock. In addition to receiving help from family, Poor participated in joint ventures during this period with Quakers Benjamin Bromfield, John LeGay, and Bartholomew Rening.¹²⁰

The efficacy of the families' Quaker connections helps explain subsequent success, while family events can be found woven into Monthly Meeting business minutes. The union of bricklayer William Harrod to Rachel Hutchins is recorded in the Quaker marriage register in 1683,¹²¹ the burial records hold the death of their first son the following year, and the subsequent deaths of a daughter (1693) and another son (1694),¹²² and in 1695 William himself died of consumption.¹²³ The apprentice records from Peel show how a surviving daughter, Sarah, was apprenticed by Friends to learn Silk-weaving with one Elizabeth 'Goodaker' for £3; remarkably, the hand-written indenture for her also survives, noting (most

¹¹⁶ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 7.

¹¹⁷ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 9.

¹¹⁸ Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 525-526; first at Hertford, then Waltham Abbey.

¹¹⁹ Smith, 'Richard Poor', 613; no pun intended in the original.

¹²⁰ Smith, 'Richard Poor', 609.

¹²¹ Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Marriages, (QFHS, 2008); 'at the Bull and Mouth, 31st 5 mo. 1683'.

¹²² Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Marriages, (QFHS, 2008); 833; 'd. 9th 1 mo. 1684'; 'of wind at five weeks old'.

¹²³ Digest of London & Middlesex Quaker Burials, (QFHS, 2008); he was aged 40.

unusually for the times, when wording was pro-forma) that Sarah went voluntarily, to learn 'as far as wit' could serve her.¹²⁴

Exemplars from across the Atlantic and from London can be complemented with a final set of connections from outside the metropolis, those of the Wansey family of Wiltshire.¹²⁵ George Wansey, a clothier, was converted by Penn, and in 1680 married a clothier's daughter who brought him both a dowry and connections;¹²⁶ on her father's death he shared that business with the widow; on the death of his wife he married again into the trade, this time to a wife who would continue in business until 1739.¹²⁷ Wansey illustrates not only the commercial bent of Quaker converts, but the range of connections: a member of the Guild of Clothiers, he demonstrates both the existence and the efficacy of that connection in agreeing to address the coinage shortage by sending 'no more Cloth to London till such time they could be Payd in Money Jan^y 1696/7'.¹²⁸ As a connected entrepreneur, he found it acceptable to rent some of his property to business associates;¹²⁹ it seems he also rented to those he employed to supply him - rent was deducted from their invoices, as were goods he supplied (including tobacco).¹³⁰ His wife and business partner demonstrated her acumen in a transaction whereby she bought a weavers' loom for £4, only to rent it back, for 6s. a year.¹³¹ While such a transaction generated slightly above a market rate of return for the times, at 7.5%, it was not excessive, and allowed the borrower (unlikely to have access to other credit) to anticipate several months earnings.¹³² One feature of this domestic economy too unusual to pass without a mention is the Wansey's

¹²⁴ MGR 11b5/FPR/7, Apprentice Book of Peel (not paginated); 14th 7mo 1702; MGR 11b/MISC/29 (LSF) Indentures Fond for Peel; note this indenture carried all the royal titles for Queen Ann, a practice later proscribed by Friends; curiously the instruction that she 'be obedient to Elizabeth & family' has '& family' excised, possibly indicating discernment.

¹²⁵ J. de L. Mann, 'A Wiltshire Family of Clothiers: George and Hester Wansey, 1683-1714', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1956): 241-253. Cited as 'Wansey'.

¹²⁶ Mann, 'Wansey', 241.

¹²⁷ Mann, 'Wansey', 241-242.

¹²⁸ Mann, 'Wansey', 251; for the coinage shortage, see Chapter 6.

¹²⁹ Mann, 'Wansey', 245.

¹³⁰ Mann, 'Wansey', 250.

¹³¹ Mann, 'Wansey', 250.

¹³² Presumably the weaver needed cash; see Chapter 6 for a discussion on loans, interest and usury.

commercial lending library: records show books and regular newspapers were lent to 'Relations and Neighbours' who paid 3*d.* a week to have access.¹³³ Mann denotes their son as an 'atypical' Quaker who later married a (dissenting) cousin of their factor, which presumably added an extra dimension to his connections.¹³⁴

8.6 Single Network Topology and Secular Utility

Having reviewed the main facets of Quaker connections, it is necessary to consider the structure of which they formed a part. As the above survey demonstrates, one Quaker might play any number of different roles in respect of another. It should be noted that a member of the Society might simultaneously be son, apprentice, Master, relation, husband, father, in-law, creditor, debtor, investor, guarantor, manufacturer, retailer, wholesaler, supplier, shipper, customer, factor, merchant, trustee, or guardian; as well as potentially any number of Local, Monthly, Quarterly functions, from Elder to correspondent for Yearly Meeting. In such a context it becomes not only over-complex, but unhelpful to conceptualise the potentialities of multiple, discrete 'Quaker Networks'. Further, attempting to isolate a sub-set with commercial aspects (which might have advantaged members) runs the grave risk of destroying the form in pursuit of the function. Similarly, it is not valuable to consider this network as 'closed' or 'open', since such terminology fails to address the nuances associated with such a large set of attributes of edges, which ensured that a great many individuals would have a connection (of varying degrees of intensity) with a Quaker. Instead, it is argued here that the Quaker commercial network was effective not merely because of some uniqueness in extent, but precisely because so many functions were performed through sets of connections which were

¹³³ Mann, 'Wansey', 253; 'library' titles cited include: *Ludlow's Memoirs*, *The Revolution of Sweden*, *The Life of King William*, *Josephus' History of the Jews*, *Raleigh's History of the World*, R. Barclay's *Works*, and Fox's *Journal*.

¹³⁴ Mann, 'Wansey', 249; he did not use 'thee' in business correspondence, nor refuse to pay tithes; this is indicative of the future dilution of the Quaker network, discussed in Chapter 9.

under the Discipline of the Society of Friends. As Adrian Davies' demonstrated, the strength and extent of intra-Societal relationships can be inferred from a study of wills, where eighty percent of supervisors were co-religionists of testators, such that:

Quakerism encouraged links and associations between members which cut across normal kin and neighbourly relations with the result that influence normally exercised by kin and neighbours within local society was diminished.¹³⁵

As shown above, the concept of network can simply be replaced by the word 'connections'. To create the overarching construct, we can consider membership of the Society of Friends to equate to enrolment in a single network with multiple functions. Hancock uses the singular form when discussing the difficulties faced by Scottish trans-oceanic traders; his rationale is as that, while a network is composed of 'sets of correspondents' and 'groups of connections':

to a large degree, eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic traders managed their sets of supplier-customer-agent-friend connections as a group, a network. Second, "network" focuses attention on the fact that a trader's correspondents and connections were also each other's correspondents and connections.¹³⁶

This is key when considering stakeholder network implications,¹³⁷ and applies with redoubled force to the early-modern Quaker network, composed of ever-more linked individuals, with agency, fulfilling many roles.¹³⁸ Each correspondent can be considered as navigating these connections in pursuit of personal goals, at the same time managing individual expectations, and without compromising the values of the Society of Friends as a whole.

Having established the extent and characteristics of the network, its value to the participants becomes clearer. In his analysis of Churches and Church-Goers, Robert Currie states that 'no church can grow unless its constituency can perceive the utility of church membership.'¹³⁹ He

¹³⁵ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 87.

¹³⁶ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 473.

¹³⁷ See Section 8.7 below

¹³⁸ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 471.

¹³⁹ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 7.

identified the interplay of three 'utilities' which would cause an individual to display an adherence to one sect over another: religious ('the attempt to effect ends... by means either wholly or partially supernatural'); cultic (the attempt to stimulate the supernatural by rites deemed to be efficacious); and a tertiary functional utility.¹⁴⁰ This last, Currie argues, arises from 'an interest in the organisation in and for itself; as an economic, or political instrumentality, as a community, and so forth.'¹⁴¹ It is in terms of such a tertiary utility that the Quaker network should be considered from a commercial perspective.

Positing the existence of a secular 'utility' in the Religious Society Friends does not necessarily imply that this acted as the primary criteria for all, some, or even many adherents; however, it seems both safe and logical to conclude that motivations for seeking or retaining membership evolved over time, and that the tertiary utility of the Society of Friends evolved to meet the common needs of its membership. As millennial fears died down, it may be that this utility was perceived (at least externally) as more prominent, perhaps prompting the accusations of critics noted above concerning those recruits 'presently put in hopes of a better trade or livelihood by turning Quakers'.¹⁴² The argument of such utility is equally applicable to retention of birth members as to 'new blood', in that commercial advantage would be attained through membership, and lost otherwise.¹⁴³ Fear of Quakerism being misinterpreted certainly underpinned the repeated injunctions to 'lay hold on no man suddenly' which were issued in the second half of the eighteenth century, following too hasty admission to membership which 'has often hurt the particulars, by settling them in a false rest, and been very Injurious to the reputation of the society.'¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 7-8.

¹⁴¹ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 8.

¹⁴² Anon, *Remarks upon the Quakers...* (Printed for Walter Kettilby, 1700): 3.

¹⁴³ See Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers' for detailed BMD modelling; this suggests over 45,000 individuals joined Quakerism from 1670-1770 (i.e. after millennial fervour had passed), a substantial number which the secular utility argument helps explain; the subsequent decline in converts and the proposed decline in secular utility are equally entirely synchronous (see Chapter 9).

¹⁴⁴ Extracts, 26-27 'Convinced Persons' (#3 1753); see also Vann, *Social Origins*, 35.

In this admissions process the Monthly Meeting played an essential role as entry point for membership, and conducted the necessary visits to establish the 'sincerity of their conviction of the truth of our religious principles' before admission.¹⁴⁵ Once admitted, this meeting provided the opportunity to benefit from a secular tertiary utility which could help with every need from cradle to grave (the latter without the excessive outlay associated with costly funeral practices of the times).¹⁴⁶ Other benefits included the distribution of poor collections, and fuel, and paid rent;¹⁴⁷ from apprenticeships to loans; arbitration; coals or housing, coffins and shrouds; and legal advice, a certificate to enable a welcome half-way across the world- not to mention subsidised travel, and most likely a spouse (if not two).¹⁴⁸

Setting aside the primacy of motivations, it is certain that membership offered access to a great quantity of extended connections, and that such secular utility was of real, practical assistance to a significant proportion of Friends; whether as makers or sellers, as aggregators or dealers, or proto-bankers. This multi-faceted nature of the Quaker network was essential to their early success, and a source of uniqueness, discussed below, that distinguishes the sect from not only both other dissenters and the established churches during the period, but almost any other set of connections.¹⁴⁹

8.7 Social Network Analysis and Quaker Stakeholders

Social Network Analysis (SNA) is a strategy to help analyse the nature of networks. Despite a considerable body of work which can be used to help chart and explain the growth of Quakerism, even the most recent historian purporting to examine the Quaker 'networks' has

¹⁴⁵ Extracts, 27 (#5, 1764).

¹⁴⁶ Julian Littern, *The English Way of Death: the Common Funeral since 1450*, (Robert Hale, 1991): 143-171; there is very little research and less analysis as to historic costs of funerals; Littern suggests between £10 and many hundred pounds (when much elaboration was being hired for show); Quaker costs were simply a coffin and shroud, with minimal refreshment.

¹⁴⁷ See Chapter 7.

¹⁴⁸ Although having ruled against remarriage of close kin (cousins) of the deceased, the meeting was a natural source of alternative partners on widowhood.

¹⁴⁹ Inevitable comparisons with the Jewish Community are merited; see Chapter 9.

chosen to ignore the opportunities offered by the tool.¹⁵⁰ SNA is traditionally used to investigate the source of influences within a network, (individuals or organisations, both known as *nodes*). Zedan and Miller argue that modelling (based on centrality metrics and following graph theory) can be used to 'establish levels of connectedness, cohesion and clustering within the network as a whole', and to assess how nodes impact each other.¹⁵¹ However, it is not necessary to generate metrics in order to use the concepts within the tool: from the evidence above Quaker connectivity can be shown to be unusual in several respects.¹⁵² First, one can consider *density*, which looks at the actual number of links (*edges*) against the potential maximum numbers possible: the closer actuality is to the maximum, the denser; the further, the more sparse.¹⁵³ As Zedan and Miller note, networks (especially large ones) are rarely dense,¹⁵⁴ yet, as discussed above, the Quaker network has nodes characterised by a very high number of connections to others, potentially all as a result of both the flat, non-hierarchical nature of the Society of Friends and the predominance of Friends with common commercial needs.¹⁵⁵ This has the secondary consequence that *degree centrality* (a metric which considers the number of 'edges' or connections incident to a certain node) is also high, which in turn implies a network containing many nodes which have significant influence on others.¹⁵⁶ The third attribute readily accessible without mathematical mapping is the level of *structural cohesion* displayed; this measure looks at the number of nodes that would need to be removed for the network to cease: again, as a consequence of the high density and degree centrality, the Quaker network is highly coherent,¹⁵⁷ as noted above, individuals in commerce

¹⁵⁰ This is a serious omission by Landes (*London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic world*) in a work for which networks provide the central theoretical construct.

¹⁵¹ S. Zedan and W. Miller, 'Using social network analysis to identify stakeholders' influence on energy efficiency of housing', *International Journal of Engineering Business Management*, Vol. 9 (2017); 1–11, 3; modelling sample Quaker networks is clearly an area for further research.

¹⁵² Zedan and Miller, 'Using Social Networks', 2, Table 1 'Definitions of SNA terminology'; a useful set of up to date definitions.

¹⁵³ Density, numerically, is thus always between 0 and 1.

¹⁵⁴ Zedan and Miller, 'Using Social Networks', 2.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 2 'Occupations' for the predominance of 'commercial' Quakers.

¹⁵⁶ Zedan and Miller, 'Using Social Networks', 2.

¹⁵⁷ James Moody and Douglas R. White, 'Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Feb., 2003): 103-127.

did not have to rely on one source for critical components of their trade, whether that be goods for sale, transport, business partners, or finance.¹⁵⁸

A dedicated recent study of the Quaker network applying SNA reveals extensive support for the view that a unique topology facilitated commercial connections.¹⁵⁹ SNA was used to analyse the degree of commonality of attributes of node for a range of Quaker commercial individuals from the period 1675–1800; the analysis indicated very high levels of cohesion (a function of the density of connections), while the topology (indicated by the distribution of edges between nodes) allowed for the following conclusion:

Membership thus offered an immediate benefit to those seeking to develop their commercial network; indeed (given the potential of international credibility and trust facilitated by the certification process) membership offered individuals access to an efficient and well-functioning network of trans-Atlantic business contacts, as well as opportunities, which some (possibly many) would have had difficulty accessing elsewhere during the long 18th century.¹⁶⁰

It is thus in comparison with other networks that the Quaker stands out. As Grassby notes, 'the evidence would suggest that that Success in business was not determined by the particular beliefs of any group but by their communal organization and connections'.¹⁶¹ Other contemporary groupings also had their own connections, and attempted to exploit these to commercial advantage;¹⁶² typical studies have looked at family concerns, examining cross-generational developments;¹⁶³ or an ethnic grouping, such as the Scots or Irish, with

¹⁵⁸ One aspect of SNA which is worthy of further research is the notion of the 'bridge', where discrete clusters or groups of sub-networks are linked by few, or indeed a single, edge. In relation to the Quaker network, the commerce in Books, and perhaps travelling in ministry may exhibit such a characteristic; this may also have interesting consequences for Discipline.

¹⁵⁹ See Fincham and Burton, 'Religion and SNA'.

¹⁶⁰ Fincham and Burton, 'Religion and SNA', Conclusion.

¹⁶¹ Grassby, 'The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England', 275.

¹⁶² David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2007).

¹⁶³ See Craig Baily, 'The Nesbitts of London and their Networks', in Dickson *et al*, *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, 231-249.

consequent focus on kinship;¹⁶⁴ or community building;¹⁶⁵ or (like David Hancock), a single trade. Hancock's study of the Scottish Madeira trade makes the oft neglected observation that 'networks' are too often cited as explanations for success,¹⁶⁶ and that international trading networks were both difficult to create, and hard to manage:

Networks succeeded when they led to profitable sharing of information, goods, and services, and they failed when individuals were unable to get networks to function for them. Problems arose among the parties in the course of negotiating terms for sharing, monitoring the agreements, responding to disasters, and estimating the costs of transactions.¹⁶⁷

These problems are well-illustrated in Zickermann's account of the spectacular rise and fall of the Scottish Lylle family business. Charting the creation of a network extending from Arbroath to Stockholm, this illustrates the development of the premier Scandinavian iron trader in the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁸ From 1662, however, just as the Quakers were beginning to expand into their trans-Atlantic trade, the Lylle family began a twenty-year long internal fight over finances in the Swedish courts, continuing across generations and into widowhood, even to petitions to the Swedish king.¹⁶⁹ In contrast with the Quaker network, that of the Lylle's lacked density; different groups of sub-networks were linked across geographies by 'bridges' of single individuals, linked into other individuals whose centrality ensured they had control; ultimately, the loss of these key individuals and the lack of any agreed mechanism to resolve disputes caused the business to collapse. In stark contrast is the contemporaneous use of the Quaker network to increase solvency: one Henry Taylor, a Quaker shipbroker requiring

¹⁶⁴ See Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

¹⁶⁵ See Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

¹⁶⁶ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 469.

¹⁶⁷ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 467.

¹⁶⁸ K. Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchant Families in the Early Modern Period', *Northern Studies*, 45 (2013): 100-109. 'Scottish Merchants'.

¹⁶⁹ Zickermann, 'Scottish Merchants', 110-111.

his vessel emptied, asked Friends to 'assist in dispatching' a cargo of coal, seemingly content that they would benefit from his loss.¹⁷⁰

8.8 Quaker Network Effectiveness

Underlying the theoretical basis of network effectiveness is the importance of trust. As Hancock notes, 'personal and non-hierarchical business networks arose to solve problems of trust, particularly in situations where traders could not observe their correspondents.'¹⁷¹ Trust was clearly founded in shared values, and the desire for shared commercial outcomes; and in the case of co-religionists such as the Society of Friends, re-enforced by the assumption of a shared spiritual ethos. The trust element has been extracted from the network by Burton and Turnbull in their recent exploration of the efficacy of Quakers in commerce, to become one of several success factors in a complex inter-relationship with integrity and religiosity, supported by the traditional elements of the Quaker network, and family ties.¹⁷² While the involvement of these and other elements is not in question, what is needed is some methodological rigour not only to help isolate factors, but describe the mechanisms by which they helped deliver success.

With respect to the individuals sampled above, Mike King in a recent 'popular' publication goes as far as to suggest that the extent of Pope Corbyn's trust networks might be considered an 'unfair advantage over non-Quaker rivals!'¹⁷³ Smith believes Poor's success is the result of trust, enabling 'effective networking helped nurture long-distance commercial relationships, using kinship connections and shared value systems that emphasized honesty and fair dealing to reduce risk'.¹⁷⁴ Smith goes even further, attempting to quantify this trust by citing both

¹⁷⁰ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 148.

¹⁷¹ Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks', 478.

¹⁷² N. Burton and R. Turnbull, 'The Quakers: Pioneers of Responsible Management', in N. Burton and R. Turnbull, eds., *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility*, (Springer Press, 2019).

¹⁷³ Mike King, *Quakernomics*, (Anthem Press; 2014) 73; King gives Walvin (on Thomas Corbyn) as his source.

¹⁷⁴ Smith, 'Richard Poor', 613.

Poor's larger transaction sizes and more enduring relationships with metropolitan (London) connections – however, relying on just six years' data, the analysis is indicative rather than conclusive.¹⁷⁵ The reality of trust over extended networks is evidenced by Stout, who shipped goods across the Atlantic to be sold by proxy: he records receiving his share from a ventured a cargo to Barbados where unsold goods amounted to almost twenty percent.¹⁷⁶ While this failure was put down to 'not a good market', Stout records he was 'discouraged to place further consignments' with consignee William Heysam, whose accounts Stout questioned, and he subsequently placed his business with one John Grove, demanding the unsold goods be returned.¹⁷⁷ Stouts' transactions with his partners had no guarantee of any profit, or indeed of any return at all. They shared investment costs, and risked complete losses, in hope of a commercial return, in a manner identical to the other international traders, such as the Lylles, while the major risk remained credit failure.¹⁷⁸ Wansey's account book illustrates the complexity of English internal trade, with transactions (in London or Bristol) paid by a bill drawn on his factors, or by endorsing one paid to him by a third party – a common practice, even though assigning bills did not become legal until 1698.¹⁷⁹ The key reason that trust in such matters was effective cannot be attributed to the nature of the business, the payment mechanism, or the fact that the bills themselves were inherently less risky.

Rather, the reduced risk arose because the other parties to the transaction were not simply members of a network, but were also almost inevitably Quakers. Trust would accrue from the mutuality associated with this common membership of the Quaker network, not least as both (often, all) parties were under the Discipline.¹⁸⁰ As has been established, contemporary Friends do not appear to have any objection to members trading with one another; there is a

¹⁷⁵ Smith, 'Richard Poor', 615; Table II *Summary Details of Customer Accounts by Geographic Area*.

¹⁷⁶ Stout, *Autobiography*, 56; shipped on the '*Employment*' in 1701.

¹⁷⁷ Stout, *Autobiography*, 60; WS noted he made only £5 'improvement' in wealth over the year 1700-1.

¹⁷⁸ See Chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁷⁹ Mann, 'Wansey', 17; Bills of Exchange Act (9 and 10 Will. III, c. 17).

¹⁸⁰ See conclusion of this chapter, and Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

notable absence of Advices on the subject, in contrast with frequent diktats on norms of commerce, including what could be traded, the extent, and in what manner.¹⁸¹ Trading was sufficiently a way of life to continue even during imprisonment, and there is evidence that a Friend could even be trusted by their gaoler: William Caton, imprisoned at Yarmouth in 1664, was requested by his wife "to buy 20-30 lbs. worth of red Herrings' (presumably for trade), which the turnkey allowed him to do.¹⁸² Unlike family Lylle, whose lawyers fought each other for decades, Quaker trust operated across transactions which could operate without contracts, or often in the absence of legal redress, which indicates something unusual (and perhaps unique) in their network.

The traditional explanation appears to require Friends to have been motivated to act in line with established principles by some form of ethical 'carrot', backed up by the 'stick' of disownment; one experienced commentator (considering Walvin's work) notes that this powerful weapon 'led to a near-fatal decline in membership' - which would seem to question its effectiveness.¹⁸³ Walvin himself considers neither discipline or disownment, but few more serious scholars of Quakerism have attempted to explain why the threat of disownment was supposed to be efficacious.¹⁸⁴ Isichei, applying the concept to a century later, makes the confusing observation that the rate of loss was very low, before concluding that the Quakers expelled with a readiness that marked them as an elite.¹⁸⁵ She suggests that (Victorian) Friends were reluctant to lose membership precisely because, being 'difficult to acquire and easy to lose made it a privilege.' In this there is an echo of Thomas Clarkson, whose *Portraiture of Quakerism* discusses disownment at length, attributing the power of the

¹⁸¹ Extracts, 195-200 'Trade'.

¹⁸² Taylor, 'First Publishers', 79 citing 'Swarthmore Mss, iv., 264'; this is the Caton-Derrix correspondence.

¹⁸³ Thomas C. Kennedy, review of Walvin's *The Quakers*, in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 1, (Jan., 1999): 197.

¹⁸⁴ Walvin's index does not address the subject.

¹⁸⁵ Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 134-135.

sanction to a fear of lost status; once having experienced his importance as a man of 'equal rank and privilege', performing 'honourable and important functions...':

...in this loss of his former consequence that he must feel a punishment in having been disowned. For he can never be to his own feelings what he was before. It is almost impossible that he should not feel a diminution of his dignity and importance as a man.¹⁸⁶

Ann Prior considers that the sanction of disownment builds on Raistrick's 'concept of an extended family network', but makes a claim for the primacy of the 'strict authoritarian and uniform discipline' imposed by the Society as the mechanism which 'underpinned and reinforced the commercial stability and business confidence of the Quaker network'.¹⁸⁷ Adrian Davies is more measured; accepting the power of the Meeting to disown,¹⁸⁸ he notes the liberality of the Essex Quakers who were reluctant to consign their offenders to 'social ostracism' while suggesting discipline elsewhere was 'certainly harsher and... less forgiving'.¹⁸⁹ Ultimately Davies finds an 'extraordinary tolerance of Friends towards their fallen brethren', and concludes 'it is more likely that the system of discipline was responsible for maintaining the good health of Quakerism than its decline.'¹⁹⁰ This last point is supported below, while liberality and tolerance appears to have been the norm in respect of local meetings dealing with offenders.¹⁹¹ Far from Prior's discipline of the strict, authoritarian, or uniform kind, it seems from both the minutes and Advices that disownment was always a last

¹⁸⁶ Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism, ...*, (Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807): 13, 18-20; see also his Chapter V: 'Excommunication or disowning — nature of disowning as a punishment' *in extenso*.

¹⁸⁷ Ann Prior, 'Friends in Business', 3.

¹⁸⁸ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 76.

¹⁸⁹ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 104; no evidence for this position is given, and Davies would appear to be throwing a conciliatory bone in the direction of the conventional interpretation; substituting 'possibly' for 'certainly' defuses his statement, yet evidence suggests that the 'harshness' came with time, rather than distance; see Chapter 4 and Chapter 9 section on Discipline.

