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In search of a New Jerusalem: A preliminary investigation into the causes and impact of Welsh Quaker emigration to Pennsylvania, c.1660 - 1750

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Abstract

The establishment of the North American Association for the Study of Welsh Culture and History (NAASWCH) in the mid 1990s has informed the work of historians on both sides of the Atlantic, and yet the important early history of Welsh emigration to America and reverse migration has still to be fully addressed. Research on Welsh migratory patterns and the impact of America on Wales in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, notably by Gwyn Alf Williams, Barry Levy, and Bill Jones, has made an important contribution to our understanding of the experiences of Welsh-Americans.[1] However, further research is needed if we are ever to achieve a full understanding of the causes of emigration, and the migratory and settlement patterns of these communities in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in America, notably in New England and at Nantucket for an example of reverse migration. Since the mid 1950s there has been but a handful of research articles written. The significance of early modern Welsh pioneers has received some attention in the works of Elwyn Ashton and C. W. Holt,[2] but a more systematic investigation of the origins of Welsh emigration and communities from the seventeenth century onwards has not been attempted. Scholars have hitherto been left to search the pioneering works of the Welsh historian Thomas Mardy Rees,[3] and British and American scholars from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notably J. J. Levick, T. A. Glenn, and C. S. Browning.[4] The publication of Marcella Biro Barton's recent survey on Welsh/American emigration and settlement has provided a scholarly foundation upon which studies that are more extensive can be built.[5] My early work on Welsh Quakerism, especially my doctorate, addressed some key aspects of their migration. New post-doctoral research has developed some of these themes, including the experiences of Welsh Friends emigrants to Pennsylvania and the reverse migration of Nantucket Quaker-whalers to Milford Haven in the 1790s.[6] The purpose of this research paper (and the wider project to which it relates) is to build upon the work already undertaken, and to explore the causes of emigration, the patterns of settlement, and some of the early experiences of these Welsh emigrants.

KEYWORDS

America, emigration, persecution, Pennsylvania, Wales,

The Rev. Thomas Mardy Rees began his investigation into the decline of Quakerism in Wales by noting that, by the end of the 1690s, most of the early Friends had died and that the next generation lacked the tenacity and dynamism of the pioneers of the Commonwealth and Restoration years.[7] In spite of the dogged determination of many early members to uphold their religious beliefs and endure harsh treatment at the hands of church and state authorities, the combination of years of oppression, imprisonment and crippling fines had taken its toll. The Quaker ministry was handicapped by the incarceration of its spokesmen and women, from the death of leading Friends, and because of the impoverishment of Welsh Quaker families who suffered sequestration after refusing to pay tithes and church rates.[8]

Although many of these families remained steadfast, it was difficult for Friends to be sure of the continuing loyalty of all their members, while threats of harassment, distraint of property and imprisonment continued. It was even more difficult to recruit new members while the Clarendon Code remained in existence, especially when it was rigidly enforced. For many Welsh Quakers their persecution was relieved only by emigration to the American colonies, but ultimately the decision to leave their Welsh communities was a decisive factor in the decline of the Society in Wales. As Geraint Jenkins has pointed out:

> If persecution effectively thinned out Quaker ranks in Wales, from 1682 onwards their numbers were further depleted when groups of virile, independent, Welsh-speaking Friends chose to leave the major Quaker bastions in Wales to establish a holy Christian community, under the leadership of William Penn in the 'good and fruitful land' of Pennsylvania.[9]

This paper will examine the reasons why the Quakers emigrated to America, their experiences and patterns of settlement, and the consequences of this migratory process for the Welsh Meetings. It will also question whether the imposition of a Quaker code of conduct was more damaging to the membership of the Society than large-scale emigration, and by examining the case of Monmouthshire Friends it will test whether Quaker emigration was a phenomenon experienced throughout Wales.

Despite the paucity of seventeenth century records of emigration to America, something is at least known about Welsh migratory patterns from about 1650 onwards. Between 1654 and 1685, the Port Books of Bristol suggest that nearly 4,000 Welsh people, mainly from the counties of south Wales, set sail for Barbados as indentured labourers and servants on the island's plantations.[10] Others left Wales in search of wealth and adventure, for example, Howell Powell of Brecon who emigrated to Virginia in 1642, and Lewis Morris of

Tintern who initially settled in Barbados before joining his Quaker co-religionists in Pennsylvania.[11] The first great wave of Welsh immigration into America occurred in 1682 after William Penn was granted a charter to colonise parts of north-east America. As Paul Wallace has observed, 'hundreds of ruddy-faced thick set and bright-eyed Welshmen came in hope of planting a new Wales under the aegis of William Penn.'[12] Consequently, between 1682 and 1722 over 2000 Welsh people had settled in Pennsylvania alone, and 'whole communities braved the horrible Atlantic crossings to create their pioneer settlements in a new world.'[13]

So, what had caused Welsh people to seek a new life in this British colony? The religious fervour of the civil war years and the millenarian expectations of the imminent second coming of Christ were accompanied by a desire to evangelise the 'dark corners of the land' and to establish a godly community. The propagation of the gospel in Wales in the early 1650s was not as successful as the planners hoped, and it had largely failed as an experiment by 1653.[14] In this year, millenarian hopes were shattered when Cromwell assumed power, and throughout the remainder of the 1650s Cromwellian magistrates and clergymen hounded religious radicals. It was nevertheless during this latter period that the Quaker message was first brought to Wales by John ap John, a member of Morgan Llwyd's Congregationalists, and assisted by missionary visits of Quaker preachers, particularly Thomas Holme and his wife Elizabeth Leavens-Holme.[15] The savage persecution of the Welsh Quaker communities in the 1650s was repeated in the years after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 as Friends were classified as social or religious 'deviants'. For many dissenters their only hope of salvation was to relocate to the American colonies. It is worth noting that between 1681 and 1695, 42 per cent of Friends who emigrated from North Wales had been fined or imprisoned.[16] The low cost of transportation to America must also be borne in mind. For example, the passage of an adult (and twenty tons of luggage) to America in 1698 was £5, while children under 12 years of age went at half-price, and suckling children were allowed free passage.[17] If this is compared with the cumulative effects of fines for non-attendance at church, or for holding or attending a conventicle, it is understandable that many Dissenters opted to leave the country. Yet, the journey took at least three months, and many emigrants died on the way. Edward Foulke and his family of Coedfoel in Merionethshire left for America in 1698. Their journey lasted 11 weeks during which time 45 passengers died of dysentery.[18] He later wrote in his 'Narrative' that 'the sore distemper of the bloody flux broke out in the vessel... the distemper was so mortal that two or three corpses were cast overboard every day while it lasted.'[19] Thomas Oliver, a Quaker from Montgomeryshire, who emigrated in the early 1720s, wrote that the journey had taken 12 weeks and 12 days, and he been denied a certificate of removal from the Dolobran Meeting in north Wales. Their reluctance to forward the necessary documentation was simply because they felt that he might not survive the passage.[20] Emigration, in that sense, was a high price to pay to escape the clutches of persecution-minded ministers and magistrates.

