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Author

Geraint H. Jenkins, Ph.D.,

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FROM YSGEIFIOG TO PENNSYLVANIA: THE RISE OF THOMAS WYNNE, QUAKER BARBER-SURGEON*

By GERAINT H. JENKINS, Ph.D.

'Oh my dear freind & freinds with thee . . . see how good the lord is yt hath brought many out of Bondage yea outwardly as well as inwardly for we are come into a good & health full land, a land yt is cappable of any thing that England hath in it. Both as to food & rayment it is far beyond wt was sd of it & room enough for thousands & liberty of conscience to all yt have tendernes towards god'.[1] This fulsome tribute to Pennsylvania was written in Philadelphia by a former barber-surgeon of Caerwys, Thomas Wynne, in a letter to Elizabeth Edwards of Rhual on 3 December 1683. More than a year earlier, Wynne, in his fifty-fifth year, had sailed with William Penn on the *Welcome* to a land where, Quakers fervently believed, freedom of worship and conscience would prevail. Little, alas, is known about Welsh Quaker leaders in the seventeenth century. That most resilient first publisher of truth in Wales, John ap John, remains a shadowy figure, and were it not for the perceptive autobiography of Richard Davies,[2] we would have virtually no flesh at all on the bones of prominent Welsh Friends in this period. Even so, enough material exists to show that Thomas Wynne was an important figure in Quaker circles in north-east Wales, and the object of this paper is to consider how he moulded the Quaker movement in Flintshire, why he chose to cross the Atlantic, and whether Penn's New Jerusalem fulfilled his expectations.

According to Thomas A. Glenn, one of Flintshire's most illustrious and diligent genealogists, Thomas Wynne was the fourth of five sons born to Thomas ap John Wynne, a freeholder who farmed the estate of Bron Fadog in the upland parish of Ysgeifiog in Flintshire [3] He was born on 27 July 1627, baptised a member of the established church, and brought up in the Protestant faith. When he was fifteen, civil war broke out, and the ensuing upheaval left him bereft of instruction, for, as he wrote later, his spiritual overseers had fled and left him 'to the mercy

* A shorter version of this paper was delivered to the Historical Society at the County Record Office, Hawarden, on 29 January 1977.

[1] National Library of Wales (hereinafter referred to as N.L.W.), Rhual MS. 106.

[2] Richard Davies, *An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services and Travels of . . . Richard Davies* (1710).

[3] Thomas A. Glenn, *Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania*, I (2 vols., 1911-13), 97-8.

of the Wolf that had worried them'.[4] Like the founder of Quakerism, George Fox,[5] Wynne discussed his problems with those 'men of low degree' who had thrust themselves into the pulpits, but, to his utter dismay, he found them 'miserable Comforters'. Thrown into agonising depths of moral uncertainty and spiritual confusion, Wynne wrestled furiously with his doubts and sins. He earnestly sought a means by which he could free himself from sin, but Protestants and Papists alike disabused him of the notion that he could ever free himself from sin in this life. Sometime in the mid-1650s, however, Wynne's life acquired a new meaning. Between 1654 and 1656, John ap John, 'the Apostle of Quakerism in Wales', and his colleagues were proclaiming the spiritual vigour of Quakerism throughout North Wales.[6] John ap John first established a foothold in Wrexham, and it is significant that, in 1655, Thomas Wynne married a Quaker, Martha Buttall, daughter of Randle Buttall, a Wrexham blacksmith.[7] Either before or after his marriage, Wynne experienced a pulsating conversion. His account of his dramatic regeneration is the most startling confession known to me by a seventeenth-century Welsh Friend. The 'heavenly power,' he wrote, 'wounded as a Sword, it smote like a Hammer at the whole Body of Sin, & in my Bowels it burned like Fire, yea, so dreadfully it burned, that it made my Bowels boyl, it pierced as a Sword, it broke as a Hammer: And then the Pangs of Death I felt in my Members which did make me to roar, yea, and to Quake and Tremble: for this Fire, when it burned, it gave Light, as its the Nature of Fire to do, and it discovered to me and these poor despised People the great body of Sin and Death, which was indeed terrible to behold'.[8] Wynne's conversion corresponded with the three-fold stages of a typical Quaker conversion: his growing dissatisfaction and restlessness with orthodox religion; his unfulfilled search for the truth among the radical sects thrown up during the revolutionary period; and his eventual discovery of the inward light.[9] To a man in spiritual turmoil, the very simplicity of Quakerism had much to commend it. But it was the searing inward experience which truly changed his life. The anointing within drew him from darkness and despair to light and hope. Henceforth, as far as Wynne was concerned, Quakerism was the only true religion.

By trade, Thomas Wynne was a barber-surgeon. He claimed to have developed a natural flair for surgery from the very earliest age. On many occasions before he was ten, Wynne wandered far from his home and played truant from school, much to his parents' disapproval, in order to watch local surgeons dressing wounds

[4] Thomas Wynne, *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected* (1679), p. 8.
[5] The standard version of Fox's journal is Norman Penney (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox* (2 vols., 1911).
[6] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints, 1640-1660* (1957), pp. 55-73.
[7] George E. McCracken, *The Welcome Claimants Proved, Disproved and Doubtful* (1970), p. 568. For Randle Buttall's will, in which he bequeathed a shilling to his son-in-law, see N.L.W., Probate records of the diocese of Bangor, 1684.
[8] *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected*, p. 24.
[9] Owen Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (1972), pp. 161-2.

and reducing fractures and dislocations. His father died before he was eleven, and since his mother could not afford to pay for his education in medicine, he became an apprentice cooper. Even so, he still took every opportunity during his spare time to pursue his medical studies.[10] His career in this field was forwarded by a fellow-Quaker, Richard Moore of Shrewsbury, a man widely recognised by Friends as 'a worthy and faithful Labourer in the Gospel'.[11] Moore readily took the budding surgeon under his wing and plied him with ancient and modern writings on anatomy. Unlike many of his fellows, who were better skilled as barbers than surgeons, Wynne was anxious to master the techniques of cupping, bleeding and bone-setting, and, as a Quaker, he doubtless found that his qualities of patience, kindliness and humanity were invaluable assets. In order to test his abilities, Wynne was brought before two qualified anatomists, Dr. Needham and Dr. Hollins, and was given the task of constructing a wooden skeleton. Walter Needham was a celebrated physician and anatomist who, in 1659, had left his studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, to practise for a short while in Shrewsbury. His best-known work was *Disquisito anatomica de formato Foetu* (1667), a Latin tract which outlined the function of the placenta in man and animals. Wynne satisfied Needham and Hollins of his competence and was duly licensed as a qualified barber-surgeon sometime before the end of 1659.[12]

Following his release, after a lengthy imprisonment, in the mid-sixties, Wynne established a practice as a barber-surgeon in the small market town of Caerwys. He became one of 128 private traders in Wales who are known to have issued private tokens in order to supply themselves and their customers with small change. Prior to 1672 no official copper coinage existed in England and Wales and private traders therefore made their own arrangements. Wynne's token — a brass penny — bore an unusual design: a towel shadowed by a pair of forceps and flanked by molar teeth.[13] He soon acquired a name for himself for his skill in mending fractured and dislocated bones, in tending wounds caused by gunshots or rapiers, and in soothing ulcers and cancers. 'Yea,' he claimed in 1679, 'many Scores are living Monuments of Gods Mercy to this day, who were Spectacles of great misery in these respects.'[14] It is unfortunate, therefore, that the only surviving case-history tells of one of Wynne's partial failures. Thomas Jones, son of a tobacconist from Rhyd, suffered a serious injury when the shaft of a wagon collapsed on him and broke his leg. Thomas Wynne was called in to mend the limb but failed to restore the youth to his former state of health. Three years following the accident he was still unable to eat any food and drank nothing but

[10] *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected*, pp. 40-1.
[11] Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 81.
[12] *D.N.B.*; William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1518-1700* (1878), pp. 472-3.
[13] G. C. Boon (ed.), *Welsh Tokens of the Seventeenth Century* (1973), p. 94.
[14] *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected*, pp. 41-2.

water, milk or posset. Seven years later he was reported to be pale and emaciated, and incapable of walking further than a mile.[15]