¹⁹⁰ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 106-107.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

resort, with visits and 'dealing with' the preferred approach;¹⁹² as Davies recognises, 'the reclamation of the offender was a significant part of the disciplinary procedure'.¹⁹³

From the absence of commerce-related records in the minute book at Peel, accounting for commerce appears to have been unsupervised – perhaps because no major crisis broke out.¹⁹⁴ As shown by the case of Charles Lloyd, only after his business 'broke' was a decision made to help or not, and the defaulter warned not to seek shelter in bankruptcy or compositions if access to the network was not to be withdrawn.¹⁹⁵ In this the Society of Friends acted as a modern-day market regulator, acting post-facto having set out the environment, with sanction to punish, and potential to 'bail out' if needed.¹⁹⁶

Perhaps it would be more accurate to see trust-formation as a function of the process of membership: risk was ultimately reduced because all trading partners became known within the Quaker milieu; the tertiary utility of the Society ensured all would value their continued long-term access to the network far above the gains of a single dishonest transaction. And the unique nature of the network would ensure that a second offence was highly unlikely as no untoward transaction could pass unnoticed, while those disowned (and lacking certification) would no longer be 'dealt with'.¹⁹⁷

It is essential to acknowledge that such a network topology also had a major influence on the efficient dissemination of the Discipline. Thomas Rowley has produced a useful theory to understand stakeholder environments based on concepts from social network analysis to examine how interrelationships of structures related to stakeholder impact on organizational

¹⁹² Extracts, *passim*; see also Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

¹⁹³ Davies, *The Quakers in English Society*, 103-104.

¹⁹⁴ MGR 11b5/2; note the lost £10 recorded 3/5/1695; see Chapter 7 for context.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 7.

¹⁹⁶ Consider the European Central Bank and Greece during the 2009 debt crisis: constant rescheduling, paper promises, propped up by community money and threats of sanctions.

¹⁹⁷ See the discussion above on the semantic evolution of this phrase: it is perhaps no coincidence that commercially-minded Friends deployed such vocabulary.

behaviours.¹⁹⁸ His model incorporates social network constructs of density and centrality, and questions the primacy of the paired (dyadic) link as the main conduit of influence, considering in addition the impact of indirect stakeholders.¹⁹⁹ His conclusion is simpler to engage with than the explanation: the degree of influence of stakeholders on any individual is a function of how strongly they are connected with other stakeholders of that individual: 'the nature of any existing between-stakeholder relationships influences a stakeholder's behaviour and, consequently, the demands it places on the focal organization.'²⁰⁰ Of equal importance is Rowley's suggestion that a group of stakeholders with common interests, even those not directly linked to the focal individual, will exercise influence in proportion to their degree of connectivity. Such influence, by effectively 'surrounding' the focal individual, will tend towards the development of a set of values around which all can unite, 'in a diffusion of norms across the network'.²⁰¹

For the Quaker network, exhibiting both high density and centrality, this implies that the highly-interconnected nodes reinforced each other's norms; and since those were all based around the values represented in the Book of Extracts, the structure of the Quaker network would act both to disseminate the Quaker values, and to promote a consensus which reflected the Discipline. Individuals hoping for an alternative set of values are unable to pursue their agenda, owing to the pervasive influence of the collective norms.²⁰²

Thus, even the connections which did not provide any immediate utility for trade – imprisonment, or the Travelling Ministry, say – may be seen in this sense to have created connections which served to intensify the importance of Discipline to commercial success by increasing the overall density of the network. Equally, Discipline was thus promoted not only

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter 1; Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties', 887.

¹⁹⁹ Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties', 907.

²⁰⁰ Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties', 890.

²⁰¹ Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties', 897.

²⁰² See Chapter 9; this also implies that local norms are likely to develop in sub-networks connected only by bridges.

through those activities which originated from the authority of Friends intent on managing the Society, or which were intended to promote institutional unity; rather, the extent of commercial ties both enabled the transmission of the values of the Society, and reduced the opportunities for members to transgress unnoticed. Thus a defaulting trader was faced with a decision: was it better to suffer Quaker discipline - by accepting full responsibility for debts, or writing a suitable paper of contrition - and thus retain access to the benefits of the network? Or to take advantage of bankruptcy, fail, make composition, and start anew, but excluded?

Considered thus, Quaker Discipline (and its ultimate sanction, disownment) can be seen to maintain good commercial practice since those within the Society understood that the potential consequence of transgression could include exclusion from the worldly benefits of membership. In these terms, disownment was a far more secular sanction than excommunication from the established church - a threat, it should be noted, that had never concerned the Quakers.

8.9 Chapter Summary

The source of uniqueness in the Quaker network lay in its structure: composed of connections characterised by high density and a centricity which reflected the high level of interconnectivity in Quaker life. While this provided exceptionally high levels of utility for the trader, it also gave rise to wide transparency of transactional behaviour, and those testified against (even if re-admitted to worship as self-abnegating attenders) remained barred from the important Business Meetings, and would not be granted the necessary certificate of clearness required for admission to even the remotest node of the network.²⁰³

²⁰³ See discussion on Removals and Settlements (4.4.10) above, and Saxon Snell's Buckinghamshire Minutes which include multiple requests from colonial Friends for certification regarding former Friends of the Upperside Meeting, which is indicative of the rigour of the removals process.

Thus Quakerism had created an unusually dense network that supported commercial wealth creation from the start of the long eighteenth century. This network benefited those involved in two ways; first by enabling commerce, and secondly by facilitating Discipline. Commerce was enabled through integrating Quaker efforts at all stages of training, set-up, production, sales and distribution; the reach extended across a wide geographical area, both for raw materials and markets; the connections supported the sharing of superior technical and market information; helped to mitigate shared risk; and leveraged substantial Quaker capital. The Discipline was facilitated through this network, because the highly interconnected nature of the Society ensured that a more or less agreed set of norms was adopted by all practitioners. This in turn increased the effectiveness of the Discipline.

There was thus an entirely symbiotic relationship between the network and the Discipline which characterised it; just as the commercial outcomes ensured the wealth needed for the society to flourish, the spiritual measures effectively policed the network to ensure the continued conformity of its membership.

It is therefore both incorrect, and counter-productive to isolate which types of connections had an effect on commerce: all did, either through providing access to essential business components or (and of equal importance) by acting as conduits to regulate conduct, with the threat of withdrawal of access for those that did not (ultimately) conform.

As with all regulation, the Quaker Discipline can be regarded as operating post-facto: having communicated the framework by which members should abide, the threat of the Society ruling to disown acted to keep traders in step. Members (and potential members) understood all this: access to the utility required following the Discipline. This applied equally to those seeking free coals, or an apprenticeship, as to the Master looking for international trading partners.

The Society of Friends can be considered truly egalitarian in this crucial respect.

9 UTILITY, SUCCESS, AND THE QUAKER ETHIC

This concluding chapter argues that the factors discussed previously (discipline, education and apprenticeship, collective finance, and network topology)¹ worked together to provide a uniquely positive environment to promote commercial success for those who became Quakers. This nexus is used to offer alternative explanations to historic, contemporary, and popular theories for Quaker commercial success. Specifically, this thesis rejects the notion that Quaker success was a result of exclusion from the universities, the professions or 'state' employment which diverted energies into 'business'; similarly, the Weberian claim that a 'Protestant Ethic' created a Quaker 'calling' demanding commercial effectiveness is substantially refuted. Instead, success is explained by the secular utility offered by membership which provided unique benefits, attractive to those interested in commercial activity, while the Quaker Disciplines encouraged norms of conduct which helped sustain business success. In short, Quakers had agency, and chose commerce.²

The chapter then considers how and why each of the factors which were initially beneficial declined in effectiveness over the eighteenth century; implying a significant erosion of collective utility by 1800. Given these changes in external context, the Religious Society of Friends would have experienced a decline in secular utility up to this date, which would be expected to be ultimately reflected in the membership. This is validated against a statistical model (developed from contemporary data from Quaker birth, marriage and death registers) charting population stocks and flows of English Quakers over the long eighteenth-century, which supports a 'utility theory' of membership.

¹ See Chapters 4, 5, 7, and 8 respectively.

² I am particularly grateful to Professor Pink Dandelion for originally suggesting this succinct formulation.

Finally, areas for further research within Quaker studies and religion more widely are identified. Key amongst these are: geographical (the implications of the factors in the trans-Atlantic world); chronological (the extent of commercial decline, and the evolution of Quaker commerce in the nineteenth century); and the implications of the theory for Weberian explanations of the commercial success of other Protestant sects.

9.1 De-mystifying the myth of Quaker Success

This thesis explains the success of Quakers in commerce as the result of the interaction of two distinct elements, both operating to enhance the impact of the whole. One is a secular utility, which arose from the central importance of economic self-sufficiency which characterised early Friends, of whom a disproportionate number were associated with commerce.³ The utility arose from pro-commerce activities such as the provision of, and funding for, education and apprenticeships, and from collective finance, including poor subsidies, start-up capital, and subsidised loans.⁴ This utility helped the emerging sect to attract others interested in commerce, not only aspirants, but those that appreciated credit-worthiness while objecting to the imposition of financial burdens on the individual.⁵ The connections between these Quakers in commerce extended far across the Atlantic world; furthermore, because of their shared values, much of the value-chain remained within the Society, only emerging for the end-consumer. These same Quakers were often associated with the administration of the Society of Friends through the regular Monthly Meetings which conducted 'business', organising financial collections, distributing publications spreading their views, and not least acting as conduit for information and advices from the central body in London: the Yearly Meeting. This utility was both enabled and enhanced by a single, dense network in which Friends were connected via multiple links to others – both commercially and otherwise. The

³ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

⁴ See Chapter 5 'Education and Apprenticeships', and Chapter 7 'Collective finance'.

⁵ See Chapter 6 'Financial Context'; both traditional burdens, as with the tithe, or innovative (as with the Stamp Acts).

network was not only unique in terms of its density, for the homogenous nature of its membership ensured that Quaker values not only predominated, but prevailed. This provides the second key element: the pervasive influence of the Quaker Discipline as manifested in a general awareness of a set of Advices and rules which produced an ethic which encompassed all aspects of living – not simply commerce. The Discipline provided the mechanism by which the Quaker Ethic was enforced, while the sanction of disownment for transgressions of the Discipline was effective commercially because it also resulted in exclusion from the network, and hence withdrawal of the secular utility.⁶ This explanation accounts for the historic evidence regarding the nature and extent of Quaker commercial activity, the prevalence of commerce in the Society of Friends from its early years, and the increasing membership until the first decade(s) of the eighteenth century.⁷

Such evidence is in stark contrast to the counter indications found for the traditional 'explanatory myths'.⁸ Such a mythology may be viewed primarily as a morality tale of a 'persecuted' people, doggedly enduring 'sufferings' inflicted by a cruel state while subsisting largely on a diet of personal integrity, fortified only by the Spirit and their Society's testimonies. Their ultimate triumph – to be rewarded not only spiritually but with worldly success – created a tidy homily reconciling the Victorian fascination with both God and Mammon. Aside from William Penn,⁹ the earliest historian of the Quakers was perhaps Willem Sewell, whose 'History' (first published in English in 1722)¹⁰ focused equally on sufferings and 'a great store of remarkable cases'¹¹ of state injustice, from the 'Society of

⁶ See Chapter 4 'Discipline'.

⁷ See Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', discussed below.

⁸ See Chapter 2 'Occupations' and Chapter 3 'Professions'.

⁹ Penn's 1695 account does not engage with commerce; see William Penn, *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers*, (T. Sowle, 1695).

¹⁰ William Sewell, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*, (Philadelphia: Samuel Keimer, 1728). Earlier versions of his history were printed by Gerard Croese in his *Historia Quakeriana*, (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum and Viduam Theodori Boom, 1695).

¹¹ Sewell, *History*, English Edition Dedication (to George I).

Informers' under Charles II, to the iniquities of the Inquisition at Malta.¹² Eighteenth-century Quaker historians, such as John Gough,¹³ relied heavily on Sewell, supplemented by a mass of publications from the previous century, including new editions of 'Lives', 'Journals' and 'Testimonies' of dead ministers (almost inevitably productions of the Society itself).¹⁴ The first nineteenth-century perspective was from Thomas Clarkson, a slavery abolitionist, who associated with Friends to the extent of renouncing his Anglican orders in 1795;¹⁵ his *Portraiture of Quakerism*, published at the turn of the century, painted a 'warts and all' picture.¹⁶ Notable are his criticisms of Quakers' 'Morally Defective Traits', amongst which he finds 'a money-getting spirit - An undue eagerness after money not unlikely to be often the result of the frugal and commercial habits of the society - but not to the extent, as insisted on by the world.'¹⁷ Clarkson addresses directly the issues arising from the potential conflict between the Disciplines of the Society and the behaviour of some of its membership, tackling head on Thomas Paine's accusation that 'they follow their concerns in pursuit of riches, "with a step as steady as time, and with an appetite as keen as death."'.¹⁸ Clarkson's judgement is less harsh, but of exceptional interest since it provides the origin of Max Weber's subsequent claim: exemplifying the religiosity, and charity of those in the Society, Clarkson suggests that while 'Men, generally speaking, love consequence', Quakers have eschewed social status, causing some to see riches as a method of procuring 'a portion of estimation, which they cannot otherwise have'.¹⁹ Another proto-Weberian observation noted by Clarkson is the idea

¹² Sewell, *History*, 489-490, 285; the satirical pamphlet *An Easy Way to make money, cum Privilegio, without Fear or Cumber, printed for the Society of Informers*, ([s.l.], 1671) attacked the false swearing that accompanied the incentives of the Conventicle Acts.

¹³ John Gough, *A History of the People Called Quakers From Their First Rise to the Present Time Compiled From Authentic Records and from the Writings of that People...*, (Dublin: Robert Jackson, 1790); for his view on Rigg see 9-20.

¹⁴ Approximately one hundred improving examples are provided in *A Collection of Testimonies concerning several ministers of the Gospel amongst the people called Quakers...deceased, with some of their last Expressions and Exhortations*, (Luke Hind, 1760).

¹⁵ Hugh Brogan 'Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846), slavery abolitionist', (ODNB, 2004); see 'Thomas Clarkson's second campaign'; there is no record that he ever joined the Society.

¹⁶ Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, (Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807).

¹⁷ Clarkson, *Portraiture*, Chapter XIII.

¹⁸ Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*; in *The Works of Thos Paine*, (D. Jordan, 1792): 64; this occurs in the context of Quaker pacifism, and in a supplementary essay attacking Quaker allegiance to King and Government.

¹⁹ Clarkson, *Portraiture*, Chapter XIII; Weber's use of this is discussed below.

that, given equal success in business, Quaker frugality will ensure that 'when compared with those of other persons, a greater overplus of money beyond the expences of living, will be the constant result'.²⁰ Clarkson accepts that excess money may inculcate avarice,²¹ and suggests Friends were aware of this, citing the Advice against 'hastening to be rich'.²² Before the chronology reaches Weber, two surprisingly related nineteenth-century works need consideration. The first is John Stephenson Rowntree's *Quakerism, Past and Present* which proposed various theories to account for a decline in Quaker membership,²³ not least a Victorian reworking of 'lukewarmness'; Rowntree argued that toleration gave rise to a life 'of ease, of outward prosperity, and abated zeal',²⁴ and that commercial success, wealth, and luxury led to their 'frequent attendant, through the not necessary consequence, indifference in religious things'.²⁵ Rowntree's parallel with 'the denial of the rights of citizenship to the Jews'²⁶ created the 'diversion' argument: that the early business success of Quakerism should be attributed to 'the expenditure of energy having been checked in some directions, [and] conducted into others, of which commerce is the principle'.²⁷ As a prize-winning essay, Rowntree's theories had great influence on the nineteenth-century view of Quakerism, and his ideas were soon repeated by Eduard Bernstein in his analysis of the 'English Revolution', which contains two chapters on aspects of seventeenth-century Quakerism.²⁸ Bernstein's 'mature Marxist' approach portrays Quakers as communists, seeking a community of goods and incomes; he devotes a lengthy sub-chapter to James Naylor, and a further chapter to the

²⁰ Clarkson, *Portraiture*, Chapter XIII; repeated by Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 95-96.

²¹ *Creseit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia creseit* is the phrase used.

²² Extracts, 29 'Covetousness' (#4 1720).

²³ Rowntree's argument placed the numerical decline at the start of the nineteenth century rather than the eighteenth, which places undue (and probably unwarranted) emphasis on his 'evangelical' rationale (see *Quakerism, Past and Present, passim*).

²⁴ Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 94; footnote attributes this to: "'Minutes and Proceedings of London Yearly Meeting' 1857, p.14".

²⁵ Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 94.

²⁶ Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 97.

²⁷ Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 96-7.

²⁸ Eduard Bernstein, *Kommunistische und demokratisch-sozialistische Strömungen während der englischen Revolution*, (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1895), in H.J. Stenning, trans., *Cromwell and Communism*, (George Allen & Unwin, [1930] 1963) at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bernstein/works/1895/cromwell/index.htm#ndx>; accessed 02OCT2019. Cited as *Revolution*.

'projector' John Bellers.²⁹ Unfortunately, when considering the 'Economic and Social Aspects of Quakerism',³⁰ Bernstein cites Rowntree's 'Jewish parallel', adducing as scanty supporting evidence the post-script to a lengthy printed epistle from Leinster Province in Ireland, written by William Edmunson in 1699.³¹ While the unquoted epistle charged its readers with failing to uphold the 'just conceptions ... of Christian simplicity, moderation, and self-denial' of earlier (Irish) Quakers,³² the post script drew a biblical parallel with the faint-hearted Israelites of Exodus.³³ Bernstein finds this comparison with the Jews, 'by no means inapposite', and wildly extrapolates, claiming Robert Barclay 'represents Quakerism as being primarily a reaction against the "Judaizing" spirit of the Puritans then in power.'³⁴ On this foundation, supported by a footnote on Rowntree's *Decline*,³⁵ Bernstein proceeds, in half a paragraph, to expound the myth of Quaker commerce:

indifferent to sciences...precluded from occupying public offices by their objection to taking oaths; they were obliged to forgo all chance of lucrative Government offices, livings, etc... hence it was almost unavoidable that they should direct their whole energy towards money-making pursuits, and notwithstanding their ethical principles become as dangerous commercial rivals as were the Jews.³⁶

Quaker historians such as Arthur Raistrick and John Punshon seem both to have accepted this myth;³⁷ fortunately Bernstein's equally erroneous analysis of Quakers in agriculture has been allowed to fade:

²⁹ The historical attraction of Bellers derives from a superficial, communistic interpretation of his *College of Industry*; this requires ignoring the 'poor are the mines of the rich' motif, and his repeated emphasis on phenomenal returns to those investors offering to supply capital for exploitation, as discussed above.

³⁰ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s3.

³¹ Bernstein does not acknowledge the source, other than the author; the epistle and postscript has been located in Thomas Wight and John Rutt, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland: from the year 1653 to 1700*, (William Phillips, 1800): 183; 'Quakers in Ireland'; Edmunson may be regarded as the founder of Irish Quakerism.

³² Wight & Rutt, 'Quakers in Ireland', 172.

³³ A reference to the biblical Exodus 14:10; some of the chosen people were tempted to give up, despite having almost reached the promised land.

³⁴ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s3. The anti-Semitic implications of Bernstein's Marxism cannot be addressed here.

³⁵ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s3 (note 21). Bernstein gives no detailed reference.

³⁶ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s3; claiming indifference to science is indicative of the level of understanding.

³⁷ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 37-37; John Punshon, 'The English Quaker Firm', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 22, Issue 2, (2017): 183. Some extant academics continue to repeat this claim.

after 1760 the refusal to pay tithes was made obligatory among the Friends, and hence there remained for the farmers and yeomen among them no alternative but to emigrate, to move to town and engage in trade, or else to leave the community of Friends.³⁸

He concluded that with this 'increasing commercial success the Quakers acquired another Jewish characteristic, the incapacity or loss of inclination to make proselytes.' In combination with toleration and equality, Bernstein saw commercial success as fatal to Quakerism.³⁹ His efforts provide an extreme example of facts formed to fit a function – in this case a Marxist explanation of the failure of the English Revolution;⁴⁰ notwithstanding, these errors have clearly persisted.⁴¹

A decade after Bernstein, Max Weber made his first attempt at the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which suggested a connection between Protestant beliefs and the desire to achieve worldly success.⁴² However, as David Chalcraft observes, the lamentable chain of misunderstanding around this work might now be characterised as 'the academic "Hundred Years' War"',⁴³ in which the historian of the Quakers would be well-advised to remain neutral since much conflict arises from interpretative difficulties over 'what Weber really meant'. At its most simple, having observed some correlation between Protestantism and commerce, Weber attempted to identify a causal link by arguing that his 'spirit of capitalism' holds within it the notion that the pursuit of profit is, in itself, virtuous.⁴⁴ Weber suggests that

³⁸ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s3; it is not evident why a date of 1760 might have been selected here - it may be that 1660 was intended; as shown in Chapter 4, tithe testimony had existed since the start of Quakerism, and an alternative explanation is that the desire to retain access to the Quaker network while avoiding penalties for tithe-avoidance incentivised Friends' shifts in both location and occupation.

³⁹ Bernstein, *Revolution*, Chapter XVI, s2. Conclusion; Bernstein suggests 'at the present moment, at least in Europe, they may be said to be dying out'.

⁴⁰ And, possibly, the relationship of that failure to 'Jewish' practices.

⁴¹ See Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts eds., *Early Quaker Writings, 1650-1700*, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973): intro fn.16; in which the editors' 'indebtedness' to Bernstein is expressed; Hill's *The World Turned* might be considered the ultimate 'burnt offering' at the Bernstein shrine.

⁴² Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, (Routledge Classics, [1930] 2001). 'Ethic'; 25 years on, this was the last revision of the original 1905 paper to have been amended by Weber himself.

⁴³ David J. Chalcraft and Austin Harrington eds., *The Protestant Ethic Debate: Max Weber's Replies to his Critics, 1907-1910*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001); Introduction.

⁴⁴ Chalcraft's introduction is useful here; he notes 'Naturally it is not possible to do justice to the debate in the short space available.' Chalcraft, *The Protestant Ethic Debate*, 2. See also Andrew Fincham, 'Cadbury's Ethics and the Spirit of Corporate Social Responsibility', in Burton and Turnbull, *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility*: 49.

Protestantism's 'ascetic character' may provide one source for this belief, through the association of the 'calling' as a requirement to 'do God's work on earth' with the successful conduct of earthly work.⁴⁵ He founds his argument on a psychological desire of predestined Calvinists to demonstrate their salvation through an accumulation of worldly blessings, and extends this to include other sects, including Pietists, Methodists, Baptists and Quakers, all of whom, (Weber claimed), considered material success a necessary worldly indication of salvation.⁴⁶ His argument concludes that, over time, the general utility of capitalism removed the need for such an ethical justification.⁴⁷ Weber would later revise his work, stressing that his 'motives of the ascetic character' are not to be identified with the spirit of capitalism, but rather 'as one constitutive element amongst others of this "spirit"'.⁴⁸ Introducing his 2002 translation of the work, Stephen Kalberg summarised Weber's position thus:

These ascetic Protestants forcefully placed work and material success in the middle of their lives; little else seemed to matter greatly to them, not even family, friendship, leisure, or hobbies. Any discussion of the spirit of capitalism's origins, Weber insists, must acknowledge this central religious source.⁴⁹

Initially, Weber makes the repeated error of assuming that Robert Barclay's *Apology*⁵⁰ can be taken as a formal codification of the theological beliefs of the sect, whereas both contemporaneously and subsequently the Society of Friends had a very wide spectrum of responses to the work: Braithwaite notes Barclay was 'suffering an eclipse' as early as 1686,⁵¹ while Rufus Jones would claim that '[a]ll the controversies of later Quaker history involve

⁴⁵ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 84; a recurring problem is Weber's use of the 'calling': he appears here to reason that a calling is a labour blessed by God, and since no worldly activity can be successful if not blessed by God, therefore all successful worldly labour results from a 'calling'.

⁴⁶ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 92-101.

⁴⁷ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 124; 'victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer.'

⁴⁸ Chalcraft, *The Protestant Ethic Debate*, 71, fn. 1, fn. 2.

⁴⁹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Stephen Kalberg (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing, [1920] 2002): xix.

⁵⁰ Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called, in scorn, Quakers...*, ([s.n.],[s.l.], 1678).

⁵¹ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 158.

Barclay'.⁵² Weber then expressly cites Quakers as exemplars of his theory, through an erroneous conflation of Quakers with Baptists.⁵³ Weber next cites Benjamin Franklin (not least his writings on 'time is money') as the archetype of Quaker business practice,⁵⁴ despite neither Franklin nor his family having either Quaker allegiance or heritage.⁵⁵ Historian Frederick Tolles describes the failure of both Weber and later Troeltsch to realise this as a 'significant blunder',⁵⁶ and notes that Weber's insights are not based on Quaker sources.⁵⁷ Tolles chooses neither to reject or accept Weber,⁵⁸ and sidesteps any discussion on the conflicts of motivation arising from *inner*-worldly rather than *'other'*-worldly Asceticism.⁵⁹ Yet even had Franklin been a Quaker Elder, Weber's argument would be fatally flawed: Franklin refused to pursue money through patenting either his famous stove or his lightening conductor, both of which he wished to see benefit humankind,⁶⁰ while in mid-career, he retired from business once his means allowed him to pursue other avenues, (including pleasure).⁶¹ Franklin thus completely contradicts Weber's thesis in practice. Franklin's Quaker contemporaries would have found nothing peculiarly unique, or even Protestant in the Weberian claim that hard work made for success; rather they might have argued that the ancient principles of their Society were not in conflict with values that made for successful commerce. Weber then claims a further Quaker *requirement* for success; his argument hanging upon his extrapolation of a single passage by Puritan Schoolman Richard Baxter in

⁵² See Rufus Jones, *Introduction to Quakerism to Braithwaite, Second Period*; xliv and *passim*.