It is clear that other factors, apart from religious intolerance, encouraged emigration. For John Griffiths of Radnorshire who left Wales in 1726, aged 13, it was an escape from a life filled with 'vain, unprofitable, and sometimes wicked and blasphemous thoughts'.[21] It is also suggested that poverty induced many Welsh people, including Quakers, to seek their fortunes abroad as they were tempted by the prospect of a making a better life in America, on the fertile plains of the 'Welsh Tract'. In a letter to George Fox in 1685, Thomas Ellis, formerly of Is Cregennan in Merionethshire, explained his reasons for emigrating:

> I wish those that have estates of their own & to leave fullnes to their posterity may not be offended at the Lords opening a door of mercy to thousands in England Especially in Wales & other nations who had no estates for themselves or children, And that all their industry could not afford them the meanest food & Raymt [raiment] that might properly be sayd to belong even to slaves or servants; nor any visible ground of hope for a better condicon for children or childrens children when they were gon hence.[22]

His rationale is reflected in the action of North Wales Friends who in July 1690, assisted Robert Ellis and his family to emigrate by collecting £9 from the constituent Meetings.[23] Penn was also able to persuade Welsh Friends that they could practise their faith without hindrance, and generate further wealth in these American colonies.[24]

The relative poverty of Wales, therefore, appears to have been a primary reason for Welsh Friends to contemplate emigration, but an examination of the social origins of Welshmen and their families who emigrated in the seventeenth century reveals that a substantial number of them were either gentlemen, yeomen or husbandmen. For example, listed among the Welsh Friends who relocated to America are members of the Lloyd family of Dolobran in Montgomeryshire, as well as Rowland Ellis of Bryn Mawr in Merionethshire, Samuel Davies, a Montgomeryshire gentleman, who bequeathed £400 in his will,[25] and Thomas Wynne, the barber-surgeon of Welshpool. A statistical analysis of 300 emigrant families, compiled by T.A. Glenn in the early twentieth century, indicated that yeomen/husbandmen comprised approximately 50 per cent; gentlemen 28 per cent; artisans eleven per cent; shopkeepers and those who represented the professional classes about five per cent. These figures, however, did not include servants or other settlers who had no property rights,[26] and nor did they evaluate the wealth of 'middling sort' Welsh Quakers. Barry Levy has commented that:

> Many northwestern men [including the Welsh] called themselves 'husbandmen', 'tradesmen', and even 'yeomen', who rented acres of mountainside for their small herd of cows, cattle, and sheep. Their similarly situated neighbours would so honour them. But such men had much less wealth than 'middling' people in south eastern England.[27]

After enduring years of plunder, attacks upon their ministers and Meeting-houses, lengthy gaol sentences, and the desecration of the graves of buried members in the post-Restoration years, Welsh Friends embarked upon the search for 'a New Jerusalem'. Other denominations also resettled in Pennsylvania. For example, Welsh Baptists saw emigration to Philadelphia as their only means of relief. In 1663, the Ilston Baptist congregation in Glamorganshire, under the inspirational leadership of Pastor John Miles, was the first to seize upon the opportunities that the 'New World' offered Dissenters. They settled in Massachusetts, colonising an area they called 'Swanzey', but life in America was just as tough for the Baptist community as it had been in Wales. After waves of persecution in the new colony they were forced to settle elsewhere in America. In September 1683, a second group of Welsh Baptists from Llanddewi Fach in Radnorshire settled in Pennsylvania. They too gave their settlement a Welsh name, 'Radnor', and began to build chapels and missionary centres, most notably Pennepek Church. In total, they established seven churches in Pennsylvania, five in New Jersey, and helped to create a Baptist presence that stretched from Virginia to New York. In 1701, these Welsh Baptists were further encouraged by 16 co-religionists from the Rhydwilym Church in west Wales who eventually settled at Delaware on 'The Welsh Tract', and who continued to use the Welsh language in their Meetings and services. T.A. Glenn observed that Anglican parishioners also left Wales, one suspects, for the richer climate of Pennsylvania.[28]

In May 1681, after William Penn was granted the province of Pennsylvania by a royal charter,[29] 12 prominent Welsh Quakers came to London to examine his plans for the new colony. This included Dr. Griffith Owen, Dr. Edward Jones, Dr. Thomas Wynn, John ap John, Charles Lloyd, John ap Thomas, Richard Davies, Edward Prichard, Lewis David, and others. In addition, Penn and 11 other Quakers purchased New Jersey in 1682,[30] while the Duke of York contributed Delaware. Seven Welsh companies were established and took possession of 40,000 acres of land (62½ square miles) on the west side of Schuylkill river,[31] which became known by the Welsh settlers variously as the 'Welsh Baronry', 'Cambria', 'New Wales' or the 'Welsh Tract'. Penn quickly produced details of the charter, and recommended that 100 acres could be purchased for £2 with an annual quit-rental of 1s. These developments he believed were divinely inspired, and as such his province was open to all, since the terms of agreement did not discriminate on grounds of race or creed. This, he hoped, would be 'an example... to the nations... [and be] a holy experiment'.[32]

The land was sold in small plots to various emigrant groups, particularly Welshmen.[33] For many Welsh Quakers who longed for religious freedom the possibility of a 'Quaker colony' proved very attractive.[34] Indeed, it has been suggested that Friends sought to establish a number of Quaker 'commonwealths' in North America based upon Penn's 'Frame of Government'. Penn wanted to ensure that Pennsylvania would 'flourish in so far as it would become a transplantation of vital Quakerism',[35] while Welsh Friends contended that emigration was in the best interests of their children and a means of safe-

guarding their own spiritual well-being.[36] For others, the rewards of good soil, a pleasant climate and prosperity was a great incentive. In a letter to John ap Thomas of Penllyn, Merionethshire in 1682, Edward Jones of Merion called on Friends, young and old, to join him in Pennsylvania. He wrote that there was plenty of timber and water, and that the

> Indians brought venison to our door for six pence ye quarter. And as for ye land we look upon it [as] a good & fat soyl generally producing twenty, thirty and fourty fold. There are stones to be had enough at the falls of the Skool Kill [Schuylkill River], that is where we are to settle, & water enough for mills, but thou must bring Millstones and ye Irons that belong to it, for Smiths are dear.[37]

Significantly, for the Quaker Meetings in south-east Wales, John ap Evan (or Bevan) of the Tref-y-Rhyg estate, Llantrisant, in Glamorgan took an interest in Penn's plan, and on 16 September 1681 he bought 2,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania.[38] He had initially resisted the urge to emigrate but, persuaded by his wife, he left Wales with his family and servants in the summer of 1683. He later wrote that:

> my wife had a great inclination to go thither and thought it might be a good place to train up children amongst sober people, and to prevent the corruption of them here, by the loose behaviour of youths, and the bad example of too many of riper years... I was sensible her aim was an upright one, [and] on account of our children I was willing to weigh the matter in a true balance.[39]

Between 1697 and 1698, further efforts were made to induce Welsh Quakers to accept a new life in America. In 1697, Hugh Roberts returned to Wales and in 1698 persuaded two Quakers from north Wales, William John and Thomas ap Evan, to buy a further 7,820 acres of land in Pennsylvania. This was re-sold in small plots, and by April 1698, the second wave of Quaker emigration had begun.[40] Within a short time the settlement of at least 96 Welsh emigrants at the new Gwynedd township in Montgomery county would be able to boast 30 families, a recognisable town and, by 1700, a Quaker meeting house.[41] Between 1700 and 1729, there was additional migration from the Quaker communities in north and west Wales.[42] For example, at a Quarterly Meeting of Friends from Glamorgan and west Wales in May 1703, there were clear indications that members saw emigration as the means to alleviate poverty. They had attempted to find work for the daughter of Evan John, a poor Friend, but had been unsuccessful in their efforts. Consequently, they asked John whether he was willing to 'let her go to Pensilvania in case no other place be found for her in the country'.[43] Unfortunately the minutes do not disclose whether this offer was accepted.

