

Irish Quakers in Colonial Pennsylvania: A Forgotten Segment of Society

by Gerelyn Hollingsworth

I. Introduction

With the notable exception of Albert Cook Myers, American historians have chosen to ignore the Irish Quakers who settled in colonial Pennsylvania or to regard them as indistinguishable from their English coreligionists.¹ The neglect is understandable to some extent. Unlike Dutch and Welsh Quakers who arrived in Pennsylvania determined to maintain their own language and customs, Irish Friends spoke the English language and observed English conventions. Dutch and Welsh Quakers attempted to remain autonomous by establishing themselves in national enclaves at Germantown and west of the Schuylkill but Irish Friends made no such effort to live apart from the English and could be found throughout the colony.² The Irish Quakers themselves were not particularly eager to be conspicuous or to be confused with the "bog-trotting Teagues" seen in the streets of Philadelphia.³ They considered themselves Englishmen, little changed by a generation or two spent in the "desolate land of Ireland."

If the lack of attention paid to Irish Quakers is understandable, it is not entirely forgivable. As the work done in recent years by local historians has shown, regional differences were extremely significant in an age before modern communications. If "a yeoman in Devonshire, say, was very different from a yeoman in the East Midlands," then certainly there was a great distinction between a Quaker in Cheshire and another in Armagh.⁵ The purpose of this paper is to show that the Englishmen who settled in Ireland during the 17th century were changed by their experiences in the "distressful land" and that those Irish Quakers who immigrated to Pennsylvania distinguished themselves in several ways from their English counterparts: 1) Irish Quakers, a minority in the colony, held proportionately more public offices; 2) they arrived

with more capital and were therefore able to get an early start in commercial enterprise; and 3) their anti-proprietary sentiments and activities were more pronounced than those of the English settlers.

II. Background

The troubles between the English and the Irish began when Strongbow came to Ireland (and will end, they say, when Cromwell gets out of Hell). Before the 17th century, attempts to colonize Ireland had been notable failures. Those settlers who were not murdered in their beds or who did not return in terror to England remained to marry into the native population, eventually to lose their identity, and finally to become more Irish than the Irish. In 1609, however, with the Jacobean plantation of Ulster, the English began to gain the upper hand. Hundreds of Englishmen and Scots were invited to become "undertakers"--- to settle on lands confiscated from the O'Neills and the O'Donnells.⁶ Landless younger sons, members of unpopular religious sects and fortune seekers moved to Antrim and Armagh. The Irish rose in rebellion against the plantation system in 1641 and in 1648 Cromwell arrived with his Puritan army to punish the Catholic natives. Cromwell's army was largely financed by "adventurers" who were given estates in Ireland. To the planters in Ulster, to the adventurers in Leinster and Munster, to the descendants of earlier settlers in the Pale, and to the officers and soldiers in garrisons throughout the island came the first Quaker missionaries in 1654.⁷

Outstanding among early Friends to visit Ireland was William Edmundson, "the great hammer of Ireland," who had been "convinced" by James Naylor in 1653.⁸ Other missionaries were the charismatic Francis Howgill and George Fox himself. Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, received a "revelation of God's will" in 1647.⁹ He and his followers, convinced that they were guided by an "inner light," observed such customs as using the familiar "thee" to everyone, refusing to remove their hats in the presence of social superiors, worshipping in "meetings" rather than participating in Puritan services, refusing to take oaths, voluntarily entering the unspeakable prisons of the days to minister to the inmates, "going naked for a sign," refusing to observe "Christian" holidays, and disrupting services of the established church to dispute with the "hireling priests." Fox and his followers, in spite of their religious convictions, were still Englishmen and they loathed Ireland and the Irish. Fox wrote of his first visit: "When we came on shore, the earth and the very air smelt with the corruption of the nation."¹⁰ Francis Howgill wrote of going into

the heart of the nation, about fifty miles from Dublin, through deserts, woods and bogs, and the desolatest places that ever any did I think behold, without any inhabitant except a few Irish cabins here and there, who are robbers and murderers that lives in holes and bogs where none can pass.¹¹

William Edmundson disliked not only the land and its naive inhabitants, but also the English settlers to whom he preached. He considered them "thick, dull and sottish."¹² Edmundson, a former soldier in Cromwell's army, established the first Meeting of Irish Quakers at Lurgan, in Armagh, in 1654.¹³ He introduced the new Friends to the practices already mentioned and to another which would cause them a good deal of trouble--that of refusing to pay tithes to the established church. The Quakerly practice which aroused the most comment in Ulster however, presumably at the markets, was that of refusing to haggle over prices.