⁵³ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 222, note 170; this error may also be found in Ernst Troeltsch, *The social teaching of the Christian Churches*, Olive Wyon trans., (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931).

⁵⁴ Weber appears generally unfamiliar with Franklin, erroneously claiming his father was a 'strict Calvinist', while describing Ben as a 'colourless deist', which suggests a scant knowledge of the life and career of this First American.

⁵⁵ Franklin was briefly an apprentice under Quaker Thomas Denham, while he later adopted Quaker dress to win favour when visiting France; see J. A. Leo Lemay, 'Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790), natural philosopher, writer, and revolutionary politician in America', (ODNB, 2004); 'Franklin'; see also John Bigelow, ed., *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, (Trubner & Co, 1868).

⁵⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, Appendix, 225-6.

⁵⁷ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 165-166.

⁵⁸ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 49.

⁵⁹ Tolles uses Weber's German: '*Ausserweltliche*' versus '*Innerweltlich*' *Askese*: differing definitions of Asceticism have given rise to additional layers of fog when applied to Weber's web of 'ethical motivations'.

⁶⁰ Bigelow, *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, 116.

⁶¹ Having forgone business for politics, Franklin looked forward to engaging in his 'dear philosophical amusements', alongside which he constructed bawdy rhymes, perfected his musical inventions, and amused himself in 'Reading or Writing, or in conversation with Friends, joking, laughing, and telling merry Stories'; see Lemay, 'Franklin', 'Philadelphia 1785-1790'.

his *Christian Directory*.⁶² Weber selectively quotes Baxter as his authority for the claim that all Protestants (including the Baptist, and the Quaker) have an obligation to 'maximise profit':

If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept His gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it: you may labour to be rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin.⁶³

Given context, the quotation unequivocally relates to the biblical proverb 'Labour not to be rich; cease of thine own wisdom',⁶⁴ with Baxter advocating an enrichment of the general commonwealth, rather than personal gain.⁶⁵ This is very similar to the position stated by William Penn in 1669: 'True Godliness don't turn Men out of the World, but enables them to live better in it, and excites their Endeavours to mend it'.⁶⁶ The general Quaker position is repeatedly stated in the Discipline, with enduring and reiterated emphasis on restraint in the pursuit of wealth.⁶⁷ But perhaps Weber's most egregious error is his attempt to associate Quakers with a doctrine of salvation through successful earthly deeds as a means of demonstrating eternal salvation.⁶⁸ He argued the 'Quaker ethic' demanded 'a proof of his state of grace through his conscientiousness, which is expressed in the care and method with which

⁶² Richard Baxter, *Christian Directory*, (Richard Edwards, [1673] 1825).

⁶³ Baxter, *Christian Directory*, Vol. II, 585-586 (Chapter X, *Direct. IX*); quoted (but not cited) in Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 108.

⁶⁴ Book of Proverbs, 23:4

⁶⁵ Baxter, *Christian Directory*, Vol. II, 585; Direction IX begins: 'It is lawful and meet to look at the commodity of your calling in the third place (that is, after the public good, and after your personal good of soul and bodily health)'; while contemporary critics of Weber objected to this egregious mis-representation of Baxter, and this interpretation of 'calling', Weber later attempted to answer this by accepting Baxter was 'anti-mammonistic', even Ebionitic, and (re)-centring his argument on the claim that the 'fundamentally ascetic rational motives' of Protestantism led to economic rationalisation (Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 229 fn.4). Weber's final 1920 revision holds just 123 pages of argument, but requires 136 additional pages of explanatory notes, plus 15 pages of qualifying 'Author's Introduction'.

⁶⁶ William Penn, *No Cross, No Crown*, (Leeds: James Lister, [1669] 1743): 59; see also Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 53-54.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 4; Weber seems not to have examined Quaker Advices; further, he appears to conflate commercial activity and the Lutheran 'calling': '...He gives them His signs...Labour in a calling was also the ascetic activity par excellence for A. H. Francke; that God Himself blessed His chosen ones through the success of their labours was as undeniable to him as we shall find it to have been to the Puritans.' Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 84; see also note 46 above.

⁶⁸ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 148; Weber's authority for the assertion is vague, but relies on Baxter: 'Thus, as we shall see later, in countless passages, especially the conclusion, of Baxter's *Christian Directory*' (note 47); Weber's final positioning claimed that worldly success, if not strictly necessary to *achieve* Calvinist salvation, remained necessary in order to *demonstrate* it.

he pursues his calling.⁶⁹ Following Bernstein, Weber then claimed 'the specific form of the worldly asceticism of the Baptists, especially the Quakers, lay in the practical adoption' of Franklin's maxim 'Honesty is the best policy',⁷⁰ and concluded 'we shall expect to find that the influence of Calvinism was exerted more in the direction of the liberation of energy for private acquisition.'⁷¹ A triple lack of familiarity with Quakerism, Quaker sources, or the practices of Friends at any historical point would appear to underly this catalogue of errors. Quakers, unlike many sectarian millennial groups, never observed a detailed chronological doctrine of eschatology or end-times,⁷² and did not provide members with Advices on soteriology. Rather, for the centuries which followed their foundation, Friends retained an absence of creed which was the mark of a practical faith, following the directions of their Inward Light. However questionable Weber's interpretation of Calvinism, or his extension of this to Quakers via Baptists, his notion that Friends believed worldly success a requirement for salvation whilst advising, *ab initio*, against the dangers of pursuing it, is simply not sustainable.⁷³ Weber is not alone in seeking an explanation for Quakers unusual success, and some bizarre explanations have followed,⁷⁴ yet his *Protestant Ethic* remains the outstanding mis-representation of Quakerism, while simultaneously failing to identify valid causes for Friends' commercial success. His theory fits with Quaker faith and practice only in as much

⁶⁹ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 107; Weber's authority for this claim is George Fox, in a single reference to the 14 volume, *The Friends Library*; see W. Evans and T. Evans, eds., *The Friends Library*, (Philadelphia: J. Rakestraw, 1837): Vol.1, 130; however, while Weber's note directs 'especially' to Fox's words, the page reference is to Children, then Apprentices. Curiously, on the opposite page (131) there is Advice on Business, including the passage where Fox urges (*contra* Weber) that Quakers 'Be not cumbered nor surfeited with the riches of this world, nor bound nor straitened with them, nor married to them, but be loose and free from them and married to the Lord'.

⁷⁰ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 99; interestingly, his authority for this position is Eduard Bernstein (*ibid*, 227, note 188).

⁷¹ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 99.

⁷² For a discussion on the range of early soteriological musings from sectarians that would go on to become Quakers, see Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill, 1995); Gwyn considers that commercial practicality comes to dominate as early as 1655.

⁷³ For a recent exposition on the detailed differences between Calvinism and Quakerism see Hugh Rock, 'Quakerism understood in relation to Calvinism: The theology of George Fox', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 70(3): 333–347 (2017); Rock finds essential differences on salvation by merit, universal salvation, perfectibility, and the subordination of scripture, concluding that the 'theology of Fox as a whole can thus be classed as a non-predestination theology' (337-338).

⁷⁴ A good example is Gillian Cookson, whose review of the early railway entrepreneurs borders on the esoteric, claiming Quakers had a business modus operandi (inculcated by their faith) 'of thinking, planning and recording, and a curiosity and broad view of the world, which were arguably of advantage in forming commercial and technical judgements'; see Gillian Cookson, 'Quaker Families and Business Networks in Nineteenth-Century Darlington', *Quaker Studies*, Vol.8/2 (2004): 127. Cookson indicates Walvin as one source for this view.

as one can distinguish between those who *pursued* wealth and those who *obtained* it:⁷⁵ The Discipline of Friends expressly censured the former, while encouraging the latter through emphatic pronouncements that 'non be idle in the Lord's vineyard'.⁷⁶ This fits well with a Society of Friends in which the possession of wealth by some and not others was considered the norm – and even to facilitate the purpose of the Almighty.⁷⁷

9.2 The Decline of Utility

The context in which the key factors provided Quakerism with a unique secular utility at the start of the long eighteenth century was inevitably subject to change as that century progressed. As it proved, the century to follow would earn the epithet the 'Age of Enlightenment' in consequence of the extent of changes, both commercial and spiritual. The first would see the development of the industrial revolution and the emergence of the factory system, leading to extended markets, increasing capital requirements, and manufacturing technologies (both steam and automation) which had wide-ranging impact on people, employment and society.⁷⁸ The second accompanied the rather more esoteric scientific revolution, and bore fruit in the form of the widespread evangelical movements on both sides of the Atlantic that became known as the Great Awakenings wherein the Methodists offered a salvation 'in no way dependent upon traditional religious observance' but from experience of a 'faith vitally felt'.⁷⁹ Both of these vectors of change significantly reduced the efficacy of the factors identified in promoting commercial success, either by rendering them less relevant, or

⁷⁵ Weber's wording is translated as *acquired*; this does not seem to me to sufficiently emphasis the incidental nature, and also fits uncomfortably with his ultimate dissatisfaction with the phrase 'acquisitive drive' [*Erwerbstrieb*]. See Chalcraft, *The Protestant Ethic Debate*, 71 note 3.

⁷⁶ Hamm, *Quaker Writings*, 67; Balby Advices xii, xiv, xv; having identified the source(s) of the mythology of Quaker commercial success, resolving its enduring appeal must remain beyond the scope of this research.

⁷⁷ See 7.1 above.

⁷⁸ See David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); while there are more recent arguments for the 'revolution' to have begun in the late c.17th, the timings of the impact(s) on the factors here described remain substantially unaffected.

⁷⁹ Boyd Stanley Schlenther, 'Whitefield, George (1714–1770), Calvinistic Methodist leader', (ODNB, 2004).

through offering alternative sources of utility.⁸⁰ In addition, the response of the Society of Friends to these changes produced an effect which further served to erode the secular benefits previously experienced.

9.2.1 Education

It is not in dispute that the Society promoted education for all Friends; however, the nature and purpose of that education evolved over the period. The 1695 printed epistle:

advised that schoolmasters and mistresses, who are faithful Friends and well qualified, be encouraged in all counties, cities, or other places, where there may be need, and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of *such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage in order to apprenticeship*.⁸¹

The importance of this positioning was acknowledged as late as 1836, when, in an essay on Discipline and the purpose of the Society, Edward Smith acknowledged '[t]he right education of youth, the provision of suitable situations for them as apprentices or otherwise [was] also among the early objects of the Society's care.'⁸² The motivation for this was two-fold: the acquisition of a way of earning a living, and the view that an occupation served as a bulwark against evil, reemphasised by a General Epistle of 1718 which stated clearly that 'that the children of both rich and poor may be early provided with industrious employments, that they may not grow up in idleness, looseness, and vice.'⁸³

The Friends' establishment at Clerkenwell appeared to deliver the desired result: a report of 1729 notes 155 boys and 54 girls apprenticed to date - a not insignificant number - while the books showed a profit.⁸⁴ A printed report of 1746 followed a renewed subscription;⁸⁵ paid

⁸⁰ See D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (Unwin Hyman, 1989) for a view of the two phenomena as interlinked, and even mutually supportive.

⁸¹ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 14; Printed Epistle (1695); italics added.

⁸² Edward Smith, *The Life of William Dewsbury*, (Darton & Harvey, 1836): 16.

⁸³ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 38-39.

⁸⁴ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 370; thrifty Friends were also sub-letting 'a small portion of the building for more than we pay for the whole'.

⁸⁵ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 371; citing *An Account of the Rise, Progress and present state of the School and Workhouse maintained by the people called Quakers at Clerkenwell*.

officers now extended to include a steward, stewardess, school- master and mistress, as well as workmaster, and servants, while Friends were urged to contribute more financially to support higher apprentice premiums for 'better' places, and to provide for gratuities on completion of time.⁸⁶ An indication of costs is given by the charge of eighteenpence weekly to the Meetings of country children thus educated – rather less than four pounds per year.⁸⁷ By the middle of the century there is evidence of a shift towards religious rather than practical learning, with the priority to avoid contamination, and by 1760 a committee of 51 Friends, (headed by Dr John Fothergill) could report on the lack of progress,⁸⁸ and propose a somewhat unworldly (if complex and thrifty) scheme which failed to find support.⁸⁹ In 1777 London Yearly Meeting settled on boarding schools as the best option to protect students from the world,⁹⁰ while remaining economically attainable since the scholars were to be 'the children of such persons as must either provide for their offspring a very cheap education or none at all'.⁹¹ By coincidence, Dr Fothergill simultaneously discovered that the foundling hospital at Ackworth was shortly 'to be sold for a very moderate price', and together with a few Friends swiftly agreed to underwrite its purchase by Meeting for Sufferings (reluctant to act without the approval of a yearly meeting).⁹² Thus was Ackworth School established.

Importantly, it must be noted that its aim was:

that the principles we profess be diligently inculcated, and due care taken to preserve the children from bad habits and immoral conduct. That the English language, writing, and arithmetic, be carefully taught to both sexes. That the girls also be instructed in housewifery and useful needlework.⁹³

⁸⁶ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 372; aspirations for 'better' place suggests developing values within the Society.

⁸⁷ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 372.

⁸⁸ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 46; in 1758 LYM had requested QMs send in reports of the state of local education.

⁸⁹ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 53-56; Friends recommended endowing a fund to generate £100 annually to support five peripatetic teachers, each of whom would lodge at the house of a Friend 'of ability' who would provide six month's board and lodging in return for tuition for his family and servants; each master would also teach the children of the poor for free, run evening classes for those deficient, and coach local 'stationary' teachers.

⁹⁰ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 58. Tuke quotes the meeting minute: '...that encouragement for boarding schools, suitable for the education of children whose parents are not in affluence, will be advantageous'.

⁹¹ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 58; LYM Epistle (1777).

⁹² Tuke, *Five Papers*, 59; a substantial £7,000 was needed to buy the 'extensive premises' and 84 acres.

⁹³ Tuke, *Five Papers*, 61.

At Clerkenwell, apprenticeships still clearly held a major place in 1760, when some 60% of a collection of over £1000 was added to the fund (while a substantial £400 was used to repay debt). In 1786 the committee relocated the school to Islington, following a request from the City of London to repossess the Clerkenwell site;⁹⁴ Beck and Ball note a refurbishment, and 'an evident endeavour to turn over a new leaf', not least as 'education and work changed places as regards priority of importance'.⁹⁵ By 1799, a sub-committee of revised the curriculum to be almost entirely study, and even included a financial inducement, with 'spelling for Penny tickets' on Seventh Day.⁹⁶ With the new century came the appointment of the first Master (rather than Steward) who was to 'have a good idea of the business of education and keep accounts',⁹⁷ and by 1811 the 'Friends School' constitution was adopted, on the 'Ackworth plan of Admission', at a charge of ten guineas per annum:⁹⁸ after more than a century, apprenticeship as a goal of Quaker education had been eradicated.

Meanwhile, outside the Society, others had not been idle. Such was the support for education in matters of religion that the radical Methodist George Whitefield could raise substantial amounts to set up schools both at home and abroad; in 1737 he raised one thousand pounds for England, and £300 for Georgia.⁹⁹ This financial indication of the power of the Methodists shows both the significance of the Great Awakenings, and the rising influence of this new generation of Dissenters. Of great importance in this context is the emerging Sunday-School Movement: while Hanna Ball is credited with the first Sunday School in 1769, inspired by John Wesley's teaching, and Robert Raikes began in 1781, the tradition can be found even earlier in the century.¹⁰⁰ A comprehensive review by Keith Snell cites two centuries of

⁹⁴ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 375-6.

⁹⁵ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 376.

⁹⁶ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 377.

⁹⁷ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 377.

⁹⁸ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 378; fees could be paid by Meeting subscription; note this was four times the original cost of 1s. *per* week.

⁹⁹ Boyd Stanley Schlenther, 'Whitefield, George (1714–1770), Calvinistic Methodist leader', (ODNB, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ Particularly in Wales: earlier traditions of Welsh peripatetic charity schools were established by the Rev. Griffith Jones from about 1730, and revived later by the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala; see K.D.M. Snell, 'The Sunday-School Movement in

academic consensus regarding the 'outstanding significance' of the movement,¹⁰¹ both contemporaries and more recent historians commit to strongly worded judgements on this 'vast moral and educational engine', the success of which was 'an event of enormous significance'.¹⁰² Snell cites the huge numbers involved: by 1818 almost half a million pupils attended; while by 1833 this had trebled with Sunday Schools attendance outnumbering day schools.¹⁰³ In addition to reading and (subject to debate about Sabbath-day propriety) writing, these schools promoted a basic religious education that echoed much of Methodism.¹⁰⁴ Arguably of equal importance was their role in social recreation:¹⁰⁵ the jubilees and activities undoubtedly appealed, strengthening (or possibly countering) the dictates of the doctrine. Taken together, it is clear that the Sunday School phenomenon provided an increasingly significant and attractive resource for those interested in learning during the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, and provided a clear alternative to Quaker offerings.¹⁰⁶

9.2.2 *Apprenticeships*

While there is a lack of statistical data, it seems clear that the apprentice system declined in importance over the period.¹⁰⁷ A popular proxy is the decline of the powers of the guild system: 'while there were no contemporary surveys of early modern English craft guilds or apprenticeship, an academic consensus has formed since 1985 which tends to push the decline of craft guilds forward into the mid- to late eighteenth century.'¹⁰⁸ A major cause of the

England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture', *Past and Present*, No. 164 (Aug., 1999): 128.

¹⁰¹ Snell, 'The Sunday School Movement', 123.

¹⁰² Snell, 'The Sunday School Movement', 123-4.

¹⁰³ Snell, 'The Sunday School Movement', 125-6.

¹⁰⁴ Snell, 'The Sunday School Movement', 129.

¹⁰⁵ Snell records: 'libraries, teachers' meetings... 'charity sermons', Whitsun outings, 'treats' and prizes, processions galas, music, singing classes, Bands of Hope, anniversary festivities, football clubs, mutual improvement societies, needlework classes; 'The Sunday School Movement', 164.

¹⁰⁶ Space precludes discussion of other sects, such as the Unitarians, in particular James Luckcock and his innovative Birmingham Brotherly Society of 1796; see H. Smith, 'Luckcock, James (1761-1835), educational and political reformer', (ODNB, 2013).

¹⁰⁷ See Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914*, (UCL Press, 1996): 245-246.

¹⁰⁸ Masaru Yoneyama, 'The Decline of Guilds and Their Monopoly in English Provincial Towns, with Particular Reference to Exeter', *Urban History*, 46, No. 3 (2019): 443-63.

declining need for skills was what was historically called the dawn of the 'epoch of invention, beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century [which] while it marks an enormous advance in economic progress, marks also the last stage in the history of the old apprenticeship system'.¹⁰⁹ Rather more recently, Keith Snell reviewed 'the decline of the traditional system after about 1750',¹¹⁰ drawing attention to the strong links between apprenticeship and settlement, and suggesting that the Apprentices (Settlement) Act 1757,¹¹¹ by enforcing parishes to accept financial responsibility for those who served their time within their bounds, may have discouraged some from taking on apprentices.¹¹² Snell also notes a clear 'chronology of decline' measured by annual freeman membership of guilds and companies in major gildated towns.¹¹³ This should be compared with Epstein's findings, which reflect the rapidly growing population, such that:

in England during the second half of the eighteenth century, even as the absolute number of apprenticed individuals increased they were ever less likely to conclude a full apprenticeship. Apprentices appear to have become more mobile in part because the demand for semiskilled labour was increasing faster than for skilled, and in part because improved means of transport made it harder to restrain the apprentices' opportunism.¹¹⁴

This suggests that serving apprentices were likely to take advantage of opportunities, in contrast to the earlier Quaker model where the obligation to serve out one's time was both economically and socially beneficial for master and man.¹¹⁵ Outside Quaker spheres of interest, some types of apprenticeship remained necessary in order to enter the 'best

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan French Scott, 'The Decline of the English Apprenticeship System', *The Elementary School Teacher*, Vol. 13, No. 9 (May, 1913): 448. Scott concluded that children could mind machines as easily as skilled adults.

¹¹⁰ K.D.M. Snell, 'The Apprenticeship System in British history: the fragmentation of a cultural institution', *Four Hundred Years of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (1996): 303.

¹¹¹ 31 Geo II c. 11.

¹¹² Snell, 'The Apprenticeship System', 309-313.

¹¹³ Snell, 'The Apprenticeship System', 314; instancing London, Oxford, Newcastle, Coventry, Exeter and Bristol.

¹¹⁴ S.R. Epstein, 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Preindustrial Europe', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1998): 706, note 82.

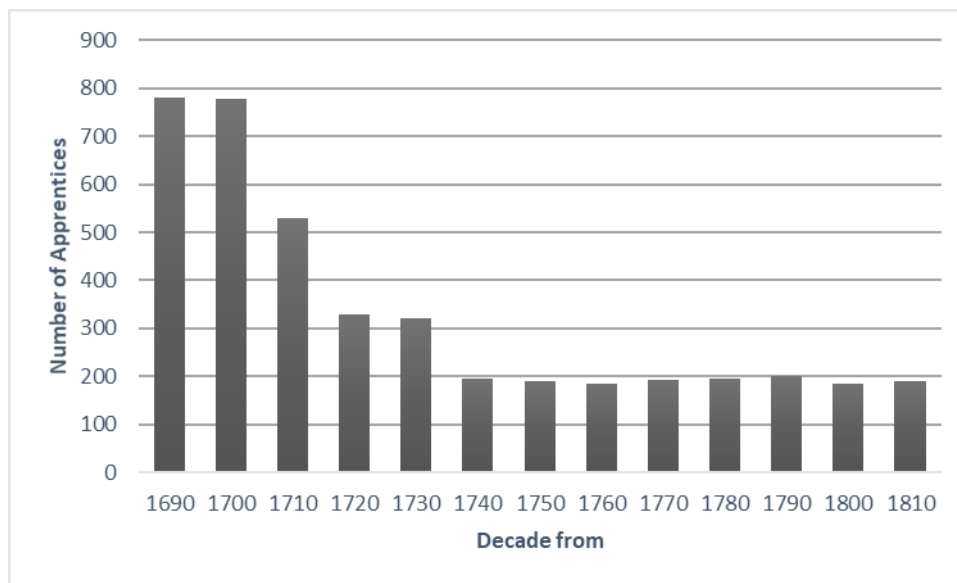
¹¹⁵ The Quaker Meeting funding the indentures might also benefit; see Chapter 7.

professions', while theoretical and formal education began to replace many originally apprenticed occupations.¹¹⁶

Having noted the scarcity of statistical surveys across the long eighteenth century, one indicative study of Cordwainer apprentices supports the above picture in many details.¹¹⁷

Giorgio Riello notes an increasing proportion of apprentices were put to serve fathers, in a reversal of the trend at the start of the period.¹¹⁸ Further, Riello charts the decline in the total number of Cordwainer apprentices over the long eighteenth century (Figure 9.1).¹¹⁹ This shows a peak in the decades following 1690 and 1700, before falling to a quarter of this figure in the decades following 1740.

Figure 9.1: Cordwainers' Apprentices 1690-1819 ¹²⁰



The conclusions as to a decline in apprenticeships during the century are clearly supported by his survey, which (if representative) suggests that the attraction of apprenticeships appears to plateau somewhat before the middle of the eighteenth-century. This trend is supported by

¹¹⁶ Lane, 'Apprenticeships in England', 247.

¹¹⁷ Giorgio Riello, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade: The Cordwainers Company in Eighteenth-Century London' in Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800* (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002).

¹¹⁸ Riello, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade', 148.

¹¹⁹ Riello, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade', 145.

¹²⁰ Riello, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade', 145.

finds of Thomas Derry, who suggests that the requirement to be apprenticed in order to practice a trade had been dying out as the century progressed.¹²¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, the failure of legal remedies deployed against non-apprentice labour would suggest that the once powerful trade organizations had lost their influence.¹²² This would seem to confirm that there was not only diminishing value in serving the traditional seven years, but that sanctions for failing to do so had ceased to function. This situation had developed over the century: so-called Combination Acts had been reducing the power of the trade organisations since 1720, particularly with regard to 'conspiring' to set wages;¹²³ by the turn of the century a general de-regulating of labour had occurred, and in 1814 the final barriers remaining were removed with the repeal of the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers, upon which had been built the power of the trade guilds since 1563.¹²⁴ The *necessity* of apprenticeship had passed, replaced by what Snell terms 'voluntary' apprenticeship.¹²⁵

In respect of Quakerism, it seems clear that the provision, supervision and funding of apprenticeships would have experienced peak utility at the start of the eighteenth century, while clearly diminishing (albeit at varying rates) over the period such as to have considerably less value by the start of the nineteenth-century.

9.2.3 *Collective Finance*

As established,¹²⁶ the wider benefits of financial interdependency arose as sufferings declined and Friends' collective financial contributions to members' welfare, education and apprenticeships acted instead to increase their propensity to adopt (and even succeed at)

¹²¹ Thomas Derry, 'The Repeal of the Apprenticeship Clauses of the Statute of Apprentices', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1931): 67-87.