Emigration of Friends was nevertheless dependent upon good character references, and it was particularly essential to have a certificate of removal from the local Meeting. This document indicated solvency, good behaviour, and freedom from marriage arrangements. A letter sent from West Jersey Friends in 1681 to the London Yearly Meeting enquired whether male Friends were 'clear from any engagement to marry'. They asked for details of any Quakers whose 'life had been disorderly, for we are sensible that here are several that left no good savour in their native land... and it may be probable that more of that kind may come, thinking to be absconded in this obscure place.'[44] The certificate for Ellis and Sina Pugh of Brithdir in July 1686 stated that Pugh was

> A man whom we dearly love and esteem, and is greatly beloved of all honest, good, rational people in his neighbourhood, reputed an honest, innocent, denying man that aims at Eternity more than temporary and worldly perishing things, and though but young in years, yet grown in truth so far that we have often been wonderfully refreshed by his sweet blessed declaration in the British [i.e. Welsh] tongue. And as for his wife Sina we know her in her place as a good, careful, industrious woman in things relating to her poor small children and family, wise, discreet & circumspect in her dealings and doings.[45]

Occasionally an application for a removal certificate was denied, as in the case of John Goodwin of Esgaircoch, whose request in 1709 was rejected because the Meeting claimed it would not be able to survive without him.[46] In 1713, the same fate would have befallen Richard Lewis, a tailor from the Dolobran Meeting, had he not persisted with his request.[47]

The prospect of economic prosperity and religious freedom, which William Penn had publicised, coupled with low transportation costs, led other Welsh Friends to consider emigrating to Pennsylvania. For £20 a family of four and a servant could receive passage to America as well as 500 acres of land. These emigrants frequently corresponded with relatives and were informed about Welsh affairs.[48] Moreover, their correspondence with relatives and friends in Wales as well as reports concerning their return visits, and details of the opportunities and rich resources in the new country must have been an additional incentive for Welsh Quakers to join their co-religionists across the Atlantic. In 1720, John Kelsall noted in his diary that a letter from James Lewis of Pennsylvania gave 'great encouragem't for people to go over'.[49]

The establishment of identifiable Welsh Quaker communities in Pennsylvania determined that the Welsh language was used in daily business and evidence suggests that these settlers retained their Welsh customs, giving their settlements Welsh place-names. Notable examples are Radnor, Haverford, Bryn Mawr, Newtown, Merion, Maldwyn, Nantymel, Pencader, Jenkinstown and Gwynedd. Indeed, such was the Welsh presence at Gwynedd in Pennsylvania that in 1702 John Richardson, an English visitor to the settlement, spoke through an interpreter and commented that, although the settlers were a fine

people, few of them could speak English![50] In the early eighteenth century Ellis Pugh, formerly from Tyddyn-y-Garreg, Dolgellau, in Merionethshire, wrote the Welsh language book *Annerch i'r Cymru*[51] (published posthumously in 1721 and translated in 1727 as *A Salutation to the Britons*) while living in Pennsylvania. This was the first published Welsh language text in America.[52]

In these new settlements the Quakers established Yearly, Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, built meeting houses,[53] and kept in regular contact with the London Meeting for Sufferings, as a letter from James Lewis of Pennsylvania to John Kelsall in 1719 demonstrates:

> we have had our Yearly Meeting at... Philadelphia... and the Jerseys where were several strangers, able ministers... with several more from New England, Long Island and other parts of America.[54]

Penn's 'New Jerusalem' did not, however, remain solely the preserve of the Welsh Quakers for there was considerable interference by the government in London. Mardy Rees has argued that the colony would have witnessed greater success if it had been able to avoid the intervention of the crown and the perennial round of orders issued from London.[55] For Penn it was a delicate balancing act: offering liberty on the one hand and negotiating with the king and his ministers who could revoke the charter on the other. The dream of a free and vibrant Welsh religious community was also not easy to reconcile with the task of building a life where there was 'neither house nor shelter'.[56] For the emigrant the experience was:

> unique in his generation, a sequence of hope and frustration, a test of patience, fortitude, endurance and hard labour; a wearisome trek... followed by a long... hazardous sea-voyage; [and] years of slow adjustment in a new and strange environment.[57]

Despite the difficulties, many European emigrants sought sanctuary in the American colonies during the seventeenth century. In July 1683 when Thomas Lloyd of Dolobran (1640 - 94) landed in Pennsylvania, he was accompanied by Francis Daniel Pastorius, a leader of the Dutch Mennonites. There was indeed common ground between the two religious communities, notably in relation to pacifism, opposition to the swearing of oaths and paying of tithes, and plainness of apparel and behaviour. Both groups happily co-existed, and the Mennonites were prepared to support the Quakers in their governance of the province. For example, in 1692 the Mennonites assisted Thomas Lloyd in his rearguard action against the divisive influence of George Keith whose separatist 'Christian-Quakers' with their strict theological outlook attempted to impose a more rigorous discipline on the Friends.[58]

By the second wave of Welsh emigration in 1698, social and economic conditions in Pennsylvania had improved considerably. There were at least 2000

houses in Philadelphia alone, and Welsh migrants occupied many of the professional posts.[59] Furthermore, in 1715, Richard Lewis of Germantown wrote that in the colony there was 'plenty of fruit & Grain',[60] and such letters must once again have encouraged other Friends to seek their passage to America. There was, nevertheless, a downside to these developments. The governance of Pennsylvania lay with an elected House of Assembly and its executive council and governor. It was based on five principles: social equality; religious toleration; justice for all; pacifism or, at least no strategic military defence but rather internal policing to overcome any problems; and no oaths. The system, although idealistic, was initially successful, but Penn's son colluded with the governor to undermine the authority of the Assembly.

The reorganisation of the 'Welsh Barony' into two parts with the abolition of civil authority in 1690, and its replacement with township government, became a major source of grievance. It was felt that this ran counter to the understanding that the Quakers and William Penn had brokered.[61] The collapse of the Penn-inspired Susquehanna Land Company in 1697 was another source of resentment as many Welsh emigrants had subscribed to this company from its inception in 1690 and lost considerable funds. Consequently, Penn was called 'diwyneb' ('faceless') for breaking his promise to provide the Welsh with land in Philadelphia.[62] In the first House of Assembly there were, however, four Welsh representatives. From their number, Thomas Wynne, the barber-surgeon from Caerwys, Flintshire, was the Speaker, and Thomas Lloyd was entrusted as the keeper of the great seal and as President of the Provincial Council – a position he retained from 1684 to 1687 and again in 1690 until his appointment as deputy-governor in 1691. The friction between Lloyd and Penn grew, particularly after Lloyd repealed the 1683 provincial law for an excise tax on liquor. Penn regarded this as a great betrayal of Quaker principles,[63] but under Lloyd's deputy-governorship, the colony prospered. He was an able administrator, especially during the troublesome disputes that beset the executive and legislature.[64] He was also steadfast in his belief that the colony ought to be self-governing and refused office under the governorship of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the governor of New York whose authority was temporarily extended to Pennsylvania. In 1693, Fletcher declared that the laws of Pennsylvania and that 'model of government is dissolved, and at an end. The king's power and Mr. Penn's must not come in the scales together.'[65] Even so, Penn was restored to the governorship in 1695.

