## The Quakers in East Tytherton

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## 1. Who were the 'Quakers'?

The Quakers, properly known as the 'Society of Friends', were founded in the 1640s by George Fox (1624-1690-1). Fox was from the skilled artisan class, the son of a weaver. He grew up in Leicestershire during the turbulent years of Charles I and the English Republic. Having received a call from God to preach, he travelled all over the country, including Scotland, suffering many persecutions and imprisonments. It may well be that his ministry was a reaction to the poor spiritual state of the established church, for he pointed out many injustices that the church and its 'steeple-houses' were perpetuating through simply going along with them, such as the abuses of power invested in established hierarchies.

In his Journals, Fox writes

[1649] ... when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to Thee and Thou all men and women, without any respect to rich and poor, great or small ... neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one ...<sup>1</sup>

This might seem a little strange to us today, but in George Fox's time a whole elaborate ritual had developed as regards how to bow in different sets of circumstances. The curtsey or 'sink', equally for women. The 'scrape' referred to the movement of a foot during the whole ritual, which, as Liza Picard observed, might well require the attentions of a dancing master. Going out of right or left-doors require different kinds of bows, and no-one wanted to look like a servant, who, allegedly did not know how to use their arms correctly.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, clothes were probably the most important visible status symbol with which every person could relate. Huge sums of money were spent on clothes for this purpose, with even the poorest of people being prepared to undergo hardship and debt in order to give a (false) impression of belonging to the social class above them. And men spent more than women on the latest fashion items. In 1663 Samuel Pepys spent £551 on himself for clothes, and only £121 on his wife. While this may reflect Pepys' selfishness, it

also probably reflects the predilections of the culture of the time.<sup>3</sup> Bernard de Mandeville (1714) sums this up admirably when he writes

Handsome apparel is the main point, fine feathers make fine birds, and people, where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their clothes and other accoutrements they have about them; from the richest of them we judge of their wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their understanding. It is this that encourages every body, who is conscious of his little merit, if he is in any ways able, to wear clothes above his rank.<sup>4</sup>

It is not difficult, therefore, to see that George Fox (or any other radical) might see these badges of social status as an important target for symbolising their ideology and/or theology as something that was intended to challenge society at a fundamental level - that of class distinctions. And of uniting this new movement as a counter-cultural, sectarian<sup>5</sup> force, against the 'world'.

This relates to legal attempts to prevent such undermining of the *status quo*. Pepys, for example, was warned for infringing this *status quo* when he started to wear gold-laced cuffs<sup>6</sup> - the strict prerogative and mark of a gentleman, and the next step up from a yeoman. Not surprisingly, therefore, very many justices (although not all) were exceedingly exercised about this perceived threat to society by the Quakers. They were altogether too radical, and seemed to threaten the very foundations of social stability - and, of course - established orders of power and prestige in society. Such vested interests were no doubt the main reason for the excessive reactions to the Quakers, when literally hundreds were thrown into prison at once, all for meeting in large groups (against the Act forbidding 'Conventicles' when large meetings were seen as potentially seditious). It was difficult, perhaps almost impossible, for an officialdom that was reared in a culture of fear during the Republic, to think in any other way. That a group could be fundamentally peaceable was a totally alien concept. Fox was well aware of the disparities of the law, something that was to exercise the great minds of Sir Samuel Romilly and William Wilberforce 150 years later. Fox writes

[1651] In this time of my imprisonment I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their Courts of judicature. I was moved to write to the judges concerning

their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters; and to shew them how contrary it was to the law of God ...<sup>8</sup>

This insight was the forerunner of the later changes initiated by Wilberforce and Romilly. Fox was prophetic in other ways, as can be seen from his anticipation (as through a mirror dimly), that slavery was wrong:

[1671] ... Then as to their [Quakers who held slaves in Barbados] blacks or negroes ... I desired them ... that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free.<sup>10</sup>

In this, Fox was far ahead of his time, even of the Friends' themselves. In Birmingham, as late as 1792, Friends pondered the dilemma of accepting money for the rebuilding of their Meeting Place from the Quaker gun-manufactory, Farmer & Galton, which provided guns for the slave trade, and had its own vessel, the *Providence*, as if the name itself were a bizarre legitimation in itself of slavery and the profits to be made therefrom.<sup>11</sup> As regards the role of women, too, the Friends also broke with traditional ideas.

[1673] ... At Slaughterford<sup>12</sup> in Wiltshire ... we met there with much opposition from some who had set themselves against women's meetings ... That the faithful women, who were called to the belief of the truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation that men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be meet-helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of Truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil or temporal things.<sup>13</sup>

That the Quakers were frequently confused with an amorphous grouping of counter-cultural pantheistic radicals, called derisively by their opponents, 'Ranters', was understandable. Indeed, their thinking was at many points similar, especially as regards the 'inner light' that dwells in every person (cf., John 1.4-9).

On others, they two groups were quite different, especially on the strict rules regarding membership and marriage amongst the Quakers. These rules would have acted as 'differentiating rituals' between Quakers and Ranters. On their rejection of 'steeple houses' and established Anglican and other formal church structures as were presently in existence both groups had much in common, including belief in common property, and, occasionally, cavorting in the all together. This was an expression by both groups of a rejection of common public standards and ideas, often done publicly to demonstrate this point forcibly, not a belief in nudity for its own sake. <sup>14</sup> For example, some early friends, inspired by Isaiah's nakedness, went naked as a sign to warn England of its moral nakedness. <sup>15</sup> Such actions would have removed the less committed 'free riders', and have helped the group in their shared sense of being together in their counter-cultural offensive and need to bond together. A modern Quaker has referred to this as a form of moral integrity, a not fleeing from the demands of the cross. <sup>16</sup>

Quakers however, were not generally antinomian in the way that the Ranters were, nor did the Quakers view the indwelling light extending to all creatures in a pantheistic way. However, in the period of the Republic both groups were seen as coming from the same cloth, the Quakers being a slightly better variety of cloth. This clearly did not help the Quakers. To a limited extent this may well have been true, but with the Ranters being more rooted in the poorer classes of people.

The government certainly took the view that both groups posed a threat to social order and stability, and passed laws aimed at both groups, imprisoning both groups in large numbers. Acts defining blasphemy, adultery (both in 1650) and conventicles were all passed in this period. Charles II seems to have escaped censure under these Acts, however. It was hardly surprising that many former Ranters became Quakers, because, at key points, they had so much in common, while its strong organisation encouraged the Quakers to survive, while Ranterism, with no clearly defined leadership, soon declined after a brief glowing and sparking of its flame. Because of the passed in this period. Charles II seems to have escaped censure under these Acts, however. It was hardly surprising that many former Ranters became Quakers, because, at key points, they had so much in common, while its strong organisation encouraged the Quakers to survive, while Ranterism, with no clearly defined leadership, soon declined after a brief

## 2. What happened to the early Quakers in Wiltshire, and why?

In 1775 the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting comprised of thirteen meetings; by 1785, 11 meetings; by 1800, 7 meetings; by 1827, 3 meetings; by 1828, 2 meetings. Harold Fassnidge likewise notes the rapid growth and then decline: 'By 1827 only three (Calne, Melksham and Salisbury) remained of the nineteen Quaker places of worship [in Wiltshire] registered under the Toleration Act of 1689.' 19

Why this dramatic boom and bust in Wiltshire? Owen Chadwick's analysis suggested three causes: evangelical revival, lack of an adequate Quaker education system, and strict marriage discipline.<sup>20</sup>

However, it may be that the process of decline could be better understood within an analysis of the Institutionalisation processes that were going on, and the decline in the original fervour for evangelism towards a fossilisation of doctrine and legalism which alienated, rather than attracted people from outside. It is very noticeable that in such groups that family names abound, as they do, not just in the Quakers, but in the Mennonites, Exclusive Brethren, Amish, Moravians, and others that have become (in varying degree) inward-looking and protectionist, having lost the original vision and experience that initially inspired them.

Such groups have become 'institutionalised sects'. Their doctrines have fossilised, and they are characterised by legalism. Unless new people are entering such movements through evangelism or other effective forms of recruitment, then the only end can be death.

At the same time, there are dilemmas. The group requires new people to come in, but at the same time they do not want to lose their original ethos. A high level of commitment must be maintained, and 'free riders' need to ne kept out. The rewards of personal investment in a group, just as with economic investment, should be commensurate with input. Promises of social and emotional support, together with theological promises of an eschatological salvation, cannot and should not be debased. Spirit and letter

are both important, but the letter can kill the spirit, if it is allowed to dominate. As groups institutionalise, this is an ever-present risk.

Very early on (1737) the Quakers made the surprising decision to introduce 'birth-right Quakers'. <sup>21</sup> In principle, this is no different from the infant baptism that the Quakers so firmly rejected in the state churches, and which 'believers' churches' have always rejected as inconsistent with a 'gathered church'. Many would see this as the doorway to nominal Christianity, and indeed this seems to be the case in almost every church which practices infant baptism. Exceptions are the Exclusive Brethren, who practice extreme strictness in order to counter nominalism, but with the result that they are highly legalistic and very poor in being innovative and creative in addressing society. Indeed, they have retreated from it under their favourite accusation of 'worldliness" and its contamination. Like the Quakers, the Exclusives would have excommunicated anyone who married outside of their ranks, <sup>22</sup> and used marriage as a means of perpetuating the movement, so-called biological growth, as opposed to 'conversion growth'. Such a policy shift must have reflected changes within Quakerism, so why was such an important policy step taken at this time? Was it a sign of admission of weakness and decline? A misguided attempt to boost the statistics? An authoritarian extension of control over the family, which was so important to Quakers? Fear? Perhaps it was all of these things.

When Norman Penny made a quite outstanding effort to recruit new members in the late Victorian period in Wiltshire, Quaker local historian Harold Fassnidge makes the important admission that the missionary approach ran against Quaker traditions, and this was why Penny's huge efforts failed. <sup>23</sup> If this is so, then it points to a big problem in Quaker practice. The early Quakers were driven by their vision, rising to around 50,000 in the 17th century, <sup>24</sup> making them the largest nonconforming group at the time. They had no difficulty proclaiming the 'Truth'. No doubt the phenomenon known to sociologists as 'redemption and lift' played an important part. The discipline that all protestant and gathered churches practice also encouraged literacy and hard work - and materialism. With comfort came amelioration of the vision. There was also the Friends' tradition of silent listening for the Spirit's Voice. This in itself is a strength, not a weakness - provided it does not choke the prophetic voice. The idea of 'centring', so that worldly voices that clamour for attention can be silent, and God's Voice heard, is surely crucial. But, then, as George Fox, and the pioneers of almost every new movement has found, what psychologists call 'expressive language' is crucial. To choke expressive language - the emotive and authoritative (and

authoritarian too) is what creates the will to be counter-cultural in the first place. The Friends seem to have rationalised this culture of 'silence' and thereby allowed an institutionalisation to come in that killed the prophetic voice. This has indeed been recognised by Quaker writers, such as Michael Birkel (2004), who writes

John Rutty's *Spiritual Diary* reports that in twenty-two successive meetings for worship in Dublin in 1770, vocal ministry was offered only a single time.<sup>25</sup> When the flock was not fed for so long a time, a decline in spiritual vitality resulted. In the nineteenth century this inspired some to look for inspiration from the lively and progressive movement of the era, the evangelical revival.<sup>26</sup>

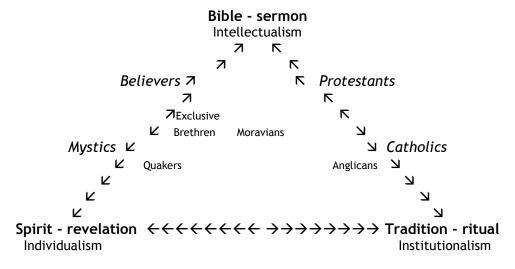
But not so low as to cause distress; that was uncomfortable, too. As Derek Parker & John Chandler comment in their helpful book on Wiltshire churches, 'Parishioners complained if standards dropped too low, but also if they were raised too high.'<sup>27</sup> This is surely correct. Extreme immorality and amorality are as destructive of comfort as the challenge of very high ideals. Most people want something in between. Like a courtship, the emotional demands cannot be sustained for the duration of a marriage, but require a different, 'institutionalised', *modus operandii*.

A source of authority is therefore important; too coercive, and this will increase resistance, too weak, and there will be no behavioural changes at all.<sup>28</sup> Authority should exercised in a way that helps people to feel that their decisions are their own.

In the figure (*below*),<sup>29</sup> it is arguable that the Quakers had an ambiguous source of authority, not always clearly biblical, nor totally derived from the Spirit. Michael Birkel comments on how some early Quakers resisted using the Scriptures as a manual or rule book, fearing that to do so would inhibit the central tenet of turning to the Inner Light for inspiration.<sup>30</sup> Yet it is the same Spirit that gave birth to both. This ambiguity of authority may have played a part in the controversies that have damaged the movement, particularly in Wiltshire. At the same time, the successes of the movement have been enormous, first in its initial evangelism and growth, then in its social action, especially in its pioneering abolition work, together with Thomas Clarkson (an Anglican), and in its far-sighted development of worker communities attached to important factories, such as Cadbury's. How could this be the case, when so much of Quakerism seems to work against an outward-looking, pro-social ethos?

Chadwick's answer is that it happened to the Quakers in spite of themselves.<sup>31</sup> Although the meetings encouraged private inwardness, they also nurtured a compassionate and sensitive spirit towards others. Added to this, was that the laws closing public service to Quakers may also have directed these energies into charitable concerns, and businesses with a charitable ethos. In the Victorian era, it was part of the culture, driven by the Clapham group,<sup>32</sup> of philanthropy, and the Quakers picked this up, and participated in it wholeheartedly.

(*Below*): The Quakers were mystics who emphasised inner revelation, over and against formal teaching and ritual performance of sacraments<sup>33</sup>



Deism was one such accusation that raised its head, because the doctrine of 'inward light' - always Quakerism's Achilles heel - was arguably too open to such interpretations. At issue was whether the

'inward light' was to be understood apart from the revelation of the Spirit through the Bible. As Chadwick puts it, "Was scripture the sole and unique revelation of God, or was it secondary to the immediate leading of the heart and mind by the spirit [sic] of God?'. Quakers had felt that the Bible was too sacred to teach in a formal sense, so no teaching of children from the scriptures was encouraged. This was rather similar to the Exclusive Brethren, to which group many Quakers left to join after the 1835-7 controversy over these matters. No Quaker Sunday ('First Day') Schools were started until the 1840s. Related to this was a denial of the atonement by Lancashire ministers, leading to many Lancashire Friends leaving the Society. <sup>34</sup> The 'sectarian' (socially closely-knit, with high membership demands) structures of the Brethren would have appealed to the Friends more than the 'pull' towards 'ritual' in the Church of England and the Roman Catholic churches, from which the Exclusive Brethren had reacted. Both Exclusive Brethren and Friends rejected paid ministry (as did other varieties of Brethren) and 'listened to the Spirit'. While both groups formally denied structures based on social class, both in practice had a class of 'weighty brothers' (or Friends) who provided leadership. Both also had their 'gurus' in George Fox (and others) in the Friends, and J. N. Darby (and others) for the Brethren.

Such things as legalism over the marriage rules, the role of the weighty brothers, the authority of scripture, all played a part in the decline of the Quakers as a living body of believers. In Wiltshire, as well as challenges from without, such as the Methodist revival. In their different ways, both the Methodists and Moravians drew people away from the Quakers. Both achieved a unique feat: they appealed to the ordinary working man, who had come to feel excluded in the process of redemption and lift that was being felt amongst the 'Old Dissent' that was Quakerism. One documented case (1852) relates to a poor worker who wanted to marry, but because of Quaker 'lift' could find no women of his social class, and he was forbidden to marry anyone except another Quaker.<sup>35</sup> He left; others, like him, must have done the same.