¹²² Derry, 'Repeal of the Apprenticeship Clauses', 72; Derry notes 12 failures in 19 cases from 1809-1813.

¹²³ John V. Orth, 'English Combination Acts of the Eighteenth Century', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1987): 181-183; in response to the Tailors strike, the act voided all 'contracts, covenants or agreements' for raising wages or reducing hours.

¹²⁴ Derry, 'Repeal of the Apprenticeship Clauses', 67; 5 Eliz. 1 c. 4.

¹²⁵ Snell, 'The Apprenticeship System', 303.

¹²⁶ See Chapter 6 'Finance Context' and 7 'Collective Finance'.

commerce. As discussed,¹²⁷ Friends who remained in membership were very often linked by bonds of trade, and the process of recruitment and development may account for the increasingly homogenous nature of the Society as it evolved. Richard Vann detected such a change: while theology initially gave rise to a socially '*vertical* cleavage...gathering some adherents from all ranks of society', this was subsequently replaced 'by a *horizontal* cleavage... within relatively narrow social strata'.¹²⁸ Vann concluded that 'one hundred years after its origins, Quakerism was much more bourgeois... The range in status and occupations represented had contracted, and the Quakers were much more concentrated in the larger cities and in a number of country towns.'¹²⁹

The utility of collective finance for this group also changed dramatically. For those engaged in ever-expanding industrial processes, the epoch of 'invention' might more accurately be termed that of investment, with enormous capital sums required to fund the evolving complexities of manufacturing, and the factory system – sums which dwarfed the pecuniary largesse of the Monthly Meetings. The vast demands for capital required in the age of canals and steam demanded formal finance, which in turn served larger, integrated enterprises and demanded substantial assets for security.¹³⁰ This professionalised the development of country banking, as well as the commercial consolidation that had always been one natural consequence of Quaker endogamy, while both further concentrated capital and capital requirements. In consequence, there arose over time a super-strata of 'Great' Quakers,¹³¹ a group of industrial and merchant Quakers whose scale and scope of business ultimately

¹²⁷ See Chapter 8 'Networks'.

¹²⁸ Vann, 'Social Structure', 90; developing Weber's response to criticism for 'the gradual transformation of the divisions originally running vertically through the social stratification... [developing] into horizontal ones', Max Weber, 'Antikritisches zum "Geist" des Kapitalismus', *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xxx (1910) fn.14; see Chalcraft, *The Protestant Ethic Debate*, 81.

¹²⁹ Vann, 'Social Structure', 90.

¹³⁰ Pressnell, *Country Banking*, 289-309; such assets, usually personal promissory notes or mortgages were often difficult to realise; see Pressnell's chapter on 'Advances', for a discussion on securities, regulation, and banking practice in the industrial revolution.

¹³¹ Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families', 363-399.

required significant extra-Societal interests. Perhaps first identifiable as early as the 'affirmation crisis',¹³² the prominence of their success over the eighteenth and nineteenth century has tended to overshadow the far-larger number of minor commercial Quakers out of whose ranks they arose.

The attraction for non-Quakers to deal with those within the Society of Friends has been established as one of financial integrity; however, in Muldrew's 'economy of obligation' timely debt repayment was considered a moral duty by most, exemplified by Trustler's warning against unredeemed debt: he despised those 'villains' whose 'splendor and magnificence now is supported by the credit of their tradesmen',¹³³ while declaring that a man who holds office but lacks the means 'to support its dignity and expence' should resign and leave the post to those with 'larger fortunes who are sufficiently qualified for public employment'.¹³⁴ Defoe's chapter on Bankrupts further distinguished deliberate fraudsters from those less culpable, whose failure was a result of chance.¹³⁵ In this he tried to lead public opinion to reform a law which locked up all debtors; unfortunately, the massive fraud perpetrated by Pitkin-Brerewood in 1705 caused demands for deliberate financial deception to become a felony, punishable by death.¹³⁶ A compromise came with the Bankrupts' Act of 1706,¹³⁷ which (following Defoe) allowed bankrupts deemed to have cooperated in the discharge of their debts a possibility of a small stipend from their estate with which to rebuild,

¹³² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 189: 'It is worthy of remark that the dissatisfied districts were those which, during the same period, were most zealously opposing the consequences of the growth of wealth and worldliness among Friends by pressing a searching discipline on the Church. The 'worldly' Friends who had prospered in trade and were anxious for the ease afforded by the Affirmation of 1696 were mostly Whig in their sympathies, and, accordingly, the division of feeling already existing between them and Friends of Jacobite leanings inflamed the situation.'

¹³³ Trustler, *Rich and Respectable*, 13.

¹³⁴ Trustler, *Rich and Respectable*, 21; this view (persisting into the fourth edition) suggests strongly that the Quaker 'testimony' against oaths could be financially advantageous in avoiding 'office holding' when required.

¹³⁵ Defoe, *On Projects*, 191-204.

¹³⁶ Emily Kadens, 'The Last Bankrupt Hanged: Balancing Incentives in the development of the Bankruptcy Law', *Duke Law Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 7 (April 2010): 1255-1261; Pitkin secretly used Brerewood's money to pay off his creditors, used his enhanced credit to obtain £100,000 in goods, which he smuggled to Brerewood for disposal; he planned to declare himself bankrupt, with Brerewood graciously stepping in to offer 'composition' of one third. The fraud failed.

¹³⁷ 4 & 5 Anne, c.17.

while threatening felonious fraudsters (like Pitkin) with death.¹³⁸ Defoe had desired reforms for those (like himself) whose failure was the result of ventures that did not pay off – that very overtrading warned against by the Quaker Discipline; the Act of 1706 encouraged failed businessmen to cooperate with the commissions of bankruptcy, and - in the binary distinction between felonious and 'unfortunate' causes - appears over the century to have removed much of the moral stigma of the latter. The death penalty would be finally removed following a Commission of 1818,¹³⁹ by which time the unchanged Quaker stance on moral liability for the entire repayment of creditors had become anachronistic. Thus while in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century the Discipline represented the contemporary acme of financial probity by enforcing full restitution beyond the legal requirement (an opinion shared by many outside the Society),¹⁴⁰ by the turn of the new century this view was out of step with contemporary mores; given the large sums required to create industrial enterprises, it was also highly unattractive to those taking risks to build business.

While the utility of Quaker Meeting finance, largely associated with apprentices and start-up funding, declined, it may be considered that the increased extent of Quaker banking may have provided a solution to increasing capital requirements, and Jacob Price notes two Quaker banks in London in 1738, but seven by 1778.¹⁴¹ However, aside from the network effect discussed below, the formalisation of Quaker finance is unlikely to have facilitated utility: not only would costs of credit become more market-driven,¹⁴² the financial institutions founded by Friends also served non-Quaker clients, thus increasing competition for capital resources.¹⁴³ Indeed the Society even issued an Advice to reject paper credit.¹⁴⁴ Further, as

¹³⁸ Kadens, 'Last Bankrupt Hanged', 1260-1261.

¹³⁹ Kadens, 'Last Bankrupt Hanged', 1293-1294.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

¹⁴¹ Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families', 384.

¹⁴² Most early inter-Quaker loans were not commercial, being either free or discounted from market rates; see Chapter 7 'Collective Finance'.

¹⁴³ Detailed research into the business practices of Quaker-originated banks remains highly desirable.

¹⁴⁴ Extracts, 197 (#6, 1771, #7 1788).

the commercial founders' descendants developed into 'Great' Quakers, these were often amongst the first to leave the Society of Friends – either through marrying out, increasingly 'Gay' ostentation, or through a more gradual apostacy.¹⁴⁵

It would seem that through a combination of economic factors (fewer apprentices, larger demands for capital, growing formalisation) and social (the anachronistic stance on bankruptcy), Quaker financial utility is likely to have declined significantly over the eighteenth-century.

9.2.4 Network

The success of the Quaker network has been ascribed to its unique topology: a dense set of connections which simultaneously facilitated commercial interactions while both disseminating and reinforcing Discipline.¹⁴⁶ One of the main problems arising out of previous scholarship is the sustained claim that Quaker networks *in general* were of great value to the Society, without identifying in what capacity, or why: it is important here to regard all Quaker associations as creating a single network, which (following Rowley) intensified the effect of Discipline.¹⁴⁷ Further, this effect was intensified for as long as the network was composed almost entirely of Quakers, who integrated the value chain from raw material to wholesale distribution; large numbers of Quakers were also employed by concerns such as those of Sharp or Darby,¹⁴⁸ the Gurneys who ran large-scale Norfolk textile production,¹⁴⁹ and Bristol's Quaker brass makers could use Cornish Quaker tin, while Quaker coal from Wales might power the engines to mine or refine Quaker silver and lead.¹⁵⁰ The benefits arising

¹⁴⁵ The contemporary epithet 'Gay' reflected an appetite for pleasure. It would be valuable to know what non-financial contributions were made to the Society by members of the banking dynasties, before they finally left Friends; Raistrick cites only Bartlett Gurney as 'not a strict Friend', who took over the eponymous bank in 1779.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 8 'Networks'.

¹⁴⁷ See Timothy J. Rowley, 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties: A Network Theory of Stakeholder Influences', *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct., 1997): 887-910.

¹⁴⁸ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 145.

¹⁴⁹ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 338.

¹⁵⁰ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 150; the extent of this would benefit from detailed study.

from engaging with the network accounts for much of the secular utility of the Society of Friends, while (and of equal importance) the threat of exclusion provides an explanation for the secular power of the Discipline.¹⁵¹

Several developments appear to have contributed to the erosion of this density over the century, which explains how the unique Quaker utility diminished. One well-known development was the increasing tendency of Quakers 'to marry out'; such exogamy is clear from the records of disownments,¹⁵² and may have been caused simply by a general reduction in the number of Friends of marriageable age: one of the key strictures of the Discipline prevented marriage of cousins, which in a shrinking Society must have reduced options still further in a century when travel remained onerous.¹⁵³

Alternatively, exogamy may have been a necessary step in creating the kind of commercial alliances that had been a feature of the Society of Friends from its inception.¹⁵⁴ The industrial revolution, in which Quakers had been early movers, offered much scope for end-to-end business consolidation, as miners became ironmasters, developed into manufactures, and began to trade.¹⁵⁵ With the new century, and accompanying the imperial growth of the United Kingdom, businesses found new geographical markets, and new (and more complex) opportunities. Ultimately, restrictions on marriage, including disownment for marrying out, inevitably became barriers to commercial advantage.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ See Chapters 4 and 8.

¹⁵² See Chapter 4; no study has quantified this for London Yearly Meeting, to supplement Marietta's work on Philadelphia.

¹⁵³ Extracts, 68-69 'Marriage' (#9 1675, #10 1747); a late Advice laments 'that remissness in dealing, and weakness in some monthly meetings in accepting superficial and insincere acknowledgments' for inappropriate marriages, and stresses the need for full satisfaction from transgressors; see Extracts, 72 (#16 1783).

¹⁵⁴ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, Chapter 2, and *passim*.

¹⁵⁵ Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, Chapter 4, and *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ These sanctions against improper marriage were repeatedly re-stated in the 1834 revised (3rd Edition) of the Discipline, *Rules of discipline of the Religious Society of Friends, with Advices...* (Darton and Harvey, 1834): 98-103 (#11 1833, #12 1801, #13 1833, #14, 1833, #15 1833, #17 1833, #21 1811, #22 1819).

Given the early focus of Quakers in the trans-Atlantic arena, it seems inevitable that the loss of the American colonies forced commerce elsewhere, and that an absence of Friends in these localities and specialisms would introduce non-Quakers to the network.¹⁵⁷ In an era of innovation, new techniques from scientific communities, and advances in technology required commercial co-operation with their originators, who were often outside the Society, or even the country;¹⁵⁸ in the nineteenth century, the great Quaker chocolate concerns would become global ventures, while Cadburys' success was substantially enabled by the purchase of proprietary Dutch machinery.¹⁵⁹

The century also saw the beginnings of what might be termed 'alternative' networks – precursors to those professional bodies and trade associations which, following the decline of the guilds and corporations, came to represent the specialisms necessitated by the rise in business complexity. A formalisation of the professions reflected the more complex environment arising from legislative developments regulating business (not least the multiple Factory Acts, starting from 1802);¹⁶⁰ while complexities in corporate finance and accounting were echoed in medical and legal specialisms; all of which tended to push commercial Quakers into engaging, or even relying, on non-Quaker resources and expertise.¹⁶¹

Aside from marriage, both the increase in geographies and the introduction of non-Quakers reduced the uniquely high density of the Quaker network - even while the network itself expanded and became more widely linked to other networks. While this in no way prevented Quaker commercial success, it served to dilute the unique Quaker utility, which in turn reduced the efficacy of Discipline as a sanction.

¹⁵⁷ Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families', 384-5.

¹⁵⁸ It would be interesting examine connections between Josiah Wedgwood, porcelain industrialist and staunch Unitarian, to William Cookworthy, Quaker inventor of Bristol China, inspired by porcelain from Friends in Virginia; see Raistrick, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, 197.

¹⁵⁹ Fincham, 'Cadbury Ethics', 48.

¹⁶⁰ The 1802 'Health and Morals of Apprentices Act' was arguably first piece of specifically 'factory' legislation.

¹⁶¹ The universal success of James Watt's innovations serves as one obvious example.

9.2.5 *Discipline*

Quaker Discipline always possessed the edge of sanction, but originated as a mechanism to create and preserve unity within the Society.¹⁶² At its inception, Quakerism was a movement that wished to see the world converted to Truth. Fox and others in the earliest period saw the Society as one in which Friends would be united, and at the heart of all early advices created by the Quakers can be found this common desire for the preservation of 'Unity', where disownment for disorderly walking (as transgressions were termed) was neither desired nor considered permanent should sufficient contrition be expressed.¹⁶³ Yet the central purpose of these self-imposed rules, even towards the middle of the century, remained Unity. Somewhat later still, an Advice could still begin in a similar, tolerant spirit, even for those marrying 'contrary to the established rules of the society':

they shall be dealt with in a spirit of Christian love and tenderness, agreeably to our known discipline; and that after the commission of such offence, their monthly collection shall not be received, nor shall they be relieved in the manner of poor friends, nor be admitted to sit in meetings of discipline, until they be restored into unity with the monthly meeting to which they belong.¹⁶⁴

Collins' review of the minutes of meetings around Bolton are indicative of a harsher discipline: by 1780, he notes 'Disownments of men and women continue at a pace throughout the Monthly Meeting during this period and for the usual misdemeanours: marrying out, payment of tithes, gambling, drunkenness, falling into debt, marrying one's cousin', although from a numerical perspective, he notes that that Disownments were offset by readmissions; interestingly, he finds that

¹⁶² See Chapter 4.

¹⁶³ Beck and Ball, *London Friends*, 85-109.

¹⁶⁴ Extracts, 70 'Marriage' (#12 1768); the sincerity of contrition required for restoration was judged by the local Monthly Meeting, confirming its authority, and independence.

applications for membership were 'as likely to be deferred as accepted', which may help explain the lack of recruits.¹⁶⁵

Even after the focus shifted towards purity, if not punishment, disownment was not automatic; thus it is important to note how, by 1798, further Advice on this process admonishes the Monthly Meetings for 'remissness in dealing, and weakness... in accepting superficial and insincere acknowledgements...', blaming upon them the laxity of discipline for declining standards 'inconsistent with our religious profession'.¹⁶⁶ It seems that the drift towards Discipline as a power for purifying the Society of Friends took hold sometime after the passing of the third generation, towards the middle of the century, when certain groups of Friends began to call for 'reformation'. At this point, disorderly walking was regarded as repudiating ancient testimonies; as such, reducing reputational damage to the Society remained the major concern, while it seems clear from the evolution of the books of Discipline that the Society of Friends moved towards an interpretation of the Discipline that was guided by a desire for increased rigour to assist in returning to what was considered the more pure form of observance characterised by the testimonies of the 'Ancient Friends'.¹⁶⁷

But the pursuit of purity, and the pace of change in Discipline, appears to have increased from the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁸ This is indicated by both the nature and the extent of changes in the Discipline in the second half of the century. London Yearly Meeting continued to issue Epistles containing additions to the Extracts, and Quarterly Meeting Clerks were expected to update their manuscript volumes accordingly: the degree of change implied by these annual revisions, and its impact is significant. During the period from 1738 until the

¹⁶⁵ Collins, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton*, 92-94; as noted in Chapter 4, it would be valuable to see a wider study of English Quaker disownments to evaluate trends in more detail.

¹⁶⁶ Extracts, 72. 'Marriage' (#15 1798).

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁸ For a wider discussion, see Andrew Fincham, 'Friendly Advice: the evolution of trans-Atlantic Discipline in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Robynne Healey ed., *Quakerism in the Atlantic World in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2021).

revision of the first printed book of discipline in 1783, comparison shows the total number of Advices given under several key headings increased by more than half. Analysis of the main sections affected include: Appeals (+50%); Certificates (+75%); Discipline (+79%); Marriage (+59%); and Meetings for Discipline (+52%). The last three alone amassed thirty-eight new Advices during the period. In contrast, Books, Children, Conversation, Correspondents, Covetousness, Days and Times, Defamation, Disputes, Epistles, Families, Law, Love, Kings and Governours [sic], and Meeting Houses together totalled less than twenty additions.¹⁶⁹ The degree of change may be taken as a reflection of the changing priorities of the Yearly Meeting, in general a focus on recording and administering the mechanisms of Discipline, and in particular with respect to Marriages, Removals and Settlements, and Tithes.

In 1763, the evolving manuscript Books of Extracts were challenged by John Fry's budget-priced *Alphabetical Extract of all the Annual Printed Epistles*, an 'unofficial' printed publication of the 1738 Extracts, plus new material up to 1762;¹⁷⁰ this collection may have encouraged the feeling (subsequently expressed by Durham Meeting in 1774) that postal and copying errors had once again ensured some divergence from the desired uniformity.¹⁷¹ Yearly Meeting deliberations on a replacement volume must have been without unity, since it was not until 1783 that an official printed volume appeared, and sold to Monthly (not just Quarterly) Meetings, as well as (availability permitting) to individuals.¹⁷²

Hall states that the extracts were selected by two Friends at the request of Yearly Meeting, and that despite approximately one hundred deletions and one hundred additions, 'in substance the revision was not important as this may suggest.'¹⁷³ However, a more detailed

¹⁶⁹ All data from a new analysis of the Peel MSS Book of Extracts, MGR 11b5/MISC 3, (LSF); note the numbers do not always agree with those given by David Hall; unfortunately, Hall does not identify which Book(s) of Extracts were consulted, beyond acknowledging the Library of the Society of Friends.

¹⁷⁰ John Fry, *An Alphabetical Extract of all the Annual Printed Epistles...* (John Fry, 1763); Jones states this was sold for 18^d (Jones, *The Later Periods*, 143).

¹⁷¹ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 512.

¹⁷² Jones, *The Later Periods*, 143; see Chapter 4 for a discussion on most Quakers lack of access to the Book of Extracts.

¹⁷³ Hall, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', 514.

analysis of the 1783 revision demonstrates clearly how far the nature of these changes indicate a shift in the 'centre of gravity' of the Society of Friends toward a more centralised, inflexible set of rules designed to promote uniformity under the guise of purity.¹⁷⁴

Analysis of the distribution of Advices across the period illustrates a number of trends. Primarily, it shows clearly there was an increased focus on administration: the six largest headings (with over 15 Advices following revision, de-duplication and rationalisation) are: 'Ministers & Elders & their Meetings'; 'Tithes'; 'Discipline and Meetings for Discipline'; 'Yearly Meeting'; 'Meetings for Worship'; and 'Marriage'. Arguably, the rule on tithes would not seem to need more than one unambiguous Advice ('do not pay them under any guise'...); similarly 'Marriage' might have been reduced to a ban on exogamy, were it not for perennial issues around closeness of kin on remarriage, periods of mourning, widows provision and a dozen other details. It should also be noted that for all six headings, more than one third of the advices were changed over the period, indicating a perceived need to adapt as well as to update and increase the weight of advice.

The specific consequences of these changes for entrepreneurial Quakers, and their pursuit of commercial independence, may have been greater than for others, and the advices under the heading 'Trade' saw a considerable degree of change. In a more detailed comparison with the 1738 Book of Extracts, no less than fifteen Advices are seen to have been removed.¹⁷⁵

Retained are the 1675 advice on managing 'honourably and with reputation', and the 1692 advice on repayment of due debts.¹⁷⁶ But lost are Advices to take 'care not to injure by trade, and avoid [personal] reproach' (1702); to 'be weighty and circumspect in the management and conduct of outward affaires' (1703); taking 'goodly care to avoid breeches in payment', and

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix D for a graphical representation.

¹⁷⁵ Analysis of MGR 11b5/MISC/3, (LSF); 'Peel MS': 1702,'03,'08,'09,'10,'20,'24,'27,'28,'29,'30,'31,'32,'35, and 1737, (unpaginated).

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter 7 'Collective Finance' for a discussion on debt, and note below.

give 'timely caution to them [who] render themselves suspected' (1708).¹⁷⁷ Gone too is the general advice that 'Truth leads all not to defraud' - including Governors (1709), and the exhortation that Fox's 'Caution' be read once a year (1710), along with a plea to keep promises (1720). Also lost was a carefully-worded Advice on risk from 1724 which urged Friends to 'avoid inordinate pursuit after things...[that invite] uncertain probabilities',¹⁷⁸ and a very explicit rule proscribing 'living beyond circumstances at expense' and paying debts when due (1727).¹⁷⁹ Some advices were outdated by 1802, including those cross-referenced to trading 'Negros', while a significant deletion is that from 1732 advising Quarterly Meetings to testify against Friends who were 'high' living.¹⁸⁰ The last deletion also contained a general advice to disbar those 'falling short' in the matter of trade or tithes from acting on behalf of the Society, or contributing to the collections for the poor, until they had made satisfaction to the Monthly Meeting. Instead of these more traditional advices concerning the values associated with Quaker trade, the revised Book of Extracts attacks the pernicious paper credit (1771, 1788); a portentous plea to 'pause' when successful (1795); and further rules that Bankrupts be not allowed to contribute to collections (1782).¹⁸¹ All such reflect an extension of socio-economic differences, and may reflect that while secular utility had initially been strongest for those interested in 'bettering themselves' and who swelled the ranks of the Society of Friends in earlier years, towards the end of the eighteenth century those who had achieved affluence (and so wider influence) found these of less relevance; in consequence, successful (if not always 'gay') Quakers perhaps first attempted an accommodation with the evolving Discipline, before, ultimately, many such left the Society. There remained strong advices on the need to inspect finances, and communicate caution, and the heading ends with an explanatory homily: 'We do not condemn industry, ...it is the desire of great things from

¹⁷⁷ MGR 11b5/MISC/3 (LSF).

¹⁷⁸ MGR 11b5/MISC/3 (LSF).

¹⁷⁹ The falseness of 'living beyond ones means', and associated borrowing, lies at the heart of Quaker objections to debt.

¹⁸⁰ This last implies an objection to 'Gay' behaviours, in contravention to the testimony on plainness.

¹⁸¹ Extracts, 197-200 'Trade' (#6,#7,#8,#11).

which we desire that all our dear friends may be redeemed' (1797), which appears to echo Rigg in condemning the desire rather than possession of the 'great things'.¹⁸² This Advice marks the first acknowledgement of the need to balance family, social and religious responsibilities, and as the bell-weather tolling in wider social philanthropy is perhaps a marker that the age of the Georgian Quaker Grandee had passed into that of the Great Victorian Quaker Philanthropist.

The extent of LYM zeal for new regulations in the decade that followed the first printing of the Book of Extracts was so great it prompted a supplementary Appendix, printed in 1792, while yet more Advices followed, such that by 1800 LYM recommended that all Quarterly Meetings send deputies to an extended session of the Meeting for Sufferings, which subsequently spent three weeks on further revisions. Advices were re-ordered for sense, removed for duplication, replaced when 'superior pertinency' was found, and subject to 'considerable abridgement', all reflecting 'full and free conference respecting the general operation of existing regulations'; while 'a set of pretty copious marginal, and other references' were added to aid comprehension.¹⁸³ Even between these major revisions, key themes were often emphasised by the Yearly Advices - 'to be read at least once in the year, in each of the Men's and Women's Quarterly and Monthly Meetings'.¹⁸⁴ The printed Extracts would be revised three times in the next thirty years (in 1801 and 1822 and 1833 - this last being published under the title 'Rules of Discipline'). While these are beyond the scope of this research, it is perhaps indicative of the continued focus on administration that the revised edition of 1822 contains a new section on Removals running to fifteen pages, which

¹⁸² Extracts, 200 'Trade' (#13).

¹⁸³ Meeting held 7-29th November, 1800; see *Introduction to Quakerism* to the printed Book of Extracts second edition, (1802).