In 1676 Thomas Wynne was given the opportunity of repaying his debt to his former mentor, Richard Moore of Shrewsbury, who had died, following a brief illness, in 1668.[16] His son, Mordecai, had shown an aptitude for medical science and, since he was now in dire need of financial assistance, the question of setting him up as an apprentice barber-surgeon came under discussion in the quarterly meetings of the Friends of Merioneth, Montgomeryshire and Shropshire. In January 1675 Mordecai was invited by the Friends of Dolobran and Welshpool to stay with them for a month or two until his future was decided upon. Eventually, after a good deal of shilly-shallying, Moore was bound for seven years as an apprentice to Thomas Wynne on 10 April 1676. The sum of £10 was paid in advance to Wynne, with the promise of a further advance of £4, and another instalment of £8 or £9 from the quarterly meeting.[17] Moore served part of his apprenticeship under Wynne's care before emigrating in the early 1680s to Pennsylvania, where he subsequently married Deborah, daughter of Thomas Lloyd of Dolobran, and settled down to a comfortable living at South River in Maryland.[18]

In spite of his standing as a surgeon, Wynne suffered the fiery trials of persecution during the Restoration period. Defeat at the hands of the Puritans in the Civil War had left a bitter legacy of resentment and humiliation among royalists, and members of church and state were prepared to resort to harsh repressive measures in order to preserve the newly-restored political and religious settlement. Quakers especially felt the full impact of persecution, for the penal code offered no respite to those with 'tender consciences'. The infamous Quaker Act of 1662 was deliberately designed to cut the roots of Quakerism, and Friends soon found themselves at the mercy of ferreting informers, revengeful landowners, cruel constables, panic-stricken magistrates and tyrannical gaolers.[19] Quakerism roused the most hysterical passions among Anglicans. They believed that the faith of Friends was capable of demolishing all that had been achieved by Protestants since the coming of the Reformation. The Quaker doctrine of the inner light was a major threat to the traditional conception of the Trinity, to biblical authority and to the efficacy of the sacraments. To those who guarded the authority of law, Quakerism, like Popery, was inextricably associated with subversion. Quakers were not simply giddy-brained, blasphemous and hypocritical heretics, but also

[15] Edward Lhuyd, 'Parochialia', *Arch. Camb.*, Suppl., Pts. 1-3, 1909-11, p. 56.
[16] Norman Penney (ed.), William G. Norris, *John ap John, and early Records of Friends in Wales* (1907), p. 19.
[17] Glamorgan County Record Office, D/DSF 320, pp. 20-4.
[18] Penney, op. cit., p. 20. In 1687, Mordecai sent ten pounds to Shropshire Friends in 'gratefull Acknowledgmt of friends kindness to him when he was young'. Glamorgan County Record Office, D/DSF/320, dated 25.8mo.1687.
[19] Thomas Richards, *Wales under the Penal Code* (1662-1687) (1925), chapter 5.

a dangerous threat to social harmony. Even Dissenters avoided them like the plague. 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' was Walter Cradock's terse rejoinder to the Quaker missionary, Alice Birkett.[20] Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists held captive in Montgomery prison sent Richard Davies of Cloddiau Cochion to Coventry.[21] When Stephen Hughes, 'the Apostle of Carmarthenshire', called on all men to unite in the interests of Protestantism, he bracketed Quakerism with Ranterism as twin faiths which had 'harshly shaken the foundations of true Protestantism, and would be shaken still in these times'.[22]

Whereas many Dissenters conducted their worship secretly in order to avoid the heavy fines and imprisonment which might ensue, most Quakers proclaimed their faith openly in the streets, in meeting-houses and gaols. In the process, they left themselves exposed to the possibility of imprisonment, fines and ruinous forfeitures. It was not uncommon for Friends to be grievously beaten, insulted and abused by citizens as they made their way to a meeting-house or as they were led away to prison. Like Welsh Methodists in a later period, they were judged fair game by bullies and cranks, who were often doubly infuriated by the refusal of their victims to resist their blows. Thomas Wynne was one of those, according to the testimony of John Humphreys, who chose 'to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season'.[23] He seems to have involved himself in the first place with Denbighshire Quakers in his wife's home-town. Wrexham had earned itself a reputation among royalists as 'the most factious town in Wales'.[24] There, vigorous Quaker proselytes like the draper, Brian Sixsmith, were declaring the Word of the Lord openly and distributing what Denbighshire magistrates judged to be 'seditious and offensive books'.[25] On 1 December 1661, Thomas Wynne, Brian Sixsmith, Nathaniel Buttall (Wynne's brother-in-law), William Lewis, a corvisor, John ap Edward, a butcher, and several others were dragged from their meeting-house by soldiers and charged with unlawful assembly. They were taken with a *mittimus* from constable to constable and were eventually thrust into the common gaol at Ruthin.[26] Wynne may have remained there for six years.[27] If so, it was a singularly uncomfortable and distressing experience. Prisons were damp, ill-ventilated and insanitary places. Captives were forced to spend night and day in filth and excrement. In 1661, some Merionethshire Quakers were locked away in 'a nasty close Hole' normally used

[20] T. Mardy Rees, *A History of Quakers in Wales* (1925), pp. 25-6.
[21] Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 67.
[22] Stephen Davies (ed.), *Rhan o waith Mr. Rees Prichard* (1659), Preface.
[23] Haverford College Library, Pennsylvania, John Smith MS. 3, p. 639.
[24] Thomas Richards, 'Flintshire and the Puritan Movement', *Trans. Flintshire Historical Society*, 13 (1952-3), 53.
[25] G. Milwyn Griffiths, 'Some Printed Material amongst the Chirk Castle MSS.', *National Library of Wales Journal*, VIII (1953), 222.
[26] Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, I (2 vols., 1753), 748.
[27] *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected*, p. 41.

to keep hogs.[28] The stench was often so overpowering that prisoners lost their appetite for the meagre rations which were offered to them. Some Friends died in prison. Others recovered their freedom but were never the same again. But many, too, lived to fight another day, knowing, as Richard Davies declared, that the Lord had promised to be with His people 'in all their troubles and exercises'.[29]

During Wynne's imprisonment, Quakers began recruiting followers in Flintshire. During his famous tour of Wales in 1657, George Fox had 'sounded ye day of ye Lord' through the towns of Flintshire,[30] and, in a letter to Fox on 11 June 1663, Thomas Holme mentioned having held a meeting in the county during his journeys in North Wales.[31] In 1665, John Baddely, John Newton and twelve other Quakers were thrust into the county gaol at Ruthin 'for meeting to worship God and for not swearing'.[32] By the 1670s, however, the twin cornerstones of the Quaker movement in Flintshire were Thomas Wynne's home at Bron Fadog and Richard ap Thomas's home in the parish of Whitford. These two Quaker gentlemen took on the responsibility of building up membership, organizing meetings and burial places 'for ye people of God'.[33] Bound together by their disciplined life of godliness, gravity and self-denial, and by their common experience as a persecuted minority, the members of Wynne's household clung to the social values and conventions of Quakerism. 'God's despised people' were characterised by their plain language and their use of the pronouns of address 'thee' and 'thou'. Their simple clothing and dignified bearing reflected their contempt for the pompous glitter and 'Frenchified new Fashions' of Restoration society. Refusal to swear oaths or to doff hats was provoked by their contempt for non-scriptural practices, double standards and fawning subservience and obsequiousness. To them, priests were 'hirelings' who, maintained by 'antichristian' and oppressive tithes and augmentations, thought nothing of thrusting Friends 'into Prison until Death' and driving away 'their Cows, Oxen, Horses, Swine, Pigs, Geese, Beds and Blankets, and their Wearing Apparel, not leaving a Skellet to boyl poor Children Meat, nor a Bed to lie on'.[34]

Thomas Wynne's vigorous missionary work proved a prickly thorn in the side of ecclesiastical and civil authorities. On various occasions between September 1673 and August 1680, he was presented before the Court of Great Sessions on various charges of 'being a quaker', 'for not coming to church', for 'following [his] own sensuallity', for holding a conventicle in his house, and for inducing his neighbours 'to desist from the true Protestant Religion'.[35] Wynne's persuasive powers made it increasingly difficult for Thomas Griffith, vicar of Caerwys, and

[28] Besse, op. cit., pp. 101-2.
[29] Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 29.
[30] Penney (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox*, I, 284.
[31] N.L.W. MS. 1116D, p. 93.
[32] Friends House Library, Great Book of Sufferings, II, Wales, p. 18.
[33] University College of North Wales, Bangor, Mostyn Collection, 3066-7. For Richard ap Thomas, see C. H. Browning, *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania* (1912), pp. 207-9.
[34] *The Antiquity of the Quakers*, p. 13.
[35] N.L.W., Flintshire Gaol Files, Wales 4/988/6-10; Wales 4/989/1-8; Wales 4/990/1-3.