However, in the early years of the Quakers, as George Fox's *Journal* shows so well, all or most of these components were active, and with great energy and commitment. It was the dynamic interaction of these components, acting on each other in a multiplicative way, that gave early Quakerism its phenomenal growth. For a simple fact is: that groups that do not evangelise will die.

Famous humanist psychologist Abraham Maslow expressed the dilemma that all prophets face when having to address the institutionalisation of their original experience:

Much theology, much verbal religion through history and throughout the world, can be considered to be more or less vain efforts to put into communicable words and formulae, and into symbolic rituals and ceremonies, the original mystical experience of the original prophets. In a word, organised religion can be thought of as an effort to communicate peak experiences to non-peakers, to teach them, to apply them, etc. Often, to make it more difficult, this job falls into the hands of non-peakers.<sup>36</sup>

This, in a nutshell, is a key issue in handling the transmission of a visionary experience. It must sooner or later fall into the hands of non-peakers, who cannot pass on the original vision with the authority of the original founders. Legalism eventually creeps in, and with it, instead of a re-envisioning, a resistance to authoritarian rule is mounted. This is a path to decline in commitment, towards identity with society at large, and - at the last - disintegration. Add to this rival movements such as early Methodism, and the competition may well prove just too much for a struggling movement. This appears to be what happened to Wiltshire's dying Quaker community. Together with a lack of visionary and educated leadership they failed to thrive and grow.

Both the Quakers and the Moravians were anti-rational and anti-hierarchy. Yet, of course, both cannot be avoided, or chaos and anarchy will ensue. The rational makes things predictable, while an hierarchy provides a structure and a means of discernment. Both can become dysfunctional, and this is what both early Quakers and Moravians feared - at least, from their experiences of those ecclesial bodies they encountered in the social and cultural world about them. The paradox is that they both turned to strong leadership, because, without it, a powerfully counter-cultural movement cannot survive. Likewise, both needed the development of traditions to aid continuity, and thus perpetuated the very dysfunctionality they saw in the surrounding culture. The process of institutionalisation had come home to roost.

Similarly, both these groups disliked the expression of what they saw as personal opinions, and yet allowed it in the way their powerful leaders (Fox, Zinzendorf) structured their organisations and made

known their messages. Both movements therefore subsequently controlled the flow of verbal proclamation after the early foundational years of envisioned preaching: one through a ritual of silence, the other through a formal liturgy. Neither permitted control through visionary verbal means. Indeed, they both sought actively to prevent it, as it were, a frightening 'loose cannon' amongst them, full of potential damage through the grape-shot loaded inside its barrel.

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Charlcutt was evidently of some importance, as it was not just where 'Particular' (weekly) Meetings were held, but Monthly (administrative) Meetings as well, <sup>37</sup> and from Fox's day. The Meetings that met Monthly at Charlcutt were known as 'Wiltshire East'. Wiltshire East provided administrative oversight (as already stated) for Particular Meetings in Bromham, Calne, Charlcutt, Devizes, Marlborough and Purton. Chippenham Monthly Meeting provided administrative oversight for Particular Meetings at Brinkworth, Corsham, Kington [Langley] and Slaughterford. In turn, these latter Particular Meetings drew people from Sutton Benger, East Tytherton, Stanton St. Quentin, and Langley Burrell and probably other villages. It is very likely that people from East Tytherton would have attended Charlcutt Particular as well as Monthly Meeting. It should be added that the Monthly Meetings were not open to all. Usually two suitably 'weighty' male Friends would be chosen to represent their Particular Meeting. Women also had their own Monthly Meetings (from the 1670s in Wiltshire), but the Men's Monthly Meeting had the final say. <sup>38</sup>

Fortunate then, that some of the Charlcutt *Minute Books* still exist.<sup>39</sup> Between 1744-6 a subscription list was drawn up by the Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting, in order to meet the costs of, among other things, the large debts (£162) accrued as the result of court cases defending Quaker marriages. The list contains thirty-nine names from Charlcutt Monthly Meeting. These would have been 'full members' of the Society, known as 'weighty Friends'. Sadly, Charlcutt was one of sixteen Particular Meetings approached, of which it, together with six others, that gave nothing. Fassnidge comments that this reflects a dropping level of support that would have been 'unthinkable half a century before', and that it betrays the 'diminishing strength of the Society in Wiltshire'.<sup>40</sup>

The three Monthly Meetings changed little until around 1750. After this date events moved into a rapid decline. By 1760 Charlcote 'was nearly dead'. In 1775 the three Monthly Meetings were amalgamated to form the Wiltshire Monthly Meeting - a sure sign of weakness and decline in strength. Another ten years later (1785) the Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting had amalgamated with that of Gloucestershire. In Sutton Benger, the Frys stayed in strong leadership. But times had changed. The era in which the Quaker message had been transmitted through families was now largely over, to be replaced by a new century in which powerful evangelists now were the prime agents of conversion. In between 1790-1798 membership plummeted, dropping from the already low Wiltshire figure of 146 members (excluding Salisbury) to 113 - a decline of nearly a third in under ten years. There were likely to have been twice as many people in the Moravian church in Tytherton, than in the whole county for Quakers, in this period. By the time of the 1851 census, there were only two Meetings in Wiltshire. By comparison, the Baptists had 101 local 'gathered' churches, the Congregationalists 76, the Methodists (Primitive and Wesleyan) 192. These were all groups that were doing aggressive evangelism. By contrast, the Unitarians, Moravians, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, like the Quakers, had only two meetings each. These groups were marked by a combination of liberalism (Unitarians), Pietism (Moravians) and institutionalising effects.

It may be that the process of institutionalisation had led to a fossilisation and legalism in the life and practice of Quakerism, and a new breath of life was needed. Whatever the case, many Quakers became Methodists, such as Abraham Shewring, who was even known as the 'Quaker-Methodist'. Thomas Rutty and Robert Shell were other local Quakers who became Methodists. The area in which the early Methodist (later Moravian) evangelist, John Cennick, was so effective, was in the heartland of early Quakerism.<sup>45</sup>



### 3. Friends' Burial Practices

These attitudes translated themselves into the burial practices of both the Quakers and the Moravians. The Quakers, like all groups, had both an official line, and a life as actually lived. The official line was that of the MS *Christian and Brotherly Advices* (1738), later to become, in printed form from 1783, the *Book of Discipline*, an evolving text which described and sought to standardise various ecclesial practices, including burials.

Just as with Moravian burial practices and gravestones, standardisation proved impossible, with many people ignoring, or being in ignorance of, the exact intentions of the proscriptions and permissions. Excavations in Quaker burial grounds makes this quite clear, with a wide range of practices relating to burial being adopted. People clearly felt a need to commemorate, while the Quaker hierarchy endeavoured to work against this, issuing proscriptions declaring that any gravestones in place should be removed as not in keeping with Quaker principles and ethos. Similarly, the Quaker hierarchy also tried to control mourning practices, so as to retain the Quaker's counter-cultural ethos.

We can see this in the Quakers' foundational source documents, for example *Christian and Brotherly Advice* (1738), under 'tombstones':

This Meeting being informed, That friends in some places have gone into the vain, & empty Custom of erecting Monuments over the dead Bodies of Friends, by Stones, Inscriptions, Tombstones &c, and being very desirous Friends should keep a commendable Plainness and Simplicity in this, as well as other Respects; It's therefore the Advice of this Meeting, That all such Monuments as are already in being over dead Bodies of Friends, should removed as much as may be, with Discretion and Conveniency. And that none be anywhere made, or set up by, or over the dead Bodies of Friends, or others in Friends Burying-places for time to come (1717).

Clearly, Friends felt a deep need to commemorate their loved ones, whatever the party-line was. The fact is that various forms of commemoration had been in practice, as both excavation and written sources

make clear. Not only this, but excavation shows that far from being uniform (as friends' ideals stated) there was a great of variety in the way in which members were buried, no doubt reflecting income and status. <sup>48</sup> In this, the Quakers were exactly like the Moravians, who held to similar ideals as regards burial and gravestones, and also believed in 'simplicity'. They also experienced a similar inability to police these ideals, especially when community became separated from a 'total institution'. A call for removal of tombstones was again issued in 1765, nearly fifty years later, so the problem with policing this custom clearly was not particularly effective. After 1850, the Quakers followed the Moravians in permitting name and dates for the benefit of relatives, and to prevent inadvertent reopening of a buried person's grave, although one suspects that this was a pragmatic attempt to legitimate what many Friends had been doing anyway.

The gravestones in East Tytherton Friends' Burial-ground appear to have been placed directly over the bodies of those they commemorate, until someone with authority, or *via* the authority of a Meeting, felt able to enforce the post-1717 directive.

# 4. Who owned the burial-ground in East Tytherton?

The Title Deeds are what start to help us unpack the history of the ownership of the Quaker burial ground in Tytherton. On 15th September 1659 a lease for 2,000 years was granted by Mr. Charles Barrett and his wife Elizabeth, <sup>49</sup> to Richard Pope and others, estimated at 12 luges (poles). A 'pole' is a synonym for a perch, which was described by statute as 16½ feet. <sup>50</sup> Twelve poles would therefore be 198 feet/66 yards. However, this should not be taken too literally, as local variations could, and did, occur. <sup>51</sup> Presumably Mr. & Mrs. Barrett were either Quakers, or strongly sympathetic to the Quakers. They were evidently at least of 'middling' or yeoman class to own property of this sort. It is hard to believe that Richard Pope and the 'others' could have been anything other than Quakers.

That Charles Barrett was definitely a Quaker, is strongly supported by the passage below:<sup>52</sup>

36. Wiltsbire.	
Y ] JOHN FLOWER was profecuted in the Exchequer for Tithes, at the Suit of Francis Green Parson of Consham.	1696.
[Z] FRANCIS BROOM was profecuted in the Exchequer for Tithes, at the Suit of John Horton Parson of Coldhorne.	1700.
CHARLES BARRETT of Titherton was profecuted in the Exchequer for Tithes, at the Suit of John Wilson Parson of Brimbill.	1701.

This, however, is forty-two years later. Could it be his son, if it is not the man himself? In another source, there is a hint that Charles might have originally come from Kington St. Michael, but about this we are uncertain. <sup>53</sup> Investigation of the baptism records however tends to support an origin there, for there is a record of a Charles Barrett, son of Thomas Barrett, being baptised on 16th July, 1633, in St. Michael's. <sup>54</sup> This would make Charles 26 years old in 1659. Perhaps this was land inherited from his father?

The Quaker marriages also list a Charles Barrett of 'Kinton St. Mickaell' marrying an Abigail Huckings [Huggins?] in 1658. This seems to contradict the record given above, that Charles Barrett married Elizabeth. There are a number of ways in which to reconcile this apparent contradiction, unless there were indeed two 'Charles Barretts', both of whom were Quakers, which seems rather unlikely, unless they were father and son. The latter would appear to be the most likely, the other possibility being a very short marriage (death in childbirth of Abigail?) followed by a rapid remarriage. However, if Charles is the son of Thomas Barrett, this is again not an option. In any case, Quakers had strict rules about marriage, and it is difficult to imagine this happening so quickly in this context. Another way in which another 'Charles Barrett' is possible is if there were a cousin of this name who lived locally, and who was also a Quaker. This, again, is not improbable, although confusing.

(Below): Charles Barrett, now 76 years old, is being prosecuted by Revd. Wilson. Clearly the Revd. Wilson, vicar of Bremhill, was no lover of Quakers, and was determined to get his due. Josiah Wakeham and Jonathan Scott were probably fellow Quakers from within the Charlcutt Meeting, and thus under the Revd Wilson's clammy hand of parish jurisdiction. Interestingly, a 'John Scott' (of Heddington Wick or Bromham) had a daughter, Anne, who married Abjohn Stokes (1641/2-1725), the son of Edward Stokes, of whom we will deal in the next section. This cannot be the same as 'Jonathan Scott' of the notice below, but they could be related.

Wiltshire. 150 1707. HENRY SANGER of Warminster was profecuted in the Exchequer for Two Years Tithes, of about 5s. per Annum. [ A ] JoSIAH WAKEHAM, CHARLES 1709. BARRETT and JONATHAN SCOTT were profecuted in the Exchequer for Tithes, at the Suit of John Willion Parson of Brimbill. B WILLIAM PRICE, WALTER PRICE 1717. and GEORGE HILLIER, all of Christian Malford, were profecuted in the Ecclefiastical Court for a Church-Rate (so called.) [C] JOHN RUTTY of Melksbam was 1719. profecuted in the Exchequer for Tithes, at the Suit of Bohun Fox Parson of Melksham. JOHN A The Parson's Demand on Wakebam was for Arrears of Eight Years Tithe for a Farm he formerly held of 71. 10s. per Annum Rent, and which he was gone out of; for the Tithe of which, the present Occupier paid 12s. per Annum. The

In July 1701 a lease for the remainder of the term (1,958 years) was granted by Richard Pope of Dantsey (perhaps on his approaching death?) to William Jefferies and others.

Demand on Barret was for an Estate he formerly



## 5. East Tytherton and the Frys

A fascinating connection was made when we realised that there might be a connection with one of the most famous names in Quaker history - Elizabeth Fry.

On 2nd February, 1752, another 51 years later, the lease is transferred to the well-known Quaker family names of John Fry, William Storrs Fry, Cornelius Fry, Samuel Neate, Edward Jefferies, Robert Jefferies, and George Bath of Christian Malford. In 1800 a more precise (and probably more accurate?) measure of the burial ground is given, namely of 10¾ poles (325.2 sq. yards). The burial ground is said to be bounded on the northeast by a yard, and on the south east by a field, both of which belong to Christopher Pinneger. On the south west is the road, and on the northwest an outhouse and garden, the latter also belonging to Mr. Pinneger.

The Fry family tree for Sutton Benger<sup>55</sup> shows that there are three brothers John (1725 or 1733-1803),<sup>56</sup> Cornelius (1737-1818) and William Storrs Fry (1736-1808). The coincidence of these three names, and the dates and location, is surely far too great to have arisen by chance. They must almost certainly be the lessees of the burial ground. The main question that arises is how they could be lessees at such young ages? John would have been (in 1752) 19 years old, William 16 years old, and Cornelius only 15 years of age, depending on exactly when their birthdates were. Was this practice legally permissible at this time?

William Storrs Fry was the last surviving trustee of the Charlcutt Meeting house and burial-ground when he died on 15th October, 1808.<sup>57</sup> This is surely the same William Storrs Fry who became a lessee in 1752 - fifty-seven years earlier. If William was around the same age as Cornelius, then he would have been about 82 at his death, which is not unlikely, although a good age for the period.<sup>58</sup> But who is this 'William Storrs Fry'? Clearly it could not be Elizabeth Fry's (1780-1845) son of this name (b. 1806), since his dates are too late. Could this there be his grandfather (his father being 'Joseph'), and is there a local connection?