¹⁸⁴ Advice of the Yearly Meeting, 1791, to be read at least once in the year, in each of the Men's and Women's Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. London Yearly Meeting Minutes (1791).

completely supersede the earlier advices 1-7: by contrast, 'Slavery' gains two pages, and 'Tithes' no more than a modest paragraph.¹⁸⁵

Evidently, in the second half of the eighteenth-century the Society of Friends became less tolerant of behaviours which ran counter to what were considered essential ancient testimonies – including those that concerned tithes, or marriage, or financial misconduct. The increased rigour is likely to have been motivated by several drivers, all associated with a perceived lapse in standards. Commercial success had undoubtedly given rise to the 'Gay Quaker', whose ostentatious wealth was a challenge to simplicity: Tolles provides excellent examples of Philadelphia Quakers determined to tread the finest of lines by displaying only their monogram on their carriage, insisting on a 'Sad' or 'Grave-coullor' livery for their servants, who displayed their fashionable but simple silhouettes (while, it was suggested, hanging oil-portraits away from public gaze).¹⁸⁶ Similar dilemmas were faced by the Great Quakers in England as the century progressed, and the next century would see many such leave the Society.¹⁸⁷ The tithe testimony (a source of constant innovation as Friends had tried to avoid confrontation)¹⁸⁸ experienced a resurgence in importance even as the abolition of slavery absorbed the moral attention of an ever-wider section of society.¹⁸⁹ Other developments, such as a ban on payment of substitution fees for military service, similarly reflect a new rejection by Quaker authority of certain practices which had perhaps become commonplace;¹⁹⁰ while the continuance of some other Advices, such as those prohibiting

¹⁸⁵ Book of Extracts, (1822).

¹⁸⁶ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 130-132; Tolles cites a letter from Benjamin Franklin as the source of this suggestion.

¹⁸⁷ Price, 'The Great Quaker Business Families', 388-389.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁹ By way of explanation for this persistence, Friends in England may have been encouraged by the dispensation from Governor Belcher in New England which excused them from paying tax for ministers in New England; a petition to retain this governor was sent up by Friends in 1739; see Norman Penney ed., Quaker's Petition re: Governor Belcher', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII No.2 (1915): 94.

¹⁹⁰ Extracts, 88 (#2 1801).

Friends observing national festivals or celebrations, reflect an isolationism which was becoming outdated.¹⁹¹

One problem appears to be that the Discipline's reformers, while highly active in the second half of the century, could exhibit widely different priorities and even themes for reform - both within and outside their Societies yearly meetings.¹⁹² Samuel Fothergill appears to have regarded his reforming role in the light of a missionary competition, boasting of the record distances he travelled across the colonies in an attempt to defeat the opposition.¹⁹³ Writing from Charleston, South Carolina in 1755 he says: 'George Whitefield passed through this town a few days ago, for Georgia, having travelled very hard from Philadelphia, to get to his flock before we came amongst them'.¹⁹⁴ Fothergill (campaigning as a reformed dissolute) was fighting the 'decay of discipline [as] other weakening things prevailed' caused by the 'inheritance of a profession of religion ... which descended like the patrimony from their fathers, and cost as little'.¹⁹⁵ Yet Fothergill had witnessed how integrated, networked and above all successful the Quakers had become: his account of the funeral of a Dublin banking Friend in 1755 states it was:

attended by the greatest concourse of people I have ever seen upon the like occasion—a strange mixture of folks—lords and Jesuits, merchants and parsons, &c.; but the mighty power of God was revealed over all.¹⁹⁶

If the object of these mid-century reforms was a conscious attempt to regain an ancient purity of testimony,¹⁹⁷ such gains as were made were at the cost of reducing the appeal of

¹⁹¹ Extracts, 36 (#4 1801).

¹⁹² Johnathan Kershner, 'The Government of Christ: John Woolman's (1720-1777) Apocalyptic Theology', Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012: 274-325; Kershner looks at John Woolman, Samuel Fothergill, John Churchman, Daniel Stanton, and Anthony Benezet.

¹⁹³ Samuel Fothergill, 'Memoirs of the Life of Samuel Fothergill', in William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds., *The Friends' Library*, Vol. IX, (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1845): 148; letter to his wife 22nd 2mo 1755.

¹⁹⁴ Fothergill, 'Memoirs', 148; letter to his wife 13th 2mo 1755.

¹⁹⁵ Fothergill, 'Memoirs', 189.

¹⁹⁶ Fothergill, 'Memoirs', 118.

¹⁹⁷ Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 69.

membership.¹⁹⁸ Perhaps one (somewhat extreme) example may serve for many: the noted Quaker William Hobson (b. 1752) would go on to build the great 'Martello' towers defending the coast of England against the French; married to a fellow Quaker, they had sixteen children, who might well have boosted attendance at Southward Meeting, had he not been 'visited' for paying tithes, and for 'encouraging diversions in his house'.¹⁹⁹ Responding that he considered it 'right to pay, in obedience to the law of the land', he was disowned, while his family were subsequently refused a certificate to transfer to Tottenham Meeting on the grounds that the mother 'encourages and approves of her children being taught the practice of music', upon continuance of which (despite visits), she too was disowned in 1804.²⁰⁰ Three sons had been disowned in 1803, (two as quasi-military 'Volunteers'); of the thirteen daughters successfully obtaining certificates from Southwark Monthly Meeting, three subsequently were disowned for 'marrying out,' one resigned on her marriage, while nine were disowned for non-attendance at Meeting.²⁰¹ While the Society was occupied with this process of purification, it was inevitable that access to similar utility within other denominations (not excluding salvation), appeared to be attainable on rather easier terms.

The changes in terms of both social composition and behaviours that took place between the Society's inception and the first decades of the eighteenth-century form the 'signature' of the 'Quietist' period, which went on for much of that century.²⁰² This began with the post-Toleration Act desire within the Society to reduce controversy, as noted by Braithwaite:

The Quaker Church, effectively organized as a state within the State, was now mainly concerned with preserving its own quiet way of life; and, driven in on itself by storms

¹⁹⁸ See Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers'; discussed in Section 9.3, below.

¹⁹⁹ Joseph J. Green, 'William Hobson, of Mark field', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII, (1915): 77; he owned a billiard table.

²⁰⁰ Green, 'Hobson', 78.

²⁰¹ Green, 'Hobson', 78.

²⁰² Braithwaite recognises 'Quietism setting in' with reference to the 1716 'Address to the Crown' following the Jacobite rebellion of 1715' (*Second Period*, 615).

of persecution and by the growth of a narrowing discipline, was no longer aflame with a mission to the world.²⁰³

It would seem that as the eighteenth century wore on, there developed further polarisation between the 'stricter' Friends, mostly outside the metropolis, and those in cities 'where the leading Friends both in business and in social life had more contact with people of other sects'.²⁰⁴ Larry Ingle succinctly offers an interesting view:

Quaker radicalism was compounded of two ingredients, one that gave elements of the bourgeoisie a chance to free themselves of the heavy hand of tradition, thus feeding the rise of capitalism, and a radicalism that, dialectically, harked back to the traditional and found the new world wanting.²⁰⁵

If so, it seems that the ingredients were to coagulate in two distinct Quaker personae; those Quakers who followed the leadership's aspirations of purity, and the others who pursued less rigid opportunities, even if that meant making money, or taking a boat to the colonies.²⁰⁶

In summary, it appears clear that during the period of the long eighteenth century the factors that provided an initial powerful impetus for commercial success for the membership declined as a result of both internal and external changes. Some became more widely available outside the Society (including education and commercial finance), while others (particularly the desirability of completing a formal apprenticeship) decreased as the influence of corporations and livery companies declined, and industrialisation and the factory system arose. The exigencies of trade demanded that kinship links be extended beyond the numerically diminished Society in search of advantageous partnerships, which in turn hastened the dilution of a network density already weakened by external financing, non-Quaker trade

²⁰³ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 179.

²⁰⁴ Grubb, *Quakers in Industry*, 48; Grubb includes Ireland in the former.

²⁰⁵ Larry H. Ingle, review of Gwyn's 'The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism', *Quaker History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Spring 1997): 64; Ingle suggests Gwyn 'gives scant attention to this more nuanced view'.

²⁰⁶ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 414; he notes 'colonial expansion was a spontaneous movement in the Society rather than an official movement by the Society. Its chief instruments were not the ministers but the men of affairs'.

partnerships, and ever-increasing exogamous marriage. Simultaneously, the nature of the Discipline evolved in a direction that was ever more tightly focussed on recapturing what was imagined as the purer (perhaps even Puritan) testimonies of the 'Ancient Friends'.

Thus, those factors which had originally combined to offer a uniquely attractive utility for those in membership of the Society of Friends, and which together encouraged and enabled commercial success, would over the long eighteenth century diminish in both individual and collective efficacy. This decline was the consequence both of changes in the wider commercial context, and as a result of the Society's use of the Discipline in pursuit of purity, replacing the earlier desire for a more tolerant unity.

9.3 Conclusion: the relationship between Utility, Success, and Ethics

This research seeks to establish a basis for two claims: the first requires evidence for Quaker commercial success; while the second (and more complex) looks for some link between that success and the ethical values of the Society of Friends, as expressed in their Discipline.

Having found this evidence, the research has postulated a unifying theory which seeks to explain how and why Quakers, while an undoubtedly very small proportion of the English population during the long eighteenth century, experienced disproportionate success in commerce.

Historic rationales for Quaker success have tended to repeat largely nineteenth-century myths of how Quaker effort, denied other opportunities through persecution, was channelled into commerce. This trope, as has been shown, is misleading. Friends refused to join the hireling clergy, and held the legal profession in contempt for similar reasons. Opportunities to 'serve the state' were few, generally sold (usually through patronage), and acquired for status; they were also frequently unremunerative, given the substantial costs associated with office holding, whether in a Guild, Corporation, or County. Lesser 'employments', such as collecting local taxes, were onerous and unprofitable, and where these involved collecting on

behalf of the parish, Friends preferred the option of taking care of their own. While uninterested in status, Quakers placed a value on both time and money, and recognised the usefulness of profit; even as the financial implications of 'sufferings' declined, the tradition of collective finance rapidly embraced education, funded apprenticeships, and lending within the local meetings, while an extended intra-Societal web of loans appears to have operated to make the most of the capital accumulated through legacies and collections. If Quakers had no special insights, they did possess a uniquely dense network, extending across England to all areas colonised by Friends which facilitated every aspect of the supply chain from raw materials to international sales, with Quakers engaged in growing, mining, spinning, smelting, manufacturing, transporting, financing, factoring, shipping, and selling - often across multiple sectors and geographies simultaneously. From within this single, dense, network came opportunities for commercial success, and occasionally great wealth – arising not only from the extensive connections, but the significant reduction in trading risks – financial and commercial - associated with dealing with kindred Quakers. Their reputation for probity is likely to have made them attractive for non-Quaker customers, and (in the event that fellow Quakers could not be found as partners) perhaps facilitated the acquisition of suppliers who might appreciate that a Quaker had substantial incentives not to resort to bankruptcy.²⁰⁷

These advantages are here accumulated as 'secular utility'.²⁰⁸ This utility accompanied membership of the Society of Friends, and must be regarded as an accidental attribute in respect of the founders' priorities. However, within a relatively short period, (possibly a couple of decades, and certainly by the last quarter of the seventeenth-century) and despite 'sufferings', it had helped attract sufficient numbers into membership such that those both

²⁰⁷ As discussed, Quakers appear to have co-invested with fellow Quakers as a rule, for all the reasons noted in this argument; however, the Discipline did not specifically preclude any from seeking advantageous commercial arrangements with those outside the Society, should they be able to sustain any losses.

²⁰⁸ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 7.

inside and outside the Society considered some individuals might be attracted to Quakerism for the utility alone.²⁰⁹ Well-before the turn of the eighteenth-century, the occupational analysis suggests that such utility had gone beyond the ancillary,²¹⁰ and had begun to act as a replacement for the millenarian enthusiasm that had filled the Meetings in the first decades; meanwhile commerce had come to be a defining feature of the sect for many inside and out of the Society.

Of central importance to the claim is that this unique utility was preserved through the corporate ethics preserved within the Quaker Disciplines. To a degree, the full effect was accidental - an unintended consequence of the priority placed by the Society of Friends on the management of reputation risk. However, this very obsession with reputation ensured that embedded within the Discipline were (and remained) Advices which contained valuable guidelines for traders, while advocating a constrained business ambition which both encouraged prudence and facilitated both reputation and a resilience to business downturns.

This research makes a claim to provide an explanation which attempts both to unite agreed historical phenomena while explaining trends in developments; this would seem to demand that the popularity of Quakerism should have experienced increasing growth as the secular utility developed followed by a slow decline as millenarians died, until the motivation of utility itself declined to an extent where it no longer acted as an incentive, at which point Quakerism was left to attract members based upon its non-secular utilities (its religious-supernatural and ritual-cultic functions)²¹¹ at which point membership would level-off. Thus from one of the early 'protest' movements arising out of the civil war, Quakerism accrued

²⁰⁹ As discussed in Chapter 2; see Anon, *Remarks upon the Quakers wherein the plain-dealers are plainly dealt with*, (Walter Kettilby, 1700); this accusation would later be levelled at the Church of Rome; compare the definition of 'Pot Converts – proselytes to the Romish church, made by the distribution of victuals and money'; [Francis Grose] *Autem quaver tub...A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, 2nd corrected and enlarged edition*, (S. Hooper, 1788): 127.

²¹⁰ See Chapter 2 'Occupations'.

²¹¹ Currie *et al*, *Churches and Church-Goers*, 7.

adherents through a 'Millenarian phase' of evolving eschatological visions until a public accommodation began to be reached in the latter half of the reign of Charles II;²¹² the Toleration Act of 1689 was the 'first public recognition of the right of public worship outside the pale of the Established Church' which effectively established Dissent,²¹³ allowing the development of the Quakerism described in this research. This helps explain Vann's observation that persecution not only resulted in an increase in the number of Quakers, but had the consequence of making their organisation more rigid and imposing a more discipline.²¹⁴ Quakerism as a mode of worship retained its attractions, while being augmented by the utility arising from the policies and perks of membership - hence numbers continued to grow, if for different reasons than in the millennial phase. Later, the secular opportunities in the colonies, particularly strong for Friends, caused a drain across the Atlantic as indicated by the certification records, and moderate the growth in English membership. In line with an erosion of secular utility, those entering into membership declined, and the natural departure of earlier membership through death caused total numbers to fall fairly steadily. Ultimately, within a century of its foundation, the Quaker population would reach a level which would be self-sustaining, while engagement in commerce would naturally be eroded as a consequence of the exponential evaporation of network density.

Estimates of the size of the Society of Friends from the founding of Quakerism to the middle of the nineteenth century have ever proved difficult to assess, largely because of the absence of membership records until the latter date.²¹⁵ However, recent detailed population modelling based on mathematical extrapolations from the historic registers of the Society of Friends, supported by macro-demographic data for England during the long eighteenth-century,

²¹² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 81-88; for the Declaration of Indulgence (1673), while Braithwaite notes the Commons resolution of 10th January 1681 'That the prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the Penal Laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest...'; *Second Period*, 98.

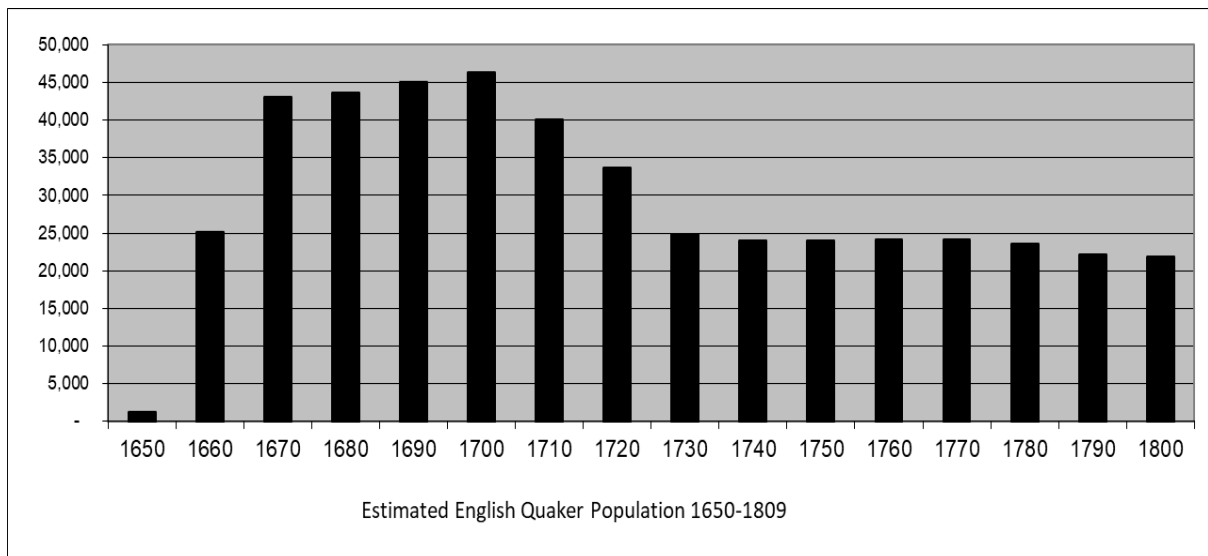
²¹³ A.H. Hore, *The Church in England from William III to Victoria*, (Parker & Co., 1886): Vol. 1, 79.

²¹⁴ Vann, *Social Development*, 95.

²¹⁵ See Rowntree, *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 79-80.

produces new estimates for the stocks and flows of Quaker population of England over the period.²¹⁶ The mathematical model has been developed alongside accepted historical events including millennial enthusiasm, persecution, migration, apostacy, conviction and disownment; and the impact of such phenomena can be followed in the model (see Figure 9.2).²¹⁷

Figure 9.2 Estimated English Quaker Population 1650-1809



Source: Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers', Table 4. 'English QPOP stock: convinced, migrant, apostate and disowned flows'.

Considered with respect to utility, it is interesting to note that using these derived membership numbers as a proxy, the initial trend shown strongly correlates with a theory of growing utility in the first half-century of Quakerism. The extent of migration in the second quarter of the eighteenth century exacerbates the apparent decline during that period; for while numbers of convinced remain necessarily obscure before membership details were recorded, it is clear many commercially-oriented Quakers continued to find the Colonies attractive.

²¹⁶ See Fincham, 'Faith in Numbers'.

²¹⁷ While mathematically coherent, the model will doubtless benefit from further research to fine-tune the vectors of assumptions. one area where there is currently little consensus is the evidential extent of trans-Atlantic migration, however the absence of certificates may simply reflect their deliberate destruction (see 'Section 8 'Swings and Roundabouts').

Notwithstanding, it seems probable that before the middle of the century, a decline in utility began to affect membership numbers, while any continued positive impact on membership during the second half may have been somewhat offset by the detrimental effect of the efforts to purify the Society.²¹⁸

As a result of this research, academics now have some clarity upon the predominance of commercial activity amongst Quakers: the first cross-regional analysis of Quaker marriage records not only demonstrates unequivocally the nature of Friends preferred occupations, but the trends over time, and the increasing orientation towards more complex business, service occupations, and even the professions.

The identification and isolation of key factors tending to enhance commercial success has re-shaped earlier research, while detailed analysis of previously unexploited archival records has shown the true nature and extent of the Society of Friends internal financial activity. Re-examination of Quaker 'networks' has produced a new model of a single network, which, through the innovative use of Social Network Analysis, has demonstrated not only its unique topology, but provided for the first time a causal explanation for its efficacy, by establishing the mechanism for the dissemination of the dominant Quaker values as represented by the Discipline.²¹⁹ In addition, this research has challenged academic understanding of the nature and development of Quaker Disciplines, as well as suggesting a new notional trope of a journey from 'unity to purity'.²²⁰

The result of this research is to finally replace the 'mythological' accretions inherited as a legacy from earlier Quaker historicism with a coherent explanation of Quaker commercial

²¹⁸ Interesting also to observe the correlation with the trends in apprenticeships illustrated in Figure 9.1; Rowntree's claim of a 19th century decline to c.20,000 members by 1850 is not supported, as the plateau appears more than a century earlier.

²¹⁹ See Fincham and Burton, 'Religion and SNA' for a recent detailed study.

²²⁰ See Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 69; while the trope is new, the notion of a move towards purity is well established.

success; an explanation grounded on detailed, long-term analysis of archival data on occupations, and which informs a working hypothesis, capable of being taken forward.

9.4 Implications for Further Research

Any claim to a 'universal theory' brings the opposite set of challenges to the more typical claims arising from specialist studies of smaller timescales, communities or geographies. To make best use of the claims here, research should extend the search for evidence into other Quaker arenas – of which the other areas of Great Britain and the trans-Atlantic communities are obvious choices. Any attempt to examine the applicability of this theory to other areas of the Quaker world should begin by establishing the reality of Quaker commercial success. As with this research, a practical approach would require an analysis of the preponderance of commercial occupations in Quaker records – the LYM marriage records clearly recorded occupations in order to aid identification of individuals, but other communities of Friends may have recorded similar details in other places, not least registers of deaths, or even parental (paternal?) descriptors for births. As here, these would need to be compared with contemporary extra-Societal data, to ascertain if the Quaker presence was disproportionate in any way. Records of Friends' educational, apprenticeship and financial activities, and information on the extent and purpose of collections, are likely to be found in minutes of Monthly Meetings for Business, or local equivalent. The extent of networked connections is more difficult to establish; both records of the Society of Friends (particularly marriage records) and external records may provide evidence of such connections, including personal and business communications, and possibly migration data for those crossing the Atlantic. In certain geographies, records of other groups – for example those for political and administrative associations, when considering Colonies such as Pennsylvania – may be of great use. Finally, identification and detailed analysis of the relevant Discipline(s) would be

essential, in order to construct both the initial and developing environment for those within the Society. The dating of annual epistles, and most Advices, is of great help in identifying the changing areas of focus for each Yearly Meeting.

As noted, the concept of a 'secular utility' anticipates a correlation with Quaker membership, as well as commerce: it seems that a chronological extension into the nineteenth century would improve visibility on the changing social and economic composition of the Society of Friends. Thus, continuing the analysis described above into the period 1813– 1913 for England would shed light onto the extent of the decline in utility, as well as provide insights into how the platform of eighteenth-century Quaker commerce developed into the nineteenth century and beyond.

Similar analysis to that carried out on Quaker populations would also be of great use in establishing key data points for improving the modelling of Quaker numbers referred to above. These could include establishing firm ranges for local Quaker trends in: life expectancy; crude first marriage rates; age(s) at marriage; births (per marriage, *per mille* etc.); deaths (*per mille*); and enable projections to be established. Research into trans-Atlantic migration which established accurate numbers of arrivals over time would help verify in detail the association of membership trends with the utility of the factors identified in the research, with a view to establishing clearer correlations, and thus improving both the analysis and the model.

Finally, but perhaps of significance in the world beyond Quaker studies, it seems that the negation of Max Weber's conclusions with respect to the Society of Friends might well be extended to an examination of other Protestant sects; it would be valuable to examine, for example, if their purported worldly success was rather more closely related to network node density than the observance of Weber's 'other-worldly ascetic'.

9.5 Chapter Summary

The well-spring of that which is here termed the Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends can be traced to the troubled times in which the sect first arose. The Civil Wars had created a vacuum in religious authority, and many ideas previously condemned as heretical flourished. Often coalescing around similar if not identical beliefs, individuals formed loosely-knit, informal, and sometimes very local associations. Such groups might be short lived, as new ideas spawned ever newer; with a membership as fluid as the doctrines of their preachers who were as often dissatisfied laymen as dissenting ministers.²²¹ Proto-Quakers occupied the radical-reforming centre ground between that churned up by the distorted doctrines of the extremist Ranters, who claimed spiritual license for every excess, and that ironed-flat by the rigid sobriety of the Puritans. This group of 'Seekers' thought that they could see indications that the biblical promise of a thousand-year Kingdom of 'King Jesus' was approaching, and evolved (not without difficulty) a set of guidelines in the event that the Biblical apocalypse was about to be fulfilled. As the Ranters, Levellers, Grindle- and Muggletonians dissolved amidst the confusion of the plague, the Great Fire of London, and the Restoration, it gradually became apparent that the Kingdom was not (as yet) likely to materialise; at which point (and certainly before the start of the eighteenth century) the Discipline began slowly to centralise, while some Friends moved on and others quietly waited. As enthusiasm dipped, those that stayed increasingly got on with the business of life. Those of middling social status attracted those with middling aspirations, and the factors identified enabled many to progress such that those with a commercial bent would go on to form a significant majority of the Society's membership.

²²¹ Winthrop S. Hudson, 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers', *Church History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Sep., 1943): 178.

This thesis counters the unfounded myth that a persecuted people were forced into trade through lack of options. It shows both how and why Quaker policy and Discipline helped to create a utility within the Society of Friends which attracted commercially-minded individuals, who (disregarding an irrelevant university education for divines) evidently pursued the careers they desired – be that in medicine or science, governing colonies, or (as was most often selected) joining the great Quaker commercial network. These Quakers were not the mystics sought by Rufus Jones,²²² certainly not the revolutionaries once suggested by the Marxist historian Christopher Hill.²²³ They were individuals with agency seeking opportunity and empowerment: neither communism, nor even collectivism were a motivation – rather they understood the benefits of a communitarian self-help. This explains in some ways that resemblance to the Jewish community noticed by Rowntree (and echoed, albeit negatively, by Bernstein): as faithful believers, carrying the DNA of the nation of shopkeepers, Quakers may well be considered 'Albion's Jews'.²²⁴

We can conclude that the Society of Friends, as defined by its Discipline, from the outset attempted to ensure that the commercial motivation never prevailed over the spiritual; rather that the Quaker community sought to ensure a balance between the creation of wealth necessary for familial support and the need to cultivate a holier plantation. Tolles finds no better illustration than Thomas Tryon's 'Planter's speech to his neighbours & country-men of Pennsylvania', celebrating those pioneers motivated both by the pursuit of commercial successes 'which in their due place are not to be neglected', and the ultimately more important erection of 'temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in...'.²²⁵ The

²²² Hugh Rock, 'Rufus Jones Never Did Establish that Quakerism is a Mystical Religion', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 21/1 (2016): 49-66; Rock argues successfully that 'Jones effected something of a theological conjuring trick'.