The keeping of one price in selling of goods and to the first asking without abatement was a great stumbling-block to most sorts of people.¹⁴

Edmundson made many converts in the North of Ireland and other missionaries preached in the South. Myers says: "Nearly two hundred had come over before 1700."¹⁵ Their work bore fruit. In time there would be nearly 10,000 Irish Quakers. Of these, between 1500 and 2000 immigrated to Pennsylvania in the colonial period.¹⁶

III. Immigration

It is, of course, impossible to say why a particular man chooses to uproot his family at any given time and migrate to a new country. Myers offers three reasons why great numbers of Irish Quakers immigrated to Pennsylvania between 1682 and 1750: 1) persecution, particularly for non-payment of tithes, suffered at the hands of representatives of the established church; 2) persecution at the hands of native Catholics, particularly after the Cotter incident of 1719 in which an Irishman was hanged for molesting a Quaker woman; and 3) famine in 1729.¹⁷ Of these three reasons, the third is substantiated by the large number of certificates of removal received by Pennsylvania meetings in 1729--sixty four.¹⁸ Only two Irish Quakers requested certificates of removal in 1719--the year of the Cotter incident--and neither was living in Cork where the incident occurred.¹⁹ Irish Quakers certainly suffered for their refusal to pay tithes, but as will be shown later in this paper, perhaps less than did the English Friends. Whatever their reasons, 440 Irish Quakers requested certificates of removal--documents which testified to one's membership in a Meeting, one's marital status, and one's character--from their Meetings in Ireland, and presented them to new Meetings in Pennsylvania.²⁰ (A number of Friends emigrated from Ireland before Penn's invitation was broadcast in 1682. These early immigrants settled in New Jersey where Isaac Sharp was a judge and assemblyman; Robert Zane, a former serge-maker in Dublin, was Proprietor of West New Jersey; William Bates, a carpenter from Wicklow, was constable, highway commissioner and legislator; and Thomas Thackara, a stuff-maker from Dublin, built the first Meeting house)²¹

William Penn, who had inherited a claim of 16,000 pounds against

the crown, received, in lieu of payment, a proprietary grant of 40,000 square miles in America in 1681. Penn, who had been convinced of the tenets of the Quaker faith while visiting his Limerick estates, wrote a letter the day after receiving his charter to Robert Turner, a wealthy Dublin merchant and a Quaker, and asked him to invite Irish Friends to emigrate.²² Turner himself and Samuel Clarridge of Dublin, John White of Carlow, and Dennis Rochford, among others, became "First Purchasers"--those who bought 5000 acres or more and who would be favored by Penn when town lots were allocated in Philadelphia and appointments made for public office.²³

Irish Friends sailed to America on the *Sizargh* out of Bristol, on the *Lion* of Liverpool, on the *Antelope* out of Belfast and a few, with Penn himself, on the *Welcome*.²⁴ They brought their redemptioners, their household goods, their tools, and their new religion. The first arrivals wrote home to give good advice to future immigrants. "Bring good beer and potatoes and butter for shipboard."²⁵ They settled throughout the colony, chiefly in Chester County (201 certificates of removal received), Philadelphia County (117) and Delaware County (82).²⁶

IV. Irish Quakers in Public Office

They gave to the Province eight Provincial Councillors, three acting Governors, one Proprietary Secretary, two Receivors-General, one Register-General, one Surveyor-General, one Provincial Treasurer, one Chief Justice, three Judges, one Master of Chancery, two Keepers of the Seal, twenty-two Justices of the Peace, eighteen Assemblymen, two Sheriffs, one County Treasurer and three Mayors of Philadelphia.²⁷

The Irish Quakers were elected to public office in numbers out of proportion to their total number in the colony. Had they acted as a cohesive body, they could have controlled colonial Pennsylvania, but the Irish experience has been too short for that. It had been long enough however, to have given them a taste for government which English Quakers would not know until Joseph Pease took his seat in the House of Commons in 1833.²⁸