This proved to be the case. Anne Isba, in her excellent biography of Elizabeth Fry, provided part of the answer. William Storrs Fry was indeed a Wiltshire man (although she does not say what part of Wiltshire)

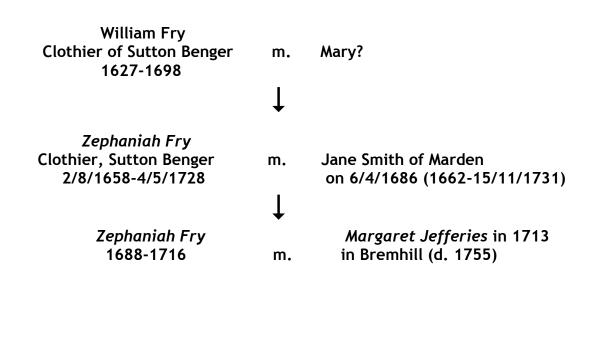
and he was also Elizabeth's father-in-law.<sup>59</sup> Kay Taylor's family tree of the Fry family confirms this: William Storrs Fry married Elizabeth Lambert (1743-1804) in 1767, and their son Joseph (1777-1861) married Elizabeth Gurney (1780-1845), the prison reformer.

The Fry connection went beyond lesseeship of the burial ground, reaching back into its early years, for Zephaniah Fry (1688-1716) and his wife Margaret ( $n\acute{e}e$  Jefferies, d. 1755) are both buried there. There is also an Ann Fry (died 22/1/1663-4), daughter of John Fry, and therefore presumably a spinster, buried there, although we cannot at present identify her. This Zephaniah (1688-1716) was the son of another Zephaniah (1658-1728), a wealthy clothier and a leader of his local Quaker meeting in Kington Langley. In the records there is a 'Z Fry'; this is almost certainly Zephaniah senior, as a correlation with the persecution dates (1683) show that this cannot have been his son who was not yet born (1688). Zephaniah was an unusual name for a member of the Society of Friends, but not for a Puritan, so it may be that Zephaniah senior's parents (William and Mary, cf., family tree below) were Puritans. Zephaniah senior was incarcerated in Ilchester goal for three months in 1683 for refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, emerging to marry Jane Smith of Marden three years later.

The Fry connection with the Quaker burial ground in East Tytherton is therefore substantial, historically significant and strong, and needs to be honoured.

#### Fry family tree

This tree only shows the descendants of William & Mary who are buried in East Tytherton (italicised):



## **6. Charles Marshall 1637-1698**

There were at least two important individuals and their families living in the area of East Tytherton during the formative years of the Quakers: Charles Marshall and Justice Edward Stokes or Stooks. Could Charles Marshall have owned the land which was subsequently used for the burial ground? Whereabouts in the village did he live? Did the name 'Marshalls' on the Andrews & Dury map of 1773 refer to him and/or his family?

In 1659, when the burial ground was apparently founded, Charles would have been around 22 years old. This seems too young to be passing land onto the Quakers, but not of course impossible. We know, from Marshall's own *Journal*, that he had already been converted to the Quakers at age 17 years, in 1654.<sup>64</sup> If the land was not donated to the Quakers by Marshall, who then could have donated it?

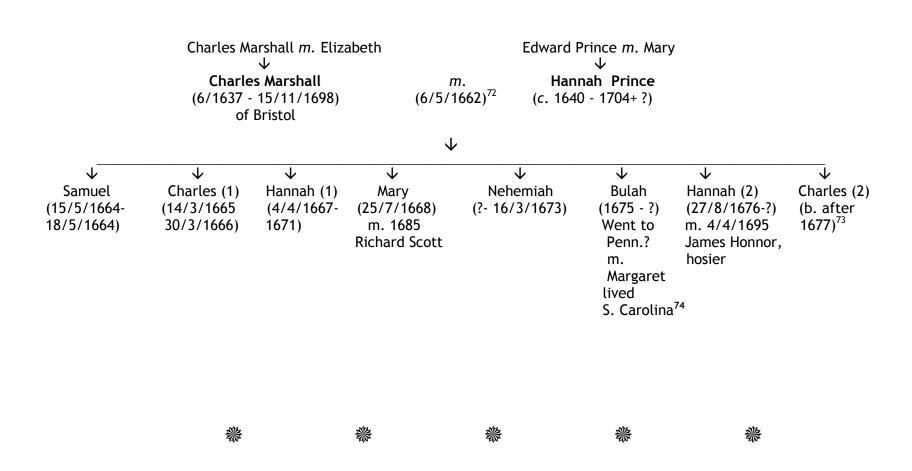
Charles Marshall was never the lessee, unless he was one of the 'others'. This seems unlikely, as in 1659 he was possibly too young (22, although, as we have seen, not necessarily so), and by 1701 he was no longer living. Nor was he living in East Tytherton in the last years of his life, but probably in London, since he died there, to be buried in Bunhill Fields.

Charlcutt was the site of a 'conventicle' in 1669-70, noted as the result of Bishop Seth Ward's enquiry in order to list all such gatherings as were known. This was presumably the Quaker Meeting, from which records we have Charles's children Bulah and Hannah Marshall's birth records. The village is clearly marked on the later Andrews & Dury (1773) map of the area. The family evidently lived in the village of Tetherton Calloways', as the MS makes clear - modern East Tytherton. (The pre-1752 year ended in February, and started in March. Quakers refused to use the pagan names of the months, preferring to use numbers instead, as can be seen in the records illustrated).

The records suggest that Charles & Hannah Marshall (married 1662)<sup>66</sup> lived in East Tytherton (then known variously as Tetherington, Tetherton, Titherton, Tetherton Calloways, and other variants), and attended the Charlcutt Meeting. They had at least eight children, the four of whom appear to have died young,

*viz.*, Samuel (born and died 1664);<sup>67</sup> Charles (junior, 1665-1666);<sup>68</sup> Hannah (1667-1671);<sup>69</sup> Bulah (born 1675);<sup>70</sup> Mary (married 1685), as can be see in the figure below.<sup>71</sup>

#### (Below): Charles & Hannah Marshall's family tree



(Below): Reference to both the Stokes' and Barrett families, as well as the spelling of 'Tytherington' as a synonym for East Tytherton (from John Aubrey's Wiltshire).

AUBREY'S WILTS.	. 5
Titherington Lucas, &c.	A STATE
The Church here is a Chapell of ease to Chippenham. In in nothing of antiquity. It hath been a good while in the possession of and Barret divisim. Here are found stones like hafts of Knives, transparent, having a seame on one side, called Belemnites.	Stokes
Arms of Stokes & Barrett (Appendix No. 74. 75.)	
Titherington Reilwayes.	
From Keilwayes it came to the Long's of Dracot, by	
Mem. Both these Titheringtons exceeding rich soile.	
Arms of Keilways (V. No. 76.)	

However, this is not as neat as it seems. For, in Charles Marshall's Will (1698) he leaves his property in Tytherton his son 'Charles'. Either there is a mistake (in the transcription of earlier death records), or there were two sons of this name. Clearly, this is not impossible, and it was sometimes the custom to name another son to effectively keep the family name going. There are, for instance, two 'Peter Frys' in the Moravian burial ground (1765 and 1766), who appear to share the same father, but different mothers,

both dying very young, at five months, and four months. The Will states clearly that all Charles Marshall's property in 'Titherton' is to be inherited by his son Charles, and to be converted into cash so that it can be invested until his 21st birthday. Bulah was at this time twenty-three years of age, so presumably Charles was considerably younger. It may be that Charles was younger than his sisters Mary, and another daughter, who married a James Honour.

Could there have been one or more children who died, only to have later siblings named after them? This appears to be the case as respects Charles and Hannah, who seem to have been baptised before they were born. Could we be dealing with modern and contemporary calendars? This seems unlikely, as the discrepancy is too great, with Charles being born in 1665 (buried in 1666), and Hannah being born in 1667 (buried in 1667).

The family tree (above)<sup>75</sup> makes clear what actually happened.

The dates in this tree refer to birth and burial dates. Quakers did not believe in infant baptism (folkname, 'christening'). There may have been another un-named child who died at birth in 1684. In the tree it is evident that a typical picture of births for the period with high losses occurs. Out of possibly nine children, at least four died very young. Our interest is in Bulah, and Charles (2). Bulah, because he may have gone to Pennsylvania, in order to supervise his father's estates there; and Charles, because he was left his father's property in Tytherton, to be inherited on reaching age 21.

Charles, in his Will, makes it clear that he had a brother, Richard, who predeceased him, and that Richard had a son, John. There also appears from the Will to be another son in law, James Honnor (or 'Honour'), so there must have been another un-named daughter, perhaps a second Hannah, if the first one died young? This appears to be definitely the case.<sup>77</sup>

(Below): Bulah's (1675) & Hannah Marshall's (1676) birth records from Charlecutt Quaker Meeting Records (National Archives Ref. RG6/680).

John tre some of John Barris of Goatare borne trezett of the Marshall borne trezett of the monets 1675

bir Micliam forms of the wine Baily of Catronibe borne the 26th of the of the of moneth 1675

bir Micliam forms of John and lazah Barris borne te 12 of the 1. mo. 1676

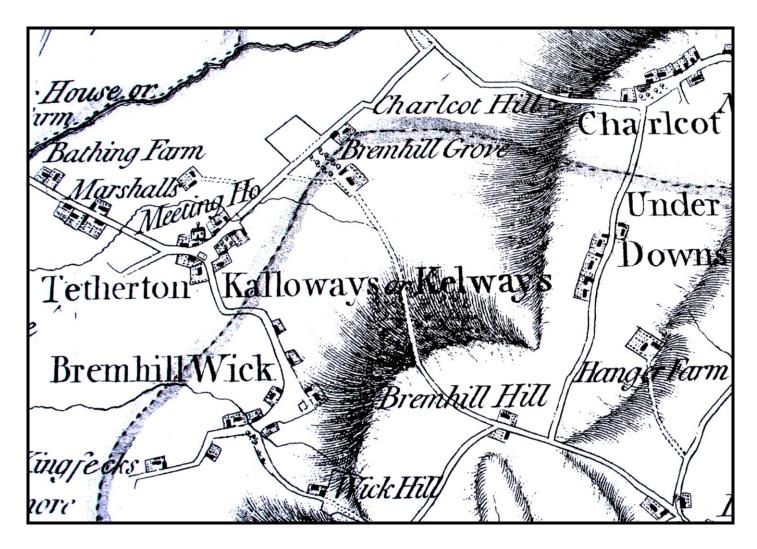
1676

4 Namial daughter of Charles Marshall bornetie 24 of the 6th monets. 1676

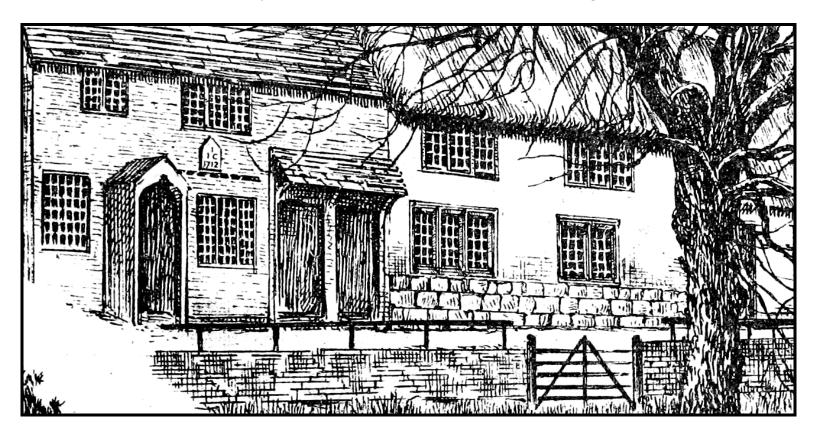
(Below): Bulah Marshall's birth record, 1675 (National Archives, Ref. RG6/1306)

26 1675	× 3			:	( 14
1675	1 12 2 14 2 12	Hester the daughter of Whomas and Inn Gough of But Mary wife of William Moore of Parnings. then but William the Son of 20m and many moore of Canang 16	om ham 1408 at 1 Born	140 146 -	n borns Dovizog
į	3 9	Henry Hunt of Ghillway and Many willmes of y forms  Bulak form of Gharles and Hannak Marshall of a  Bulak form of Grands and Hannak Marshall of a  From borno: Hoan of pillion of Burgholl and of all from	bhon M Ythorbo o Iomg Wan M	auri n Gi ovoj	rh relevory font

(Below): Andrews & Dury 1773, showing Marshalls and the Moravian church. It may be that *TheElms/Pinneger's House* is immediately below the 'a' of Marshalls. Placing a Google Earth photograph in register with this map places *The* Farm at the same location as the building by the 's' of Marshalls, suggesting that The Farm is the same building, or another one on or near the same site. Was this Charles Marshall's home? And is the Quaker burial ground hard by the 'ar' of 'Marshalls'? Certainly the angles of the two Georgian buildings is correct ....<sup>78</sup>



(Below): Quaker Meeting house in Foxham? The illustration shows the Moravian Meeting House, which may previously have been used by the Quakers. The date plaque was apparently reinserted after rebuilding, and states that the original foundation was in 1712. This is around 50 years earlier than the first Moravian meeting in the area.



The records above suggest that Mr. & Mrs. Charles & Hannah Marshall resided in East Tytherton around 1668<sup>80</sup> to at least 1681 or 1682. The agreement (*below*) is dated 1681, and Charles Marshall is in 'Tetherton'. They attended the Charlcutt Meeting. Bulah was born in Tytherton, in 1675. In 1682 Marshall

was committed to the Fleet (debtor's) Prison on the allegations of Revd. John Townsend, vicar of Tytherton (Bremhill?) for two years.<sup>81</sup> When released from the Fleet (1684), Marshall seems to have stayed in London until his death in 1698, another 14 years, therefore from between his 47th birthday, and his death at 61 years.<sup>82</sup>

The Charlcutt Meeting was registered as being in 'The house of the widow Joan Hall (or Hale?) at Charlcote in Bremhill', presumably from 1690. In 1693 a cottage is being leased to Friends 'evidently for use as a meeting-house'. By 1719 a Meeting-house and burial-ground existed, as 'Deeds and documents referred to in Quarterly Meeting minute of 21 September 1719'. In 1808 the premises fell into the possession of the Lord of the Manor on the death of the last surviving trustee, William Storrs Fry (d. 15th October, 1808). These dates suggest that Charles Marshall may not have met in this house, or, rather, that we cannot be sure that he did. Of course, the Meeting might have still met previous to 1690 and the Act of Toleration of William & Mary, as an illegal gathering.

However, Marjory Reeves (1956) notes that

At Charlcote and Bremhill the record begins with David Hale's persecution and continues with the faithful witness of his widow, Joan, in whose house the society was meeting in 1669 with so much success that in 1674 and 1683 the churchwardens presented large groups of Quakers.<sup>84</sup>

This of course makes it clear that if Charles and Hannah Marshall met with the Charlcutt Meeting, then they would have met in Joan Hale's (or Hall's) home (but not in the building illustrated above, as 1712 is too late). The Charlcutt Meeting was one of three Monthly meetings, the others being in Chippenham and Lavington. Charlcutt was grouped with Bromham, Rowde, Marlborough, Heddington, Calne, Purton and Devizes.<sup>85</sup>

The leading Quaker in the area at this time was Zephaniah Fry (1658-1728, or his son, of the same name, 1688-1716), of Sutton Benger. There was also a group of Quakers meeting in 'Kellaways', although which 'Kellaways' is not clear. <sup>86</sup> Edward Storr is said to be an 'outstanding leader' in Chippenham, and there is a Quaker group in Kington St. Michael. <sup>88</sup>

From the 1680s persecution may have contributed to emigration to Pennsylvania ('Penn's heaven' or perhaps 'Penn's wood'). We suspect that Bulah, and possibly his sister Hannah, may have travelled to America after their father's death in 1698. This would have made a great deal of sense in Bulah's case, especially since he inherited his father's Pennsylvania properties. It would have provided an excellent reason to leave these the shores. Hannah and her husband James Honnor might also have felt that a common affiliation of blood and religious commitment gave them a motive for leaving. Whatever the case, there is no record of either Bulah's or his sister's death records that we know of in England. Charles jnr., presumably continued in Tytherton, looking after his father's property there, although we have no evidence of this as yet. One thing we do know, is that contemporary co-religionists Gardner and Harmer (of Purton), and Bezer and Whithers (of Bishops Cannings) are listed as Quakers that have arrived in Pennsylvania.<sup>89</sup>

(*Below*) Detail from the Will of Charles Marshall. Bulah would have been about 23 at his father's death in 1698, Charles perhaps a couple of years younger.