The growth in the authority of the Assembly was the result of the efforts of Thomas and David Lloyd (1656 - 1731).[66] In 1696, the Assembly was granted a Charter for proposing and vetoing bills, while the Executive Council simply co-ordinated such legislation. Its powers were further reduced in 1701 when its law-making capabilities were removed.[67] After 1701, there were three political groupings in Pennsylvania representing the proprietary interests. The first was led by the wealthy Philadelphian Quakers, notably James Logan. The second group, the People's Party, comprised country Quakers and Mennonite Germans, and was led by David Lloyd. The final group, the Non-Quaker party, had limited

power in both the Council and Assembly, but was implacably opposed to Friends. Its members sought to establish the hegemony of the established church and to that end bring Pennsylvania in line with the other British colonies, such as Virginia, and ultimately break the power of the Quakers. David Lloyd was a stalwart of Quaker rights in the province, and despite the attempt to blacken his character by his political opponents – James Logan,[68] Isaac Norris, and Robert Proud – Lloyd was a champion of civil liberties and judicial reform. Mardy Rees has commented that he was:

> intense, unbending, and dogmatic at first, [but]... mellowed considerably toward the end. As long as he remained in the Assembly Lloyd was the noble and trusted leader of the people.[69]

Resettlement in America did not, of course, mean freedom from disease, inequality, or persecution. During Penn's second visit to the colony in 1700, he discovered that there had been an outbreak of yellow fever, which had resulted in a large number of deaths. At the same time, Penn spoke out against slave holding.[70] In 1704, John Kelsall had observed in his diary that the settlers in Virginia were not well disposed towards the Friends at Philadelphia, and the London Yearly Meeting had to send some literature to members to combat the verbal onslaughts.[71] In a letter in October 1706 to Kelsall, Rowland Ellis informed him that the non-Quaker deputy-governor, John Evans, had seized upon a false rumour of an imminent French invasion of Pennsylvania. According to Ellis, 'a more unsuitable man to govern a colony of Quakers' could not be found. It seems clear that Evans was attempting to test the Quaker pacifist credentials by forcing them to take military action in order to defend themselves. His action was condemned, as Ellis's letter indicates:

> I heard from Pennsylvania the 16th or 17th. of 3 mo. last. There arrived there from ye governour of Maryland an Acct. yt there were 25 french Privateers making for the Bay of Delaware... to take Pensylvania, also the same day there came the Sheriff of Newcastle with ye news yt these Pirates had landed and burnt the Town of Worehill (or Worskill) and [were] then fireing upon Newcastle Town 40 miles from Philadelphia... the Governour immediately ordered those yt were for fighting to take arms wch. there did to the number of 400 and dispatch'd a Boat down the River to bring Word if they were coming towards Philadelphia, in the meantime several hid their plate and money and several women with child miscarried... The wicked men wn ye Rumour arrived did swear & rage up and down ye Streets of Philadelphia crying how they were now like to be destroyed under ye Quaker's Government – but however all was but a rumour purposely spread to see whether friends wou'd take up arms wn a Trial came, but there was but five yt took up Arms 2 or 3 of wch they expected little better from, the Governour & Council met next day, to enquire into ye matter and to acuse the raisers of ye Report publickly to suffer... Note ye sd Governours, Sheriffs etc... lost their places afterwards on yt account.[72]

However, the Quakers managed to secure the approval of the native population as Richard Lewis demonstrated in 1715. In a letter he wrote that the 'Indians' had done 'much mischief in South Caroline caus'd by ye English unfair dealing towards ym, but they do not meddle with Friends.'[73]

Unfortunately for these new communities, there was also a tendency for some Friends to fall foul of the uncompromising Quaker moral code.[74] In June 1716, Richard Lewis noted that there was 'forgetfulness of God' and, although there was liberty of conscience, he commented that many people were 'strangers to God'.[75] Moreover, in 1729 it was observed that, although the settlements were economically buoyant, the 'young generation of friends... are very much declining from the Truth.'[76] In his early teens John Griffiths emigrated in 1726 and, in spite of his intentions to lead a wholesome life, he succumbed to 'the foolish amusements of a transitory world'. He attended Meetings from habit rather than conviction, and continued to act in such a manner until one of his companions came close to death after a serious accident occurred in circumstances in which Griffiths was the ringleader.[77] In 1734, aged twenty-one, he became a Quaker minister and was a gifted speaker at the Abingdon Meeting in Pennsylvania. Beginning his first missionary journey around the mainland American colonies in October 1734, he remained faithful to his calling for the next forty-two years. Yet the desire to uphold Quaker values led to heavy restrictions being self-imposed on Friends. Cockfights, theatrical performances, and other forms of popular culture activities were denied to members. Barry Levy has calculated that between c.1750 and 1790, Pennsylvania Friends disowned nearly 50 per cent of members, and observes that 'after much debate and resistance, Quaker leaders chose to protect their household ideal and disown, in effect summarily, all those who married irregularly.'[78] This attitude, coupled with opposition to marriages to non-members, led to a marked decline in membership both in Pennsylvania and in Britain in the eighteenth century. Emigration, in this respect, although damaging to the numerical strength of Quaker Meetings in Britain, was not the main reason for the decline of the Society.

The emigration of at least seventy-five families[79] to the Welsh Tract[80] between 1681 and 1690 did nevertheless have a major impact upon Quaker communities in Wales. For example, of the 57 south Wales Friends who married between 1650 and 1684, 36 (63 per cent) migrated.[81] Not only did Friends lose some of their ablest members, but for those who remained the task of taking the Society into the eighteenth century and beyond proved to be too much. Thus when John Bevan left Wales in 1683, the Tref-y-Rhyg Meeting recorded that:

> We... hereby sertifie... that great loss we and others have sustained in the removal of our deare friends John ap Bevan [*sic*] and Barbarah his wife.... both belonging to this Meeting, with their tender family in

> Pennsylvania.... And further we do certifie that we accounted them as Pillers to this Meeting [and] accounted as nursing father and nursing mother in this place to some weake and young amongst us...[82]

The same could be said of Ellis Pugh of the Tyddyn-y-Garreg Meeting near Dolgellau, who was 'a serviceable instrument in the Lord's hand, to cherish and instruct many, in meekness and tenderness',[83] and who had by his missionary endeavours gained many converts to Quakerism. This can be compared with the emigration of John Miles's Ilston Baptist congregation in 1663. This was so damaging that in the 1676 Compton religious census there was not a single Baptist recorded in that area of Glamorgan. However, the Baptist cause was supported elsewhere in Wales and prospered under the strong leadership of Lewis Thomas at Newton Nottage in Glamorgan, Robert Williams of Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont, Carmarthenshire, and William Prichard of Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. Other Baptist congregations met at Olchon, Llanigon, Llantrisant and Llanwenarth, and were assisted by the development of the Rhydwilym congregation at Llandysilio on the Carmarthen-Pembrokeshire border under the leadership of Revd. William Jones of Cilmaenllwyd. In spite of the efforts of these men and their congregations, the total membership was no more than 550 in 1690, and emigration had effectively hampered progress and continued to do so with further departures throughout the eighteenth century.[84]

Surviving correspondence and the Welsh Yearly Meeting minutes also throw light upon the decline in membership as a result of large-scale emigration. In 1695, Charles Lloyd II of Dolobran wrote to the Pembertons in Pennsylvania that the on-going process of emigration would deplete Quaker communities in Montgomeryshire and elsewhere, and would 'hasten my hoary head to the grave more than all my prisons, debts, and travelling'.[85] Again, in 1697 the clerk of the Welsh Yearly Meeting recorded that:

> we being undr a deepe sence and considracon that some friends by their irregular, disorderly, and unsavoury proceedings and... runnings into Pensilvania having been a cause of great weakening (if not totall decayinge) of some meetings in this Dominion of Wales so that... the remnant... is left behind... We, therefore earnestly Intreat frnds for the future to consult wth frnds in the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, and to have their unity afore they resolve to remove to Pensilvania or ellsewhere. [86]

A similar pleading was heard at the Yearly Meeting the following year and such memoranda are to be found in the Quaker records throughout the early to mid-eighteenth century.[87] Yet even that notable Quaker critic of emigration, John Kelsall, was sufficiently curious about the process of emigration to write to his brother-in-law in May 1713 to enquire about the conditions in the colony.[88] A year earlier, the Quarterly Meeting of North Wales showed that the

loss of Friends in their Meetings meant that they were encountering severe financial difficulties, particularly over the relief of the poor. They wrote to Bristol Friends on 14 December 1712 appealing for help and explained the 'circumstances of this Meeting'.[89] Nevertheless, it might be argued that the numerical decline of Friends was symptomatic of changing and declining fortunes within the Quaker church as a whole, and that this decline was only partially attributable to the migration of the Friends in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hugh Jones contended in his study of Welsh Friends conducted over half a century ago that:

> Admittedly, emigration drained Wales of some of its best Quakers but whether the failure of Quakerism can be attributed, even partly, to that is a very questionable point. Emigration may have only hastened the natural course of things and as such cannot be admitted as a fundamental cause of the failure of Quakerism in Wales.[90]

This is a view which can be substantiated by the comments of Welsh Friends themselves. On 22 September 1722, Kelsall complained in a letter to John Merrick junior of Edsbury, Cheshire, about the decline in the religious zeal of members. He wrote:

> I have heard in some places much of ye Increase of Truth wch I wou'd hope is measureably true, but we are seldom told of a Decay or Declension; this is a secret, the other publick and apparent, And I am ready to conclude yt the true Church is very much... crucyfied between the two thieves Liberty & Carnal Security, and do fear there is more Ashes than living Embers, and if the Lord should please... to cause a Storm to arise... I fear yt wch appears now as a mountain of fine gold wou'd by such a fanning Blast or Fire be found a small Quantity of pure refined metal.[91]

Careful scrutiny of the extant evidence would suggest that although emigration certainly had a detrimental effect upon many Quaker communities in Wales as a whole, it was not entirely responsible for their decline. Records relating to the emigration of Monmouthshire Friends to Pennsylvania are not abundant, and this may mask the true figure of those Quakers who emigrated from the county. For example in 1674, although the will of Edward Webley of Shirenewton records that his son, Walter, was resident in New York, there is no corresponding Quaker record.[92] Nevertheless, in comparison with the 2,000 individuals who ventured from Wales to America between 1682 and 1700,[93] the few traceable Friends from Monmouthshire pale into insignificance. This may be because there were no representatives from Monmouthshire at the Meeting arranged by Penn at London in 1682 to promote emigration, and this is in marked contrast to the response of other Welsh Friends.[94] In his examination of

Welsh emigrants to Pennsylvania, Thomas Glenn recorded six individuals from Monmouthshire (four women and two men) plus the family of Lewis Thomas. Glenn's research was first published in two volumes between 1911 and 1913. He was, however, unable to locate precisely Lewis Thomas, and he mistakenly included Martha Aubrey of Llanelieu, Breconshire.[95] An examination of the registers for Monmouthshire has provided details of Lewis's children and his brother, John Thomas of Goldcliff, and it is possible that Monmouthshire Quakers may have been among the earlier 1,400 pioneers who set out for the American colonies between 1677 and 1681.[96]

In the wholesale exodus from the Tref-y-Rhyg Meeting in Glamorgan in 1683,[97] only Lewis Thomas and his family from Monmouthshire were recorded as having emigrated with them. The following year James Howell, a yeoman from Pontypool in Monmouthshire, joined them in Pennsylvania and became a freeholder in Radnor township.[98] In September 1691 Friends signed a removal certificate for Rees Thomas of Chepstow,[99] but it was not until 1699 that further Monmouthshire Friends left for Pennsylvania. During that year, Martha and Sarah Wisdom (aged 21 and 15 respectively) of Malpas, along with Elizabeth Cooper (aged 19) of Pontypool, and Howell James of Malpas set sail.[100] Both Martha and Sarah Wisdom returned home in August 1708, having been commended by Pennsylvania Friends for their good behaviour and for being 'sober & honest & always plyable to Frds advise. Clear from all on ye account of Marriage & perseverance in ye Truth to ye end of their daies.'[101] It is, of course, possible that other voyages to Pennsylvania were undertaken by Monmouthshire Friends during this period, but were not recorded by the Monthly Meeting.

While other Friends emigrated from the county in the course of the eighteenth century, their numbers are, as before, small. One such example is that of Joshua Williams of Cwmcarfan in 1711, who was severely harassed for the non-payment of tithes.[102] By taking the decision to emigrate, he may have prompted others to consider their 'sufferings' and the opportunities that America offered them. There was, however, no immediate mass exodus from the county. The only Friends to apply for certificates of removal after this date were William Sankey and his family who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1727. Even in this case, Sankey was not a native of Monmouthshire, having previously lived in Bewdley, Worcestershire.[103] Yet, even the loss of one Quaker family, especially at a time of declining numerical fortunes, would have had a major psychological impact upon the Quaker community.

Members of the Beadles family were recorded as either having visited or lived in America in the 1720s and the 1730s. The lack of removal certificates, as well as of any references in the Meeting minutes to these events, means that it is difficult to ascertain whether they were planning missionary journeys or preparing to emigrate. In December 1728 Handley, the son of Elisha Beadles, an elder of Pontypool, was drowned off the coast of Ireland on his way home from Philadelphia which seems to indicate that the visit was only of a temporary nature.[104] In the following June his brother, Richard, died while in

Jamaica.[105] In both cases, no further information was provided in the burial register or in the minutes about the reasons for the brothers' travels. However, a land deed dated August 1738 suggests that the two young men may well have been intending to follow other Welsh Friends to America and to the West Indies.[106] In this document, an older brother, Elisha Beadles, was referred to as having settled in the 'Province of West New York' as a 'baker to the Government of New York'.[107] A final reference to a Monmouthshire Quaker émigré is given for Jane Edwards, a member of the Shirenewton Meeting, who was granted a certificate in 1751 for her intended passage to America.[108] It is again unclear whether this was an intention to emigrate or simply a ministering visit.

It can certainly be argued that emigration took its toll, but other factors too can be weighed in the balance, and must be considered significant in any analysis of the decline of the Society in Wales. With the passing of the first generation of Quakers, the missionary spirit of the Society waned significantly.[109] It is true that during the worst years of persecution several leading members of the Quaker community in south-east Wales died,[110] and that many others failed to remain faithful to Quakerism or to encourage their children to do so.[111] The situation certainly accelerated in the 1690s with the deaths of older Monmouthshire Friends and teachers who had witnessed the growth of the Society in the 1650s and 1660s as young men and women, such as John Beadles (1694), Richard Hanbury (1695), Rose Taylor (1695), Catherine Cadogan (1696), George White (1698), and John Merrick (1700).[112] Nevertheless, among the second generation there were still enthusiastic teachers and missionaries, such as Elisha Beadles and Evan Bevan, who sought to enforce the code of discipline in the county and to spread the Quaker message. Furthermore, there were devout families who took Quakerism into the next century, notably the Hanbury, Lewis, and Beadles families from the Pontypool area, who retained membership of the Society until the end of the eighteenth century.

Interestingly, although there is plenty of evidence on the effects of emigration on the Welsh Quaker community, little has been written about the inward migration of Quaker merchants and entrepreneurs to commercial centres such as Bristol, Worcester and London.[113] There was a loss of potential leaders of the Monmouthshire Meeting, especially during the eighteenth century, which was a direct consequence of the migration of well-educated Friends to English cities. While still a young man, Capel (1678 - 1740), the son of Richard and Mary Hanbury of Pontypool, moved to Bristol and became a prosperous soap merchant there.[114] In the early eighteenth century, John (1700 - 58), the son of Charles and Grace Hanbury and a nephew of Capel Hanbury, established himself as a Virginian tobacco merchant in Tower Street, London, while in 1708, the Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting recorded that Joseph and Morgan Phillips, after removing to Bristol, applied for certificates of removal.[115] Similarly, in October 1729, John Beadles, a maltster and glover of Pontypool,[116] requested a removal certificate to join the Worcester Meeting.[117]