Many Quakers held office in Ireland. This fact is evidently not unknown to historians since several mention it. Bronner says, "the Quakers in Ireland held office," but attributes no importance to the fact.²⁹ Braithwaite was well aware "that a number of Friends in Dublin, Cork, and Limerick were made aldermen and burgesses," but leaves it to someone else to discuss the American implications of this.³⁰ And Myers, of course, knew that Irish Quakers in Pennsylvania held public office but lovingly assumed that it was due to their personal charm or saintliness and not to previous experience. Actually, Friends in Ireland were elected to office so frequently that George Fox wrote a letter to William Edmundson on the subject in 1687, and then, three months later, addressed an epistle to the aldermen themselves.

Now as for those friends of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places that have taken offices as aldermen and Burgesses upon them--they must consider and be wise for if they can neither take any oaths, nor put any oaths to any one, neither can they put on their gowns and strange kinds of habits. ³¹

Friends that be aldermen or burgesses did meet and speak together that they might all be of one mind. I do not know of any friend in England that is yet put in any such place. ³²

The fact that so many Quakers held office in Ireland must have made their lives in that country at least slightly less intolerable than Ratty, Stockdale, and other chroniclers of early oppression would have us believe. A "tithe-monger," for instance, would be unlikely to press a Quaker for payment of his dues to the established church if that Quaker happened to be an alderman. And the Acts of Uniformity were probably interpreted less rigidly in those districts with Quakers as burgesses.

The Quakers who left Ireland for America had observed the obvious advantages which went with office holding. The advantages in Pennsylvania would be even greater. Perhaps two examples will suffice. In the new city of Philadelphia, platted by Thomas Holme, an Irish Friend, land was originally to be allocated by drawing lots. As is well known, this was not carried out as planned. Absentee purchasers, for example, were assigned land which would not appreciate for years, but wealthy and powerful Friends who happened to be present were given the best city lots. Robert Turner received Mount Wharf. ³³ Holme received equally valuable property. Both were members of Penn's inner circle and were appointed to various offices including Provincial Treasurer, Commissioner of Property, and Receiver General for the lower counties. ³⁴

Outside the city, particularly in New Castle County, where many Irish Friends settled, it was equally important to hold office. Jessamyn West's delightful Irish Quakers in *The Friendly Persuasion* were dismayed at the thought of engaging in a legal battle; their colonial ancestors felt no such apprehensions but were as litigious as other early Americans. Communications were poor, lawsuits were frequent, and administration of justice left to the discretion or fancy of the local officer. In New Castle County, where such families of Irish Friends as the Dixons, Harlans, Kirks, Calverts, Hollingsworths, and Starrs lived, local judgeships and Assembly seats passed from one to another. The careful genealogical records which Quakers have always kept show that all these families were connected by marriage, and in many cases, by common boundaries between their farms. It would not be logical to imagine that Will Dixon, whose inn at New Castle was frequented by pirates and tobacco smugglers, would be treated too harshly if brought before the law in the person of the justice of the peace, Valentine Hollingsworth, who was his kinsman. ³⁵

V. Commercial Activities

The Irish Friends who migrated to Penn's colony sent hundreds of letters home. Many of these letters are preserved in the library of the Friends' Meeting House in Dublin's Eustace Street.³⁶ The letters show that their authors were rather less concerned with religious matters than one might expect and were extremely concerned with financial matters. The Quakers had prospered on their Irish estates and arrived in the new world with capital realized from the sale of those estates either to other English settlers or to Irishmen eager to regain parts of their ancestral lands. Because they were able to invest immediately in business and were not obliged to wait some years for the land which they had purchased from Penn to appreciate in value, the Irish Quakers prospered. Letters home were filled with evidence of this prosperity.

Benjamin Chandlee, a former resident of Cork, wrote from Philadelphia to his brothers in 1705, telling them to bring fabrics of all kinds for him to sell. He also urged them to bring guns for resale and asked especially for a gun for his personal use, "about four foot long in the barrel."³⁷ Three years later, Chandlee wrote a letter "for Joshua Caelban to be left at John Hammony Merchant in the cytie of Cork in the Nation of Ireland."³⁸ In it he described the commerce of Philadelphia.