#### This reads:

I give and bequeath unto my son Beulah Marshall all my messuages tenements and Land situate in pensilvania in America with all lotts privileges and appurtences thereunto belonging whole unto my said son Beulah his heirs and assigns for ever \*\*\* Item I give to my said Son Charles all my share right interest and property in and to some Copper mines and stock whith all profits privileges and appurtences thereunto belonging which I have in the County of Cumberland also I give to my said son Charles all my goods chattel and stock now being in and upon my said messuage and Land at Titherton Aforesaid but I will that the same may be exposed to sale as soon as it conveniently it may be

done and that the money raised by the sale thereof be put out at interest for my said Son Charles untill he come to the age of one and twenty years ...

Then we discovered two documents that opened up completely new avenues and possibilities. The first was an article on the unlikely subject of town planning by Prof. Gary Nash, of the University of California. In this very helpful article Nash explains how William Penn, in seeking to establish his new city of Philadelphia, needed to raise capital. In order to do this, he sold off plots according to size and location. In this Penn clearly abandoned his Quaker ideals of complete social equality (although he had

tried to have a lottery earlier, but this failed to meet the required rules) in order to try to attract people of education and financial power who would be capable of providing governance to the new city. The benefit for us is that we know that Charles Marshall purchased a plot of 1,000 acres (in the illustration below of 1681), and we know that this was increased to 6,000 acres in Charles Marshall's Will. Penn and his colleagues laid down very specific locations for each plot by acreage. This means that while (at present) we may not be able to pinpoint the exact plot, we should have a pretty good idea of its rough location. Nash writes

Penn's decision was a pragmatic one; instead of leaving the distribution of lots to fortune's whims he determined to allocate city property according to the size of each adventurer's investment in his wilderness of Zion. Purchasers of ten thousand acres would receive the choicest waterfront property - 204 feet of river frontage, half on the Delaware, half on the Schuylkill, <sup>91</sup> and in addition four interior lots, each a city block in length and 102 feet in breadth. Purchasers of five thousand acres could expect 102 feet of river frontage and one lot, approximately 132 feet broad and 306 feet deep, on the east-west axis, named High Street ...

Under this arrangement, purchasers of five thousand acres would receive two lots, totalling slightly more than an acre, in the town proper, and the balance of the promised one hundred acres in the liberty lands [large tracts of land to the north and west of the city] where each tract would be adequate for a genteel country seat ...

This is extremely helpful, and gives not only a location for Charles Marshall's property, which, in itself should be traceable, but also raises the possibility that a paper trail of some kind might still exist as regards the subsequent history of this property.

#### Another source declares that

... by Ind're [indenture] dat. 25th and 26th Jan'ry, '85 [1685 or possibly 1683], again Conveyed the Said Land to said R'd [Richard] Whitpain. The Prop'ry, by L. [lease] and Rel., [release] dat. 10th and 11th Aug't, '82, Granted to Charles Marshall, Tetherton, Coun. Wilts, Practitioner in Physick, 5,000 acres of Land, who by Ind're dat. 1st and 2nd Aug't, '83, Granted to said ...<sup>92</sup>

This latter passage definitely seems to make clear that Charles Marshall received his 5,000 acres under William Penn's scheme of allocation of land. Where was this land? As we shall see (map below), it was well out 'in the sticks'. Indeed, physically next to the said Richard Whitpain's land, who was a very major holder of Pennsylvania lands, and perhaps why these transactions were dealt with at the same time in the MS (above). It is not clear how this relates to the agreement signed in 1681, for 1,000 acres (illustrated below).

(Below): The document illustrated (in this nearly illegible copy) is signed and sealed by William Penn, and witnessed by Herbert Springett, Thomas Coxe and Isaac Grimstone. It acknowledges the receipt of twenty pounds of 'lawful Englishe money' from Charles Marshall for 1,000 acres in Pennsylvania, in London, 20th August, 1681. This MS was written in the first year of the incorporation of Pennsylvania, and so is a very important MS. <sup>93</sup> It further shows that Marshall was in London either at, or from, this time. This does not mean that he had abandoned Tytherton, however. Hannah may have continued to live there with their son Bulah (aged 6 years in 1681).

Historia money in for -Same marked to Mann Mirera of Theorements of mine country of Dufor tag time theed week Brown of our Burn Buckley Alcar Mall of Cornocton in the Country of Wille a Contracted in Chaffiel the from Stroken Ting disher which allowed Informa le bounce her tetal training arms, toucking after a mount , to said "Austrials of our" knowfund arred - Com brancisco margificant in traci-to to be entired in June 42 and in Authoris business sons and delegate mested comments Property and market or management root and the concerns met me fait terminal services services continue and a more expression bundles of the original part of and from moure and teronty pound I not you Tellinear Demi Det Heating per may try may the ere of man play many Menter Surement Comments the Sharks Altar frammed news of remeters adm "and digence and successful them by most africal - it will uniform this executions day of -Cas Sich Tryng Scaled and Delivered

Penn seems to have operated on the simple general principle of giving priority to those who showed definite commitment to settle, and not merely use their purchase as a financial nest-egg. This meant that those who had emigrated had priority over those in England and elsewhere who had not. Charles Marshall was of course, one of those who never emigrated, whatever his intentions might have been, as he died at the age of 61. In writing to Thomas Holme, the Surveyor-general, Penn instructs him to

Be carefull to pleasure such as [have] builded and improved and taken up their Lotts [in Philadelphia]. And such as never tooke up any, nor yet ever came over to inhabit and improve amongst you are the least to be minded and taken care for. 94

This meant in practice placing emigrants on the Delaware side of the town; non-emigrants were to be placed on the Schuylkill side. Unsurprisingly Charles Marshall & Co are on this latter side. His city lot is on Schuylkill Front Street. <sup>95</sup> The disadvantages of being on the Schuylkill side was that it was far from the city's centre of commerce. For the absentee Charles Marshall this might not have been too important or significant. Perhaps his motives were altruistic, rather than financial? We do not know. But property on that side of the river was all but valueless. <sup>96</sup> Would his son, Bulah, who later inherited this lot, have really wanted to move to Philadelphia simply to use it as a commercial opportunity? Was Bulah even a Quaker at all? Quaker historian, W. W. Comfort (1948) in his excellent little history of Pennsylvania Quakers, remarks that

When the early Quakers pioneered from eastern Pennsylvania, they followed the Shenandoah or Cumberland Valley in Virginia and went [south] on into North Carolina. Later, as slavery became abhorrent to them, many proceeded [westwards] to Ohio [founded 1803] and Indiana [founded 1816]. 97

As we shall see, this may give us a small clue as to what might have happened to Bulah Marshall and his descendants.

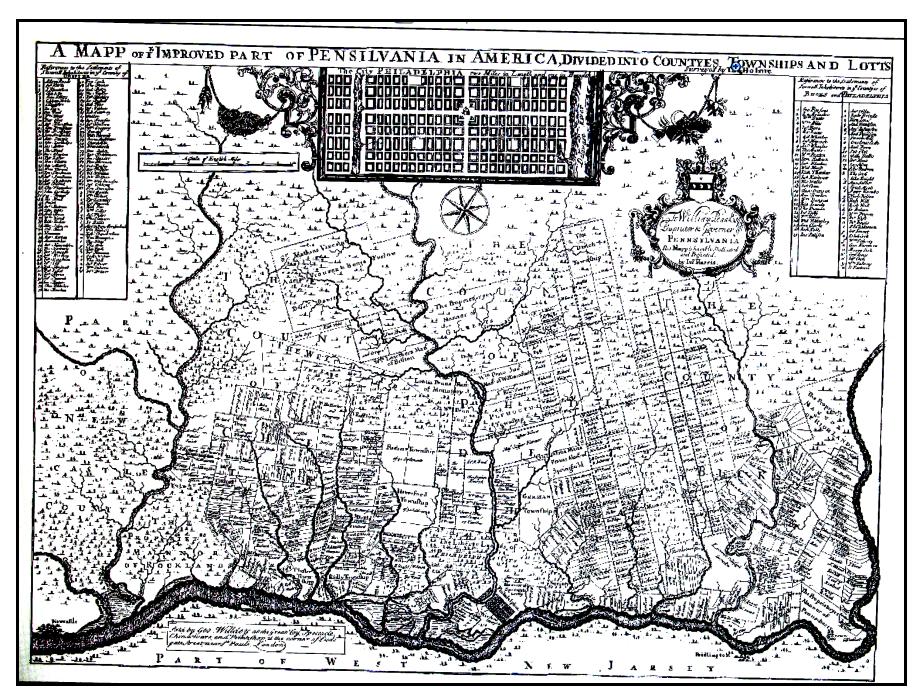
Lots were finally allocated at some time before 1683. We know this because the Surveyor-general, Thomas Holme, was drawing up a master plan

to be used in London for promotional purposes. The completed plan, bearing the title "A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania in America," ... Holme's "Portraiture" graphically represented the work of the preceding months, showing the gridiron plan of the city, the sites of the five city parks, and the specific location of each purchaser's lot or lots. 98

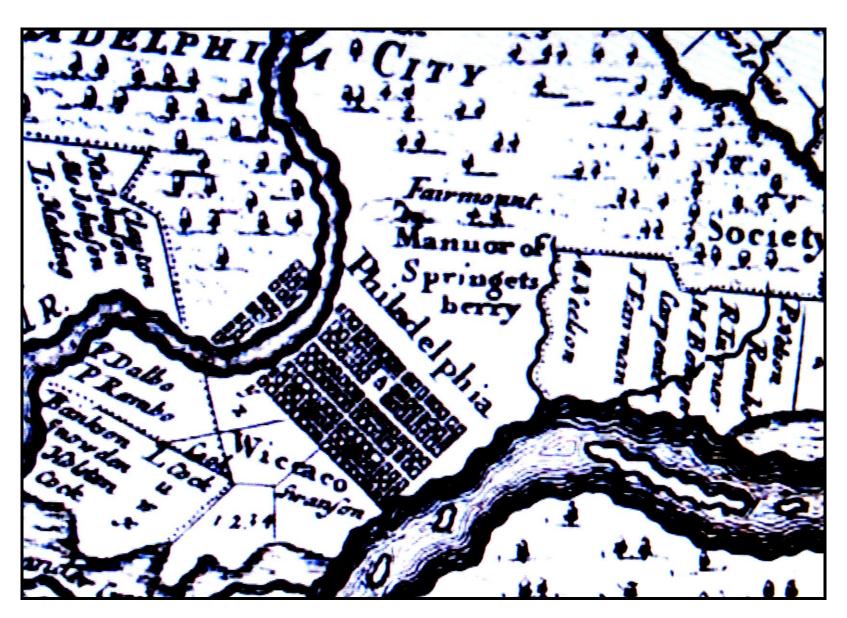
Holme's work (if extant) is clearly a very important source for understanding Charles Marshall's purchase. Nash notes that Charles Marshall appears in the *Portraiture* as one whose date of purchase did not qualify him for a city lot, even though he was an investor in five thousand acres. <sup>99</sup> This suggests that Marshall was unable to meet the deadline for allocation of property deeds that defined a 'First Purchaser' who thereby had a right to a Liberty or City Lot. <sup>100</sup>

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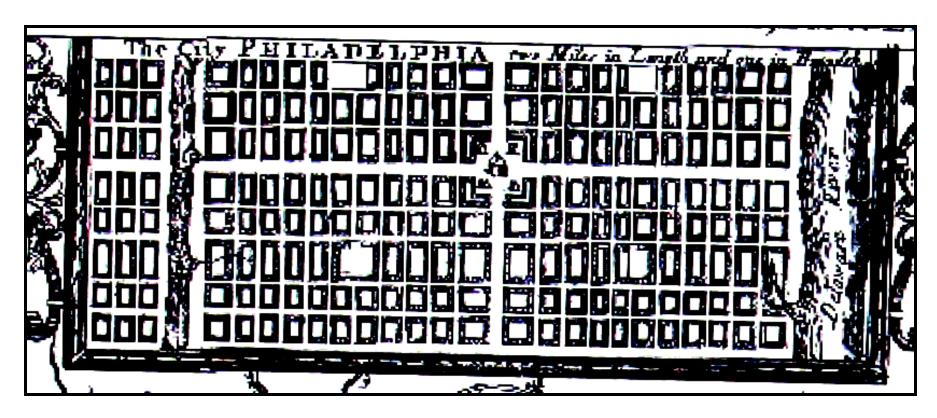
(Below): Surveyor-general Thomas Holme's map of the state of Pennsylvania, 1687. This shows the city of Philadelphia straddling the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers as a black block 2 miles long by a mile wide in the centre on the river front at the bottom of the map.

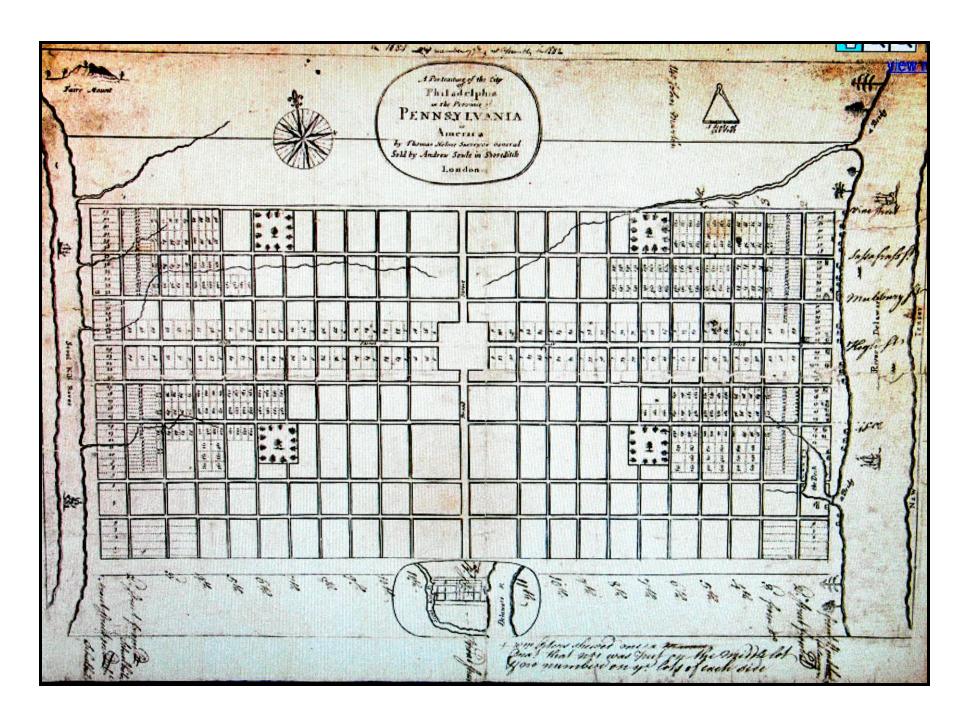


(*Below*): Detail of Philadelphia, showing its location. Charles Marshall's city property on Schuylkill Front Street was presumably on the river front on the Schuylkill side.<sup>101</sup> The juiciest and most valuable properties on the Delaware river-front were allocated by Penn to those people he thought most capable of generating wealth and prosperity.