Humphrey Pugh, vicar of Ysgeifiog, to maintain their hold on the minds of their parishioners.[36] However, a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, Thomas Wynne, replaced Pugh as vicar of Ysgeifiog in April 1679, and he was clearly anxious to seize the initiative away from his errant namesake.[37] In July 1681 he urged the newly-installed Bishop of St. Asaph, William Lloyd, to 'take some speedy course' to prevent Thomas Wynne from holding an unlawful assembly at his home each Sunday lest 'he may seduce any of my flock' to join 'his wicked brethren'.[38] Unlike many of his fellow prelates in Welsh sees, Bishop William Lloyd nursed a profound devotion to duty. A vigorous administrator and a tireless moralist, Lloyd committed himself from the outset to weeding out docile, inept and wanton clergymen from his diocese.[39] Never one to suffer fools gladly, he was determined to ensure that he would not, 'like old Eli', see the 'Ark of God be lost' as a result of the scandalous behaviour of his pastors.[40] As early as February 1681, Lloyd was casting his beady eye over Thomas Griffith, a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford, and vicar of Caerwys since 1675. Griffith was already being examined by the ecclesiastical authorities for conducting clandestine marriages and Lloyd was determined to oust him 'for such as he is are ye men yt make Quakers'.[41] 'Pray let him not be spared', he urged his chancellor, John Edwards, 'but as soon as ye Cause is ready let me have an Account of yt & if ye Cause be sufficiently proved I shall desire you to proceed to suspension & to finde ye best man yt can be gotten for ye supply of yt place'.[42] As it turned out, Thomas Griffith was less culpable than Lloyd had hoped. At any rate, he retained his living until his death in 1697, over which period he indulged his favourite preoccupation of predicting the likely date of Armageddon.[43]

During the 1670s Thomas Wynne also sought to propagate Quaker doctrines by means of the printed word. Although he appears to have been a man of great personal charm, he was not a scholar. The London Second Day Morning Meeting of ministers, under the direction of the Yearly Meeting, found one of his works verbose, ungrammatical and 'very difficult to read'.[44] John Humphreys admitted that he was 'a man of no great learning outwardly', but Friends believed that the movement of God's Spirit was more important than human learning. Scorning abstruse philosophies and sermons, Wynne believed that only the inner light gave him a direct vision of God. He had, claimed John Humphreys, 'understanding

[36] N.L.W. MS. 1626C, pp. 55, 637.
[37] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, 3-4 (4 vols., 1891-2), 1696.
[38] N.L.W., Records of the Church in Wales, SA/Misc/1485.
[39] Robert Wynne, *A Short Narrative of the Proceedings against the Bishop of St. Asaph* (1702), pp. 1-2.
[40] N.L.W., Lloyd-Baker MSS. (Facsimile 125), Letter no. 6.
[41] ibid., Letter no. 4.
[42] ibid.
[43] D. R. Thomas, *A History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, II (3 vols., 1908-13), 12.
[44] Friends House Library, Morning Meeting Book, I, 22-3.

given to him to speak a word in reason to confound the wisdom of those who thought themselves to be wise'.[45]

In 1677, Wynne published his first work, *The Antiquity of the Quakers*, which he addressed to all 'tender-hearted Welshmen', especially those who dwelt in Flintshire, Denbighshire, Anglesey and Caernarvonshire. This work was designed to persuade Protestants of the historicity of Quakerism. Ever since the days of William Salesbury and Richard Davies, thinking men had been taught to believe that the Protestant religion was part and parcel of the 'most glorious heritage' of the Welsh.[46] It was natural for them therefore to deride Quakerism as 'some New Thing, not heard of before'. But Thomas Wynne put his own gloss on this traditional interpretation: he argued that the true church of the apostles was, in fact, a Quaker church, and that it was this pristine faith which had now been revived after 'a long Night of Apostasy'. Wynne yearned for that which his colleague, Richard Davies, liked to call 'the good Old Way'[47] as practised by God's prophets and saints. He was particularly anxious to prove that 'quaking' and 'trembling' were valid spiritual experiences which were spoken of in the Scriptures and had been practised by God's servants throughout the ages. Thumbing feverishly through his Bible, Wynne found that Isaac 'trembled very exceedingly', that 'good old Eli' trembled for the Ark of God, and that 'there were Quakers in Ezra's dayes'. 'Come, Papists, Protestants, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists,' he challenged, 'answer me a Query; How came you to give credit to these ancient Quaker writings, viz. Old and New Testament, and now Mock, Scorn, Scoff, Jeer, Taunt, Flout and Reproach the present Quakers, whose Principles and Practice run parallel with the ancient Quakers?' Wynne went on to argue that only Friends now possessed the Key of David which could unlock and reveal all mysteries, and that all priests and hearers who were not led by the unerring spirit and power of the anointing within were on the road to destruction. Poignantly, he called on his countrymen to respond to the light of Christ within them: 'I appeal to all your Experiences, you, my Friends and beloved Welsh men, Have not you heard the Voice of our Beloved, Christ Jesus, the Anointing in you, calling you one day after another from all the Evil of your Wayes? and doth he not stand at the Door of your Hearts, Knocking, that he may come in, and sup with you, and you with him?'

Inevitably, Wynne's book provoked a swift and bitter reaction. In 1679 an anonymous work entitled *Work for a Cooper* was published. According to Thomas Wynne, the author was an unbeneficed clergyman, William Jones, possibly the William Jones of Rhuddlan who matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in April 1664.[48] Jones's hatred of Quakerism burns through the pages of his book. He

[45] Haverford College Library, John Smith MS. 3, p. 639.
[46] Glanmor Williams, *Reformation Views of Church History* (1970), pp. 63-5.
[47] Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 59.
[48] Joseph Foster, II, 832.

was well-skilled in the vocabulary of retort and made no attempt to disguise his contempt for Friends. In his view, Quakerism was an upstart, novel sect which sought to 'bubble poor weak and simple people'. He had little difficulty in demolishing Wynne's slender argument that God's people were those who had experienced 'fear and trembling'. 'If fear and trembling,' he wrote, 'were enough to prove a certainty of being beloved of God, then Baalam's Ass, and the Daemoniacks among the Tombes, Felix the Hypocrite, and Judas . . . yes, and the Devils themselves might put in for a share too; for St. James does expressly say, that they also believe and tremble'. Jones believed that Wynne's efforts were so ludicrous that his just reward ought to be a whipping post so that 'by taking of a lawful dance about that, he might essay also to prove the antiquity of a Lancashire Horn-pipe'.

William Jones was particularly disturbed by Wynne's claim that Friends were the true children of God and that the anointing within ensured their security from sin. He lost no time in reproaching Quakers for their deeds 'in Oliver's time, when Hell did seem to have broke loose', and pointed to James Nayler's dramatic procession into Bristol as proof of the scandalous extremism which the doctrine of the inner light provoked.[49] Although he was prepared to admit that Quakerism was more dignified of late, having laid aside its 'Hocus Pocus tricks' and judging it 'too unfashionable to run madding about the streets, and sometimes into Churches', he still accused Friends of being no better than the stodgy, covetous Presbyterians of the late 1640s, standing up for 'the priviledge of Saints' and at the same time acting 'like Devils incarnate'. William Jones's torment, and that of his fellow-clergy, is understandable. The social upheavals of the revolutionary period had left a deep scar on the clergy. They were deeply sensible of their status as legal pastors of a territorial parish and they were determined to obstruct the efforts of unordained or base-born elements to trespass on their freehold. 'You have been a useless destructive bear in our midst for some time', Wynne was told, 'seeking to poison the fields and trample the flocks under your feet'. Behind his anger and contempt lay a burning fear of the social implications of Quaker doctrines. Wynne rejected the doctrine of a formal ministry and argued the case for a career open to all talents. But Jones disputed his right to expatiate on high matters of doctrine, claiming that Wynne, as a former 'cooper', 'aleman' and 'quack', was scarcely qualified to act as a divine interpreter. 'Our second Tom of Bedlam,' he insisted, was an ignorant, base man who was better qualified 'to plant Tobacco, etc. or at best to mind his Ax and Saw, the Joynter and the Adz (alias Nedde), the Chisle and the Head-Knife, the Spoak and the Round-sheve, the Dowling and the Taper-Bitts, the Tap and the Bung-bore, than to open intricate and abstruse places.' The very title of his book — *Work for a Cooper*

[49] For the background to this dramatic incident, see Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'James Nayler, A Fresh Approach', *Journal Friends Historical Society*, Supplement (1954).