Most of our commodities is biscuits and flour, tobacco and fur skins they trade to Barbados, Jamaica, Carrolina, Corraso and Antiguu. . . Silver. . . goes for five pence halfpenny per pennyweight and Gould every pennyweight of that goes for seven shillings. 39

Some Quakers from Ireland came to Philadelphia to earn money and then returned home. One man, John Grubb, traveled to America not to live but to build a ship. He brought with him, for sale, 711 yards of "good serge," 23 of sateen, and several other varieties of fabrics.⁴⁰

Other Irish Quakers came to Pennsylvania on a trial basis, retaining their farms in Ireland in case they wished to return. Henry Hollingsworth, who held several colonial offices and acted as Surveyor General for both Penn and Lord Baltimore, returned to Ireland in 1688 to dispose of land in Armagh still held by his father, and to be married.⁴¹

Irish Quakers engaged in several mercantile activities on the Delaware, notably ship-building and flour milling.⁴² They also, like the English, engaged in land speculation. Later arrivals found the best land taken and frequently joined the parties which settled such areas as Lancaster County and Hopewell, Virginia. Thomas Milhouse, for instance, who arrived from Timahoe in 1729, was unable to find sufficient land within the limits of New Garden Monthly Meeting, and so moved with his family in 1744 to the western edge of Chester County.⁴³ Evidently the late arrivals did not suffer great hardships however, as earlier immigrants were often willing to rent or lease land being held for speculation. On this rental property a newcomer could get a start

before buying land farther west and was even able, at times, to find land with a log cabin or a "good brick house" on it.⁴⁴

Another practice which brought income to several Irish Quakers was that of "fencing Indians." A settler constructed a fence around an area which was reserved for Indians and received land from the proprietary government, "in regard for the great trouble and charge. . .fencing and maintaining. . .for the 'said Indians.'"⁴⁵

Even those Irish Friends who arrived in the new world with little or no capital sometimes prospered. John Musgrave, for instance, arrived in 1682 as an indentured servant. After his term of servitude ended, he left the Delaware, leading a party of settlers, and ventured as far west as the Susquehanna to take up the acreage promised freed bondsmen by William Penn. Musgrave's children would hold office in Lancaster County and his grandchildren would marry into such Philadelphia families as the Whartons.⁴⁶ His descendants are still found in Lancaster County, farming some of the richest soil in the world.⁴⁷

Not every indentured servant of an Irish Quaker would prosper. James Logan, perhaps the most prominent Irish Friend in colonial Pennsylvania, advertised for a runaway, "an Irish Servant Lad, named Patrick Boyd, aged about 17 or 18 years, with streight [sic] dark Hair, a freckled Face and a smooth Tongue."⁴⁸

Certain Irish Quakers who chose to remain in the old country sent their daughters to Pennsylvania. "Young women come over to these parts, especially to this country to advantage themselves or get rich husbands."⁴⁹

VI. Anti-Proprietary Activities

Although Robert Turner remained faithful to William Penn after the proprietor's return to England, other Irish Quakers joined the growing anti-proprietary movement. Even Thomas Holme, Penn's old neighbor in Limerick, and his trusted Surveyor General, "was charged with chronic drunkenness, taking bribes, and charging extortionate fees."⁵⁰ Other Irish Quakers, less prominent than Holme, expressed their disenchantment with Penn's unfair land allocation policies and with the proprietary system in general by contributing to the confusion in the Assembly, by harboring pirates and by siding with the Calverts in the boundary dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore.

John Calvert, who left Armagh to settle in Pennsylvania in 1683, was a near relative of Lord Baltimore's and also related by marriage to several families of Irish Quakers in New Castle County.⁵¹ Members of these families represented the lower counties in the Assembly and listened willingly to Baltimore's agent who traveled among them attempting "to seduce the people from their obedience and fidelity to the Governor."⁵² New Castle County in particular, where the heaviest

concentration of Irish Friends in the colony lived, favored Baltimore's claim. Penn had "broken his promise to require all Delaware shipping to enter and clear their cargoes at New Castle--the only means by which that port could maintain its economic position."

Penn's agents had difficulty collecting quitrents--medieval taxes which "quit" one of further feudal obligations--in the lower counties. Irish Quakers, favoring Baltimore's claim, and older Dutch and English settlers, angered over the fact that shipping bypassed them for Philadelphia, joined in opposition to the tax, insisting that if they paid, and then Baltimore's case were proven just, they would have to pay again.