(*Below*): Details showing gridiron plan of the city of Philadelphia. 'Schuylkill Front Street' is likely to be the street fronting the River Schuylkill on the left (N-E) of this plan. Schuylkill Front Street ran parallel to the river (the surveyors being obliged to depart from the *Portraiture* because of swampy ground). Schuylkill Second Street then ran parallel to those streets on the Delaware side. These are now Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets. When surveyed in the late 1800s a variation of only four feet was found. <sup>102</sup> The map at the top is from 1687; the one below is earlier, from 1683.



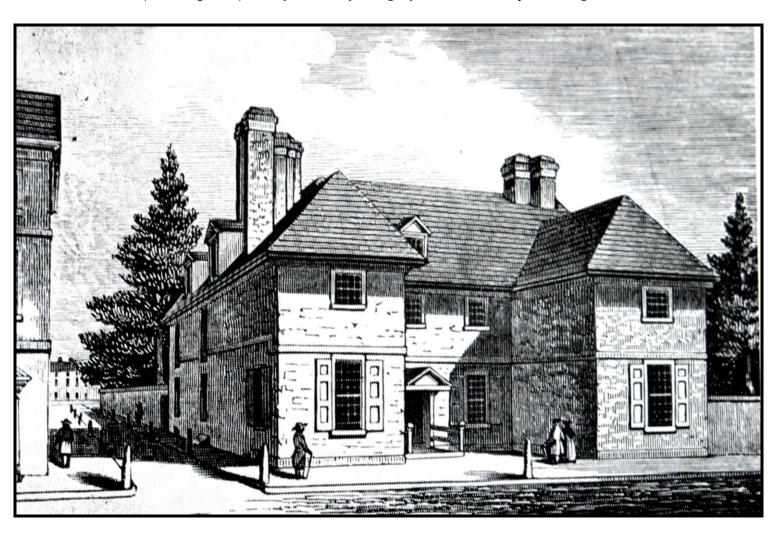


However, as can be seen from the detail (*below*), Marshall received a very substantial tract of land about 1 mile square in the state, north of the city. This can be seen in the bottom left hand corner of the detail.



Charles Marshall's out of town plot

(*Below*): This house was William Penn's city residence on South Second Street, <sup>103</sup> on the other side of the city from where Charles Marshall's property was. Known as the Slate Roof House, it is now destroyed. From J. F. Watson (c. 1830), *Annals of Philadelphia*. It may give some idea of what any building on Charles Marshall's site may have looked like. Penn apparently decided to build a house on Fair Mount over looking the Schuylkill River, in order to encourage others to 'draw business hither'. <sup>104</sup> This was never done; instead he decided to have his estate at Pennsbury, on the Delaware River, above Pennsylvania. <sup>105</sup> In the map of the state (above), this can be seen in the bottom right corner, where the Delaware River (running E-W) accepts a very roughly 90° tributary running from to N-S.



The other document we stumbled across was one that was much more surprising. These were the *South Carolina Deed Abstracts* for 1719-1772. These require more research, but enough is clear to tell us that Bulah Marshall was married to Margaret (family name unknown at present). Bulah's father is Charles, so we know we are talking about the same person. Bulah is also said to be 'of Charleston', which sounds as if he is more than a transient bird of passage, but a settled resident. The extract also tells us that Bulah's wife remarried, to a George Duckett (a fellow Wiltshire man?). Bulah, therefore, may have died comparatively young, although we do not know his date of death, or his wife's remarriage date. What, therefore, happened to the properties in Pennsylvania, many miles away? Clearly Bulah and Margaret owned property, but where this was, and how much, is not at present clear.

In passing, it should be noted that the Penns were an ancient north Wiltshire family in and about Braden Forest<sup>106</sup> from 'time immemorial', <sup>107</sup> although William Penn himself was born in the parish of St. Catherine near the Tower of London. <sup>108</sup>

## 7. Edward Stokes c. 1615 - 1667<sup>109</sup>

As a local Justice, Edward Stooks (or Stokes) was an important person in the area. In 1656, three years before the founding of the burial ground in East Tytherton, he held a Quaker Meeting in his home, numbering, according to George Fox, 'several thousands'. Evidently not indoors! It is suggested that he lived in Tytherton Lucas, and that is where this Meeting in 1656 was held. Could the land for the burial ground in East Tytherton have been donated by him? As a wealthy individual, and a land-owner, this is not impossible.

As we have seen, subsequent evidence showed that this was unlikely, unless Justice Stokes was one of the un-named 'others'. The possibility is also that although strongly sympathetic to local dissenters, Justice Stokes was not actually a Quaker himself.

Although we have put Justice Stokes' birth at 1615, this is very far from certain. His memorial plaque in St. Nicholas' Church, Tytherton Lucas, is difficult to decipher, and may be mistaken. However, if he was only 25 in 1656, this may be a bit young for a Justice, although perhaps in favour of his being prepared to take the risk of supporting a group that did not have political approval. A secondary source puts his birth at c. 1615, and therefore his age at the time of the Quaker Meeting at 41 years. 113

A birth year for Edward in 1615 would mean that his son Abjohn was born when his father was 26 years old - a probable scenario. The script on the memorial may have Edward Stokes' death at 56 years of age, not '36', making his birth year as 1611, again, quite feasible. Arthur Schomberg's (1886) *The Pedigree of John Stokes of Seend, Co. Wilts.*, gives a birth year of 1615.

## AUBREY'S WILTS. LANGLEY BUREL-CADNAM.

for the repairing of Keelway's Bridge &c.

In the Church-yard wall is an ancient covering of a gravestone. Mr. Hughes, of Wooton Basset, sayes that here was lately digged up the figure in stone of him that built this Church.

Anno Domini 1652, was printed a book for Ralph Smith, at the sign of the Bible in Cornhill, called the Wiltshire Rant, being a Narrative of the most unparalled Profane Actings, Counterfeit Repentings, and Evil Speakerings of Thomas Webb, pretended Minister of Langeley Burell, (intruder to Henry Norborne, B. D.) by Edward Stokes, Esq., of Titherton Lucas. The zealots of these parts were come to that degree of perfection, that they might use one another's wives in common. There was such Blasphemy and uncleaness among them, (all which is sett forth in this book, by the author, a sober prudent person,) that in after ages 'twill scarcely be beleived: most of the parties I myself knew. The Baccanalia of the Romans were not more licentious.

(Below): John Aubrey (Wiltshire) interestingly juxtaposes the arms of the Stokes and Barrett families as if they were the two leading families in the area.

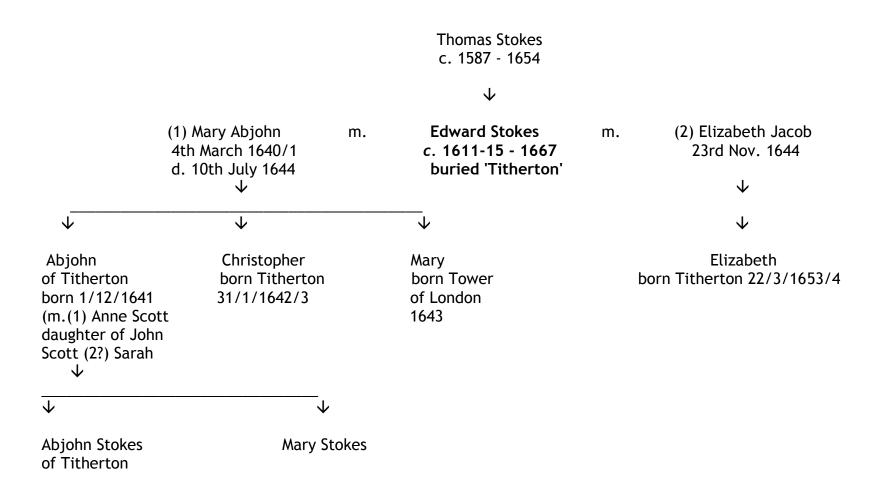
#### AUBREY'S WILTS.

Titherington Lucas, &c.

The Church here is a Chapell of ease to Chippenham. In it I find nothing of antiquity. It hath been a good while in the possession of Stokes and Barret divisim. Here are found stones like hafts of Knives, dimly transparent, having a seame on one side, called Belemnites.

Arms of Stokes & Barrett (Appendix No. 74. 75.)

Edward Stokes' family tree is given below. 'Titherton' in this context presumably refers to Tytherton Lucas, not East Tytherton.<sup>114</sup>

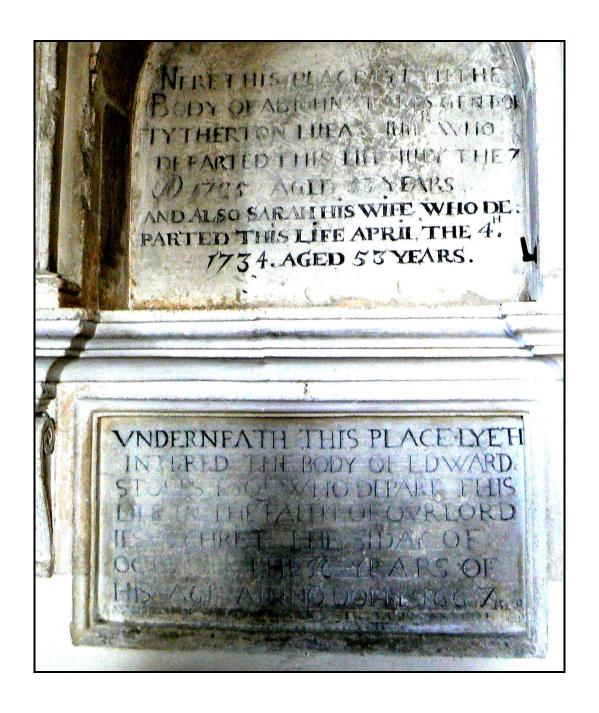


The memorial (*below*) in St. Nicholas' Church, Tytherton Lucas is to Edward Stokes, and his son Abjohn. If Abjohn died at age 83/4, then Edward's birth and death dates agree. 1641-1725 = 84 years. His wife's inscription is clearly by a later, and different hand, and must be a second (or possibly third, wife - such things were not uncommon in an area of high death rates). Thomas Stokes is presumably Edward's father, and not his brother (the difference between the two in age seems too great). If Edward was born in 1615 Thomas would have been 28, if in 1611, 32. Abjohn was born in 1641, when Edward was 26 (if born 1615)

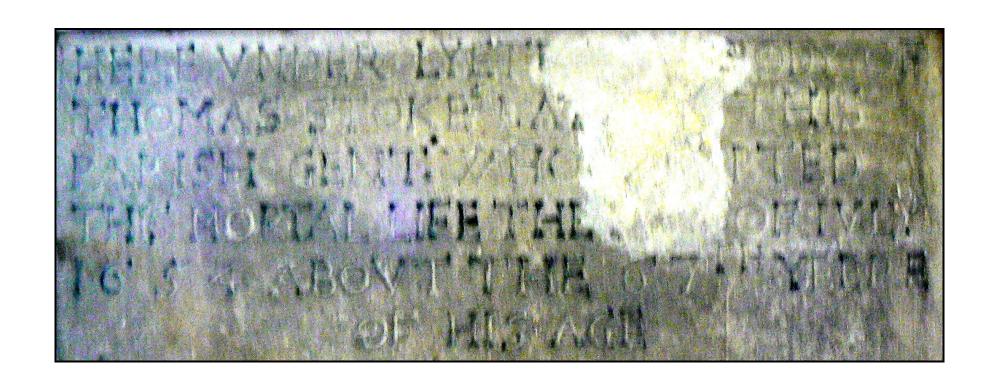
or 30 (if born 1611). If Edward died at 56 years of age (the script is difficult to read on the memorial) then Edward would have been born in 1611. Another source says that Edward was 8 in 1623, making 1615 his birth year. 115

Clearly the Stokes' were a committed Anglican family, not Quakers, although they may have been Quaker sympathizers. Elizabeth Stokes was married in Bath Abbey (18th August, 1670) - very unlikely indeed for a Quaker!

NERE THIS PLACE LYE THE
BODY OF ABJOHN STOKES GENT OF
TYTHERTON LUCAS [IunR?] WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE IULY THE 7
1725 AGED 83 YEARS
AND ALSO SARAH HIS WIFE WHO DE:
PARTED THIS LIFE APRIL 4H,.
1734. AGED 53 YEARS.



VNDERNEATH THIS PLACE LYETH INTERED THE BODY OF EDWARD STOKES ESQ WHO DEPART THIS LIFE IN THE FAITH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST THE 31 DAY OF OCTOBER THE 56 YEARS OF HIS AGE ANNO DOMINI 1667



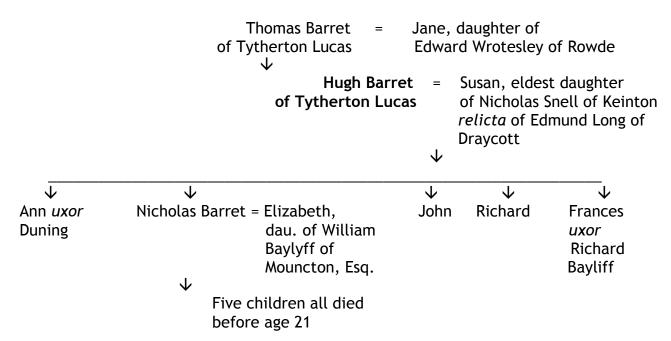
HEREVNDER LYETH [THE B]ODY OF THOMAS STOKES [NATIVE OF?] THIS PARISH GENTM WHO [DEPA]RTED THIS MORTAL LIFE THE [--] OF IVLY 1654 ABOVT 67 YEERES OF HIS AGE Thomas Stokes (d. 1654) was the father of Edward (1615-67). What is interesting to us is that Thomas Stokes' elder brother, Edmund Stokes, '... held part of the mannor of Titherton ... married Edith, daughter of Nicholas Snell of Kington St. Michael ...'<sup>116</sup> In the next section, we will see that Hugh Barret married Edith Snell's elder sister, Susan, the widow of Edmund Long of Draycott. Through the Snell family, the Stokes were obviously close, at least on a social level, and to some extent on a family relationship, too. The Stokes and Barrets were all of the class of 'gentlemen', as their memorials make clear. Technically, a gentleman stood just below a knight; they were not of the aristocracy, but nonetheless had armorial status. It often had connotations of having private means. Gentlemen, in this sense, had no need to do anything so sordid as having to work.<sup>117</sup>

## 8. The Barrett Family

The Stokes and Barrett families were in some way linked, as is suggested by John Aubrey. In St. Nicholas Church, Tytherton Lucas, there is a plaque to Hugo (or Hugh?) Barrett, presumably one of the Barretts that Aubrey refers to. Was this family related to that of Charles Barrett, either distantly or closely?



HERE LIES THE BODY OF SON IN LAW<sup>118</sup> HUGO BARRET HE WENT TO SLEEP IN THE COMPANY OF THE LORD ON THE TWENTY SECOND DAY OF JUNE IN THE EIGHTY-FIFTH YEAR OF HIS LIFE IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD SIXTEEN TWENTY SEVEN<sup>119</sup> The Barrett pedigree is as follows 120:-



In this pedigree, there are no references to a 'Charles Barrett'. Clearly, this must either be a distant relationship, or not a relation at all.