Wealthy Monmouthshire Friends were becoming scarce by the mid-eighteenth century. For example, when members wanted to up-date their deeds

of ownership, they occasionally had to rely on trustees or kinsmen of former Monmouthshire Friends who were resident in London. In 1751, John Hanbury of London was called upon to act as a lessor of the Pont-y-Moel meeting-house and Pen-y-Garn burial ground for his deceased grandfather, Richard Hanbury. His son, Osgood Hanbury, also of London, was called upon to act as a trustee.[118] The problem intensified during the second half of the eighteenth century with the migration of other Friends.[119] Among those who left the county were Nathaniel Allway Beadles and three ministers and elders, namely John Richards, Martha Williams and Eleanor Edwards. In 1767, Beadles applied for a certificate of removal to join the Nailsworth Monthly Meeting in Gloucestershire.[120] He was 23 years old, and his reasons for leaving, although unstated, were most probably economically motivated. It is also possible that his planned move was a consequence of the shortage of suitable marriage partners among Monmouthshire Friends. Beadles returned to Pontypool, but he was disowned for marrying the non-Quaker Honor Shatford at Pant-Teg parish church in February 1773.[121] The re-settlement of John Richards to Bristol in 1770, Martha Williams in 1777 and Eleanor Edwards in 1781 both to Swansea, and Sarah Cooper to Leominster in 1781 caused further setbacks to the small number of Friends who comprised the Pontypool group.[122] There were undoutedly migrants into the county, but they are not in evidence until the end of the eighteenth century and until after the decline had seriously eroded the number of native Quaker members.[123]

As this study has shown, Welsh Quakers who emigrated to America in the late-seventeenth century were primarily religious refugees, fleeing intolerance. Others, particularly after the introduction of the Toleration Act in 1689, sought to escape poverty and secure a more comfortable, devout communal way of living for themselves and their families. In doing so they believed they could create a 'new Jerusalem', which would satisfy their religious needs and help them to develop an internally regulated Quaker community. Disputes, external pressure, and the austerity of their code of conduct in the eighteenth century nevertheless tended to undermine their good intentions, a theme to be addressed in a future research project.

As a result of emigration, Welsh settlers were by the mid-eighteenth century to be found in significant numbers throughout the known world, particularly in the West Indies, Spanish America, and in Canada.[124] Although for many Welsh people, particularly Quakers, Pennsylvania became their primary spiritual home, settlers also moved elsewhere. First, a small group of emigrants moved into the interior and the uplands of Pennsylvania, and then to Ohio, while a second, larger group, like many of their Celtic counterparts, pushed westwards and southwards, establishing new communities at Maryland, Virginia,[125] and into the Carolinas and Georgia. This led to the creation of new meeting-houses, cultural activity,[126] and later centres of learning.[127] Sustained emigration, however, constituted a major threat to the small Quaker communities in Wales, and in many respects – especially in Radnorshire, Merionethshire, Pembrokeshire, and Montgomeryshire – it led to the decline of the Meetings there. Nevertheless,

the pattern of emigration was not uniform. Friends in certain counties, most notably Monmouthshire, although not entirely escaping the lure of the 'New World', did not see wholesale change to their community life.

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NOTES

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11 See Smith, S. S., *Lewis Morris: Anglo-American statesman, ca. 1613-1691*, Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press Inc., 1983.

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13 Williams, G. A., *When Was Wales?*, London: Penguin Books, 1985, p. 136. Details regarding the initial settlement of Pennsylvania and Welsh settlers are provided in Glenn, T. A., *The Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols., Oxford: Fox, Jones & Co. 1911-13.

14 See Hill, C., 'Propagating the Gospel' in Bell, H. E. and Ollard, R. L., (eds), *Historical Essays: 1600-1750*, London: A&C Black, 1963, pp. 35-59; Hill, C., 'Puritans and "the Dark Corners of the Land"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XIII (1963), pp. 77-102.

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18 Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p.155.

19 'Edward Foulke's Narrative of his Removal', and cited in Jenkins, H. M., *Historical collections relating to Gwynedd*, Philadelphia: Ferris Bros., 1884, p. 34.

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21 Griffiths, J., *Journal of the Life, Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry of John Griffith and also, His Brief Remarks upon sundry important subjects, &c.*, London, 1779; repr. York, 1830, p. 14.

22 Anon, 'Pioneers in Pennsylvania, 1685', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 6/4 (November 1909), p. 174. This was a copy of a letter Thomas Ellis sent to Philip Ford of London dated Dublin 13.4.1685.

23 Glamorgan Archive Service (hereafter GAS), D/DSF/320. North Wales Quarterly Meeting (1668-1752 no pagination), minutes dated 29.5.1690.

24 See Penn, W., *Frame of Government of Pennsylvania*, 1682.

25 Jones, 'John Kelsall', p. 137 nn. 1-2. It is also worth noting John ap Thomas, another Merionethshire gentleman, who purchased 5000 acres in 1681, but died before he took possession of his new land. His wife and children nevertheless emigrated. See Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 156.

26 See Glenn, Welsh Founders, pp. 152-219; Dodd, A. H., 'The background to the Welsh Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania', *Journal of Merioneth History and Record Society*, 3/2, (1958), p. 123. For an acceptable argument on the relative impoverishment of North Wales Quakers, see Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, Ch. 1.

27 Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, p. 36.

28 Glenn, *The Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, I, pp. 208-09.

29 Penn had been granted the charter at Westminster on 4 March 1681 in response to a £16,000 debt which the government owed his father's estate. For details, see Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 179.

30 The Quaker writer, Robert Barclay of Urie in Aberdeenshire was made governor for life. For a discussion about the earlier purchase and settlement of New Jersey (c.1675 and 1681), see Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 178-79.

31 See Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 180. Elwyn Ashton suggests that the original purchase was later increased to nearer 50,000 acres. See Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, p. 43. Further details of the Welsh land companies are provided in Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, p. 21; Browning, *Welsh Settlements of Pennsylvania*, pp. 33-248. For Penn's relations with the Welsh, see Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, p. 111.

32 Penn, *Frame of Government*, and cited in Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 180.

33 For details of the purchases, see Browning, *The Welsh Settlement*, pp. 47-49, 141-42, 163, 175, 195, 207, 213-14.

34 Simmons, 'The Quakers' American Proprietaries', pp. 508, 510-12.

35 Braithwaite, W. C., *The Second Period of Quakerism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1961, p. 405.

36 Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, pp. 13-14, 115-16.

37 Levick, 'John ap Thomas and his Friends', p. 316.

38 Bevan, unlike most of his fellow Quaker emigrants, retained his land in Wales. See Browning, *The Welsh Settlement*, pp. 33, 163ff; Jones, 'John Kelsall', pp. 147-48. Other grantees from the John Bevan patent are given in Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, pp. 34-35.

39 'The Journal of John Bevan', and quoted in Levick, 'The Early Welsh Quakers and their emigration to Pennsylvania', p. 404. After his return to Wales in 1704, he wrote that his wife's aim was 'in good measure answered'. See Levy, 'Tender Plants', p. 117.

40 The two men paid £508 for the land and sold it to the settlers at £6.10s per 100 acres.

41 Further details of the seventeen square miles settlement are provided in Jenkins. *Historical Collections*, passim; Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 188-90. In 1712, a second meeting-house, subscribed to by sixty-two Friends, was planned. The draft proposals were in Welsh, with the site under the supervision of eight Welsh Friends. It was completed in 1714.

42 Jones, 'John Kelsall', pp. 134-35 n.1. Barry Levy suggests that between 1682 and 1700, 200 hundred Cheshire and Welsh Quaker families settled in the Delaware valley. See Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, pp. 13-14.

43 GAS, D/DSF/324, Quarterly Meeting of Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire (1692-1710 no pagination), minutes dated 12.3.1703.

44 See Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 403.

45 Swarthmore College Library, Philadelphia. Special Collections (hereafter SCLSC). MS.RG5.168. Folder 119. (George Family Papers). Ser.3 (Personal papers, 1681-1884). For further examples, see Levy, 'Tender Plants', pp. 116-17, 119.