Irish Quakers also expressed anti-proprietary feelings by their behavior in the Assembly. Penn had planned his Assembly so the upper house, or Council, consisting of wealthy friends, should initiate legislation and that the lower house, or Assembly, filled with representatives of the yeomen and less wealthy Philadelphians, should vote to approve that legislation. From the first meeting, assemblymen, whom James Logan would later call "vile vipers...knives and fools," proved obstreperous.⁵⁵ English Quakers had been unwilling to stand for office because of the lack of pay and the personal inconvenience involved in being away from the farms and having to travel on dangerous roads. Irish Quakers, as has been shown, stood for office often and gladly though not through any loyalty felt towards Penn but for the personal advantages they knew would come to them. As Assembly members, they often led the forbidden debates, discussed the rights they believed they should have, and once, insisted on voting to answer a direct summons from William Penn.⁵⁶ When Penn made the mistake of appointing a non-Quaker as Governor and that Governor compounded the error by arresting John White, the Speaker of the Assembly and an Irish Quaker, other immigrants from County Carlow helped him break jail.⁵⁷

When the governorship of the colony fell to a council headed by Thomas Lloyd, Irish Quakers continued their unruly behavior. Assemblymen from the lower counties led a movement for secession and William Stockdale, the venerable spiritual leader of the Irish Quakers led an anti-Lloyd faction opposed to having armed men along the Delaware coast.⁵⁸ It is difficult to judge the merits of the two sides due to the lack of contemporary documents on the subject. Lloyd may have been contemptible and childish as Bronner believes, or the emerging leader of a powerful bourgeoisie as Nash believes. Stockdale may have been the saintly old Friend that he appears to be in his writings, opposed to armed men out of religious principle, or he may have been as heavily involved with smuggling and piracy as his neighbors.⁵⁹

If William Penn had remained in his colony, his charismatic presence might have forestalled the anti-proprietary feelings which motivated the Friends, Irish and English. Unfortunately, that was not the case.

VII. Culture

In their attitudes toward the arts, Irish Quakers in colonial Pennsylvania were indistinguishable from their English brethren. With the exception of a few wealthy and sophisticated Friends in Philadelphia who wrote poetry, enjoyed music, attended the theater, and studied the classics, Quakers were remarkable for their lack of interest in cultural matters. Their genius lay elsewhere and their religious convictions prevented them from producing a body of literature and from turning their attentions from the good and the true to the merely beautiful.

Members of rural meetings in particular were opposed to "romances" and poetry but were by no means illiterate. They read peculiarly Quaker literature--the journals written in the manner of George Fox and the accounts of persecution. Examples of these genres include William Edmundson's *Journal*, an account of his conviction of Irish Friends, and William Stockdale's *The Great Cry of Oppression*, an account of the sufferings of Quakers in Ireland.⁶⁰ Quakers also read collections of sermons, purchased probably at James Chatten's bookstore in Philadelphia.⁶¹ They could not have been totally indifferent to the vast amount of pamphlet literature available and the farmers among them surely read the many almanacs available.

Urban Friends were less concerned about the dangers involved in reading secular literature and some of them were among the earliest American scholars. Irish Friends, probably because of their early economic success, were numbered among early bibliophiles, scientists, and poets. James Logan, for instance, Penn's brilliant secretary from Ireland, assembled "a library of three thousand volumes...the best-chosen collection of books in all colonial America."⁶² He is said to have been the first man in America to understand the calculus. His scholarly essays, translations of the classics, and correspondence testify to his brilliance.