## 9. Friends buried in East Tytherton

One has reason to suspect that what was taught as official ideology and theology was not always heeded as regards burials. There is a very strong need in most people to commemorate a loved and esteemed person. This may be in the form of various rituals, but also by means of something more permanent and

commemorative. Like the Moravians, the early Quakers were torn between the need to be counter-cultural with a distinctive community, and to identify with the wider society in which they lived. This became more and more the case under the influence of what is referred to under the institutionalising process as 'mixed motivation' - people joining a movement for reasons other than those of the original founders.

In the very early years (c. 1650 - 1750), it seems to have been policy that not even a simple marker stone was permitted, since this could potentially be a focus for undue reverence. From around 1750 simple markers were permitted, with only a name and date - very much like the Moravians. One suspects, though, that like the Moravians, that the further away a group was from a powerful and influential Meeting, the less official policy was followed.

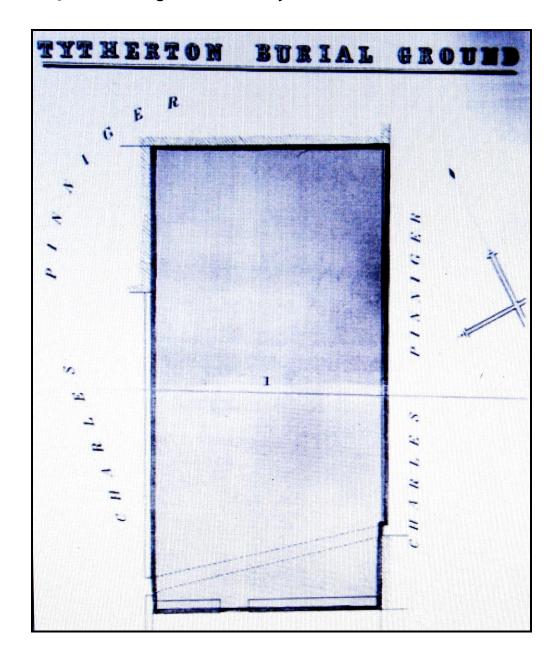
It seems very likely, as already inferred, that the burial-ground in East Tytherton was donated, in common with Quaker burial-places at this time. The most important and influential Quaker in East Tytherton was surely Charles Marshall. In 1659, the alleged date when it was founded, Marshall would have been 21. This suggests that it may not have been Marshall, but someone else who donated the land. Would Marshall have had sufficient financial resources by this time? It seems unlikely. However, he was certainly already converted to the Quakers, as he describes his conversion in his *Journal* for the year 1654, aged 17. 122

As we have seen, our conjecture proved correct; Charles Marshall was not one of the lessees at any of the renewals or transfers of the leasehold, being either too young, not yet in Tytherton (possibly not until 1668), 123 or deceased (1698).

Subsequent research shows that there are 110 burials in the burial ground, the last one being interred in c. 1810. There are 'few gravestones loose against the wall', and that the burial ground a 'a gift from a Friend by the name of Barrett'. 124

A 'William Barnes' was the first person that we discovered who had been buried in the Quaker burial ground in East Tytherton. However, we have yet to find further confirmation of this burial.

(Below): 1867 plan of the Quaker burial ground in East Tytherton



Together with Quaker archaeologist Gwynne Stock, we checked the scale (not shown) given on the 1867 plan, and it was found to be substantially accurate. The path (see photograph below) and the two gates in the walls to the bottom of the photograph and to the right are still in place. The wall running on the left from top to bottom no longer exists, although there may be foundations below the ground. Charles Pinniger is presumably the grandson of Christopher Pinniger, the Trustee of the Maud Heath's Causeway in c. 1809-10, when the last burial was interred. It seems possible that 'C. Pinniger' [Christopher? Charles?] purchased the burial ground for £75. 126

(Below): The path running diagonally across the bottom of the burial ground, and under which bodies are likely to be interred.



The Hales were routinely persecuted for various offences, for example, non-payment of tithes (below): Reference to David Hale for non-payment of Tithes, from An Abstract of the Suffering of the People called Quakers

	WILTSHIRE
1	Diffuste taken to other and a service of
	several Years.
I	David Hale and John Jay imprison'd for not paying Titbes.
1	Distress taken for Steeple-bouse Rates, for 18 demanded
\$	everal for speaking in the Steeple-bouses, kept close Pri- soners.
I	Tithe demanded for the Priest, where none had preach'd several Years.  David Hale and John Jay imprison'd for not paying Tithes.  Distress taken for Steeple-house Rates, for 1s demanded 41.  Several for speaking in the Steeple-houses, kept close Pringeners.  Daniel Smith imprison'd in a close Dungeon, in time of Frost and Snow, 9 Weeks, without Bed, Fire or Candle.  Mary Goodman whipt at Marlborough, for exhorting the People in the Market, to the Fear of God, ihid
1	A common Drunkard, when the Officers would have bir'd

(Below): The 'outhouse' that presumably belonged to Christopher Pinniger in c. 1800. The plaque on the wall is thought to date from around 1870, when these were put up.



Regarding the photograph above, the book of the list of deeds (1653-1790, ref. 854/37, Wiltshire Archives) states:

It contains 10¾ poles and is bounded on the Northeast by a yard and on the S.E. by a Field both belonging to Christopher Pinniger, and on the S.W. by the Road and on the [N.W.?] by Outhouse and Garden belonging to C. Pinniger.

This strongly suggests that Christopher Pinniger (and his descendants) held the leasehold of the burial ground prior to Walter Long, who sold it to Sir Daniel Cooper in c. 1930.



\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

(Below): Possible lettering on a much-weathered headstone? These need careful cleaning and research, as well as looking for more stones around the wall on the long side, as well as the gated end on the burial ground.



#### Lists of Friends buried in East Tytherton

We are indebted to Terry Benton and Michael Holtham for their patient research in compiling the tables below. This first table indicates the names of those we have discovered thus far (2010), while the second table adds further columns which add on the research of Kay Taylor (PhD Thesis, University of the West of England, Bristol, 2006) into the legal action taken against individuals buried in East Tytherton.

As Dr. Taylor's list gives only surnames, we cannot be sure if each individual is the one referred to in the burial list MSS. However, we think that in most cases that this will prove to be the case.

The picture that emerges is that which other research into change agents supports, <sup>127</sup> namely that a small minority within a population are the really committed change agents, facing persecution time and again, for example Joan Hale. Others, while being committed, seem to prefer not to take the strong stand that a small minority take, even unto death, as in the case of David Hale, Joan's husband.

From this list, we can readily identify David Hale and his wife Joan, and Zephaniah Fry (1688-1716) and his wife Margaret (*née* Jefferies, d. 1755). Zephaniah had a father who was also Zephaniah (1658-1728), a wealthy clothier and a leader of the Kington Langley Friends' Meeting.

The third generation was again named Zephaniah (25.2.1715-1787). This latter Zephaniah brought disgrace on the Quakers, by committing adultery with his servant girl, Ann Jenkins, in c. 1752, by which liaison she conceived a son, James Jenkins (1753-1831). This young man went to Ireland, where he joined the Quakers there.

David Hale died in the Fleet, and is buried in East Tytherton with his wife Joan, who was also persecuted. Both Zephaniah (1658-1728) and his son, also Zephaniah (1688-1716), together with Margaret (*née* Jefferies) his wife, are buried here. While 'Z Fry' is the only reference, a correlation with the date given by the list of persecutions shows that this must be the senior Zephaniah, since his son (1688-1726) had not yet been born when he was being hauled before the court in Ilchester in 1683 for refusing to swear allegiance.

#### **Quaker burial ground - list of persons buried there**

Taken from Wiltshire Notes & Queries Vols 5, 6 and 7.

Only those clearly indicated as buried at Tytherton have been included in this list. NB: WNQ often gives the Tytherton dates of death and not the dates of burial. WNQ gives full date of death (year - month -day). This list only records the year

Surname	Forename	M/F	Date	Age	Notes
Barnard	Anne	F	1664	_	of Goataker; wife of Henry Barnard
Barnes	Sarah	F	1667		
Barrett	Charles	М	1660		of Chippenham [son of Charles Barrett]
Barrett	Charles	М	1770	70	an old bachelor
Barrett	Mary	F	1782	51	of Devizes
Barrett	Sarah	F	1779	82	of Devizes; widow of John
Birtch	Margret	F	1659		of Clack
Birtch	Mary	F	1662		of Clack
Bishop	John	М	1668		of Titherton Kellways
Broadbury	Zachery	М	1667		of Charlecot
Chapman	Jane	F	1667		of Titherton; wife of William Chapman
Dovee	John	М	1663		of Christian Malford; son of John Dovee. Date of death given: 1663/4-12-4
Dovee	John	М	1669		of Christian Malford
Fry	Ann	F	1664		daughter of John Fry. Date of death given: 1663/4-1-22
Fry	Margaret	F	1755		at Tetherton; of Dracot; widow
Fry	Zephaniah	М	1716	junior	of Chippenham. WNQ notes another Zeph (of Sutton Benger) d. 1724 not b. at ET
Fry					
(another?					
Fry	Z				
Gale	Sarah	F	1668		of Titherton Kellaways
Gardiner	Joan	F	1663		daughter of Thomas Gardiner
Gardiner	William	М	1662		son of William Gardiner
Garner			1669		
[Gardner]	Margery	F			of Charlecott; wife of William Garner [Gardner]. Date of death given as 1668/9-1-5
Gingel	Hannah	F	1788	60	of Bowden nr Laycock; wife of James Gingel
Gowen	Richard	М	1669		died at Foxham
Hale	David	М	1665		of Charlecott
Hale	Henry	M	1691		of Charlecott
Hale	Joan	F	1696		wife of David Hale
Hale	Joan				

(again) Hale					
(again)	Joan				
Hale	Joan				
(again)	Joan				
Hale	William	М	1666		of Charlecott; son of David Hale
Hand	Edith	F	1677		of Titherton, ph. of Bremhill, widdow
Hand	William	M	1670		of Tytherington Lucas [buried at Tytherington Calways]
Harris	Sarah	F	1706		wife of John Harris
Hawkins	John	М	1667		of Christian Malford
Hawkins	Sarah	F	1663		daughter of John Hawkins
Hellier	George	М	1663		of Avon
Hillier	Mary	F	1770		at Tetherton; late of Avon. Died at Pickwick; widow of George Hillier
Jefferiss	Edeth	F	1681		of Charlecott; wife of Edward Jefferies, and daughter of David Heale
Jefferiss	Edward	M	1685		Offence/penalty may refer to Edward or Robert Jeffery(s) or neither
Jefferys	Elizabeth	F	1752		of Whitby [?] aka Whitley[?]; wife of Thomas Jefferys
Jefferys	Н	F	1781	80	late of Melksham; died at Charlecot; widow of Thomas Jefferys
Jefferys	Hannah	F	1772		of Whitley, ph. of Melksham; daughter of Thomas Jefferys
Jefferys	Lydia	F	1759		at Tetherton, of Whitley; wife of Thomas Jefferys snr.
Jefferys	Thomas	Μ	1776	50	of Whitley, ph. of Melksham
Jeffrey	Robert	Μ	1664		of Broomhill. Date of death given: 1664/5-11-4
Jeffrys	David	Μ	1739		at Titherton; of Whitley in Melksham parish
Madit	Mary	F	1667		of Christian Malford; widdow
Madit	Richard	Μ	1664		of Christian Malford
Oliffe	Jane	F	1669		of Avon; wife of Francis Oliffe
Pope	Susanna	F	1662		wife of Richard Pope
Price	William	Μ	1757		of Sutton Benger; a Minister
Rily	Jane	F	1659		of Avon; daughter of John Rily. Earliest recorded death/burial: 23/7/1659
Rily	John	Μ	1667		of Avon
Rummin	James	М	1664		of Goatacre
Selman	John	М	1662		of Christian Malford
Selman	Mary	F	1662		of Christian Malford; duaghter of Jno.Selman
			1798	5	
Summers	Francis	М		months	son of Henry & Sarah Summers, late of Bristol but now of Bath
Truman	Margery	F	1669		of Foxham; widdow
Truman	Richard	М	1662		of Christian Malford; son of William Truman
Webb	Bridget	F	1660		of Dauntsey; daughter of Wm Webb
Webb	Margery	F	1663		of Christian Malford; wife of William Webb
					65

#### **Quaker burial ground - list of 'offences'**

Webb

Taken from *Wiltshire Notes & Queries* Vols 5, 6 and 7.
Only those clearly indicated as buried at Tytherton have been included in this list.
NB: WNQ often gives the Tytherton dates of death and not the dates of burial.
WNQ gives full date of death (year - month -day). This list only records the year

<b>Surname</b> Barnard Barnes	<b>Forename</b> Anne Sarah	M/F F F	<b>Date</b> 1664 1667	Age	<b>From</b> Goatacre	Offence/penalty	Source
Barrett Barrett Barrett	Charles Charles Mary	M M F	1660 1770 1782	70 51	Chippenham Devizes	Ch. Rate, seizure of prop.1657	WFS
Barrett Birtch Birtch Bishop Broadbury Chapman Dovee Dovee Fry	Sarah Margret Mary John Zachery Jane John John	F F M M F M	1779 1659 1662 1668 1667 1667 1663 1669	82	Devizes Clack Clack Tytherton Charlecote Tytherton Christian Malford Christian Malford		
Fry Fry Fry (another? Fry Gale	Margaret Zephaniah Z Sarah	F M F	1755 1716 1668	junior	Tytherton Chippenham Tytherton	meeting, hat, gaol, 1663 church absence, gaol, 1684	WFS WFS
Gardiner Gardiner Garner [Gardner]	Joan William Margery	F M F	1663 1662 1669		Charlecote		

Gingel Gowen	Hannah Richard	F	1788 1669	60	Bowden		
Gowen	Richard	М	1665			Tithe, hat, gaol, 1657,	
Hale	David	М	1005		Charlecote	58, 61	WHS
Hale	Henry	M	1691		Charlecote		
	•		1696			Oath, prop.seized,	
Hale	Joan	F				1668	WFS
Hale						Ch.Abs, official	
(again)	Joan					complaint, 1674	D1/54
Hale							
(again)	Joan					Host, fined, 1669	WFS
Hale						Tithe, chattels taken,	
(again)	Joan					1670	WFS
Hale	William	М	1666		Charlecote		
11	E Jul.	_	1677		T. dl. autou	church abs, reported,	
Hand	Edith	F	1670		Tytherton	1674	
Hand	William	М	1670		Tythorton Lucas	Meeting, property seized	D1/54
Harris	Sarah	F	1706		Tytherton Lucas	Seizeu	D 1/34
Hairis	Saran	'	1667			Tithe, chattels taken	
Hawkins	John	М	1007		Christian Malford	1657	WFS
Hawkins	Sarah	F	1663		Chilocian Fianora	1001	*****
Hellier	George	M	1663		Avon		
Hillier	Mary	F	1770		Tytherton		
Jefferiss	Edeth	F	1681		Charlecote		
Jefferiss	Edward	M	1685			Ch. Abs, reported 1674	D1/54
Jefferys	Elizabeth	F	1752		Whitley	, <b>.</b>	
Jefferys	Н	F	1781	80	Charlecote/Melksham		
Jefferys	Hannah	F	1772		Whitley/Melksham		
Jefferys	Lydia	F	1759		Whitley		
Jefferys	Thomas	M	1776	50	Whitley/Melksham		
Jeffrey	Robert	Μ	1664		Broomhill (Bremhill?)		
Jeffrys	David	Μ	1739		Tytherton		
Madit	Mary	F	1667		Christian Malford		
Madit	Richard	М	1664		Christian Malford		
Oliffe	Jane	F	1669		Avon		
Pope	Susanna	F	1662				
Price	William	М	1757		Sutton Benger		

Rily	Jane	F	1659		Avon
Rily	John	M	1667		Avon
Rummin	James	M	1664		Goatacre
Selman	John	M	1662		Christian Malford
Selman	Mary	F	1662		Christian Malford
			1798	5	
Summers	Francis	Μ		months	Bath/Bristol
Summers Truman	Francis Margery	M F	1669	months	Bath/Bristol Foxham
			1669 1662	months	•
Truman	Margery	F		months	Foxham
Truman Truman	Margery Richard	F M	1662	months	Foxham Christian Malford

#### Abbreviations:

D1/50 series. this refers to the Churchwardens' presentments [official complaints] to the bishop. D1/54 refers to the records for North Wiltshire.