46 GAS, D/DSF/379, Dolobran Monthly Meeting (1693-1714 no pagination), minutes dated 31.11.1709.

47 GAS, D/DSF/379, minutes dated 31.1.1713, 28.2.1713.

48 SCLSC. MS.RG5.168. Folder 119. Ser.1 (Correspondence, 1705-1864). Folder 2. Doc.2. A letter from George Davies to Edward George. Hen-faes. 29 o Fai (May) 1715. Furthermore, many of these Friends ventured to the 'old country' on missionary visits. For details, see LSF, 194/2, pp. 80-81, 81-83, 103, 105-06, 121-22, 126-27, 161-62, 164-65, 165-66; 194/3, pp. 69-71, 93-94, 98-99, 108-09, 113-15, 117-20, 127-28, 130-31, 134-36, 136-39, 340, 151, 156.

49 LSF, MS.193/1, diary entry 28.12.1720.

50 See Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 181.

51 Pugh, E., *Annerch i r Cymru iw galw oddiwrth y llawer o bethau at yr un peth angenrheidiol er mwyn cadwedigaeth eu heneidiau*, Philadelphia, 1721.

52 Pugh, E., *A salutation to the Britons: to call them from the many things, to the one thing needful for the saving of their souls: especially, to the poor unlearned tradesmen, plowmen and shepherds, those that are of a low degree like myself ... Translated from the British language by Rowland Ellis, revised and corrected by David Lloyd*, Philadelphia, 1727. Pugh had bought land near Plymouth Township, Montgomery county, and was recognised by Friends for his missionary work which drew many converts to Quakerism. See Evans, W. and Evans, T., (eds), *Piety Promoted*, Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1854, IV, p. 339. Further details of his life are provided in Allen, R. C., 'Ellis Pugh', *New Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2004.

53 In 1684 Friends in Radnor township, after receiving land from John Jarman, formerly of Llangurig, built a meeting house. A stone built structure was erected in 1717. Merion Friends also established a wooden meeting house before building a stone structure in 1695. The meeting house at Haverford was again a wooden structure before they built a stone construction in 1700.

54 LSF, 194/3 p. 134. Letter from James Lewis of Philadelphia to John Kelsall, dated 20.9.1719, and cited in Jones, 'John Kelsall', p. 139.

55 Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 191.

56 Browning, *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, p. 310.

57 Blake, J. W., 'Going to America', *History Today*, (June 1958), p. 395. The journey to America was particularly dangerous for women Friends since seaman were 'commonly men of the wildest sort'. See Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 403.

58 For details of this schism, see Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, pp. 157-72; Martin, C. J. L., 'Tradition versus Innovation: The Hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies', *Quaker Studies*, 8/1 (September 2003), pp. 15-18.

59 They provided political figures, administrators, lawyers, doctors. For details, see Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 184-85; Jenkins, G. H., 'From Ysgeifiog to Pennsylvania: the rise of Thomas Wynne, Quaker barber-surgeon', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 28 (1977-78), pp. 39-61; Jenkins, G. H., 'Llythyr olaf Thomas Wynne o Gaerwys: "A Farewell of endeared love to ould England and Wales, 1686"', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 29 (1982), pp. 91-110.

60 LSF, MS. 194/3, p. 115. Letter from Richard Lewis, Germantown, to John Kelsall dated 26.7.1715. Further details of the settlements in America are provided in Williams, G. A., *When Was Wales?*, pp. 157-59; Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, Ch.4.

61 Details of the squabbles that developed between the leaders of Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century are recounted in Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, pp. 47-52; Simmons, R. C., *The American Colonies: from settlement to independence*, New York: D. McKay Co, 1976, p. 143; Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, pp. 47-48, 51; Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, Ch.5.

62 Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 181-83.

63 Penn's letter to his colonial secretary, James Logan. Details are provided in Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p.192

64 See Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 192-93.

65 Cited in Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 193-94.

66 Born at Manafon, Montgomeryshire, David Lloyd left Wales for Pennsylvania in 1682. He lived at Philadelphia until 1710, and died at Chester, Pennsylvania in 1731. The list of his office holding is impressive. He was appointed Attorney-General of Pennsylvania in 1680; Clerk of the County Court at Philadelphia, Master of the Rolls, and Clerk of the Provincial Court. In 1689, he was Clerk of the Assembly, and between 1694 and 1698 he was returned as an Assembly member. He secured the new charter for the colony in 1696, while in 1703 he became Deputy-Judge, and in 1718 Lloyd was appointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

67 Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 191.

68 Logan, although noting Lloyd's prowess as a lawyer, thought that he was 'extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful', and they were bitterly at odds over the oaths controversy of 1706. Details are provided in Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 197.

69 Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, p. 196.

70 It would nevertheless take until 1761 before Friends declared that members who owned slaves would be censured. This was quickly followed up in 1763 with a declaration that Friends who were in any way involved in the slave trade would be disowned. See Rees, *The Quakers in Wales*, pp. 194-95.

71 LSF, MS. 193/4, p. 33, entry dated 8.4.1704.

72 LSF, MS. 194/3, pp. 70-71. Letter from Rowland Ellis of Philadelphia to John Kelsall, dated 7.9.1706.

73 LSF, MS. 194/3, p. 115. Letter from Richard Lewis, Germantown, to John Kelsall, dated 26.7.1715.

74 This is usefully examined in Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, Chs. 4-6.

75 LSF, MS. 194/3, pp. 118-19. Letter from Richard Lewis, Germantown, to John Kelsall, dated 15.4.1716.

76 LSF, MS. S.189, diary entry 22.4.1729.

77 Griffiths, *Journal*, pp. 19-25.

78 Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, p. 16. See also Marietta, J., *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984; Allen, R. C., 'Establishing an Alternative Community in the North-east: Quakers, morals and popular culture in the long-eighteenth century', in Berry, H. and Gregory, J., (eds), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1832*, Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming 2004, Ch. 7.

79 Figures quoted in Levy, 'Tender Plants', p. 116.

80 Settlements were set up along the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, near Philadelphia.

81 Levy, *Quakers and the American Family*, p. 100.

82 Tref-y-Rhyg Meeting minutes dated 10.7.1683, and cited in Levick, 'The Early Welsh Quakers and their emigration to Pennsylvania', p. 405. Bevan subsequently became a member of the Pennsylvanian Provincial Assembly and a magistrate in Philadelphia before returning to Wales in 1704. See Jones, 'John Kelsall', p. 147. Details of his will are provided in Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, pp. 175-76.

83 Evans and Evans, *Piety Promoted*, IV, p. 339.

84 Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters*, p. 64.

85 Lloyd, H., *The Quaker Lloyds in the Industrial Revolution*, London: Hutchinson, 1975, p. 36.

86 GAS, D/DSF/2, p. 511. The Yearly Meeting held at Robert Evans's house in Llanidloes. Minutes dated 6-7.2.1697.

87 GAS, D/DSF/2, p. 515. The Yearly Meeting held at Evan Lloyd's house in Rhaeadr, minutes dated 26.2.1698.

88 LSF, MS. 194/2, p. 103. Letter from John Kelsall to Samuel Davies, Pennsylvania, dated 2.3.1713.

89 GAS, D/DSF/320, minutes dated 14.10.1712.

90 Jones, 'John Kelsall', p. 143.

91 LSF, MS. 194/2, pp. 97-102. Letter from John Kelsall to John Merrick junior, dated 27.7.1712.

92 See National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), Llandaff Diocese Probate Records. LL/1674/96.

93 Figures quoted in Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales*, p. 67.

94 Representatives from north Wales numbered 10 (Merioneth [5], Flintshire [2], Montgomeryshire [2], Denbighshire [1]), and Glamorgan and Pembrokeshire 1 each.

95 Martha was the daughter of the Quaker gentleman William Aubrey. She removed to Pennsylvania in 1683 and in 1692 was married to Rees Thomas of Merion to whom she had been engaged since 1682. See Glenn, *Welsh Founders*, p. 153. After her death in 1726 a collection of elegiac poems was posthumously published in her memory, see Keimer, S., (ed.), *A Collection of Elegiac Poems, devoted to the memory of the late virtuous and excellent matron and worthy elder in the Church of Christ of the Society of Friends, Martha Thomas*, Philadelphia, 1727.