Other sophisticated Friends devoted less time to scholarly pursuits, but casually kept commonplace books filled with Latin and Greek, scientific observations, "receipts," etc. Some wrote poetry. Elizabeth Drinker, an Irish Quaker, wrote interesting verse and kept a journal remarkable for its humor and intelligence. She also was among a group of Friends who traveled to James Hamilton's Bush Hill and "view'd the Paintings."⁶³ Other liberal young Quakers in Philadelphia attended theatrical performances. It should be said that many wealthy Quakers in Philadelphia, particularly those who found the strictures of their religions oppressive, would become Anglicans before the Revolution.⁶⁴

Those Quakers, rural or urban, Irish or English, who remained faithful to the strictures against the arts would do so for generations to come. Jess Birdwell, the hero of *The Friendly Persuasion*, is obliged, in the middle 19th century, to keep his organ in the attic.⁶⁵

Irish and English Friends were indistinguishable in their attitudes toward architecture. James Logan's palatial Stenton and the classically simple Meeting houses of the countryhouse were results of their builders' religious convictions or aesthetic taste and not of backgrounds in Ulster or Lincolnshire. The two groups were also similar in their attitudes toward the "minor arts," particularly interior decoration. Rich Friends who longed for elaborate decoration in their homes abandoned their sect for a more liberal persuasion: middle-class Friends sometimes adhered to Quakerly notions of plainness but were careful to purchase the best furnishings within the permissible range: poor Friends, for obvious reasons, inclined toward simple decoration. Tolles believes that Irish Friends may have been stricter in their approach to interior decoration and dress than the English.⁶⁶ The typical dress adopted by Friends in the middle 18th century--the shadbelly coat is the most memorable item--was particularly popular with Irish Quakers in spite of the fact that Margaret Fox had warned early Friends against too much attention to externals like dress.⁶⁷

VIII. Conclusion

Irish Quakers, both in America and in Ireland, have kept excellent records of the religious history and family ties of early immigrants to Pennsylvania. Little attention, however, has been given their impact on colonial politics. The total number of Irish Quakers in the colony was never large. In 1683, when 4000 Friends had accepted Penn's invitation to a new world, only 3% of the total population had spent time in Ireland. They did not settle in a particular area, although those who did not live in Philadelphia, were found mainly in Chester and New Castle Counties. After two generations Irish Quakers became less easy to identify as many married English Friends and others, because of the strictness of Irish Meetings or because of their own inclinations, joined the Anglican Church. In spite of their small number and occasional difficulties of identification, Irish Quakers should be considered at least as carefully as are other ethnic and religious groups in the colony of Pennsylvania.

Their extensive experience in public office in Ireland made them willing to stand for office in Pennsylvania. Their representation in the Assembly and in local colonial offices, out of proportion to their total number, gave them certain advantages, particularly in the area of land allotment, which the English Quakers did not have.⁶⁸

Because Irish Friends arrived in the colony with more capital than the simple yeomen who came from England, they were at an advantage in commerce, able to afford to import luxury goods when specie was scarce, able to invest in manufacturing enterprises which would make some of them enormously wealthy, and able to compete with the richest English settlers in land speculation.⁶⁹

Anti-proprietary feeling raged throughout the colony but was particularly strong in those areas with high concentrations of Irish Quakers. In New Castle County, where tobacco smuggling and piracy were common, and where Irish Friends held elective and appointive offices, opposition to the proprietor was extremely strong.⁷⁰

The venerable Albert Cook Myers, historian of the Irish Friends, "blazed a trail for documented historical writing in this area." His book, published in 1901, remains the only study of the group. There is ample evidence in the colonial records of Pennsylvania, in the vaults of the old Meeting houses, in the libraries of Haverford and Swarthmore, and in the collection in Eustace Street, that Irish Quakers should be seriously considered by historians, and that their impact on Penn's colony was substantial.

NOTES

1. Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1901).
2. Historians of colonial Pennsylvania, including Edwin B. Bronner in *William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York, 1962) and Gary B. Nash in *Quakers and Politics: 1681-1726* (Princeton, 1968), seem to regard living apart from the main body of immigrants as the criterion for separate historical consideration of a group. For studies of Welsh and Dutch Quakers, see A. H. Dodd, *The Character of Early Welsh Emigration to the United States* (Cardiff, 1953) and William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, 1935).
3. Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1962), p. 16.
4. Edward Burrough, "The Visitation of the Rebellious Nation of Ireland," in *Early Quaker Writings: 1650-1700*, ed. by Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1973), p. 91.
5. Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox* (New York, 1972), p. 16.
6. George Hill, ed., *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century: 1608-1620* (Shannon, 1700).
7. William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 210.
8. William C. Braithwaite, *Journal* (2nd ed.: London, 1774), p. 3.
9. George Fox, *Autobiography*, ed. by Rufus Jones, (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 11.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
11. Francis Howgill to Kendal Friends, Boswell Middleton Collection, p. 92.
12. William Edmundson to Margaret Fell, Swarthmore Collection, p. 77.
13. Edmundson, p. 71.
14. Edmundson to Fell, p. 152.
15. Myers, p. 25.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 106a.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-49.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 106a.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 82a.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 383-388.
22. Nash, p. 15.
23. John E. Pomfret, "The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania: 1681-1700," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, (January, 1962).
24. G. F. McCracken, *The Welcome Claimants, Proved, Disproved, and Doubtful* (Baltimore, 1970).