WFS refers to WSRO 1699/17: A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers in Wiltshire From the Year 1653 [to 1702] or WSRO 1699/18, Booke of the Register, Wherein is Recorded Some of the Most Materiall Sufferings of the People Called Quakers in the Countie of Wilts as Follows [1653-1756], or both.



# 11. The Pinnigers, Longs, and Coopers at *The Elms/Pinniger's House*

Pinniger's House (previously known as *The Elms*) has obviously passed through many hands. While we have not conducted a survey or historical investigation of the house, the oldest parts on first impressions appear to be Georgian, with the main part of the present building being Victorian. The design and layout of the house suggest a complex history of additions at different times in its history.

While Quakers held the leasehold for 2,000 years, this leasehold appears to have been acquired by Christopher Pinniger, who passed this down to his grandson, Charles Pinniger (born 1821, as Charles Edward Pinniger), who owned the property by 1867, and presumably built the Victorian extension. The 'garden' is certainly referred to (along with the fields around the burial ground), and it might seem odd to have a 'garden' without a house, unless this was a market garden. 129

While we are not yet sure which of the Pinniger family we are concerned with, the following are distinct possibilities:

- 1. Christopher Pinniger, b. *circa* 1803, lived in Tytherton, and who was married to Emma. In 1851 he was living in Hampshire, possibly in Rockbourne. This may have been the Charles Pinniger who died on 14th February, 1874.
- 2. Charles Pinniger, aged 68 (b. *circa* 1813), with his wife Harriet, age 69. Charles was born in Foxham. His children include Jacob (39), Lucy (29), Ruth (27), Fanny (25). The twelve-year gap between Jacob and Lucy may suggest that Harriet was his second wife. However, Harriet would have been 30 if she was Jacob's mother, and 44 when Fanny was born not impossible. If this is the Charles who owned the land around the house, then he would have been about 54 years old in 1867, again, a very plausible scenario. 130

To confuse things, we also have a Charles E. Pinniger, b. *circa* 1821, who was living in Tytherton in 1891, and who was married to Annie L. Pinniger.

#### Another database gives:

- (a) Christopher Pinniger who was baptised on 10th October, 1775 (St. Laurence Church, Hilmarton?), with parents John & Elizabeth Pinniger attending. 131
- (b) Christopher Pinnegar, baptised 14th March, 1747, (Compton Bassett) whose father is John Pinnegar. This is almost certainly the same 'Christopher Pinegar' referred to in the burial records for 24th August, 1827, aged 80 (therefore born *circa* 1747), at St. Martin's Church, Bremhill. If this is so, he is the son of John Pinegar, who may (if this is the same person) have married Susannah Alexander on 12th May, 1774, in Compton Bassett, when he was aged 27 years.
- (c) Charles Pinnegar was baptised on 16th August, 1830 (St. Mary the Virgin, Calne), his parents being Charles & Mary Pinnegar. 133
- (d) Christopher Pinniger married Anna Lewis in Calne, on 13th November, 1826. If this was a first marriage, we might expect this 'Christopher' to be around 25 years old  $\pm$  5 years, so therefore born circa 1796-1806. This would make the Christopher Pinniger (1, above) a possibility, except that 'Emma' would have been mistaken for 'Anna'. Several marriages were not unusual because of high death rates, and mistakes in the records are possible, too. 134

In summary, this genealogy does not make complete sense. Charles (b. 1813) cannot possibly be Christopher's (b. 1803) son, as the said Christopher would have been only ten years old at the time! The other Charles is not much more plausible, for Christopher would have been only 18 at the time. Not impossible, but unlikely.

The genealogy of the house and/or the property therefore appears to be (although we need evidence):

Christopher Pinniger (by 1810?)
Charles Pinniger (by 1867)
Walter John Long (d. 1936)
Sir Daniel Cooper & Lady Lettice Cooper (1942-54)
Baker family (1954-1992)
McKenzie family (1992-1993?)
Jan & Jamie Brosch (1994-present).

There is a considerable gap between the Pinniger's and Walter John Long. It may be that his father, John William Long had ownership in this period?

(Below): The Elms/Pinniger's House, shows the older, Georgian part of the house, in the distance. The 'garden' may be that referred to in the manuscripts.



(Below): The smallest and most distant part of the house may be the oldest part still standing.



## 12. The Survey of the Burial Ground (Andrew Lawrence)

Five hours in to a hot April day I stood staring disconsolately into my 1m by 2m test pit. By all of my own calculations and research there should have been at least one grave cut and possibly a marker stone or two. Instead the trench had thrown up half a dozen fragments of bone china and virtually nothing else. I was supposed to be establishing the existence of a 17<sup>th</sup> century Quaker burial ground but had instead drawn a complete blank. What I asked myself happens next, clearly geophysics was indicated but the project had no money and, at that point, no access to or experience of, geophysical technique. At that point my project leader's voice behind me said, "Andy I'd like you to meet Keith Turner..."

The East Tytherton Heritage project is a broad based project examining and recording the history of the village of East Tytherton near Chippenham. The village is a curiosity, it sits at one end of Maud Heath's Causeway (itself the subject of a great deal of historical research) has no village church but does contain an early Moravian settlement and burial ground (one of the earliest in the country) and also an early Quaker burial ground. The project has grown from one focused on the restoration of the Moravian burial ground to a broader focus on the whole history of the village.

Beginning with the Moravian burial ground the project has used archival research, mapping, modern memory and basic archaeological techniques to build up a picture of the development of the burial ground which came into use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Being a Moravian burial the stones are smaller than a modern paving slab and very plain. Many of the stones from the site had been moved to make a path and many others had simply subsided into the ground and had disappeared completely. Three years worth of archival research had identified most if not all of the burials and their position in the burial ground. Gradually we have probed and excavated to recover marker stones, backfilling so that they are again visible on the surface, Basic archaeological and surveying technique has allowed us to trace the original and expanded boundaries of the burial ground and also to trace the course of a gravel path which once traced the modern boundary of the burial ground. <sup>136</sup>

As this part of the project has come close to an end our attention has turned to the Quaker burial ground believed to exist in the grounds of a local house. Less than half a mile from the Moravian burial ground there is a patch of lawn bounded by an outbuilding on the wall of which is a sign 'Friends Burial Ground 1659' [Fig 1 & 2] and nothing else. The owner was keen to find out more but there was nothing obvious to suggest that this was in fact a burial ground nor was there anything easily available which explained it's history. We needed first to establish that this patch of ground was in fact a Quaker burial ground. Archival research demonstrated that there had been such a burial ground in East Tytherton but was not specific as to its location. A general description of the burial ground's orientation and relationship to other features existed and the garden site broadly fitted that description. What was needed early on was some empirical evidence that the garden site was the correct one.

Early Quaker burial practice is very different to anything one might find in a Parish church yard. 17<sup>th</sup> century Quakers were a small, persecuted sect who rejected any connection to the established church or, in some circumstances, to any established authority. They met in houses and had no formal structure or record keeping in their early days. Perhaps the earliest properties that were dedicated to their use were patches of land bought as burial grounds, usually held in private hands. The Quakers rejected outward display and did not regard burial grounds as anything other than a hygienic way of disposing of dead bodies. Certainly in the earliest part of their history no marker stones were used and there was no regard to family or other relationships in the sequence of burials.

Our experience in the Moravian burial ground was of little use to us in making assumptions about the spacing or alignment of burials but we could assume that rows of graves would be not be spaced more than about a metre apart spaced and that a two metre long test pit place diagonally across the ground stood a good chance of hitting something if there were graves there. We also knew from experience that subsided grave markers (if they existed) had not been found deeper than about 50 cm below the ground surface, even given the length of time that this burial ground had been in use. Accordingly we placed a 2m by 1m test pit diagonally to the orientation of the ground [Fig 3]. Despite taking this pit down to the natural sub soil nothing of any true significance was found.

On the same day Keith Turner arrived to have a look at our site and see whether it was suitable for a survey. Keith brought a GPR set with him and ran a quick series of passes to see if any response was

likely. These very rough transections showed a consistent layer of noise about half a metre below the surface which could have been produced by large stones. On the basis of this we decided to go ahead with a complete survey and this was fixed for 19 June 2010.

Keith Turner and John Oswin both did a huge amount of work on that day and subsequently to provide a thorough survey of the burial ground. Starting with resistivity (Fig 4) we began to see the first glimmer of what we were hoping for. Figure 4 shows a solid anomaly to the left of the picture running almost the whole length of the lawn. We have no idea what this is at the moment, possibly a wall foundation. This may fit with the rather peculiar arrangement of buildings and walls visible in Fig 2. This shows a building to the left cut into the roof line of a building to the right that is in the grounds of the next door property. The wall visible to the right meets the second building very awkwardly close to a window and out of line with the proper end of the building. The anomaly is under the lawn to the left (west ) of the wall. It may be the foundation for the original boundary wall.

The Mag Sus survey shown at Fig 5 was not particularly helpful other than confirming the anomaly shown in the Resistivity survey and illustrating some obstructive tree roots.

The GPR survey was much more exciting. Fig 6 is one view of the site survey in plan at 93 cm depth. The picture clearly shows groups of darker anomalies oriented east/west across the site and arranged in a rough grid pattern. This grouping is repeated in both deeper and shallower transections. Given the supposed nature of the site this very clearly seems to show grave cuts.

These results are of immense value to us as a project, they conform beyond reasonable doubt that this is the Quaker burial ground and give us specific targets for the coming year. We hope to test both the 'wall' anomaly and a group of the anomalies on the GPS. Given that we are digging on a burial group specifically looking for grave cuts we will probably be looking for more help from the Bath and Camerton to supervise the work that we want to do. <sup>137</sup>



FIG 2. Orientation North



FIG 3; Orientation N/E



FIG 4; Resistivity; orientation South to the top

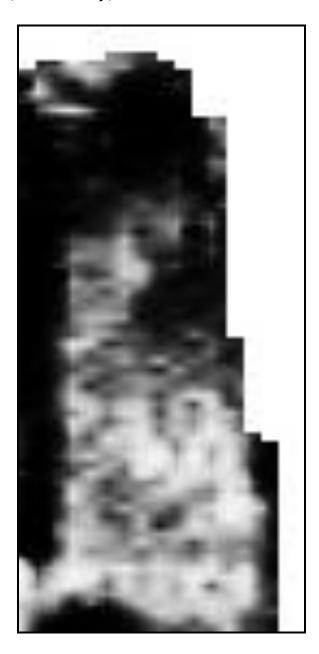


FIG 5; Mag Sus, orientation North to the left

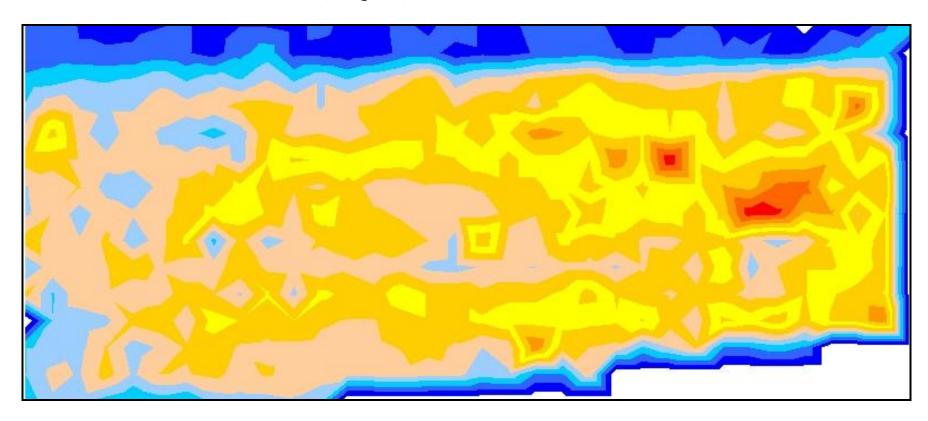
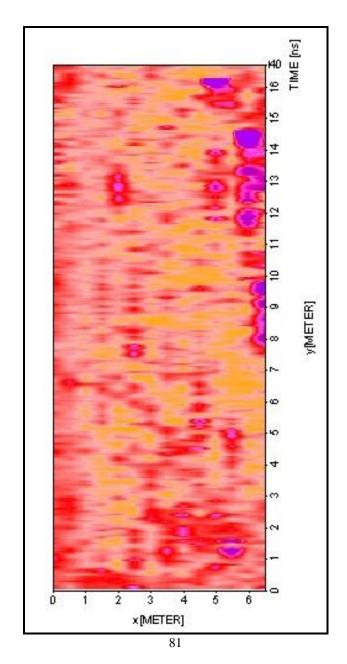


FIG 6: GPR at 93 mm. Orientation South to the bottom



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> G. Fox (1694, 1969). The Journal of George Fox, (R. M. Jones, Ed.), Dent, London, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Liza Picard (2000). Dr. Johnson's London, London, Weidenfield & Nicolson, 263-4. This is of a later period than Fox, but it gives some idea of the tradition associated with 'bowing and scraping'. Picard cites Joan Wildeblood (1965), The Polite World, Oxford, as a key source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Samuel Pepys, October 1663, cited in Maureen Waller (2000), 1700: Scenes From London Life, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 156-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bernard de Mandeville (1714). The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits, London. Cited in Waller, op cit., 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Sect' is here used in its technical sense, as used by sociologists, to mean a closely-knot group that that shares similar values, is strongly mutually self-supporting, and excludes outsiders as a means of maintaining this ethos. It is not used here as a term of abuse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Waller, *op cit.*, 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Richard Follett (2001) in his excellent treatment of this theme, in his *Evangelicalism*, *Penal Theory and the Politics of Criminal Law Reform in England*, 1808-30, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Op cit., 37. Restitution was the normal punishment in Old Testament Israel for offences concerning material things in a not directly spiritual context, cf., Exodus 22.1-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> I Corinthians 13.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 277. Fox is probably thinking of Exodus 21.1-11, Deuteronomy 15.12-18. In the former, only the males go free after seven years; in the latter both men and women. In Deuteronomy the slaves also have rights of care and provision for life, if they wish to avail themselves of this. Throughout Fox's writings - and of other Quakers, such as Charles Marshall, a Biblical underpinning is assumed, although almost never actually cited. Allusions would have been readily understood by anyone with familiarity with the Biblical text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997). The Slave Trade, London, Picador, 525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Now on the A420 Chippenham to Bristol road.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Op cit., 314. This is quite radical by 17th century standards, and it is not clear just how far these teachings were implemented in practice. The classical New Testament statement of this equality is Galatians 3.28, but see also I Corinthians 12.12-13 and Colossians 3.11, where status distinctions are abolished on the grounds of salvation, spiritual gifts, and ethical requirements, respectively.