— smacks of social snobbery and was clearly set in the same mould as the ribald tracts written by Martin Marprelate in Elizabethan times.[50]

Wynne's reply, *An Antichristian Conspiracy Detected, and Satans Champion Defeated* (1679), was published at speed. It amounted to a passionate and unbending reaffirmation of his original thesis. 'Nay, nay,' he insisted, 'its my Testimony to all, of what Perswasion soever, that there's none shall enter God's Kingdom until first they have passed through a state of Sorrow and great Mourning; yea, Quaking and Trembling because of sin'. The London Second Day Morning Meeting of ministers, to whom the manuscript had been sent for perusal and critical comment, were unhappy with Wynne's rejoinder. Ellis Hookes and James Parkes were delegated to try to correct the work and, if they proved unsuccessful, they were to return the manuscript to Wynne so that he, with the assistance of other Welsh Friends, might produce a more concise and persuasive version.[51] When the finished product emerged from the press, it was bolstered by a postscript written by the prominent Quaker scholar, William Gibson. Gibson was a Lancastrian by birth, a shoemaker and haberdasher by trade, and one of the most prolific authors of his day.[52] A seasoned polemicist with a firm grasp of Quaker principles, Gibson was often called upon to assist Friends in the provinces. In 1677 he had published *The Life of God,* a work designed to defend Friends in the north-west against the 'slanders and calumnies' of one John Cheyney, a priest from Warrington.[53] Gibson was well-known to Welsh Friends. In the early years of the Restoration period he had helped Richard Davies to declare the Word of the Lord in Montgomeryshire and Shropshire.[54] Thomas Wynne no doubt was happy to add Gibson's contribution to his work as a means of scotching some of the more scurrilous lies and insinuations of the 'infamous Libeller', William Jones.

Not all Anglicans treated Thomas Wynne with malice and contempt. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, was prepared to discuss his differences with him in the hope of convincing him of the error of his ways and of persuading him to re-enter the communion of the church. 'If there be any hope of gaing him [i.e. Wynne]', wrote Lloyd to John Edwards in March 1681, 'I would not obstruct it by doing any thing hastily'.[55] In other words, Lloyd himself was anxious to exercise his persuasive powers on the recalcitrant Flintshire Quaker. In the early 1680s Lloyd held a series of public and private conferences with prominent Dissenters, and although he believed that those who refused to bend beneath the

[50] William Jones's title recalls the Marprelate tract directed at Bishop Cooper of Winchester, *Hay* [ha' ye] *any worke for the Cooper* (1589). Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), p. 392.
[51] Friends House Library, Morning Meeting Book, I, 22-3.
[52] Friends House Library, *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (in the course of preparation).
[53] William Gibson, *The Life of God, which is the Light and Salvation of Men, Exalted* (1677), title-page.
[54] Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 70.
[55] N.L.W., Lloyd-Baker MSS. (Facsimile 125), Letter no. 5.

weight of his arguments were simply trying 'to save themselves from coming immediately under ye lash of ye Law', he respected the moral right of the individual to 'give an account of the hope' that lay within him.[56] At a public conference in Llanfyllin in September 1681, the civility and learning of the Dolobran Friends, Charles and Thomas Lloyd, made a profound impression on the bishop.[57] Later in the year, Thomas Wynne accompanied Richard Davies to the bishop's palace and presumably joined in the discussions on baptism, ordination and the apostolic succession which went on deep into the night. Before taking his leave the following morning, Richard Davies assured Lloyd that although his head be grey 'yet thou mayst live to see Liberty of Conscience in England'. Lloyd was so impressed by the conduct of the two Quakers that he instructed his chancellor to suspend a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* against Davies and other imprisoned Friends.[58] Wynne's oral and written exchanges with William Lloyd continued through the winter of 1681-2. Believing that the bishop 'should have all ye help yt possible thou can', he supplied him with Quaker literature and a written testimony justifying his separation from the church. Wynne promised to renounce Quakerism if Lloyd was able to prove the apostolic basis of the established church. Lloyd's characteristic reply was that if he could not do so he himself would join the Quakers. 'This, indeed', Wynne exclaimed, 'was very nobly said.'[59]

Bishop William Lloyd's efforts to persuade Thomas Wynne to return to the bosom of the church testifies to the esteem which the Flintshire Quaker had earned among Welsh Friends by 1680. He was also evidently known to English Friends. Early in 1682, at the request of George Whitehead, Richard Davies, Charles Lloyd and Wynne accompanied Whitehead and Alexander Parker to Whitehall to plead with Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, to use their influence with the King to relieve those Friends who were suffering cruel maltreatment in Bristol prison.[60] Persecution had been especially harsh in Bristol in the latter part of 1681, thanks largely to the heavy bludgeon wielded by the newly-knighted sheriff, John Knight.[61] Welsh Quakers rallied to their cause: James Picton, the Swansea Quaker, travelled to Bristol to pray with suffering Friends and was himself thrust into prison for his pains.[62] Similarly, the pleas of Whitehead and his Welsh Friends fell on deaf ears, and

[56] Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 35, f. 162; Richard Davies, op. cit., p. 207; N.L.W., MS. 18018D; J. B. Williams (ed.), Matthew Henry, *The Life of the Rev. Philip Henry* (1839), p. 86.
[57] Cardiff Central Library, MS. 4.169, ff. 1-9; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Norris of Fairhill MSS., Family Letters, I, 94-6; Richard Davies, op. cit., pp. 208-11.
[58] Richard Davies, op. cit., pp. 217-8.
[59] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Humphreys Papers, Letter dated 8/12 mo/1681-2.
[60] Richard Davies, op. cit., pp. 219-21.
[61] Russell Mortimer, *Early Bristol Quakerism. The Society of Friends in the City 1654-1700* (1967), p. 9.
[62] Joseph Besse, op. cit., p. 70.

Friends in Bristol continued to suffer until a royal warrant issued by James II in 1685 ordered their release.[63]

On 4 March 1681, the Quaker William Penn received a charter, signed by Charles II, bestowing upon him the province which would henceforth bear the name 'Pennsylvania'. There Penn hoped to build a New Jerusalem where suffering Friends would find justice, peace and better economic conditions. In order to draw attention to his scheme, Penn arranged for the publication of promotion tracts by the end of April 1681, whilst he himself interviewed prospective buyers and settlers.[64] Welsh Friends were evidently circularised, for, in May, Thomas Wynne and Richard ap Thomas were the two Flintshire representatives among a dozen Welsh gentlemen who were interviewed by Penn.[65] The response of Friends to his scheme far out-reached Penn's wildest dreams. By May 1682, 566,000 acres had been sold. Initially, these were sold in blocks of 10,000 acres, but parcels of land ranging from 125 to 10,000 acres were also made available.[66] Seven Welsh companies were formed, taking up a total of 30,000 acres lying chiefly in Merion, Radnor and Haverford on the west side of the Schuylkill River and to the north-west of Philadelphia.[67] Richard ap Thomas of Whitford bought 5,000 acres of land at a cost of £100.[68] In partnership with the Denbighshire yeoman, John ap John, Thomas Wynne also purchased 5,000 acres on 15 September 1681 for the initial sum of £100 and an annual quit-rent payable on 1 March to William Penn.[69] Both Wynne and ap John acted as trustees or agents for prospective settlers in Wales, and Penn was happy to accede to this arrangement since it was his wish that land should be made available to the 'have-nots' as well as the 'haves'. Unlike Thomas Wynne, John ap John resisted the temptation to sail to the New World, choosing instead to remain in Wales in order to throw his weight behind the campaign to organize scattered groups of Welsh Friends into a cohesive national movement. Retaining 500 acres for himself, John ap John sold 500 acres to a Denbighshire yeoman, John Roberts, for £10; 400 acres to a Wrexham flax-dresser, Tryall Rider, for £8 (land which he subsequently repurchased following Rider's decision to stay in Wales); 500 acres to a Denbighshire yeoman, Thomas Taylor; 250 acres to Richard Davies; 200 acres to Mary Southworth; and 150 acres to Owen Parry, a Denbighshire yeoman. Finally, in December 1691, ap John sold his estate of 500 acres, together with the 400 acres repurchased from Tryall Rider, to Hugh Roberts, late of Llanfor, Merioneth.[70]