25. Benjamin Chandlee to his brothers, Eustace Street Collection.
26. Myers, p. 106a.
27. Ibid., p. 275.
28. Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960), p. 45.
29. Bronner, p. 20.
30. William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1919), p. 604.
31. George Fox to William Edmundson, 1687, Eustace Street Collection.
32. George Fox to Irish Aldermen, 1687, Eustace Street Collection.
33. J. T. Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia: 1609-1884*, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 869.
34. Nash, p. 25.
35. Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware, Vol. II, 1681-1699, Colonial Society of Pennsylvania (Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1935).
36. This wonderful library, where Stephen Dedalus and Buck Mulligan spent part of a famous June day discussing Shakespeare with the librarian, Quakerlyster, is now under the direction of the gentle scholar, Olive Goodbody, whose help and encouragement I greatly appreciate. See Olive Goodbody, *Guide to the Irish Quaker Records: 1654-1860* (Dublin. 1967).
37. Chandlee to his brothers, Eustace Street Collection.
38. Chandlee to Caelban, 1708, Eustace Street Collection.
39. Ibid.
40. John Grubb to his sons, 1727, Eustace Street Collection.
41. William B. Hollingsworth, *Hollingsworth Genealogical Memoranda* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 41.
42. Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1797); and Barbara Fischer, "Maritime History of the Reading: 1833-1905," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, (January, 1965), p. 174.
43. Myers, p. 134. Thomas Milhouse, of course, is the ancestor of a United States President who named his Irish Setter for Thomas' birthplace.
44. Myers, p. 98.
45. Myers, p. 321.
46. Index and Abstract of Deeds of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Deed Book, A-K: 1729-1766, R. Thomas Mayhill, ed., p. 5.
47. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Telephone Directoxy, 1974.
48. Myers, p. 102.
49. Chandlee to his brothers, Eustace Street Collection.
50. Nash, p. 93.
51. Myers, p. 316.
52. Nash, p. 74.
53. Ibid., p. 83.
54. Robert W. Johannsen, "The Conflict Between the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware and the Province of Pennsylvania," *Delaware History*, (September, 1952).
55. See Nash for the history of anti-proprietary activity in the Assembly. See also the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I., (Philadelphia, 1852).
56. Nash, p. 80.
57. Myers, p. 54.
58. Nash, p. 147.
59. Bronner, p. 141.
60. William Stockdale, *The Great Cry of Oppression; or, a Brief Relation of some part of the Sufferings of the People of God in Scorn called Quakers* (Dublin, 1671-1681).
61. Bridenbaugh, p. 83.

62. Tolles, p. 127.
63. Bridenbaugh, p. 214.
64. Ibid., p. 17.
65. Jessamyn West, *The Friendly Persuasion* (New York, 1940).
66. Tolles, p. 87.
67. D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers* (New York, 1966).
68. For a list of purchasers and the amounts allotted to them, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Vol. I., (Philadelphia, 1852), pp. 40-46. For the names of Irish Friends in early assemblies, see *Minutes of the Provincial Council*.
69. Much evidence of the financial success of Irish Quakers is in the letters they wrote to relatives in Ireland. For information about their commercial ventures, particularly in the areas of flour milling and ship building, see the Federal Writers' Project, *Delaware: a Guide to the First State* (New York, 1938). Evidence of the wealth of individual Irish Friends may be seen in Charles G. Dorman, "Delaware Cabinet-makers and Allied Artisans: 1655-1855," *Delaware History*, Vol. IX (October, 1960). Many wills survive, some in private collections. Myers quotes from several and others are listed in *A Calendar of Delaware Wills: 1682-1800* (New York, 1911).
70. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*.