²²³ See Hill's *The Word Turned*.

²²⁴ While grounded on those in England, 'Albion' reflects this thesis' 'island-and beyond...' theory of Quaker commercialism.

²²⁵ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 63; quoting Thomas Tryon, *The Planter's SPEECH TO HIS Neighbours & Country-Men OF Pennsylvania, East & West-Jersey, And to all such as have Transported themselves into New-Colonies for the sake of a quiet retired Life*, (Andrew Sowle, 1684); Tryon (d.1703) was a vegetarian abstainer, pacifist, an early advocate of animal rights, and a lapsed Anabaptist.

endurance of the Religious Society of Friends through the ensuing centuries would suggest that, in balancing these elements, Quakers achieved more than partial success.

APPENDICES

A. Inventory of Quaker Occupations

'Occupations' derived from descriptors of males in marriage records in:

- Digest Registers Index Vol.1 'Suffolk', v1.1, (QFHS, 2003)
- Digest Registers Index Vol.2 'Norfolk', v1.1, (QFHS , 2004/5)
- Digest Registers Index Vol.3 'Essex', v1.0, (QFHS, 2006)
- Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London and Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008)
- Digest Registers Index Vol.5 'Durham', v1.0, (QFHS, 2012).

'Classification' represents class and sub-class allocated for analysis.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Classification</i>
Accomptant	Professional	Clothworker	Trade/Craft
Apothecary	Retail	Coal fitter/merchant	Wholesale
Bagmaker	Trade/Craft	Collar maker	Trade/Craft
Baker	Food	Cordwainer	Trade/Craft
Baker & confectioner	Retail	Cordwinder	Trade/Craft
Banker	Professional	Corn dealer	Wholesale
Basket maker	Trade/Craft	Corn merchant	Wholesale
Baye maker	Trade/Craft	Cotton spinner	Laborer
Bed tick manufacturer	Manufacturer	Currier	Laborer
Bookseller	Retail	Cutler	Trade/Craft
Blacksmith	Industrial	Distiller	Manufacturer
Brass & bell founder	Industrial	Doctor of phisick & surge	Professional
Brazier	Industrial	Draper	Retail
Brewer	Food	Draper & grocer	Retail
Bricklayer	Laborer	Draper & salesman	Retail
Brickstricker	Laborer	Druggist	Professional
Brushmaker	Trade/Craft	Duffield maker	Trade/Craft
Butcher	Food	Duffield weaver	Trade/Craft
Butcher	Food	Dyer	Trade/Craft
Cabinet maker	Trade/Craft	Earthernware & Glass de	Wholesale
Cardmaker	Trade/Craft	Farmer	Agriculture
Carpenter	Trade/Craft	Farmer & grazier	Agriculture
Chayrmaker	Trade/Craft	Farmer & malster	Agriculture
Chapman	Wholesale	Fellmonger	Wholesale
Chandler	Retail	Freemason	Professional
Cheesemonger	Wholesale	Fisherman	Food
Chemist	Retail	Fustian weaver	Trade/Craft
Chemist & druggist	Retail	Fustin maker	Trade/Craft
China & glass dealer	Retail	Fustin weaver	Trade/Craft
China man	Retail	Gardener	Laborer
Citizen & apothecary	Professional	Glazier	Trade/Craft
Citizen & baker	Retail	Glover	Trade/Craft
Clock & watchmaker	Trade/Craft	Grocer	Retail
Clockmaker	Trade/Craft	Grocer & draper	Retail
Clothier	Retail	Grocer &c.	Retail

A Inventory of Quaker Occupations (continued).

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Classification</i>
Grocer & draper	Retail	Rower	Laborer
Grocer &c.	Retail	Saddler	Trade/Craft
Haberdasher	Retail	Salesman	Retail
Hatter & hosier	Retail	Sail maker	Trade/Craft
Hosier	Retail	Say maker	Trade/Craft
Hot presser	Trade/Craft	Schoolmaster	Professional
House Carpenter	Industrial	Ship carpenter	Trade/Craft
Husbandman	Agriculture	Shoemaker	Trade/Craft
Ironfounder	Manufacturer	Shopkeeper	Retail
Ironmonger	Retail	Silk manufacturer	Manufacturer
Insurance Broker	Professional	Silk warehouseman	Wholesale
Jersy Drawer	Trade/Craft	Silversmith	Trade/Craft
Joiner	Trade/Craft	Skinner	Laborer
Labourer	Laborer	Smith	Trade/Craft
Last maker	Trade/Craft	Stationer	Retail
Leather cutter	Trade/Craft	Stone mason	Trade/Craft
Lime burner	Laborer	Surgeon	Professional
Leather stay maker	Trade/Craft	Surgeon & apothecary	Professional
Leather stay maker	Trade/Craft	Tailor	Trade/Craft
Linen draper	Retail	Tanner	Trade/Craft
Locksmith	Trade/Craft	Turner	Trade/Craft
Malster	Food	Twillweaver	Trade/Craft
Mariner	Laborer	Umbrellamaker	Trade/Craft
Mealman	Retail	Watchmaker	Trade/Craft
Mast maker	Trade/Craft	Weaver	Trade/Craft
Merchant	Wholesale	Webster	Trade/Craft
Merchant's clk.	Professional	Wheeler	Trade/Craft
Mill wright	Professional	Wheelwright	Trade/Craft
Miller	Food	Wine merchant	Wholesale
Oil man	Retail	Wooll-comber	Trade/Craft
Physician	Professional	Woollen draper	Retail
Plough wright	Trade/Craft	Woollen manufacturer	Manufacturer
Plumber	Trade/Craft	Woolstapler	Retail
Plumber and glazier	Trade/Craft	Woolstapler	Retail
		Worsted weaver	Trade/Craft
		Yeoman	Agriculture

B. Apprentice Fees²²⁶

Apprentice Trade	Livery No.	Fee		Apprentice Trade	Livery No.	Fee	
		Low	High			Low	High
Apothecary	58	£20	£300	Cabinet Makers		£10	£20
Armourer		£15	£20	Calenders		£10	
Attorney		£50	£300	Cap makers		£10	
Backmaker		£5	£10	Card makers		£40	£50
Bakers	19	£5	£20	Carmen	89	£5	
Barbers	17	Free	£20	Carpenters	26	£10	£20
Basket Makers	52	£5	£10	Carvers		£10	£20
Bellows Makers		£5	£10	Chain Makers		£5	£10
Birdcage Maker		£5	£10	Chair makers		£10	
Birmingham Men		£40	£100	Chandlers		Rarely	
Blacksmiths	40	£5	£20	Chemist		£100	£200
Block Makers		£10		Chimney Sweepers		Free	
Blue Makers		£10	£20	China men		£20	£50
Boat Builders		£10		Chocolate		Free	£60
Bodice Maker		Free		Clockmakers	69	£10	£30
Book binder		£5	£20	Cloth	12	£5	£10
Book Seller		£40	£100	Coachmakers	79	£20	
Bowyers	38	n/a		Coal crimps		£100	guineas
Box Making		£10		Coffee men		£10	
Brasiers		£10		Coffin Makers		see Carpenters	
Breeches Makers		£10		Collar makers		£10	
Brewers	14	£50	£100	Colour men		£10	£30
Bricklayers	37	£5	£20	Comb Makers	63	£5	£10
Brickmakers		Parish Boys only		Confectioners		£20	£40
Broiderers	48	£10		Cooks	35	£10	£20
Brokers		£10	£20	Cooper	36	£10	£20
Broom makers		Parish Boys only		Cordwainers	27	£5	£10
Brush Makers		£5	£10	Curriers	29	£10	£15
Buckle makers		£5	£10	Cutlers	17	£10	£15
Buckram Stiffener		£5	£10	Distillers	74	£20	£30
Butchers	24	£5	£10	Drapers	3	£30	£100
Button mould makers		£5		Druggists		£50	£100
Button Makers		£5	£10	Dyers	13	£10	£100
Button sellers		£20	£30				

²²⁶ Extracted from Anon., *A General Description of All Trades, digested in alphabetical order*, (T. Waller, 1747).

B Apprentices Fees (continued)

<i>Apprentice Trade</i>	<i>Livery No.</i>	<i>Fee</i>		<i>Apprentice Trade</i>	<i>Livery No.</i>	<i>Fee</i>	
		<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>			<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Enamellers		£10		Haircurlers		£20	
Engine makers		£10	£20	Hatband makers	75	None	
Engraver		£10		Hoop makers		£5	£20
Factors		£70	£100	Horners	54	£10	£40
Fan makers	84	£10		Horse milliners		£20	£50
Farriers	55	£5		Hosiers		£50	£200
Fell mongers		£5	£20	Hotpressers		£5	£10
Felt makers	64	£10		Hour-glass makers		£5	
Fine drawers		£5		Husbandmen		place/seasonal	
Fishing tackle		£5	£10	Jewellers		£20	£50
Fishermen	87	Free		Inn holders	32	no apprentices	
Fish mongers	4	£20	more	Joiners	31	as carpenters	
Flatters		see wiredrawers		Ironmongers	10	£30	£100
Flax Dressers		Free		Lacemen		£5	£10
Fletchers	39	not active		Last makers		£5	
Founders	33	£10	£15	Leather cutters		£20	
Framemakers		£5	£10	leather dressers		like curriers	
Frame-work knitters		£5		Leather SELLERS	15	£30	£40
Fruiterers	65	£10		Longbow string mak	82	not active	
Fullers		£5		Lighter builders		£10	
Gardeners	70	£5	£10	Loom-makers		£5	£10
Gilders		£10		Lorinors	57	£5	
Girdlers	23	Only 2 masters		Mantua makers		£5	£20
Glaziers	53	£10	£20	Mariners		Sometime, or not	
Glass blowers		None		Masons	30	£10	
Glass Seller	77	£20		Mast makers		£5	£10
Globe maker		£5		Mathematical Instrument mkr			£20
Glovers	62	£5	£40	Mercers	1	£30	£100
Gold-beaters		£5	£10	Merchants-various		£100	£300
Gold-smiths	5	£20	£50	Merchants-Taylors			
Gold & Silver wire drawers	81	£5		Millers		£5	
Grinders		£5		Milliners		£20	£30
Grocers	2	£20	£100	Mill makers		£5	£10
Gun smiths		£20		Mill wrights		£5	£10
				Musical Instruments	50	£20	

B Apprentices Fees (continued)

<i>Apprentice Trade</i>	<i>Livery No.</i>	<i>Fee</i>		<i>Apprentice Trade</i>	<i>Livery No.</i>	<i>Fee</i>	
		<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>			<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Mercers	1	£30	£100	Quilters		none	
Merchants-various		£100	£300	Refiners		£10	
Merchants-Tailors				Robe makers		£10	
Millers		£5		Rope makers		none	£10
Milliners		£20	£30	Sadlers	25	less	£20
Mill makers		£5	£10	Sailmakers		£10	
Mill wrights		£5	£10	Sales man			£20
Musical Instrument maker	50	£20		Salters		£53	£105
Needle makers	69	£5		Sawyers		£5	£10
Net makers		£20		Scalemakers		£10	£15
Oilmen		£20	£50	Schoolmaster		£10	£20
Packers		£10	£20	Scrivener	44		
Painters	28	£5	£20	Setters		£5	£10
Paper Makers		£5	£10	Shipwrights	59	£10	£52
Parchment & Veluum makers		£5		Silkmen	67		
Parish Clerks		Society		Silk throwers		£5	£26
Pattern makers	76	£10		Skinners	6	£50	£100
Pattern drawers		£10	£20	Skreenakers		£15	£20
Paviors	66	£5		Snuff makers		rare	
Pawbrokers		rare	£20	Snuff box makers		£5	
Perfumers		seldom		Sope makers	71	£200	£300
Pewterers	16	£20		Spectacle makers	60	£20	£30
Pin makers	58	£5	£10	Starchmakers	86	seldom	never
Pipe maker	68	free	£5	Stationers	47	£50	
Plane maker		£5		Staymakers		£5	£10
Plasterers	64	£5	£10	Stuff men		£40	£100
Plumbers	31	£10	£20	Sugarbakers			£100
Porters	90			Surgeons	17	£50	£500
Potters		£5	£10				
Poulters	34	£5	£10				
Printers (fabric)		£5					
Printers (books		£10	£30				
Printers (copperplate)		£5	£10				
Printsellers		£20					
Pumpmakers		£5	£10				

B: Apprentice Fees (continued)

<i>Apprentice Trade</i>	<i>Livery No.</i>	<i>Fee</i>	
		<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Tallow Chandlers	21	£10	£20
Tanners		£5	
Taylors		£5	£10
Tea men		rare	
Threadmen			£50
Tin plate workers	72	£10	£20
Tobacconists		£30	£100
Toy-men		£50	£100
Trunk makers		£5	£10
Turners	51	£5	£10
Vinagar merchants		Fortune	
Vintners	11	less	£20
Upholders	49	£20	£50
Warehousemen		Fortune	
Watermen	91	none	
Wax Chandlers	21		£50
Weavers	42	£5	
Whalebone men		£50	
Whelwrights	83	£10	
Whip makers		£5	£20
Woodcutters		£10	
Woodmongers	85		
Woolcombers		£5	£28
Woolmen	43	£20	£100
Woolsted men		£20	£50

C: Occupational Trends - Data Tables

- a. Register Analysis for 1659-1837 - Suffolk
- b. Register Analysis for 1659-1837- Norfolk
- c. Register Analysis for 1659-1837 - Essex
- d. Register Analysis for 1659-1837– London and Middlesex
- e. Register Analysis for 1659-1837– Durham.

Appendix C.a: Register Analysis for 1659-1837 - Suffolk¹

		SUFFOLK																
		Cohorts 25 years																
	Suffolk		1659-1675		1676-1700		1701-1725		1726-1750		1751-1775		1776-1800		1801-1825		1826-1837	
Sub Class	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
<i>Other</i>	10	5%	1	9%	3	9%	3	6%	0	0%	1	4%	1	3%	1	4%	0	0%
<i>Professional</i>	4	2%	0	0%	0	0%	2	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	1	7%
<i>Agriculture</i>	29	14%	1	9%	7	22%	13	25%	0	0%	2	7%	3	9%	2	7%	1	7%
<i>Food</i>	31	15%	1	9%	7	22%	9	17%	0	0%	5	19%	4	13%	2	7%	3	21%
<i>Craftsman</i>	74	37%	6	55%	10	31%	22	42%	2	67%	9	33%	11	34%	10	36%	4	29%
<i>Retail</i>	34	17%	1	9%	2	6%	4	8%	0	0%	6	22%	10	31%	9	32%	2	14%
<i>Industrial</i>	10	5%	1	9%	1	3%	0	0%	1	33%	2	7%	1	3%	1	4%	3	21%
<i>Merchant</i>	9	4%	0	0%	2	6%	0	0%	0	0%	2	7%	2	6%	2	7%	1	7%
total	201	100%	11	100%	32	100%	53	100%	3	100%	27	100%	32	100%	28	100%	15	107%
			65	Per Year	93	Per Year	74	Per Year	7	Per Year	46	Per Year	35	Per Year	35	Per Year	16	Per Year
			17%	4.1	34%	3.72	72%	2.96	43%	0.28	59%	1.84	91%	1.4	80%	1.4	94%	1.6
	<i>Other</i>	29%		18%		31%		34%		0%		11%		13%		14%		14%
	<i>Craftsman</i>	40%		64%		53%		58%		67%		52%		47%		43%		50%
	<i>Commerce</i>	30%		18%		16%		8%		33%		37%		41%		43%		43%
	<i>C&F</i>	44%		27%		38%		25%		33%		56%		53%		50%		64%

Note: Data from 1726-1750 (highlighted in orange) contains only 3 records. This sample is too small for statistical purposes. The first and final cohorts are also thin on data.

¹ Source: Suffolk Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting (n. 201); Digest Registers Index Vol.1 'Suffolk', v1.1, (QFHS, 2003).

Appendix C.b: Register Analysis for 1659-1837- Norfolk²

		NORFOLK																
		Cohorts 25 years																
Sub Class	Norfolk		1659-1675		1676-1700		1701-1725		1726-1750		1751-1775		1776-1800		1801-1825		1826-1837	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
<i>Other</i>	8	2%	1	5%	4	4%	0	0%	1	2%	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%	0	0%
<i>Professional</i>	15	3%	1	5%	1	1%	1	1%	1	2%	1	1%	5	8%	5	11%	0	0%
<i>Agriculture</i>	46	10%	1	5%	6	7%	5	4%	5	11%	2	3%	13	20%	10	22%	4	18%
<i>Food</i>	26	5%	1	5%	4	4%	4	3%	3	7%	4	6%	4	6%	1	2%	5	23%
<i>Craftsman</i>	295	62%	17	81%	64	72%	107	87%	32	71%	43	62%	19	30%	10	22%	3	14%
<i>Retail</i>	62	13%	0	0%	6	7%	4	3%	2	4%	8	12%	18	28%	17	37%	7	32%
<i>Industrial</i>	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
<i>Merchant</i>	26	5%	0	0%	4	4%	2	2%	1	2%	11	16%	4	6%	2	4%	2	9%
total	479	100%	21	100%	89	100%	123	100%	45	100%	69	100%	64	100%	46	100%	22	100%
			104	n./cadre	227	n./cadre	160	n./cadre	97	n./cadre	92	n./cadre	92	n./cadre	57	n./cadre	24	n./cadre
			20%	6.5	39%	9.1	77%	6.4	46%	3.88	75%	3.68	70%	3.68	81%	2.28	92%	2.4
<i>Other</i>	14%		14%		12%		5%		16%		4%		30%		35%		18%	
<i>Craftsman</i>	67%		86%		76%		90%		78%		68%		36%		24%		36%	
<i>Commerce</i>	19%		0%		11%		5%		7%		28%		34%		41%		45%	
<i>C&F</i>	24%		5%		16%		8%		13%		33%		41%		43%		68%	

² Source: Norfolk Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting (n. 479); Digest Registers Index Vol.2 'Norfolk', v1.1, (QFHS, 2004/5).

Appendix C.c: Register Analysis for 1659-1837 - Essex³

		Essex																
		Cohorts 25 years																
Sub Class	Essex		1659-1675		1676-1700		1701-1725		1726-1750		1751-1775		1776-1800		1801-1825		1826-1837	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
<i>Other</i>	15	3%	1	8%	3	4%	1	2%	1	7%	2	2%	3	4%	2	3%	2	4%
<i>Professional</i>	18	4%	0	0%	1	1%	2	3%	2	14%	4	4%	4	6%	3	4%	2	4%
<i>Agriculture</i>	99	22%	2	15%	18	25%	17	29%	3	21%	18	18%	20	29%	14	21%	7	14%
<i>Food</i>	59	13%	1	8%	4	5%	5	8%	1	7%	21	21%	4	6%	12	18%	11	22%
<i>Craftsman</i>	120	27%	4	31%	38	52%	26	44%	7	50%	25	25%	11	16%	8	12%	1	2%
<i>Retail</i>	104	23%	3	23%	8	11%	3	5%	0	0%	22	22%	21	31%	26	38%	21	42%
<i>Industrial</i>	20	4%	0	0%	1	1%	3	5%	0	0%	9	9%	2	3%	3	4%	2	4%
<i>Merchant</i>	12	3%	2	15%	0	0%	2	3%	0	0%	1	1%	3	4%	0	0%	4	8%
total	447	100%	13	100%	73	100%	59	100%	14	100%	102	100%	68	100%	68	100%	50	100%
			128	n./cadre	233	n./cadre	169	n./cadre	176	n./cadre	156	n./cadre	88	n./cadre	80	n./cadre	54	n./cadre
			10%	8.0	31%	9.32	35%	6.76	8%	7.04	65%	6.24	77%	3.52	85%	3.2	93%	5.4
<i>Other</i>	30%		23%		30%		34%		43%		24%		40%		28%		22%	
<i>Craftsman</i>	40%		38%		58%		53%		57%		45%		22%		29%		24%	
<i>Commerce</i>	30%		38%		12%		14%		0%		31%		38%		43%		54%	
<i>C&F</i>	44%		46%		18%		22%		7%		52%		44%		60%		76%	

Note: Data from cohorts to 1675 and 1726-1750 (highlighted in orange) contain <10% of marriages; the data for the first cohort is very thin; results are unrepresentative.

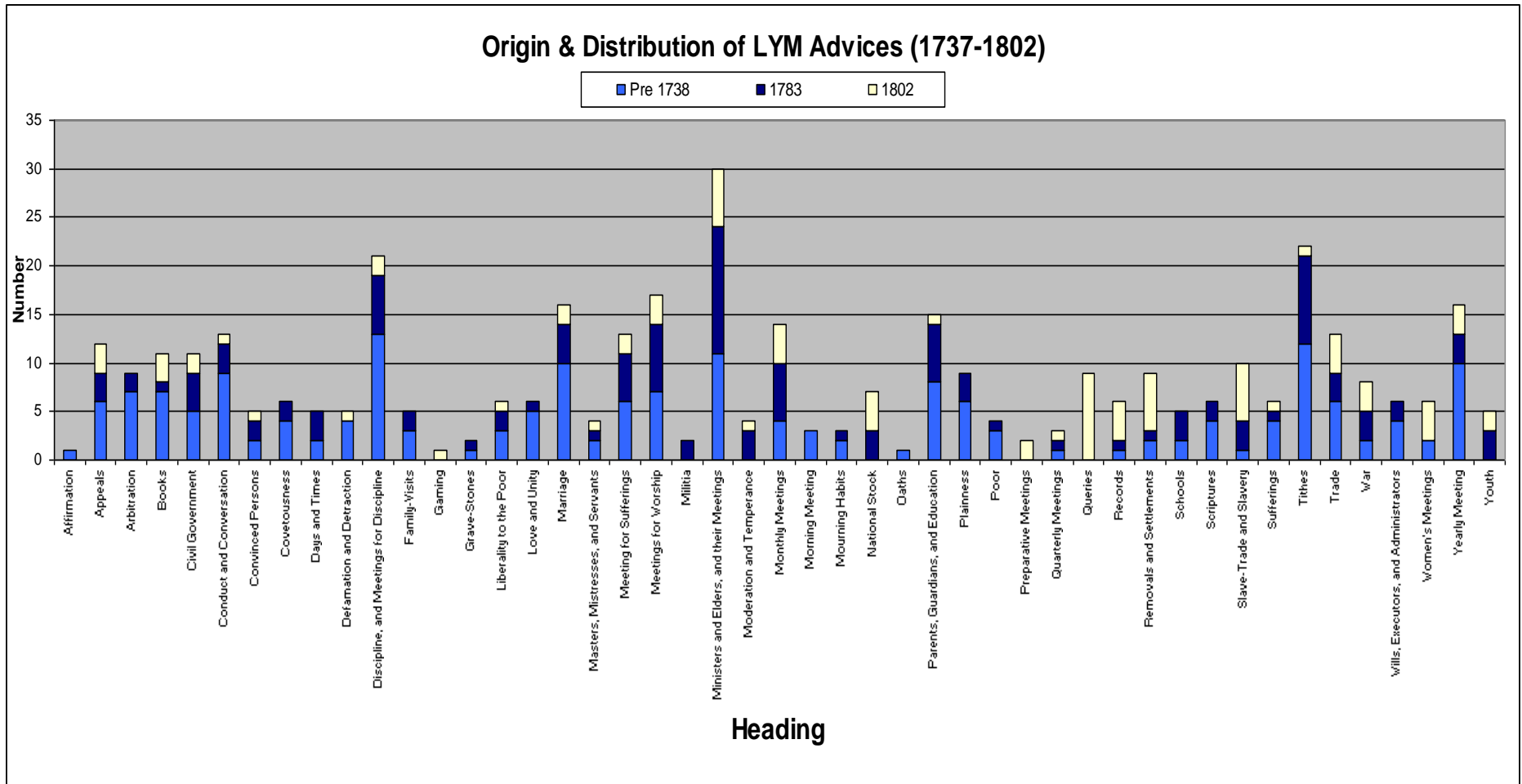
³ Source: Essex Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting (n. 447); Digest Registers Index Vol.3 'Essex', v1.0, (QFHS, 2006).