[63] Russell Mortimer, op. cit., p. 11.
[64] John E. Pomfret, 'The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, 1681-1700', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereinafter cited as *P.M.H.B.*), LXXX (1956), 145.
[65] C. H. Browning, *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania* (1912), p. 25.
[66] Pomfret, op. cit., pp. 148-9.
[67] ibid., pp. 156-7.
[68] Browning, op. cit., p. 33.
[69] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Penn Papers, Deed dated 15 September 1681.
[70] Department of Records, City Hall, Philadelphia, Deeds C1, 29-31; H9, 333-6; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Charles Morton Smith MSS., vol. 3, nos. 1d, 3; Penn Papers, Deed to Thomas Wynne and John ap John, dated 15 September 1681.

The apportionment of Thomas Wynne's share of 2,500 acres is less easy to establish. Among those who bought land from him were John Bevan, a Glamorgan yeoman, who bought 300 acres; Richard Crosby and Mary Southworth who bought 500 and 300 acres respectively; Richard Orme, a Merioneth yeoman, who bought 150 acres for £3; and Humphrey Bottiley, a husbandman from Cholmondeley in Cheshire, who purchased 250 acres for £5. Wynne himself retained an estate of 250 acres in Radnor, together with the promise of real estate in Philadelphia.[71]

As in the case of most of his fellow-emigrants, many factors prompted Thomas Wynne to leave his native land. The cumulative effect of constant harassment and persecution was an obvious compelling force for many prospective colonists. By the 1670s, however, in spite of the pressure exercised by diehard Anglicans, Wynne was a figure of some standing in his community and was well-liked by his non-Quaker neighbours. He enjoyed a common social status with small squires like John Salesbury of Bachegraig and John and Peter Wynne of Tower in the township of Broncoed, Mold.[72] He counted Piers Pennant, magistrate and enterprising squire of Bychton and great-grandfather of the famous naturalist, Thomas Pennant, among his dearest friends.[73] Wynne was also on the friendliest terms with the eirenic patroness of prominent Flintshire Dissenters, Elizabeth Edwards of Rhual, mother of Thomas Edwards, the famous controversialist.[74] In a letter to Elizabeth Edwards from Philadelphia, Wynne confessed that his soul was 'affected with the remembrance of you for I know you have breathings after God, the Lord kindle them into a flame yt will burne up all yts contrary to god in you'.[75] Now it is possible that these persons of quality might have had grave doubts about Wynne's attachment to Quakerism, but following his departure to Pennsylvania, he gave no hint of having suffered intolerance or vindictiveness at the hands of his neighbours. Indeed, he gratefully acknowledged all the 'love & kindness' which they had shown towards him.[76]

However unworldly Quakers might have been, there was a strong element of enlightened self-interest in their decision to cross the Atlantic. There are good reasons for thinking that the growth of multiple landed estates in Wales after 1660 had tended to depress the lives of smaller gentry, and this might well have prompted many of them to seek a land of unlimited promise and possibility where

[71] Department of Records, City Hall, Warrants and Surveys, VI, 127-8. Cf. Browning, op. cit., p. 191.
[72] N.L.W., Rhual MS. 106; N.L.W. MS. 11594E; W. J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence 1553 - circa 1700* (1954), Appendix, Table III; N.L.W., Leeswood Hall Collection, no. 755.
[73] N.L.W. MS. 11594E; J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families* (1914), p. 214; N.L.W., Probate records of the diocese of St. Asaph, 1709.
[74] B. E. Howells (ed.), *A Calendar of Letters relating to North Wales 1553 - circa 1700* (1967), pp. 29-30, 250.
[75] N.L.W., Rhual MS. 106.
[76] N.L.W. MS. 11594E.

they might recoup some of their dignity and status.[77] Exaggerated stories of rural bliss and abundant wealth in America were strong inducements to men who were not only suffering for conscience's sake but were also the victims of general social and economic changes which affected their standards of living. In Wynne's case, the salubrious climate, fertile soils and abounding crops of Pennsylvania offered a far more profitable investment than the unproductive soils of the rugged uplands of Ysgeifiog. Wynne and his fellow-gentry in Ysgeifiog were a good deal more impoverished than their counterparts in, for instance, maritime Llanasa.[78] Having compared his new way of life with that of his homeland, Wynne had no hesitation in urging his kinsmen in Flintshire to join him, 'for this,' he maintained, 'is ye place for soull & body.'[79]

Like many of his fellow-emigrants, Wynne was also irresistibly attracted to Penn's bold and imaginative scheme by the Founder's unique capacity for drawing men to him and winning their affections. 'I can truley say,' wrote Hugh Roberts to Penn, 'that many of us never cam here, but becaus of the love & unity & confidence we had in thee.'[80] Penn had persuaded Wynne that it was possible to establish in Pennsylvania a harmonious community governed by Christian principles. 'God,' he proclaimed, 'will plan [t] America and it shall have its day.'[81] It would be a mistake to underestimate the genuine spirit of idealism which prompted Wynne to cross the Atlantic. Like most Friends, he was conscious of being a pioneer. After all, Quakers were hoping to establish a heavenly Kingdom on earth, which would provide a welcoming haven for all the oppressed peoples of Europe. In his famous anthology of poems, *The Temple,* published in 1633, the poet, George Herbert, had prophesied that the church 'shall thither westward flie',

> Religion stands on tip-toe in our land
> Readie to passe to the American strand.

Within a year of his arrival in Pennsylvania, Wynne was convinced that Herbert's prophecy had been realised. 'I do believe,' he wrote, 'god will make these westarne parts the Glory of the later dayes . . . Herbert's prophesie is allredy found true'.[82]

Thomas Wynne actually sailed to Pennsylvania with William Penn on the

[77] Peter R. Roberts, 'The Decline of the Welsh Squires in the Eighteenth Century', *National Library of Wales Journal,* XIII (1963), 157-73. Cf. Thomas A. Glenn, op. cit., I, 152-219; A. H. Dodd, 'The Background of the Welsh Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society,* III (1958), 111-27.
[78] I owe this point to Mr. Adrian Teale, who is working on society in Stuart Flintshire.
[79] N.L.W., Rhual MS. 106. See also N.L.W. MS. 6209E, pp. 295-6; Cardiff Central Library, MS. 4.156, f. 270v-271v.
[80] 'Hugh Roberts of Merion: His Journal and a Letter to William Penn', *P.M.H.B.,* XVIII (1894), 205.
[81] M. B. Endy, *William Penn and Early Quakerism* (1972), p. 141.
[82] N.L.W., Rhual MS. 106.