96 See Glenn, *Welsh Founders*, I, pp. 155, 157, 173, 178, 212, 218-19.

97 Details of those who comprised the Tref-y-Rhyg Meeting before 1683 and those Friends who accompanied John Bevan to America are given in NLW MS. 1116D, p. 131-32; Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract*, pp. 154-78; Glenn, *Welsh Founders*, I, p. 152ff; Browning, *The Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, pp. 33, 166-72, 261.

98 Glenn, *Welsh Founders*, I, p. 173.

99 NLW, MS. 1116D, p .130. Thomas Glenn noted that Thomas's certificate was dated 16 of 7 month 1691, and was signed by Thomas James, Evan John, Rowland Powell and David Williams.

100 Glenn, *Welsh Founders*, I, p. 219.

101 GAS, D/DSF/351, minutes dated 4.6.1708.

102 For details, see Allen, R. C., '"Mocked, scoffed, persecuted, and made a gazeing stock": The resistance of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) to the religious and civil authorities in post-toleration south-east Wales c.1689-1836' in Bonifas, G., (ed.), *Resistances*, Nice: *Cycnos. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Nice*, 2003, pp. 23-47.

103 GAS, D/DSF/352, minutes dated 2.6.1727.
104 PRO, Society of Friends Registers (Monmouthshire). No.677, p. 47. He was 17 years old.
105 PRO, Society of Friends Registers (Monmouthshire). No.677, p. 47 (Aged 20).
106 It is worth noting that the Hanbury family of Pontypool and London had a stake in Barbados in the eighteenth century with an estate at Locust Hall. See Barbados Archives. Queree papers of Estate holdings, p. 242
107 Gwent Record Office (hereafter GwRO), D43.69 (M433.9), dated 30 August 1738. In another document he is also referred to as Elisha Beadles, late of the city of London, and residing in New Jersey, West Indies. See Gw.RO, Man.E.133.0063, p. 58 (c.1737).
108 GAS, D/DSF326, minutes dated 1.2.1751.
109 The difficulty of distinguishing between the first and second generation of Friends, especially those members who left the Society, and converts who joined it in its early years, is briefly discussed in Morgan, N., *Lancashire Quakers and the Establishment 1660-1730*, Halifax: Ryburn Press, 1993, p. 256.
110 These included Walter Jenkins in 1661, Thomas and Elizabeth Holme in the mid-1660s, James Merrick of Ross in 1678 and the Cardiff Friends, Francis and John Gawler, John Mayo, Elizabeth Richard, and Dorcas and Mary Erbery whose dates of death are unknown.
111 For example, members of the White, Scudamore and Webley families failed to retain their association with the Monmouthshire Society or else moved to Meetings outside of the county.
112 During this period the Society also saw the deaths of George Fox in 1691, John ap John in 1697 and Charles Lloyd of Dolobran in 1698.
113 See Vann, R. T. and Eversley, D., *Friends in Life and Death: the British and Irish Quakers in the demographic transition, 1650-1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 14. Compare with Clark P. and Souden, D., *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, London: Hutchinson Education, 1987, Ch. 7; Brooks, C., 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in Barry, J. and Brooks, C., (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994, Ch. 2.
114 He was buried 18 January 1740 at Friends' Burying Ground at Mangotsfields, near Bristol. Further details of his family are given in Locke, A. A., *The Family of Hanbury*, London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1916, Ch. 26.
115 GAS, D/DSF/351, minutes dated 4.6.1708, 6.8.1708.
116 See also GwRO, D.43.69 (M433.9); D8A.0827-28 where is he is referred to as a glover of Worcester.
117 GAS, D/DSF/352, minutes dated 1.8.1729. He had earlier married a Friend from Leominster. GAS, D/DSF/352, minutes dated 6.2.1726.
118 GAS, D/DSF/263-5; D/DSF/423 (Transcripts). Deeds dated 29-31 October 1751.
119 Other examples include: Christmas Evans to London (1755); James Lewis to Swansea (1769 - he returned in March 1773); James and Sarah Hughes to Clarum, Somersetshire (1769); Elizabeth Brown (1770); William Lowe to Radcliff, London (1782); Thomas and Mary Gibbon to Morley, Cheshire (1784), Joseph Cowles to Swansea (1785); Mary Williams to Bristol (1790); Sarah Cowles to Leominster (1798); Robert Reynolds to Witney, Oxfordshire (1798). See GAS, D/DSF/354, Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting, minutes dated 5.11.1755, 7.6.1769, 8.11.1769, 14.3.1770, 3.3.1773, 2.1.1782, 4.2.1784, 26.12. 1785, 7.7.1790; GAS, D/DSF/355, Monmouthshire Monthly Meeting, minutes dated 3.1.1798; GAS, D/DSF/356, minutes dated 21.3.1798.
120 GAS, D/DSF/354, minutes dated 1.4.1767.
121 Nathaniel Beadles was not formally disowned until April 1786 when Friends compiled a list of those Friends who had acted contrary to the Society's rules. See NLW, Bishop's Transcripts. Pant-Teg Parish. No.48; GAS, D/DSF/354, minutes dated 9.4.1786.
122 GAS, D/DSF/354, minutes dated 7.11.1770, 7.9.1777, 9.5.1781, 14.10.1781.
123 For example, Joseph Cowles from Ross and later Swansea (1782, 1789); Sarah Cowles from Ross (1784); Richard Summers Harford from Ross (1793); Robert Reynolds of Bristol (1793); John Harford from Bristol (1795). GAS, D/DSF/354, minutes dated 5.5.1782, 7.1.1784, 15.4.1789; GAS, D/DSF/355, minutes dated 23.1.1793, 2.10.1793, 6.5.1795.

124 Welsh merchants were in evidence in New Orleans, while Charles Morgan alias Jacques Clamorgan, a Welsh West Indian, ran a number of fur trading enterprises on the Missouri. These eventually led to the development of the Missouri Company which outflanked both the British and Americans. See Williams, G. A., *The Search for Beulah land: the Welsh and the Atlantic Revolution*, London: Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 20-21, 36; Evans, *A History of Wales*, pp. 256-60.
125 For example, out of 7,359 references to seventeenth-century Virginia 6,647 came from Wales, Cornwall, Ireland and other parts of the Celtic world. See McDonald, Forest and McWhiney, Grady, 'The Celtic South', *History Today*, (July, 1980), p. 11.
126 In 1729, the St David's Society was established and in 1850 Y Drych was launched. See Evans, *A History of Wales*, p. 255; Jones, W. D. and Jones, A. G., *Welsh Reflection: Y Drych and America, 1851-2001*, Llandysul: Gomer, 2001.
127 For example, Rhode Island College established by Morgan Edwards of Monmouthshire, which became Brown University. It was supported by Dr. Samuel Jones from Glamorgan and Williams Richard of Lynn, a former inhabitant of south-west Wales, and later ardent supporter of the American revolutionary cause. See Evans, *A History of Wales*, p. 256; Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, pp. 53-55.

AUTHOR DETAILS

Dr. Richard Allen was educated in Newport, Gwent, and read history at Aberystwyth University before embarking on a Ph.D. at the same University. He is now Lecturer in Early Modern and Celtic History at the University of Newcastle and Visiting Fellow at the University of Northumbria. He has also been a recipient of several Research Fellowships in America. His principal research interests concern the social, religious and cultural history of England and Wales between 1650 and 1800. He has published widely on Welsh Quakerism and the social and cultural history of the North East of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Currently he is writing a monograph on Welsh Quakerism, and completing British Academy sponsored research for a significant new study of Welsh Quaker emigration to Colonial America and the Caribbean.

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