Appendix C.d: Register Analysis for 1659-1837– London and Middlesex⁴

		London																
		Cohorts 25 years																
Sub Class	London		1659-1675		1676-1700		1701-1725		1726-1750		1751-1775		1776-1800		1801-1825		1826-1837	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
<i>Other</i>	157	4%	28	7%	74	6%	38	4%	10	2%	5	1%	1	0%	1	0%	0	0%
<i>Professional</i>	252	6%	19	5%	48	4%	42	5%	35	8%	22	6%	28	9%	37	12%	21	14%
<i>Agriculture</i>	208	5%	12	3%	67	5%	47	5%	23	5%	19	5%	17	6%	15	5%	8	6%
<i>Food</i>	266	6%	18	5%	85	7%	60	7%	27	6%	23	7%	18	6%	18	6%	17	12%
<i>Craftsman</i>	1563	38%	214	55%	640	50%	299	33%	126	29%	109	31%	83	27%	71	23%	21	14%
<i>Retail</i>	950	23%	64	16%	231	18%	155	17%	89	20%	76	22%	111	37%	156	50%	68	47%
<i>Citizen</i>	545	13%	19	5%	88	7%	237	26%	103	23%	73	21%	24	8%	0	0%	1	1%
<i>Merchant</i>	190	5%	14	4%	37	3%	40	4%	28	6%	25	7%	20	7%	17	5%	9	6%
total	4131	100%	388	100%	1270	100%	918	100%	441	100%	352	100%	302	100%	315	100%	145	100%
			437	n./cadre	1318	n./cadre	949	n./cadre	464	n./cadre	394	n./cadre	335	n./cadre	362	n./cadre	154	n./cadre
			89%	27	96%	53	97%	38.0	95%	19	89%	16	90%	13	87%	14	94%	15
	<i>Other</i>	15%		15%		15%		14%		15%		13%		15%		17%		20%
	<i>Craftsman</i>	44%		60%		57%		39%		35%		38%		33%		28%		26%
	<i>Commerce</i>	41%		25%		28%		47%		49.9%		49.4%		51%		55%		54%
	<i>C&F</i>	47%		30%		35%		54%		56%		56%		57%		61%		66%

⁴ Source: Durham Marriage Register Analysis data base from Quarterly Meeting (n. 4131); Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London & Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008).

Appendix D: Origin of London Yearly Meeting Advices (1737-1802)⁶



⁶ Analysis of dates of Advices, Extracts, (1802).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Manuscripts

Friends' House Library

MGR 11b5/2 'Men's Minute Book', Peel Monthly Meeting,

MGR 11b5/FPR/7; Gifts and Legacies Book; at rear Apprentices Accounts c.1678-c.1721 [Gifts and Legacies], 1675-1715 [Apprentices].

MGR 11b5/MISC/3; 1727-1772 *Christian and Brotherly Advices given by London Yearly Meeting, alphabetically digested under proper heads.*

MGR 11b5/MISC/4 (1760-1778) [Yearly Meeting Minutes and Advices].

MGR 11b/MISC/29 [Indentures for Peel].

MS VOL 38; c.1738-c1771 *Christian and Brotherly Advices given forth from time to time by the Yearly Meetings in London.* [SR115/1/1].

MS VOL 50 *Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held alternately at Burlington House and Philadelphia.* c.1760 (With additions to c.1771).

MS VOL 150 (Luke Howard Mss Collection, #21 [Ambrose Rigge Vision].

MS VOL 330 (1670-1729); containing Leek Book of Discipline 1678–1729.

London Yearly Meeting Minutes 1672-1693; Vol. 1.

_____ 1736 Vol. VIII.

_____ 1791 Vol. XII.

TEMP MSS 298; Folders (2/1; 2/2; 2/3) epistles, advices, letters and other papers [Balby monthly meetings] (1675-1760).

TEMP MSS38/5/1; Letter dated 'Lo. 1d 11mo 1669', 'no.33.'

YM/MfS/M/26Date16 3mo (May) 1735-30 1mo (March) 1739; [Minute Book].

Leeds University

Quaker Collection, Carlton Hill B2, D13, H2 and Q2.

Wellcome Collection

Corbyn Papers, 5451-52.

Woodbrooke Library

1737 manuscript *Book of Extracts*, 'Gift of H. Lloyd'(QC2).

Bevan-Naish Collection: BN.2755 Vol. 1;

Quaker Family History Society

Digest Registers Index Vol.1 'Suffolk', v1.1, (QFHS, 2003).

Digest Registers Index Vol.2 'Norfolk', v1.1, (QFHS , 2004/5).

Digest Registers Index Vol.3 'Essex', v1.0, (QFHS, 2006).

Digest Registers Index Vol.4 'London and Middlesex', v1.1, (QFHS, 2008)

Digest Registers Index Vol.5 'Durham', v1.0, (QFHS, 2012).

Acts of Parliament

Relevant volumes listed in secondary sources under series editor John Raithby. Records of Statutes of the Realm also available from British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm>.

- 1266 Assize on Bread and Ale.
- 1405 Labourers Act (7 Hen IV c. 17).
- 1536 Apprentices Act' (28 Hen 8 c5).
- 1563 Statute of Artificers (5 Eliz. 1 c. 4).
- 1593 Act Against Recusants (35 Elizabeth, Cap. 2).
- 1605 The Popish Recusants Act (3 Jac.1, c. 4).
- 1650 An Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales, and redress of some Grievances 'February 1650).
- 1651 An Act for prohibiting any person to take above Six pounds for Loan of One hundred pounds by the year (August 1651).
- 1660 Act for restraining the takeing of Excessive Usury (12 Chas. II, c.13).
- 1661 Corporation Act (13 Cha. II. St. 2 c. 1).
- 1662 An Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawfull Oaths (
- 1664 Conventicle Act (16 Charles II c. 4), and 1670.
- 1665 An Act for restraining Non-Conformists from inhabiting in Corporations (17 Charles II c. 2). ['Five Mile Act'].
- 1688/9 An Act for a Grant to Their Majestyes of an Ayd of Two shillings in the Pound for One Yeare. (1&2 Will & Mar. c.10).
- 1694 An Act for granting to their Majesties severall Rates and Duties upon Tunnage of Shippes and Vessells... and upon Beere Ale and other Liquors for secureing certaine Recompenses and Advantages in the said Act mentioned to such Persons as shall voluntarily advance the summe of [£1,500,000] towards the carrying on the Warr against France [pt. 4. nu. 3.], William and Mary.
- 1695/6 An Act that the Solemne Affirmation & Declaration of the People called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Forme (7 & 8 Gul. III. p.9. n.3) [William III].
- 1697/8 Peddlers Licence Act (8 & 9 Will. III c.25).
- 1697/8 Bills of Exchange Act (9 & 10 Will. III, c. 17).
- 1705 An act to prevent frauds frequently committed by bankrupts (4 Anne, c. 17).
- 1711 Repealing the description of a bankrupt (10 Anne, c. 15).
- 1714 Deed Duty (12 Anne Stat II, c.9).

- 1723 The Workhouse Test Act (9 George 1, c.7) ['Knatchbull Act'].
 1728 Attorneys and Solicitors Act (2 Geo II c 23).
 1732 Act for supplying a defect in a Conveyance of Charles Lloyd (5 Geo.II c.30).
 1732 Bankrupts Act (5 George II, c.30).
 1737 Lord Chamberlain's Act (10 Geo 11, c.28).
 1757 Apprentices (Settlement) Act (31 Geo II c. 11).
 1784 Commutation Tax (24 Geo. III. c. 38).
 1802 Health and Morals of Apprentices Act (42 Geo III c.73).
 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade (47 Geo III Sess. 1 c. 36).
 1813 Wages, etc., of Artificers, etc. Act (53 Geo3 c. 40).
 1819 Cotton Mills and Factories Act (59 Geo. III c66).
 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act (3 & 4 Will. IV c. 73).

Primary Sources

Place of publication London if not otherwise stated.

Abbot, George, *A briefe description of the whole world wherein is particularly described all the monarchies, empires, and kingdoms of the same, with their academies, as also their severall titles and scituations thereunto adjoining...*, (Printed for Margaret Sheares ... and John Playfere ..., 1664).

Aldam, Thomas junior, *A Short Testimony concerning that faithful Servant of the Lord, Thomas Aldam*, (T. Northcott, 1660).

Anon., *A Catalogue of the Several Sects and Opinions*, (R.A., 1647).

Anon., *Canons and Institutions drawn up and agreed upon by the General Assembly or Meeting of the heads of the Quakers from all parts of the kingdom at their New-Theatre in Grace-church-street in or about January 1668/9; George Fox being their president*, ([s.n.], 1669) [attributed to George Fox].

Anon., *A Declaration from the people of God called Quakers against all seditious conventicles, and dangerous practises of any who under colour or pretence of tender conscience, have, or may contrive insurrections, the said people being cleer from all such things, in the sight of God, angels and men*, ([s.l.], 1670?).

Anon., *An Easy Way to make money, cum Privilegio, without Fear or Cumber, printed for the Society of Informers*, ([s.l.], 1671).

Anon., *The Quakers farewel to England, or Their voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the continent of Virginia, and bordering upon New England*, (Printed for J.G., 1675).

- Anon., *Trade of England revived and the abuses thereof rectified in relation to wooll and woollen-cloth, silk and silk-weavers, hawkers, bankrupts, stage-coaches, shop-keepers, companies, markets, linnen-cloath*, (Printed for Dorman Newman, 1681).
- Anon., *Remarks upon the Quakers wherein the plain-dealers are plainly dealt with*, (Printed for Walter Kettilby, 1700).
- An Attorney, *Proposals Humbly Offer'd to the Parliament for Remedying the Great Charge and Delay of Suits at Law and in Equity*, (Norwich: Henry Cosgrove, 1707).
- Anon., *An Account of Several Work-houses for Employing and Maintaining the Poor*, (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1725).
- Anon., *Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the State of the Goals of the Kingdom Relating to the Marshalsea Prison and farther relating to the Fleet Prison*, ([s.n.] [s.l.], 1729).
- Anon., *A General Description of All Trades, digested in alphabetical order*, (T. Waller, 1747).
- Anon., *Animadversions upon the present laws of England: or, An essay to render them more useful and less expensive to all His Majesty's subjects. To which is added, a proposal for regulating the practice, and reducing the numbers of attornies, sollicitors, &c' c., with a supplement, humbly submitted to the serious consideration of both houses of Parliament*, (Printed for M. Cooper, 1750).
- Anon., *A Collection of Testimonies concerning several ministers of the Gospel amongst the people called Quakers...deceased, with some of their last Expressions and Exhortations*, (Luke Hind, 1760).
- Anon., *Epistles from the Yearly Meetings of the People called Quakers, held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in Great Britain, Ireland and elsewhere: from ... 1675 to 1759*, (Samuel Clark, 1760).
- Anon., *An account of the work-houses in Great Britain, in the year M,DCC,XXXII. Shewing their original, number, and the particular management of them*, (W. Brown, 1786).
- Atkins, Thomas, *Some reasons why the people called Quakers ought to enjoy their meetings peaceably*, (Robert Wilson, at the Sign of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Windmill, Martins Le Grand, 1660).
- Barclay, Robert, *An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called, in scorn, Quakers being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments, deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimony of famous authors, both ancient and modern, with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them, presented to the King / written and published in Latine, for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay ; and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his countrymen*, ([s.n.] [s.l.], 1678).
- Baxter, Richard, *Christian Directory*, (Richard Edwards, [1673] 1825), V volumes.

- Bellers, John, *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry*, (T. Sowle, 1696).
- Besse, Joseph, *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience, From the Time of Their being first distinguished by that Name, Taken from Original Records, and other Authentick Accounts*, (J. Sowle, 1733-8).
- _____ (Philialethes), *The Clergy's Plea for a Settled and Forced Maintenance from the Quakers, by Tithes, Offerings, Oblations, Fees for Marriages, Baptism, Alias Rantism, Burials, &c., Examined, and Proved to be Contrary to Scripture, Right Reason, and the Laws and Canons of the Church: And Also Inconsistent with Their Oaths Against Simony, and of Canonical Obedience : Which, with Pluralities and Non-residence, Are, and Will Continue to Be, a Very Great Scandal to the Established Church, Until the Legislature Please to Reform the Same...*, (T.Cooper, 1737).
- _____ *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, for the testimony of a good conscience from the time of their being first distinguished by that name in the year 1650 to the time of the act commonly called the Act of toleration granted to Protestant dissenters in the first year of the reign of King William the Third and Queen Mary in the year 1689*, (Luke Hinde, 1753), 2 volumes.
- Bigelow, John, ed., *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, (Trubner & Co, 1868).
- Brace, Harold W., ed., *The First Minute Book of the Gainsborough Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends*, (Hereford: Printed for The Lincoln Record Society, 1948-1951).
- Cadbury, H. J., ed., *George Fox's 'Book of Miracles*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).
- Chalkley, Thomas, *A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley: In two parts*, (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1790).
- Child, Josiah, *Brief Observations concerning Trade, and interest of money by J.C.*, ([s.n.] Printed for Elizabeth Calvert at the Black-spread-Eagle in Barbican, and Henry Mortlock at the sign of the White-Heart in Westminster-Hall, 1668).
- _____ *A New Discourse of Trade, wherein is recommended several weighty points relating to companies of merchants. the act of navigation. Naturalization of strangers. And our woollen manufactures. The ballance of trade. And the nature of plantations, and their consequences, in relation to the kingdom, are seriously discussed. Methods for the employment and maintenance of the poor are proposed. The reduction of interest of money to 4l. per centum, is recommended. And some proposals, for erecting a Court of Merchants, for determining controversies, relating to maritime affairs, and for a law for transferrance of bills of debts, are humbly offer'd.* (Printed by A. Sowle, at the Crooked Billet in Holloway Lane: And Sold at the Three Keys in Nags-head-Court, Grace-Church-Street, 1690).

- Child, J. and Hale, M., *A method concerning the Relief and Employment of the Poor humbly offer'd to the consideration of the king and both Houses of Parliament*, (Printed by the advice of some in authority, 1699).
- Claridge, Richard, ed., *Posthuma Christiana ; or, a collection of some papers of William Crouch : being a brief historical account, under his own hand, of his convincement of, and early sufferings for the truth, with remarks on sundry memorable transactions, relating to the people call'd Quakers*, (J Sowle, 1712).
- Clarkson, Thomas, *A Portraiture of Quakerism, Taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy, and Character, of the Society of Friends*, (Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807).
- Coote, Edmund, *The English schoole-master teaching all his schollers, of what age soever, the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct reading, and true writing our English-tongue, that hath ever yet beene knowne or published by any. And further also, teacheth a direct course, how any unskilfull person may easily both understand any hard English words, ... Devised for thy sake that wantest any part of this skill, by Edward Coote, Master of the Free-schoole in Bury St. Edmond*, (by B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, and George Purslowe [at Eliot's Court press] for the Company of Stationers, 1630).
- Croese, Gerard, *Historia Quakeriana*, (Amsterdam: Apud Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom, 1695).
- Crouch, Henry, *A Complete Guide to the Officers of His Majesty's Customs*, ([s.p.], 1732).
- Defoe, Daniel, *An Essay upon Projects*, (R.R. for Tho. Cockerill, 1667).
- _____ *The Complete English Tradesman: in familiar letters; directing him in all the several parts and progressions of trade ... Calculated for the instruction of our inland tradesmen; and especially of young beginners*, (Charles Rivington, 1726)
- Ellwood, Thomas, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, or, an Account of his birth, education, &c : with divers observations on his life and manners when a youth : and how he came to be convinced of the truth, with his many sufferings and services for the same. Also several other remarkable passages and occurrences*, (J. Sowle, in White-Hart-Court in Gracious-Street, 1714).
- Extracts from State Papers 1658-1664, Supplement 9, Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*.
- Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (James Philips, 1783).
- Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (William Philips, 1802) [2nd Edition].
- Extracts from the minutes and advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends*, (William Philips, 1822) [2nd Edition, with Supplement].

- Firth, C H, and Rait, R.S., eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, (Wyman and Sons, 1911).
- Fothergill, Samuel, 'Memoirs of the Life of Samuel Fothergill,' in William Evans and Thomas Evans, eds., *The Friends' Library*, Vol. IX (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1845).
- Fox, George, *To the Parliament of the Comon-Wealth [sic] of England. Fifty nine particulars laid down for the regulating things, and the taking away of oppressing laws, and oppressors, and to ease the oppressed./ By G.F.*, (Printed for Thomas Simmons, 1659).
- _____*Journal of George Fox*, W. Armistead ed., (Glasgow: W.G. Blackie & Co, 1852).
- _____*Journal of George Fox*, John Nickalls ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).
- _____*Collected Epistles, Letters and Testimonies*, (Philadelphia: Marcus T.C Gould, 1831).
- Fry, John, *An Alphabetical Extract of all the Annual Printed Epistles which have been sent to the several Quarterly Meetings of the People call'd Quakers, in England and elsewhere, from their Yearly Meeting held in London, for the Promotion of Peace and Love in the Society, and Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, from the year 1682 to 1762 inclusive, being eighty-one years : Containing many excellent Exhortations to Faithfulness in the several Branches of that Christian Testimony which God hath given them to bear ; and Admonitions, occasionally given, for the Support of good Order and Regularity in and among the said People*, (Printed for, and sold by the author at Sutton Benger, and by his sons Joseph Fry, Bristol, and John Fry, 1763).
- Gough, John, *A History of the People Called Quakers From Their First Rise to the Present Time Compiled From Authentic Records and from the Writings of that People...*, (Dublin: Robert Jackson, 1790).
- Grose, Francis, *Autem quaver tub...A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, 2nd corrected and enlarged edition*, (S. Hooper, 1788).
- J.G., *The Quakers farewell to England, or Their voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the continent of Virginia, and bordering upon New England*, (Printed for J.G., 1675).
- Hamm, Thomas D., *Quaker writings: an anthology, 1650-1920*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2010).
- Hall, John, *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of Learning and reformation of the universities*, (Printed for John Walker, 1649).
- Hale, Mathew, *A Discourse touching Provision for the Poor*, (Printed for William Shrewsbury, at the Bible, Duke Lane, 1683).
- Hancock, Thomas, *The Peculium: An endeavour to throw light on some of the causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its original claim of being the Peculiar People of God*, (Smith, Elder, 1860).
- Harland, J., ed., *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, (Simkin, Marshall & Co, 1851).
- Harrison, George, ed., *Memoir of William Cookworthy*, (W. & F.G. Cash, 1864).

- Herbert, William, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, (Herbert, 1837).
- Hunt, Freeman, *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* Vol. 11, (Hume Tracts, 1844).
- James I, *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogie Diuided into three Bookes*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1597).
- _____*True Law of Free Monarchies*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1598).
- _____*Basilikon Doron*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599).
- King, Gregory, *Scheme of the Income & Expence of the several families of England Calculated for the Year 1688-Two Tracts*', G. E. Barnett ed., (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, [1688] 1936).
- Keith, George, 'Gospel order and Discipline', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. X (1913), 70-77.
- Kendall, John, *The life of Thomas Story, carefully abridged*, (James Phillips, 1786).
- Mandeville, Bernard, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, (Printed for J. Roberts, 1714, [1723])
- _____*Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church and National Happiness*, (T. Jauncy & J. Roberts, 1720).
- Makin, Bathsua (1673) *An Essay To Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues. With An Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education*. (Printed by J. D. to be sold by Tho. Parkhurst, at the Bible and Crown at the lower end of Cheapside, 1673)
- Marshall, J.D., ed., *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665–1752*, The William Stout Tercentenary Study Group, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- Moore, Rosemary, transcript, *Epistle from the Elders at Balby 1656*, (Philadelphia: Quaker Heritage Press, 2001).
- Mortimer, Russell, ed., *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends in Bristol 1667-1687*, (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1971).
- Mortimer, Jean, and Mortimer, Russell, eds., *Leeds Friends Minute Book*, (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1980).
- Overton, Richard *The Ordinance for Tythes Dismounted, from all Mosaicall, Evangelicall, and true Magesteriall Right*, (s.l., Europe, Printed by Martin Claw-Clergy, Printer to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, for Bartholomew Bang-Priest, and are to be sold at his shop in Toleration-street, at the signe of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to Persecution-Court, 1646).
- Owen, Robert, *New View of Society*, (Richard Taylor & Co, 1813).
- _____*New View of Society, extracted from Daily Papers 30th July 9th & 10th August 1817*, ([s.l.], 1817).

- Paine, Thomas, *The Rights of Man*, (J.S. Jordan, 1791).
- Penn, William, *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers'* (T. Sowle, 1695).
- _____ *No Cross, No Crown*, (Leeds: James Lister, [1669] 1743).
- _____ *Advice of William Penn to his children : relating to their civil and religious conduct*, (Philadelphia; Franklin Roberts, 1881).
- Penney, Norman, *The First Publishers of Truth*, (Headley Brothers, 1907).
- _____ ed., 'Extracts from State Papers', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Supplement 9 (1911)
- _____ ed., 'An Account of Ministering Friends from Europe visiting America from 1656 to 1703', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. X No.3 (July 1913), 117-131.
- _____ ed., *Household Accounts book of Sarah Fell*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).
- _____ ed., 'Quaker's Petition re: Governor Belcher', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII No.2 (1915), 94.
- _____ ed., 'Some Incidents in the Life of John Salkeld (1672-1739)', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XIII No.1 (1916), 1-5.
- Pepys, Samuel, *Diary*, [[www. https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/](https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/)].
- Powell, Thomas, *The Attorney's Academy*, (Printed for Benjamin Fisher, 1623).
- _____ *Tom of all trades. Or The plaine pathway to preferment Being a discovery of a passage to promotion in all professions, trades, arts, and mysteries. Found out by an old travailer in the sea of experience, amongst the enchanted islands of ill fortune. Now published for common good*, (Printed by B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate-street, 1631).
- _____ *The art of thriving. Or, The plaine path-way to preferment. Together with The mysterie and misery of lending and borrowing. As also a table of the expence of time and money. Published for the common good of all sorts, &c.*, (T[homas] H[arper] for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Talbot in Aldersgate street, 1635).
- Raithby, John, ed., *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol.5 (1628-80), ([s.l.]: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819)
- _____ *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol.6 (1685-1694), ([s.l.]: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819).
- _____ *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol.7 (1695-1701), ([s.l.]: Great Britain Record Commission, 1820).
- _____ *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol.8 (1702-1707), ([s.l.]: Great Britain Record Commission, 1821).

- _____ *Alphabetical Index to Statutes of the Realm from Magna Carta to the end of the reign of Queen Anne*, Vol.9, ([s.l.]: Great Britain Record Commission, 1822).
- Rigg[e], Ambrose, *A Brief Warning to such as are concerned in commerce and trading who go under the profession of truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in righteousness, justice and honesty towards all men*, ([s.l.],1678).
- _____ *A brief and serious warning to such as are concerned in commerce and trading, who go under the profession of truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in righteousness, justice and honesty towards all men. Written by Ambrose Rigge, in the year 1678. And now reprinted, together with the advices of several yearly-meetings. ...* (Printed by Mary Hinde, 1771).
- Rules of Discipline of the Society of Friends with Advices...*, (Darton and Harvey, 1834).
- Sewell, William, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*, (Philadelphia: Samuel Keimer, 1728).
- Snell, B. Saxon, *Upperside Monthly Meeting (Society of Friends : 1669-1857 : Buckinghamshire, E., The minute book of the monthly meeting of the Society of Friends for the upperside of Buckinghamshire, 1669-1690*, (High Wycombe [Buckinghamshire]: Printed for the Records Branch of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1937).
- Smith, Edward, *The Life of William Dewsbury*, (Darton & Harvey, 1836).
- Stalham, John, *The reviler rebuked; or, A re-inforcement of the charge against the Quakers ... for their contradictions to the Scriptures of God, and to their own scriblings, which Richard Farnworth attempted to answer in his pretended vindication of the Scriptures, but is farther discovered, with his fellow-contradictors and revilers, and their doctrine, to be anti-scriptural, anti-Christian, and anti-spiritual*, (Printed by H. Hills and J. Field, Printers to His Highness, 1657).
- Story, Thomas, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*, (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Isaac Thompson & Co., 1747).
- Strype, John, ed., *Stow's Survey of London*, (1755) [<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/stripe>].
- Trusler, John. *The Way to be Rich and Respectable; addressed to men of small fortune, showing that a Gentleman with economy, residing in the country, may with a few acres of Land, live as well for 500 £ a year and make an appearance in life equal to those who spend double that sum without those advantages...*, (R. Baldwin, 1780).
- _____ *Modern times: or, the adventures of Gabriel Outcast. Supposed to be written by himself. In imitation of Gil Blas. In three volumes*, (Dublin: J.M. Davis, 1785).
- Tryon, Thomas, *The Planter's Speech to his Neighbours & Country-Men of Pennsylvania, East & West-Jersey, And to all such as have Transported themselves into New-Colonies for the sake of a quiet retired Life*, (Andrew Sowle in Shoreditch, 1684).

- Tuke, Samuel, *Five Papers on the Past Proceedings of the Society of Friends in Connection with the Education of Youth read at the meetings of the Friends' Educational Society, at Ackworth, read in years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, (York: John L Linney, 1843).
- Walton, Isaak, *The Compleat Angler*, (The Bodley Head, [1653] 1908,).
- Ward, Edward, *The London Spy, compleat, In Eighteen Parts*, (Bettesworth, at the Red-Lion in Paternoster Row, [1695] 1718) [<http://grubstreetproject.net/works/T119938>].
- Whitehead, George, ed., *A collection of many select and Christian epistles, letters and testimonies, written on sundry occasions, by that ancient, eminent, faithful Friend and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox, , 2 Vols*, (Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831).
- Wight, Thomas, and Ruttly, John, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers in Ireland: from the year 1653 to 1700*, (William Phillips, 1800).
- Wingate, Edmund, *Arithmetique made easie : or, a perfect methode for the true knowledge and practice of natural arithmetique, according to the ancient vulgar way: without dependence upon any other author for the grounds thereof*, (P. Stevens, 1630).
- Withers, Thomas, *Treatise on the Errors and Defects of Medical Education*, (York, 1794).

Secondary Sources

Place of publication London if not otherwise stated.

- Angell, Stephen, and Dandelion, Pink, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Archer, Richard, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).
- Arkell, Tom, 'Illuminations and Distortions: Gregory King's Scheme Calculated for the Year 1688 and the Social Structure of Later Stuart England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Feb., 2006), 32-69.
- Armytage, W.H.G., *Four Hundred Years of Education*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).
- Axtell, James L., *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).
- _____, 'Education and Status in Stuart England: The London Physician', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), 141-159.
- Backscheider, P., 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731), writer and businessman', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008).