Welcome on 30 August 1682.[83] With him he took his wife, Elizabeth. Following the death of his first wife, Martha, Wynne had married for the second time on 20 July 1676, winning the hand of Elizabeth Maude of Rainhill, Lancashire, herself a widow of Joshua Maude of the Cliffs, Wakefield in Yorkshire. His daughter Mary, wife of Dr. Edward Jones, and possibly his son Jonathan, had already sailed on the *Lyon* and had arrived, after a relatively pleasant eleven-week journey, in the Schuylkill River on 13 August 1682. Another daughter by his first marriage, Rebecca, aged twenty, and his two step-daughters, Jane, aged fifteen, and Margery, aged eleven, travelled on the *Submission*, which left Liverpool on 5 November 1682.[84] Wynne's other step-daughter, Elizabeth Rowden, brought two other daughters, Sidney and Hannah, on the *Morning Star*, which sailed from Liverpool in September 1683 and arrived in Philadelphia on 14 November. His one remaining daughter, Tabitha — the black sheep of the family — did not emigrate. The *Welcome*, a ship of some 284 tons burden, skippered by Robert Greenway, set sail from Deal, just north of Dover. Legend has it that there were a hundred passengers on board, chiefly farmers, craftsmen and servants from Sussex. The journey proved a miserable experience for all concerned. Smallpox — that 'coldest of conquerors' — struck, and, owing to crowded conditions on the vessel, it was impossible to prevent the disease from spreading. One suspects that Wynne, like Penn, had already contracted the disease and was thus immune. At any rate, his medical knowledge and kindly manner proved invaluable during the passage. He did much to tend to the needs of the sick, to comfort the dying by preparing and witnessing their last testimonies, and generally to raise morale when spirits were low. The *Welcome* finally arrived at the old Dutch settlement of New Castle, Delaware, on 27 October 1682. At least thirty passengers never completed the journey.

Thomas Wynne and his wife took up residence in Philadelphia, a city which, constructed on the gridiron concept, reflected the Founder's passion for order and symmetry.[85] Wynne was granted two lots in the city: the first was situated between Claypoole Street and High Street and was named Wynne Street in his honour, until Penn decided in 1684 to call Philadelphian streets after 'the things that Spontaneously grow in the country'.[86] Thus Wynne Street became Chestnut Street. Wynne was distinctly unhappy with the allocation of his front lot on the Schuylkill side. He was anxious to move to the flourishing mercantile community which focused on the docks and which would undoubtedly afford him with wider

[83] For an account of those who journeyed on the *Welcome*, see G. E. McCracken, *The Welcome Claimants Proved, Disproved and Doubtful* (1970); Marion Balderston, 'The Real *Welcome* Passengers', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, XXVI (1962-3), 31-56.
[84] 'A Partial List of the Families who resided in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, prior to 1687', *P.M.H.B.*, IX (1885), 230-1.
[85] N. B. Wainwright, 'Plan of Philadelphia', *P.M.H.B.*, LXXX (1956), 164-226.
[86] Hannah Benner Roach, 'The Planting of Philadelphia. A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development', *P.M.H.B.*, XCII (1968), 181.

opportunities to practise as a physician. In September 1683 he began negotiations with Dennis Rochford, an Irishman who had journeyed with Wynne on the *Welcome*, to secure the rights to a Delaware Front Lot north of Wynne Street. His claim lay dormant for three months and eventually Wynne was forced to obtain his own warrant which gave him two 51ft. lots for himself and John ap John on the Delaware Front.[87]

William Penn had made it clear from the outset that his aim was to establish a Christian society based on Quaker ideals. As a result, Quaker meetings in Philadelphia were not simply centres of worship where Friends worked together in a spirit of brotherhood, compassion and goodwill, but also centres where financial and business affairs were conducted with scrupulous care and honesty. Thomas Wynne soon became one of the patrician pillars of the community of Friends in Philadelphia. He was present at the first Monthly Meeting held in the city on 9 January 1683 and was appointed to a committee which was instructed to find 'a fit place to build a meeting house', to consider the 'manner and form' of the buildings, and to arrange the provision of books 'for the service of Truth'. During the same year he was appointed to committees to fence the burial ground, to raise money for the building of the meeting house and for supervision of some of the work.[88] By 1684 Thomas Lloyd, formerly of Dolobran, claimed that there were 800 persons attending meetings in Philadelphia on first and week days.[89]

The system of government established by Penn was scarcely the work of an egalitarian democrat. In spite of its prefatorial guarantees of liberalism and religious freedom, the First Frame of Government, prepared in England, was drawn up according to highly conservative specifications.[90] The lower house or the Assembly, made up of 200 members, was not granted legislative powers. The most powerful rights were held by the Proprietor himself and the Council, which comprised seventy-two members. Penn held a triple vote within the Council, which itself held enormous legislative, executive and judicial powers. Penn had also reserved the right to appoint all proprietory, provincial and county officers. Thus he awarded the most important offices of government to those first purchasers who had bought most of the land and also to his intimate friends. On 10 March 1683 Thomas Wynne was chosen Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, and one of his first duties was to read the rules of conduct to which members of the lower house were expected to abide.[91] As Speaker, Wynne was not invested with any great power. He lacked the powers granted to the Speaker in the House of Commons, and Penn saw him as being no more than 'a foreman', who communicated the

[87] ibid., p. 169.
[88] Department of Records, Philadelphia. First Minute Book of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1682-92.
[89] E. B. Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment". The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701* (1962), pp. 68, 276.
[90] Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics. Pennsylvania 1681-1726* (1968), pp. 29-47.
[91] G. E. McCracken, op. cit., p. 571.

wishes of the Assembly to the Council.[92] Nor was the Speaker expected to be one who could boast an unblemished life. Three days prior to his appointment as Speaker, Wynne, together with a fellow justice, Griffith Jones, and five other citizens, were presented before the Third Court of Philadelphia County charged with having transgressed the fortieth law of the Province, that is to say, selling and drinking 'strong liquors by Retail' and allowing alcohol to be drunk in their homes without a licence.[93]

Both as Speaker and as a member of the Assembly, however, Wynne was no mere cypher. Increasingly, the Assembly was demanding greater privileges in the process of legislation and Wynne was appointed, with five others, to represent the Assembly on a committee which was called upon to propose changes in the constitution.[94] On 2 April 1683, Penn officially signed a new constitution, the Second Frame of Government, and handed it over to Thomas Wynne and James Harrison as representatives of the freemen of the provinces and territories. Penn, in turn, received from them the original charter.[95] The Second Frame of Government declared that the Assembly would now comprise thirty-six members and that eighteen members would fill the Council. Penn's triple vote was taken away from him and he also yielded his right to perform any public act of state without the consent of the Council. However, many settlers, mostly yeomen, craftsmen and artisans, were not content with the restricted rôle of the Assembly, and the emergence of private ambitions and sectional interests soon clouded the vision of a utopian society. By the early months of 1684, colonists were airing their disaffection more and more frequently.[96] In the middle of January, a group of substantial citizens led by Anthony Weston submitted proposals, amended by Thomas Wynne, to Penn and the Council. Nothing is known about the content of this petition, but it was swiftly rejected as being 'of great presumption and Contempt of this Government and authority'. The instigator, Weston, was ordered to be whipped three times at noon on market-day.[97]

On 1 July 1684, Wynne informed Friends at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting that he proposed to return shortly to Britain to solve some pressing problems concerning his estate in Flintshire.[98] In a breathless letter written to Piers Pennant of Bychton in the previous December, Wynne had outlined his troubles.[99] It would seem that his daughter, presumably Tabitha, and one Roger Hughes — 'a villain', claimed Wynne, 'as is hardly to be found unhangd in a country' — had connived

[92] Joan de Lourdes Leonard, 'The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly 1682-1776', *P.M.H.B.*, LXXII (1948), 215-39, 376-412.
[93] *P.M.H.B.*, XXIII (1899), 405.
[94] E. B. Bronner, op. cit., p. 40.
[95] ibid., pp. 40-1.
[96] Gary B. Nash, op. cit., pp. 77-83.
[97] *Colonial Records*, I, 90-2. Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.
[98] Department of Records, Philadelphia, First Minute Book of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, dated 1/5 mo/1684.
[99] N.L.W. MS. 11594E.

to rob Wynne of his goods and possessions at Bron Fadog following his removal to Pennsylvania. Only the timely intervention of Piers Pennant had prevented Hughes from also taking goods from Wynne's house in Caerwys. Thanking the squire of Bychton in the most profuse terms, Wynne claimed that his action 'shews thee to be the man yt deserved thy character Honest peirs pennant in every ones mouth & for thee now to be so to me yt lives about a 1000 leagues of thee proves thee to be so'. Wynne had left his estate at Bron Fadog and his house at Caerwys under the care of his step-daughter, Elizabeth (Betty) Rowden, but she had been cast out by the villainous Hughes who, believing (as Wynne put it) 'because we were far ye Gallows would be far off also', had claimed Wynne's hay, corn, cows, horses, sheep, turkeys, geese and household goods, telling the world that Wynne was now dead and had 'left debts more than [his] slate was worth'. Worse, Hughes had deprived Wynne's two young daughters, Sidney and Hannah, of any provisions for their journey on the *Morning Star* in September 1683.[100] 'He sent,' raged Wynne furiously, 'my 2 poore little ones with onely rages on their backs without shoos on there feet. Betty was fain to teare her own coats to make them petycoats to keep them from starving at sea'. One can imagine Elizabeth Rowden blurting out the story of her trials and tribulations to Wynne on her arrival at Philadelphia on 14 November, and the terrible frustration which the Welsh Quaker felt, not only because he had failed to protect his daughters and his property, but also because he was in no position to make Roger Hughes pay for his temerity.