<sup>14</sup> http://exlibris.org/nonconform/engdis/ranters.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> John Woolman (1971, 1989). *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton, Richmond, Friends' Press, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Michael L. Birkel (2004). Silence and Witness: The Quaker tradition, London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> There were well-known Ranters, with published works. These included Jacob Bauthumley (1650), *The Light and Dark Sides of God*, British Library E.1353 (2), *Thomason Tracts* 178:E:1353 (2). Laurence Clarkson (or Claxson, 1650), *A Single Eye All Light*, British Library E.614 (1), Abiezer Coppe (1649), *Some Sweet Sips of Some Spiritual Wine*, British Library E. 578 (13, 14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Harold Fassnidge (1992). The Quakers of Melksham 1669-1950, Bradford on Avon, Bradford on Avon Friends, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> O. Chadwick (1966). An Ecclesiastical History of England: The Victorian Church, London, Adam & Charles Black, 430.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Fassnidge, op cit., 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Between 1809-1859, 5,000 Quakers had been expelled for marrying outside of the Quaker Meeting. Fassnidge, op cit., 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Fassnidge, op cit., 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Fassnidge, op cit., 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> John Rutty (1796). Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies, London, James Phillips, 390.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> M. Birkel (op cit), 53.

John Chandler & Derek Parker (2006). The Church in Wiltshire, Salisbury, Hobnob Press, 128.

This is substantiated by the findings of social psychologists. Increasing coercion to the point that free-will is lost increases resistance. On the other hand, an appropriate amount of law, to the extent that people feel able to obey it, changes behaviour. This is because behaviour changes attitudes (attitudes then changing behaviour) - a phenomenon well known to psychologists. Civil rights legislation in the US managed to achieve this kind of positive social change. See D. Myers (1978), The Human Puzzle, NY., Harper & Row, 108-112, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> This figure is based on a much more detailed one in Donald Durnbaugh (1968), *The Believers' Church*, Scottdale, Herald. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Birkel, *op cit.*, 58.

<sup>31</sup> Chadwick, op cit., 426.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See Clifford Hill (2004), *The Wilberforce Connection*, Oxford, Monarch Books, for strong arguments that Clapham was the catalyst for much of this social change and charitable action.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Based on Donald Durnbaugh (1968), *The Believers' Church: The history and character of radical Protestantism*, Herald, Scottdale, Penn., 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Chadwick, *op cit.*, 430-32.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in Chadwick, op cit., 424; J. Travis Mills (1935), John Bright and the Quakers, Vol. 1, 439.

<sup>38</sup> Kay Taylor (2009). The History, Activities and Records of the Local Quaker Community, paper presented at East Tytherton History Day, East Tytherton, September 12th 2009. We are indebted to Dr. Taylor for the information in this paragraph.

<sup>39</sup> Fassnidge, op cit., 13. These books include marriages, births, deaths, and termination of membership.

<sup>40</sup> Fassnidge, op cit, 47, 51. See WRO 1699/115 for subscription list, which includes Charlcutt.

<sup>41</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 127.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 136.

44 Marjory Reeves, op cit., 144.

<sup>45</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 130.

<sup>46</sup> Gwynne Stock (1997). *An Evaluation of Quaker Burial Practices*, unpublished research diploma paper, Bournemouth University.

<sup>47</sup> Gwynne Stock, op cit., 19 f.

<sup>48</sup> Gwynne Stock, op cit.

However, Wiltshire Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, page 343, gives '1658-8-10. - Abigail Huckings [Huggins], of Grittleton, to Charles Barrett, of Kinton St. Mickaell.'. This is YY/MM/DD: 10th October 1658? Is this a different Charles Barrett (unlikely?) or a first wife who died, perhaps in childbirth, followed by another marriage soon afterwards (more likely?)?

<sup>50</sup> Joy Bristow (1990). The Local Historian's Glossary of Words and Terms, Newbury, Countryside Books, 136.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Abraham Maslow (1964). *Religions, Values, and Peak Experiences*, New York, Viking, 24. See also Margaret Poloma, Christian Covenant Communities: An adaptation of the Intentional Community for Urban Life, in Charles P. de Santo, Calvin Redekop, William L. Smith-Hinds (eds), *A Reader in Sociology: Christian Perspectives*, 1980, Scottdale, Herald, 609-630.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Quaker Meetings had a chain of command at which the Yearly Meeting was at the top of the pyramid, followed by the Monthly Meeting, then the Particular Meeting. Administrative and other directives would descend down this chain of command from (usually) London or Bristol, thence to Wiltshire and then Charlcutt. Women were not actually equal to men at all meetings. The Yearly Meeting was exclusively male. Women could address male meetings, and *viceversa*, but neither group was comfortable with this (*cf.*, Chadwick, *op cit.*, 428). The first joint session of men and women was in 1880. Kay Taylor (*cf.*, below) says that this was not strictly an hierarchical arrangement, since information travelled up from Particular Meetings through the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, and back down again. One suspects, though, that the 'weighty Friends' had precisely that - 'weight' - when it came to decisions, and that (as Chadwick notes, *op cit.*, 429) accusations of oligarchy came to the fore, especially as regards payment of tithes, eldership for life, and censoring of books, all of which were based on the dominant 'feelings' of dominant weighty Friends.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Thomas Hayter (1736). An Examination of a Book, lately Printed by the Quakers: and by them, page 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Wiltshire Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, page 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Vital Records Index, FHL Film 1279301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> By Dr. Kay Taylor, 2010, to whom we are grateful for supplying it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Kay Taylor (research paper, 2010) gives the birth date as 1725, and Loretta Headley (on Ancestry 2010) as 1733. The dates of the births of the other children tends to support the latter date.

Harold Fassnidge, op cit., 130.

58 Research by the author, shows that Moravians who had been in the Moravians a long time enjoyed increased life expectancy. Others have noted how the Puritans enjoyed increased longevity, and it is a commonplace amongst psychologists that Christians enjoy increased health and life expectancy than non-Christians. Quakers would also have benefited in this way.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Anne Isba (2010). The Excellent Mrs. Fry: Unlikely heroine, London, Continuum, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Kay Taylor (2010). The Fry Family of Sutton Benger, Wiltshire, research paper, courtesy of the author.

<sup>61</sup> See appendix 2 to Kay S. Taylor (2006), Society, Schism and Sufferings: The first seventy years of Quakerism in Wiltshire, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the West of England, Bristol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> This is suggested by Kay Taylor (2010), The Fry Family of Sutton Benger, Wiltshire, an article sent to me by email.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ancestry for Fry family tree; also kindly supported by Dr. Kay Taylor's tree, sent by email. I am indebted to Frances Spalding's book on Roger Fry, Roger Fry: Life and Art, for the detail about Ilchester goal.

Charles Marshall, op cit (below).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> John Chandler & Derek Parker (2006). The Church in Wiltshire, Salisbury, Hobnob Press, 131.

<sup>66</sup> National archives Ref: RG6/1423; RG6/1417.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> National Archives Refs: RG6/1452; RG6/0666.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> As above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Nat. Arch. Ref. RG6/1440; RG6/0666.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Nat. Arch. Ref. RG6/1306; RG6/0680.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Nat. Arch. Ref: RG6/1437.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; Vital Records Index has 6/7/1662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> In Charles Marshall's Will (1698) he is not yet 21. He must therefore have been born after 1677 - he would have been 21 in 1698. Perhaps he was born in about 1678? If so, and his mother was born in around 1640, she would have then been about 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Clara A. Langley (1983). South Carolina Deed Abstracts, 1719-1772, Vol. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Baptisms from the Vital Records Index; Bulah's birth record from the BMD Non-conformist Registers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> The Vital Records Index is incorrect to refer to Quaker births in this way.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> BMD Non-conformist Registers RG6/1306 in National Archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> The full Andrews & Dury's Map (of which this is a small detail) is in the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre in Chippenham.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> From John England's *Sketches* (c. 1900) courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Muswell Hill, London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> All the details in this paragraph are from Fassnidge, *op cit.*, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Marjory Reeves (1956). Protestant Non-Conformity, in a History of Wiltshire (Eds. R. B. Pugh & Elizabeth Crittall), Vol. III, Victoria County History, University of London, OUP., 116; Joseph Besse (1753), A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, London, ii, 39-41; G. L. Turner (1911), Original Records of Early Non-Conformity under Persecution and Indulgence, I, 109; Wiltshire Notes & Queries, ii, 168; Sar. Dioc. Regy., ChW. Pres. 1674, 1683.

<sup>85</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 118. Cf., Charlcutt Monthly Meeting Minutes, I, 1677, 4th month.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Majory Reeves, *op cit.*, 117; WRO., Q. Sess. Rolls 8th April, 1662; 28th April, 1663; 2nd May, 1671; 4th October, 1671; Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 38, 40, 43; *Wiltshire Notes & Queries*, ii, 176-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Marjory Reeves, *ibid*.

<sup>89</sup> Marjory Reeves, op cit., 118. Cf., Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1686, 2nd month, iv, 139; v. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Gary B. Nash (1968). City Planning and Political Tension in the Seventeenth century: The case of Philadelphia, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 112, No. 1, 54-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Penn spells this 'Skoolkill' so presumably this was the way he pronounced this word, see Gary Nash, op cit, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 19, by Pennsylvania Secretary of the Commonwealth, Pennsylvania Dept., of Public Instruction, page 397, sourced from *Google Book Search* which only gave this 'snippet view'..

<sup>93</sup> http://ny.bloomsburyauctions.com/detail/NY020/5.0

Penn to Thomas Holme, 1688, Patent Book A-1, 321-322. Cited in Nash, op cit., p.63.

<sup>95</sup> Nash, op cit., gives a full list of the persons to whom the lots were allocated, p.63, footnote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Nash, op cit., 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> W. W. Comfort (1948). The Quakers: A brief account of their influence on Pennsylvania, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania History Studies No.2. The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 47.

<sup>98</sup> Nash, ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Nash, op cit., 65. Nash cites Warrants and Surveys, II, 136-154, passim, and deeds of lease and release for Charles Marshall (and others) in Lease and Release A-1 and B-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Nash, *op cit.*, 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Nash, *op cit.*, 66.

Nash, op cit., 67. Nash cites James Mease's (1811) *Picture of Philadelphia*, and Scharf & Westcott's (1888) *History of Philadelphia*.

Edwardus filius Hugonis Houlme de Holland generosi 4 Sept 1620

Maria Marshall de Holland generosa 14 Sept 1620.

Translated, these read: 'Edward, son of Hugo Houlme of Holland. gentleman': and 'Maria Marshall of Holland. gentlewoman'.

119 I am grateful to Siena Marriott Webb for this translation.

William Wistar Comfort (1948). The Quakers: A brief history of their influence on Pennsylvania, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania History Studies, 9.

Joseph Wilcox to Penn, Aug. 1st, 1701. Penn-Physick Papers, Correspondence, I 15, Pa. Arch. 2nd. series 19: pp. 210-212, 226-227, Cited in Nash, op cit., 64,

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>106</sup> The priory of Bradenstoke was dedicated to Mary and situated in the parish of Lyneham, near the village of Bradenstoke-cum-Clack. See Dorothy Styles (1956) The Priory of Bradenstoke, in A History of Wiltshire, Vol. III (ed. R. B. Pugh & Elizabeth Crittall), The Victoria History of the Counties of England, London, University of London Institute of Historical Research, 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> James Wylen, op cit., 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Dates of birth vary between 1611-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> George Fox, *op cit.*, 139.

George Fox, op cit. The footnote is presumably that of either Norman Penney or Rufus Jones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> One secondary source says that Edward Stokes was aged 8 in 1623; this would make his year of birth c. 1615, and his age at the time of the Quaker meeting, 41 years. The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Vol. 31, page 183.

<sup>113</sup> See reference above and below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Vol. 31, page 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Arthur Schomberg (ed., 1886). The Pedigree of John Stokes of Seend Co. Wilts., London, Mitchell & Hughes, 4.

<sup>117</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb (1995), The Demoralisation of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values, London, IEA, Health and Welfare Unit, 44 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Subsequent discussion with Cheryl Nicol (Longs of Rood Ashton historian) suggests that this may not be the best translation, Mrs. Nicol (email 17/3/2010) says that generosi means 'gentleman'. She cites Trice Martin, The Record Interpreter: A collection of abbreviations, Latin words.

<sup>120</sup> Visitation of Wiltshire.

<sup>121</sup> Kay Taylor, op cit.

<sup>122</sup> Charles Marshall (1704, 1844.). The Journal, Together with Sundry Epistles and Other Writings, London, Richard Barrett, 4-5.

The West Indian link is crucial to the Moravian settlement in East Tytherton, Founded by the hymn writer John Cennick the group had a substantial school and residential home around the Moravian Church in the village and of course needed a burial ground. We believe that the first burials were in the lawn in front of the church but there are no markers.

The project began the task of identifying all of the burials. This is a study in itself and there is too much detail to go into here but just one example of what we have identified is the grave of a young Antiguan girl, certainly a slave at one point we know very little about her but Antiguan visitors last year thought her grave important enough to travel to the village and lay flowers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Wiltshire History Centre, ref. 1699/105. This consists of a plan of meeting houses, burial grounds and estates belonging to the Society of Friends in Wiltshire, and a letter and a table of facts relating to burial grounds 1867/1879/1937. The MSS table of facts gives the information cited here. I am grateful to Terry Benton for locating this information.

<sup>125</sup> Dauntsey Parish Records

Terry Benton noted that Ref. 1699/104 ... ' ... has some handwritten notes (done in 1879) that are worth looking at ... It also hints at a possible sale to C. Pinniger for £75.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> R. Pointer (1984). How Do Churches Grow? London, MARC Europe, 54-8.

<sup>128</sup> Charles Edward Pinniger's birth date was located by Jan Brosch on the internet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> In the Wiltshire Archives, ref. 1699/105. Plan of meeting houses, burial grounds and estates belonging to the Society of Friends in Wiltshire and a letter and table of facts relating to burial grounds ... 1867/1879/1937. We are indebted to Terry Benton for locating this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> These, and following details, located on *Ancestry*.

<sup>131</sup> British Vital Records Index, (2001). This the Mormon database of baptisms and marriages, available on CD-Rom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> We are indebted to Jan Brosch for providing some of this information, which she obtained from Mrs. Baker, whose family lived in *The Elms/Pinniger's* house.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> That work had also begun to build up a picture of the Moravian community who had lived, worked and died in the village. The history of the Moravian church is fascinating. They began as a small non conformist sect in Germany operating in part under the protection (and on land provided by) Count Zinzendorff. They had always been a church with an interest in reaching out into the rest of the world and established settlements in a number of countries. Being a non-conformist group they did not have the resources of the large missionary societies to call on and there are recorded cases of Moravians selling themselves into slavery in order to get to the West Indies.

<sup>137</sup> Since the survey we have concentrated on archival research. This has established a few facts about the burial ground.

- It was originally bought on a two thousand year lease in 1659.
- The Fry family (of chocolate fame were associated with the ground and one Zephaniah Fry is buried there. This individual may have been one of the very first Quakers in Wiltshire. He was certainly associated with Charles Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends,
- There is an association between Charles Marshall who lived in Tytherton and William Penn (the founder of Pennsylvania) and Marshall owned land in Pennsylvania.
- There was no Quaker meeting in Tytherton and the nearest was in Charlcutt, about four miles away. The minute books of this meeting refer to the burial ground.
- We believe there are about 110 burials; so far we have managed to identify about half of those buried there by name.

We are a long way from the end of our work on this burial ground but at the moment we can say that the burial ground is one of the earliest Quaker burial grounds in the country and it is associated with prominent early Quakers. Which poses a question, which the East Tytherton Heritage Project would very much like to answer, is it merely co-incidental that the Quakers and the Moravians were both associated with this village or is there some underlying history which made the place congenial for both.