- Baily, Craig, 'The Nesbitts of London and their Networks', in, Dickson, David, Parmentier, Jan, Ohlmeyer, Jane H., eds., *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2007).
- Barbour, Hugh, and Roberts, Arthur, eds., *Early Quaker Writings, 1650-1700*, (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973).
- Bebbington, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, (Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Beck, William, and Ball, T. Frederick, *London Friends Meetings*, (F. Bowyer Kitto, [1869] 2009).
- Beckett, J.V., and Turner, Michael, 'Taxation and Economic Growth in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Aug., 1990), 377-403.
- Bernstein, Eduard, *Kommunistische und demokratisch-sozialistische Strömungen während der englischen Revolution*, (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1895), in H.J. Stenning, trans., *Cromwell and Communism*, (George Allen & Unwin [1930]1963); at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bernstein/works/1895/cromwell/index.htm#ndx>.
- Belussi, Fiorenza, and Caldari, Katia, 'At the Origin of the Industrial District: Alfred Marshall and the Cambridge school', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol. 33, Issue 2, (March 2009), 335–355.
- Bessy, Christian, 'Institutions and Conventions of Quality', *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (142) (2012), 15-21.
- Black, Percy, review of *Quakers in Science and Industry*, by Arthur Raistrick, *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (Aug., 1951), 139-140.
- Brady, David, *1666: the Year of the Beast*, (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1979).
- Braithwaite, William C., *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, (Macmillan, 1912).
 _____ *Second Period of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1919).
- Brinton, Howard H., review of 'George Fox's "Book of Miracles" by Henry J. Cadbury, *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, Vol. 38, No. 1, (Spring 1949).
- Brogan, Hugh, 'Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846), slavery abolitionist', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Burton, N, and Turnbull, R, 'The Quakers: Pioneers of Responsible Management', in Burton, N, and Turnbull, R., eds., *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility*, (Springer Press, 2019).
- Cadbury, Deborah, *The Chocolate Wars*, (PublicAffairs, 2010).
- Cantor, Geoffrey, *Quakers Jews and Science*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

- Carlos, Ann M., Fletcher, Erin, Neal, Larry, 'Share portfolios in the early years of financial capitalism: London, 1690-1730', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (May 2015), 574-599.
- Carroll, Kenneth L., 'Early Quakers and "Going Naked as a Sign"', *Quaker History*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Autumn 1978), 69-87.
- Carter, C.F., review of *Quaker Social History: 1669-1738* by Arnold Lloyd, *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 240 (Dec., 1950), 817-819.
- Castle, E.B., *The Undivided Mind*, (George Allen & Unwin, 1941).
- Coley, Noel G. 'George Fordyce M.D., F.R.S. (1736-1802): Physician-Chemist and Eccentric', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), 395-409.
- Chamberlain, J. S., 'George Keith (1638?-1716)', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Chalcraft, David J. & Harrington, Austin, eds., *The Protestant Ethic Debate: Max Weber's Replies to his Critics, 1907-1910*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001).
- Clark, Jonathan, *From Restoration to Reform The British Isles 1660-1832*, (Vintage Books, 2014).
- Codr, Dwight, *Raving at Usurers*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2016).
- Cole, W.A., 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 48 (1957).
- Coley, Noel G., 'George Fordyce M.D., F.R.S. (1736-1802): Physician-Chemist and Eccentric', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), 395-409.
- Collins, Peter, *Quakers and Quakerism in Bolton, Lancashire 1650-1995: The History of a Religious Community*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2010).
- Cookson, Gillian, 'Quaker Families and Business Networks in Nineteenth-Century Darlington', *Quaker Studies*, Vol.8/2 (2004), 119-140.
- Corley, T.A.B., *Quaker Enterprise in Biscuits: Huntley and Palmers of Reading, 1822-1972*, (Hutchinson, 1972).
- Crabtree, Sarah, *Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
- Crafts, N. F. R., and Harley, C. Knick, 'Output Growth and the Industrial Revolution: A Restatement of the Crafts-Harley Views', *Economic History Review*, 45 (1992), 703-30.
- Cressy, David, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Jan., 1990).
- _____'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Autumn, 1976), 301-320.

- Currie, Robert, Gilbert, Alan & Horsley, Lee, *Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
- Dandelion, Pink, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Davies, Adrian, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
- Derry, Thomas, 'The Repeal of the Apprenticeship Clauses of the Statute of Apprentices', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1931), 67-87.
- De Vries, Jan, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Papers Presented at the Fifty-Third Annual Meeting of the Economic History Association, (Jun., 1994), 249-270.
- Dickson, David, Parmentier, Jan, and Ohlmeyer, Jane H., eds., *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries*, (Gent: Academia Press, 2007).
- Dowell, Stephen, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, (Longman, 1888), Vol. III, 'Direct Taxes and Stamp Duties'.
- Dunn, Mary Maples and Dunn, Richard S. eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, Vol. 4: 1701-1718, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).
- Endy, Melvin B., 'The Interpretation of Quakerism: Rufus Jones and his critics', *Quaker History*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Spring 1981).
- Epstein, S.R., 'Craft Guilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Preindustrial Europe', *The Journal of Economic History*, 58, No. 3 (1998), 684-713.
- Evans, William and Evans, Thomas, eds., *The Friends' Library*, 14 volumes, (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1837-1850).
- Ezell, Margaret J. M., 'John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth Century Response to Some Thoughts concerning Education', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, No.2 (1983-84).
- Field, Clive D, 'Counting Religion in England and Wales: The Long Eighteenth Century, c.1680-c.1840', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 63, Issue 04 (October 2012), 693-720.
- Fincham, Andrew, 'Factors Supporting the Rise of Quaker Commerce', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Quakers in Business and Industry*, Vol.4, *Quakers and the Disciplines*, (Philadelphia: Friends Association of Higher Education, 2017), 9-41.
- _____'Establishing Quaker Commerce – Occupations', *Quaker Connections*, - Number 73, (March 2018), 23-35.
- _____'Faith in Numbers—Re-quantifying the English Quaker Population during the Long Eighteenth Century', *Religions*, 2019, 10(2), 83.

- _____. 'Cadbury's Ethics and the Spirit of Corporate Social Responsibility', in N. Burton and R. Turnbull, eds., *Quakers, Business and Corporate Responsibility*, (Springer, 2019), 40-60.
- _____. 'Friendly Advice: the evolution of trans-Atlantic Discipline in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Robynne Healey, ed., *Quakerism in the Atlantic World in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2021).
- _____. and Burton, N., 'Religion and social network analysis: the discipline of early modern Quakers', *Journal of Management History*, (2020), [ahead-of-print] doi.org/10.1108/JMH-02-2020-0011.
- Fincham, Francis W. X., 'Notes from the Ecclesiastical Court Records at Somerset House', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, Vol. 4 (1921).
- Fincham, Kenneth, 'Abbot, George (1562–1633)', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Fowler, J.T., *Durham University, Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges*, (F.E. Robinson, 1904).
- Frost, William J., 'George Fox's Legacy: Friends for 350 Years' *Quaker History*, Vol. 93, No. 1, (Spring 2004).
- Gadd, Ian and Wallis, Patrick, eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002).
- Gauci, Perry, 'Informality & Influence: The Overseas Merchant and the Livery Companies, 1660-1720', in Ian Gadd & Patrick Willis, eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), 127-140.
- Gee, Henry, and Hardy, William John, eds., *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, (New York: Macmillan, 1896).
- Gerona, C., 'Story, Thomas (1670?–1742), Quaker minister and journal writer', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008)
- Gilbert, Alan, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914*, (Longman, 1976).
- Gillard, D., *Education in England: a History*, (2018), www.educationengland.org.uk/history.
- Goodman, J., and Grosvenor, I., 'Educational research—History of Education a Curious Case?' *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (October 2009), 601-616.
- Grassby, Richard, 'Child, Sir Josiah, first baronet (bap. 1631, d. 1699), economic writer and merchant', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1995).
- Greaves, Richard L., 'Rigge [Rigg], Ambrose (c. 1635–1705), Quaker preacher and writer', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2008).

- Green, Joseph J., 'William Hobson, of Mark field', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XII, (1915), 77-79.
- Geiter, Mary K., 'Penn, William (1644–1718), Quaker leader and founder of Pennsylvania', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Gribben, Crawford, 'Angels and Demons in Cromwellian and Restoration Ireland: Heresy and the Supernatural', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (Autumn 2013).
- Grosjean, Alexia, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- Grubb, Isabel, *Quakers in Industry before 1800*, (Williams & Norgate, 1930).
- Grubb, Edward, *Christianity and Business*, (T. Fisher Unwin, 1912).
- Grubb, J. Ernest, 'Presidential Address', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XI No.3 (1914).
- Gwyn, Douglas, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Philadelphia: Pendle Hill, 1995).
- Hall, David J, 'Christian and Brotherly Advices', *The Friends' Quarterly*, (July 1981), 505-515.
- Hamilton, Bernice, 'The Medical Professions in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1951), 141-169.
- Hancock, David, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade', *The Business History Review*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn, 2005), 467-491.
- Hans, Nicholas, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951).
- Hannah, Leslie, 'The Moral Economy of Business: An Historical Perspective on Ethics and Efficiency', in Peter Burke, Brian Harrison and Paul Slack eds., *Civil Histories: Essays in Honour of Sir Keith Thomas*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Harley, C. Knick, 'British Industrialization Before 1841: Evidence of Slower Growth During the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 42 (1982).
- Healey, Robynne Rogers, 'Quietist Quakerism 1692-c.1805', in Stephen Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Henriques, H. S. Q., 'Jewish Marriages and the English Law', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Apr., 1908), 391-449.
- Hibbertt, Christopher, *Disraeli – a personal history*, (Harper, 2005).
- Higginbotham, Peter, *The Workhouse Encyclopaedia*, (Stroud: The History Press, 2012).
- Hill, Christopher, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford University Press for University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971).
- _____ *The World Turned Upside Down*, (Penguin Books, 1991).
- Hoare, Richard J., 'The Balby Seekers and Richard Farnworth', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (2003), 194- 207.

- Hole, Francis D., review of Raistrick *Quakers in Science and Industry*, in *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1951), 46-47.
- Hore, Rev. A.H., *The Church in England from William III to Victoria*, (Parker & Co., 1886).
- Horle, Craig C., *The Quakers and the English Legal System 1660-1688*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).
- Hudson, Winthrop S., 'Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers', *Church History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Sep., 1943), 177-194.
- Hunt, N.C., *Two Political Associations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
- Huntington, Frank C. Jr., 'Quakerism during the Commonwealth: The Experience of the Light', *Quaker History*, Vol. 71, No. 2 (Fall 1982), 69-88.
- Hurwich, Judith, 'The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug., 1970), 156-162.
- Hutchins B.L. and Harrison, A., *A History of Factory Legislation; with a preface by Sidney Webb*, (P.S. King, 1903).
- Ingle, H. Larry, 'From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings' *Quaker History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Fall 1987).
- _____ review of 'The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism by Douglas Gwyn' *Quaker History*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Spring 1997), 62-64.
- Isichei, Elizabeth, *Victorian Quakers*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- James, Sydney V., 'Quaker Meetings and Education in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Autumn, 1962), 87-102.
- Jewel, Helen, *Education in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1988).
- Jones, Rufus M., *Studies in Mystical Religion*, ((MacMillan, 1909).
- _____ Introduction in W. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1919).
- _____ *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, (MacMillan, 1921), 2 Vols.
- Jones, P.E. and Judges, A.V., 'London Population in the Late Seventeenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Oct., 1935), 45-63.
- Jones, W.J., 'The Foundations of English Bankruptcy: Statutes and Commissions in the Early Modern Period', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (1979), 1-63.
- Kadens, Emily, 'The Last Bankrupt Hanged: Balancing Incentives in the development of the Bankruptcy Law', *Duke Law Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 7 (April 2010), 1229-1319.
- Kearney Hugh, *Scholars and Gentlemen - Universities and Society in pre-industrial Britain 1500-1700*, (Faber, 1970).
- Keatinge, Maurice Walter, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, (A. and C. Black, 1896).
- Kennedy, Thomas C., review of Walvin's 'Quakers', in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 1, (Jan., 1999), 196-198.

- King, Mike, *Quakernomics*, (Anthem Press; 2014).
- Knights, Mark, 'A City Revolution: The Remodelling of the London Livery Companies in the 1680s', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 449 (Nov., 1997), 1141-1178.
- Lampson, G.L., ed., *A Quaker Postbag*, (Longmans Green, 1910).
- Landes, David S., *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Landes, Jordan, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World, The Creation of an Early Modern Community*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Lane, Joan, *Apprenticeship in England 1600-1914*, (University College London Press, 1996).
- Langford, Paul *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991).
- Lemay, J. A. Leo, 'Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790), natural philosopher, writer, and revolutionary politician in America', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Leunig, T., Minns, C., and Wallis, P., 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: the Market for London Apprenticeships, 1600-1749', *CEP Discussion Paper*, No.956, (November 2009).
- Levine, Alys, 'Parish Apprenticeship and the Old Poor Law in London', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 4 (2010), 915-941.
- Levinthal, Louis Edward, 'The Early History of English Bankruptcy', *University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (1919), 1-20.
- Lindert, Peter H., 'English Occupations, 1670-1811', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1980), 685-712.
- Lindert, Peter H., and Williamson, Jeffrey G., 'Revising England's Social Tables, 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, 19 (1982), 385-408.
- _____, 'Reinterpreting England's Social Tables, 1688-1913', *Explorations in Economic History*, 20 (1983), 94-109.
- Lindley, Keith, 'Penington, Isaac (c.1584–1661)', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Littern, Julian, *The English Way of Death: the Common Funeral since 1450*, (Robert Hale, 1991).
- Lloyd, Arnold, *Quaker Social History, 1669-1738*, (Longman, 1950).
- Lloyd, Humphrey, *Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution*, (Routledge, [1975] 2006).
- Mann, J. de L., 'A Wiltshire Family of Clothiers: George and Hester Wansey, 1683-1714', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1956), 241-253.
- Manners, Emily, *Elizabeth Hooton*, (Headley Brothers, 1914).

- Marietta, Jack D., *The Reformation of American Quakerism 1748-83*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).
- Marriner, Sheila, 'English Bankruptcy Records and Statistics before 1850', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Aug., 1980), 351-366.
- McLachlan, Herbert, *English Education Under The Test Acts, Being The History Of The Non-Conformist Academies 1662-1820*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931).
- Milligan, Edward, *British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920*, (York: Sessions of York, 2007).
- Minns, Chris and Wallis, Patrick, 'Rules and reality: quantifying the practice of apprenticeship in early modern England', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (May 2012), 556-579.
- _____, 'Why did (pre-industrial) Firms Train? Premiums and Apprenticeship Contracts in 18th century England', *Working Papers*, No. 155/11 LSE, (2011).
- Moore, Rosemary, 'Leaders of the Primitive Quaker Movement', *Quaker History*, Vol. 85, No. 1, (Spring 1996), 29-44.
- Moody, James and White, Douglas R., 'Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Feb., 2003), 103-127.
- Morgan, Nicholas, 'Lancashire Quakers and the Oath, 1660-1722', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, Vol. 54, No. 5 (1980); 235-254.
- Muldrew, Craig, 'The Culture of Reconciliation: Community and the Settlement of Economic Disputes in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Dec., 1996), 915-942.
- _____, *The Economy of Obligation: The culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*, (Macmillan, 1998).
- Murdoch, Steve, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
- Nash, Gary B., 'The Early Merchants of Philadelphia', in *The World of William Penn*, in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn eds., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).
- O'Day, Rosemary, *Education and Society 1500-1800*, (Longman, 1982).
- _____, *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*, (Longman, 2000).
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh, 'Rehabilitating the Guilds: A Reply', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Feb., 2008), 175-182.
- Orth, John V., 'English Combination Acts of the Eighteenth Century', *Law and History Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1987), 175-211.
- Porter, Roy, Porter Dorothy, 'The Rise of the English Drugs Industry: the role of Thomas Corbyn', *Medical History*, 33 (1989), 277-295.

- Power, John Carroll, *The Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools: A Biography of Robert Raikes and William Fox*, (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1863).
- Powell, Edward, 'Arbitration and the Law in England in the Late Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 33 (1983), 49-67.
- Pressnell, L.S., *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956).
- Prest, Wilfred, *Inns of Court under Elizabeth & the early Stuarts 1590-1640*, (Rowman and Littlefield, 1972).
- Price, Jacob M., 'The Great Quaker Business Families of Eighteenth-Century London: The Rise and Fall of a Sectarian Patriciate' in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).
- Punshon, John, 'The English Quaker Firm', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 22, Issue 2, (Dec 2017), 179-195.
- Quinn, Stephen, 'The Glorious Revolution's Effect on English Private Finance: A Microhistory, 1680-1705', *The Journal of Economic History*, Sep., 2001, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), 593-615.
- Raistrick, Arthur, *Quakers in Science and Industry*, (The Bannisdale Press, 1950).
- _____ *Dynasty of Iron Founders: the Darbys and Coalbrookdale*, (The Bannisdale Press, 1953).
- Razzell, P.E., 'Population Change in Eighteenth-Century England. A Reinterpretation', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 2; (1965), 312-332.
- Reay, Barry, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, (Temple Smith, 1985).
- _____ 'The Social Origins of Early Quakerism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11 (1980), 55-72.
- Reekes, Andrew, *Two Titans*, (West Midlands History, 2017).
- Rees, Graham and Wakely, Maria, 'Folios Fit for a King: James I, John Bill, and the King's Printers, 1616-1620', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (2005), 467-495.
- Richards, R.D., *The Early History of Banking in England*, (King & Son, 1929).
- Riello, Giorgio, 'The Shaping of a Family Trade: The Cordwainers Company in Eighteenth-Century London', in Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002).
- Robson, Robert, *The Attorney in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).
- Rock, Hugh, 'Rufus Jones Never Did Establish that Quakerism is a Mystical Religion', *Quaker Studies*, Vol. 21/1 (2016), 49-66.
- _____ 'Quakerism understood in relation to Calvinism: The theology of George Fox', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 70(3), (2017), 333-347.

- Rogers, Nicholas, 'Money, Land and Lineage: The Big Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London', *Social History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Oct., 1979), 437-454.
- Rowley, Timothy J., 'Moving beyond Dyadic Ties: A Network Theory of Stakeholder Influences', *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1997), 887-910.
- Rowntree, John Stephenson, *Quakerism, Past and Present: an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline*, (Smith, Elder & Company, 1859).
- Ross, Alan S.C., 'The Assize of Bread', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, (December 1956), 332–342.
- Sayers, R.S., *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).
- Scott, Jonathan French, 'The Decline of the English Apprenticeship System', *The Elementary School Teacher*, Vol. 13, No. 9 (May, 1913), 445-454.
- Schlechter, Boyd Stanley, 'Whitefield, George (1714–1770), Calvinistic Methodist leader' (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004).
- Sharp, Isaac, 'John Bellers - Lost and Found', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII, No.3 (1915), 117-119.
- Simpson, Charles, 'John Bellers in Official Minutes', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. XII No.3, (1915), 120-125.
- Skinner, Quentin, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History & Theory*, (1969), 3-53.
- Slack, Paul, 'Material Progress and the Challenge of Affluence in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug., 2009), 576-603.
- Smith, H., 'Luckcock, James (1761–1835), educational and political reformer', (Oxford: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2013).
- Smith, J.W.A, *The Birth of Modern Education - The Contribution of Dissenting Academies 1660-1800*, (Independent Press Ltd, 1954).
- Smith, S.D., 'The Account Book of Richard Poor, Quaker Merchant of Barbados', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Jul., 2009), 605-628.
- Snell, K.D.M., 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy, 1700-1837', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (May, 2002).
- Somervell, J, *Some Westmoreland Wills 1686-1738*, (T. Wilson, 1928).
- Spufford, Margaret, *Contrasting Communities*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
 _____ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Spufford, Peter, 'Mobility and Immobility in Early Modern England', in Margaret Spufford, ed., *The World of rural dissenters: 1520-1725*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Spurr, John, "“Rational Religion” in Restoration England', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1988), 563-585.

- Stagg, Richard E., 'Friends' Queries and General Advices 1682-1860', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* Vol.49, No. 4 (Spring 1961), 209-234.
- _____'Friends' Queries and General Advices 1860-1928', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* Vol.49, No. 5 (Autumn 1961), 249-269.
- Stevenson, Bill, 'The Social and Economic Status of post-Restoration Dissenters, 1660-1725, in Margaret Spufford, ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 351-58.
- Stirk, Nigel, 'Arresting Ambiguity: The Shifting Geographies of a London Debtors' Sanctuary in the Eighteenth Century', *Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Oct., 2000), 316-329.
- Stone, Lawrence, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, No.28, (1964), 41-80.
- Tawney, R.H., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, (Mentor, 1953).
- Taylor, Ernest E., 'The First Publishers of Truth - A Study', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* , Vol. XIX (1922), 66-81.
- _____*The Valliant Sixty*, (York: Ebor Press, 1947).
- Temin, Peter and Voth, Hans-Joachim, 'Private Borrowing during the Financial Revolution: Hoare's Bank and Its Customers, 1702-24', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 3 (Aug., 2008), 541-564.
- Thirsk, Joan and Cooper, J. P. *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- Thomas, A.H., *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: Vol. 2, 1364-1381*, (His Majesties Stationary Office, 1929).
- Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Penguin, 1963).
- Tibbals, Karen, 'Early Quakers and 'Just Debt'', in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, eds., *Quakers in Business and Industry, Quakers and the Disciplines*, Vol. 4, (Philadelphia: Friends Association of Higher Education, 2017).
- Tolles, Frederick B., *Meeting House and Counting House: the Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763*, ([Pub. for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1948] New York: W.W. Norton, 1963).
- _____*Review of Quakers in Science and Industry* by Arthur Raistrick, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1952), 71-74.
- Toynbee, Arnold, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).
- Troeltsch, Ernst, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Olive Wyon, trans., (New York: Macmillan, 1931).
- Turnbull, Richard, *Quaker Capitalism: Lessons for Today*, (Oxford: Centre for Enterprise, Markets and Ethics, 2014).

- Unwin, George, *Gilds and Companies of London*, (Methuen, 1908).
- Vann, Richard, 'Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', *Past and Present*, No. 43, (May 1969), 71-91.
- _____*Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969)
- _____'Rejoinder: The Social Origins of the Early Quakers', *Past and Present*, No. 48 (Aug. 1970).
- _____'Friends Sufferings – Collected and Recollected', *Quaker History*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Spring 1972), 24-35.
- _____'Quakerism: Made in America', in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
- Vann, Richard T. and Eversley, David Edward Charles, *Friends in life and death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition, 1650-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Walvin, James, *The Quakers :Money and Morals*, (John Murray, 1997).
- Weber, Max, 'Antikritisches zum "Geist" des Kapitalismus"', *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xxx (1910), n14.
- _____*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Stephen Kalberg, trans., (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing. [1920] 2002); xix.
- _____*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (Routledge Classics, [1930] (2001).
- Wells, J. and Wills, D., 'Revolution, Restoration, and Debt Repudiation: The Jacobite Threat to England's Institutions and Economic Growth', *The Journal of Economic History*, Jun., 2000, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), 418-441.
- Willis, Patrick, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Pre-modern England', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sep., 2008), 832-861.
- Winchester, Angus J.L., 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, Vol.80 (1991), 85-99.
- Wrigley, E.A. 'The Transition to an Advanced Organic Economy: Half a Millennium of English Agriculture', *Economic History Review*, LIX (2006), 435-80.
- Yoneyama, Masaru, 'The Decline of Guilds and Their Monopoly in English Provincial Towns, with Particular Reference to Exeter', *Urban History*, 46, No. 3 (2019), 443–63.
- Zedan, S. and Miller, W., 'Using Social Network Analysis to Identify Stakeholders' Influence on Energy Efficiency of Housing', *International Journal of Engineering Business Management*, Vol. 9, (2017), 1–11.
- Zickermann, K., 'Scottish Merchant Families in the Early Modern Period', *Northern Studies*, 45 (2013), 100-118.

Unpublished Works

- Dixon, Simon, 'Quaker Communities in London, 1667-c1714', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 2005.
- Evans, Eric J., 'A History of the Tithe System in England, 1690-1850, with special reference to Staffordshire', PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1970.
- Kershner, Johnathan, 'The Government of Christ: John Woolman's (1720-1777) Apocalyptic Theology', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2012.
- Prior, Ann, 'Friends in Business: the interaction of business and religion within the Society of Friends, 1700-1830', PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1995.
- Sahle, Esther, 'A Faith of Merchants: Quakers and Institutional Change in the Early Modern Atlantic, c.1660-1800', PhD thesis, London School of Economics, 2016.
- Scott, David, 'Politics, Dissent and Quakerism in York, 1640-1700', PhD thesis, University of York, 1990.
- Stuart, D., 'The Early Quaker Movement in Staffordshire 1651 -1743: from open fellowship to closed sect', PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2001.
- Varner, Lindsay A., 'A Community of Quakers in seventeenth-century County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne', PhD thesis, Durham University, 2015.
- Wright, Stephen, 'An investigation into the possible transfer of theology and practice from continental Anabaptists to the first Quakers', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013.
-