Having first attended the wedding of his step-daughter, Elizabeth Rowden, to John Brock, late of Bramhall in Cheshire,[101] Thomas and Elizabeth Wynne joined William Penn on the ketch *Endeavour*, which sailed for England from Philadelphia on 12 August 1684. The Proprietor's journey was prompted by his anxiety to guard against attempts by imperial reformers to reorganize all proprietary governments. But in Pennsylvania, too, he was being subjected to intolerable pressures. Before his departure he left three commissioners — the Welshman Thomas Lloyd, President of the Council, James Harrison, the Steward of Pennsbury, and John Simcock — to take charge of his government. Penn was destined not to return for some fifteen years and it was with mixed feelings that he left his newly-born city. His prayer reflected his failure to unite discordant elements into a virtuous and contented community. 'And thou Philadelphia,' he prayed, 'wt. love, wt. care, wt. service & wt. travil have there been to bring thee forth & preserve them from such as would abuse & defile thee . . . my soul prays to god for thee yt thou mayst stand in thy day of triall, that thy children may be blest of the lord & thy people be saved by his powr'.[102]

[100] On the same journey, Katherine, wife of John ap Thomas of Llaithgwm, Bala, lost two daughters at sea. J. J. Levick, 'John ap Thomas and his Friends', *P.M.H.B.*, IV (1880), 318.
[101] Department of Records, Philadelphia, First Minute Book of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, dated 1/5 mo/1684.
[102] F. B. Tolles, 'William Penn's Prayer for Philadelphia', *P.M.H.B.*, XC (1966), 517-9.

Although Thomas Wynne returned to Caerwys we have no means of knowing whether he solved the problems regarding his estate to his satisfaction. He spent some of his time in London. On 23 November he attended the funeral of his friend, William Gibson, an event which attracted more than a thousand mourners to Bunhill Fields.[103] In December he suffered once more at the hands of tyrannical magistrates. He and twenty-three other Friends were making their way peacefully towards White-hart-court meeting house when they were apprehended by several constables in Angel-court and thrust into prison. On 8 December they were brought before the magistrates at Guildhall, charged with causing a riotous assembly with force and arms in White-hart-court. The case against the Quakers was ludicrously slender. The sum of the prosecution's evidence was that they were arrested in a common throughfare 'where a woman spake', although her actual words were not presented in court. The prisoners pleaded not guilty, claiming that they were merely passing through a thoroughfare and were neither carrying arms nor offering any threat to local citizens. Their plea of innocence, however, was rejected, and they were duly fined four nobles each and committed to Newgate prison for three months.[104] Following his release, Thomas Wynne spent the summer in Caerwys, for he was presented before the Great Sessions on 17 August 1685, together with his wife, Alice Evans of Caerwys and Robert Norris of Hawarden, for absenting themselves from church during the previous three months.[105] Wynne was obviously determined to shore up the faltering Quaker movement in Flintshire. His departure, and that of Richard ap Thomas of Whitford, had meant that the cause had lost much of its initiative and vitality. Flintshire rarely sent representatives to the newly-constituted Yearly Meeting of Welsh Friends from 1682 onward, in spite of many attempts to persuade their members to bestir themselves.[106] Scant wonder that by the end of the century many Welsh Friends believed that emigration to Pennsylvania had been 'a cause of great weakening (if not the totall decayinge) of some meetings in this Dominion of Wales'.[107]

Shortly before his return to Pennsylvania around August 1686, Wynne wrote a farewell epistle as a 'testimony of my endeared love' to the inhabitants of these islands.[108] In many ways this is a remarkable document: it contains a personal testimony against carrying arms and waging war; a warm appreciation of the Delaware Indians; and a handsome tribute to the character and achievements of William Penn. Between 1660 and 1665 George Fox had set out the peace testimony of Friends in his journal.[109] He maintained that the weapons used by Quakers

[103] G. E. McCracken, op. cit., p. 570.
[104] Joseph Besse, op. cit., I, 469-70.
[105] N.L.W., Flintshire Gaol Files, Wales 4/992/2.
[106] Glamorgan County Record Office, D/DSF/2, pp. 481-91, 500, 506, 509, 511, 515.
[107] Glamorgan County Record Office, D/DSF/2, p. 511.
[108] Friends House Library, Portfolio MS. 6.35. I am preparing the full text of this document for publication.
[109] Norman Penney, op. cit., I, 376; II, 12, 46-7, 54-5.

were not carnal but spiritual. 'My principle,' he claimed, '& all true Quakers principl is to deny the takeing up armes against the king or any man, as knowing it is in Adams house in the fall.' Following in Fox's footsteps, Thomas Wynne argued that the carrying of arms and the spirit of war were contrary to the Gospel of Christ. Leaning heavily on the word of the prophets (Isaiah 2:4, and Micah 4:5), he believed that, with the coming of Christ, men would 'beat their swords to plow shares & there speares to pruning hookes and he will soe governe the people that they shall not learne war any more'. But pacifism did not commend itself to many people in the seventeenth century and the objection was often raised that, unless Christians defended their religion, atheism and idolatry would rule the roost. 'If you had faith,' replied Wynne crushingly, 'but as much as a graine of mustard seed, then would you beeleve yt Christ would Judge among the nations and rebuke Athesm and Idolatry and defend his own cause & religion.' Claiming that the Protestant church was no more secure in 1686 than it had been forty years earlier, in spite of persecution and war, Wynne argued the case for overcoming evil with good. 'Carry no swords nor pistolls about with you,' he urged, 'keep no weapons of war in your houses neither openly nor hidenly'.

Wynne carried his pacifist principles with him to Pennsylvania, and, like his fellow Quakers, sought to persuade the Delaware Indians of the virtue of passive resistance in the face of provocation. The Delaware Indians or the Lenni Lenâpé (meaning 'the common people') inhabited the forest-covered hills and plains which ran from lower New York and Long Island to Maryland.[110] By the time of Thomas Wynne's arrival their numbers had been whittled down to about 8,000 as a result of the hostile incursions of their implacable enemies from the north, the perfidious Iroquois, and also by white penetration from the east and the south. The Lenni Lenâpé were hunters and nomads, living in small open villages of rectangular bark-covered huts. They lived simple, untrammelled lives and their needs were few. William Penn was passionately determined to bring them out of their heathenism and to reveal to them the efficacious virtues of the anointing within. He treated them as equals: 'I will consider you,' he told them, 'as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts.'[111] After years of harassment and treachery at the hands of settlers, the Lenni Lenâpé were deeply impressed by the Proprietor's civil manner and his determination to honour his word. Penn, in turn, was struck by their 'deep natural sagacity', their 'lofty' and rhythmical tongue, their generosity, and their willingness to stand by their promises.[112]

[110] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware 1609-1888* (2 vols., new ed. 1972), pp. 9-21; C. J. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians. A History* (1972), *passim.*
[111] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History* (1958), p. 62.
[112] Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn*, I (2 vols., 1813), 384-92; A. C. Myers (ed.), *William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenâpé or Delaware Indians* (revised ed., 1970).

During his first sojourn in Pennsylvania, Thomas Wynne, as one of Penn's trusted counsellors, had witnessed several land transactions with the Indians. He was present on 23 June 1683 when 'Brother Onas' (as the Indians called Penn) bought land between Neshaminy and Pennypack creeks from the Indian chiefs Metamequan and Tamany. The transaction was a formal and dignified occasion, carried out according to traditional Indian practice: the chiefs sat in the centre, flanked by sages, and each matter was fully discussed before agreement was reached. The bargain was sealed with the promise that both natives and white settlers would 'live in love as long as the sun gave light'. On the following day, more lands, running along Neshaminy Creek, were purchased from four other chiefs — Essepenaikes, Swampees, Okettarickon and Wessapoat — and, following the transaction, the chiefs dined with Penn and his associates (including, presumably, Thomas Wynne) and attended a Quaker meeting as the guests of the Proprietor.[113]

Thomas Wynne was immediately attracted to the Delaware Indians,[114] and his account is the first recorded description of them by a Welshman. He found them a benign, even-tempered people 'if they be not wronged & provoked', and a race which was happy to conform to the laws of the colony. Their one great weakness was alcohol. Irresponsible traders among the Dutch and the Swedes had plied them with strong liquors, especially rum, and in the First Assembly of 1682 a law was passed forbidding the sale of rum, brandy, or any kind of alcoholic beverages to the Indians.[115] Some of the Lenni Lenâpé still fell by the wayside, but what impressed Thomas Wynne was their willingness to accept punishment for their misdeeds. He told the tale of the Indian king who was committed to prison for one night by a justice of the peace on a charge of being drunk. Far from offering any resistance, this 'brave valiant king' went to prison 'meekly & quietly' and, on his release next morning, returned to the justice to thank him sincerely 'for sending him to yt warm house for he was drunk & he should a ben very could'. Wynne was also deeply impressed by the Indians' ability to distinguish between good and evil. In their own way they, too, worshipped a God, whom they called *Kee-shay-lum-meo-kawng* (the Great Creator or The Great Manito). The Great Manito was believed to be present in all things and it was to him that all Indians addressed their prayers. Dwelling above the sun (*Kissiuch peo*), he was responsible for sending them 'ye Raine the corne the fruits the venison the fowle & ye fish & every good thing'. Just as Christians believed in the Devil, so too did the Lenni Lenâpé believe that another king dwelt in a dark place under the earth (*hacking pappi lemunggo*), and that it was his wily stratagems that prompted their brethren to 'be drunk & fight & kill one an other'.

[113] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Nead Papers, Deed from Indian chiefs to William Penn. 23 June 1683; Weslager, op. cit., pp. 163-6.
[114] Friends House Library, Portfolio MS. 6.35, f. 6.
[115] A. C. Myers, op. cit., p. 59.

In his farewell epistle, Wynne also declared his complete devotion to Penn and his cause. This declaration of loyalty was particularly timely, for the Founder was under heavy attack from several quarters.[116] A man of such boundless ambitions as William Penn was bound to make enemies. His life and career were full of knotty contradictions: he lived like a lord and yet called for simplicity from his followers; he nursed autocratic ambitions and yet advocated liberty for all; he enjoyed the most rigorous and wearying verbal and literary battles and yet preached pacifism to all the world. The wide-ranging attacks on the Proprietor both in England and in Pennsylvania pained Thomas Wynne deeply. In spite of his disappointment over the city lot assigned to him in Philadelphia and his anxiety to increase the powers of the Assembly, Wynne retained a deep and reverent regard for Penn. Penn, in turn, had great faith in Wynne's 'wisdom & integrity'[117] and was no doubt pleased to find his physician defending him so stoutly against charges of deceit, treachery and corruption. Wynne was well aware of the 'Basse and scandalous' accusations levelled against the Proprietor, particularly the attempt to label him a hypocrite — 'the vilest thing among men'. His experience of Penn's dealings with all men was very different. 'I can say it with a good conscience,' he maintained, 'in truth & by good experience being one yt lived neere him & beheld his conversation and deportment to the people in Genarall & was sometimes was in his private counsells & never found in ye sence that god gave me but yt pure Equity Justice & Righteousness was his most secret aymes . . . gracious were his speeches divine flowings were with him to the great comfort of all . . . allwayes sorry to punish & ready to forgive where any true signe of repentance appeared, takeing no part because of this or the other oppinion or difference of relidgion'. No Welsh emigrant in this period paid a more generous tribute to William Penn than Thomas Wynne.

Wynne's handsome appreciation of Penn's virtues and achievements would not have been shared by most colonists by the mid-1680s. Penn did not return to his province until 1699, but Wynne sailed back to America in the summer of 1686. There he found that the Proprietor had been abandoned by many of his supporters. Pennsylvania was riven by factional strife: an unwieldy legislative system had provoked intense political friction; widespread disaffection had increased over Penn's land disposal policies and his iniquitous quitrent scheme; and the private ambitions of colonists had led to some bitter rivalry over property and trade.[118] Not least among the disaffected elements were the Welsh, for, as they lost their baronial rights of self-government, they were increasingly unable to maintain their separate identity. Confronted by so many conflicting interests, Thomas Wynne seems to have opted for a quiet life. He sold his lot in Philadelphia to a cooper,

[116] Gary B. Nash, op. cit., p. 97; cf. G. B. Nash, 'The First Decade in Pennsylvania: Letters of William Markham and Thomas Holme to William Penn', *P.M.H.B.*, XC (1966), 318-9.
[117] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Logan Papers, I, 5.
[118] G. B. Nash, op. cit., p. 97; H. B. Roach, op. cit., p. 193.

Philip Jones, for £71 and his 250 acre estate in Radnor to Howell James for £30.[119] He settled instead on an estate he had purchased in Lewes, in Sussex county, on the Delaware river. Even so, he retained his interest in the political affairs of state. In April 1687 he was appointed Associate Justice of Sussex County, and in 1688 he was elected to represent his county at the Assembly which met on 10 May. He was appointed a justice of the peace in January 1690 and held the position of a provincial judge from September 1690 until his death in March 1692.[120]

In his will, drawn up on 15 March 1692,[121] Wynne devised his mansion and plantation at Lewes, valued at £80, to his wife, Elizabeth, for the duration of her life. On her death the land was to become the possession of his son, Jonathan, to whom was also bequeathed 200 acres (valued at £20) at Cedar Creek in the county of Sussex. One half of his personal estate, value at £430 1*s.* 3*d.*, was left to his wife, and the other half to his five children in America — Mary, Rebecca, Sidney, Hannah and Jonathan. His errant daughter, Tabitha, who had, as Wynne cryptically remarked, 'already sufficiently partaken of my fatherly care and tenderness of her', was left the sum of fifty shillings 'as the last marke of my love'.

From the time of his conversion until his death, Thomas Wynne's moral fortitude and fidelity to truth were never in question. He had had the misfortune to live through one of the most brutal and repressive periods in Welsh history. Having survived the stormy years of the penal code, he remained magnanimous to his enemies, generous in friendship, and unstinting in good works. In social terms his rise to prominence from relative obscurity was remarkable. His removal to America was clearly the turning-point in his life. Within William Penn's charmed circle he not only acquired prosperous estates in the New World but also an influential niche in the political and judicial life of Pennsylvania. In one sense, however, his mission was a failure. In Penn's absence, Pennsylvania was torn by political, religious and economic factionalism, and the Utopia which Wynne had hoped for was never realised. Nor was it of comfort to him to know that, shorn of his guiding influence, the Quaker movement in his native Flintshire had lapsed into an inward-looking torpor. Nevertheless, in these days when ecumenicism is a cause close to many people's hearts, we might remember that the aspirations of one of Flintshire's most illustrious Friends was also the prayer of Christians throughout the ages: 'God Almighty Illuminate Our Understanding that for pure Religion we may Conscientiously contend for, and Submit Unto and yt solid and sound conviction may be ye end of our Labours'.[122]

[119] Department of Records, City Hall, Philadelphia, Deed E1-2, V, 30-1, 36-7, 656-7.
[120] George E. McCracken, op. cit., p. 571; *The Friend*, XXVII, no. 29, p. 228.
[121] Department of Records, Office of Register of Wills, Philadelphia, Will no. 79, dated 15 March 1692.
[122] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Humphreys Papers, Letter from Thomas Wynne to Bishop William Lloyd, dated 8/12 mo/1681-2.