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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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F. H. S.

The Treasurer desires to call attention to the Balance Sheet printed on page 128, which shows a deficit at the end of 1915 of £44 13s. 5d. He would be glad to cover this deficit by donations from Friends and others who incline to assist him, so that it may not be necessary to cause any curtailment of the work of the F. H. S.

ISAAC SHARP,

Treasurer.

Devonshire House,

BISHOPSGATE,

London, E.C.

August, 1916.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Richard Smith and his Journal, 1817:1824

Continued from page 58

LL his business in Philadelphia being completed, and arrangements made for sending his goods by waggon, on the 28th of Tenth Month, 1817, R. S. set out on foot for Pittsburgh, Pa., a distance of 301 miles, which he accomplished in twelve days. His account of the journey is full and interesting the soil, timber, crops and amount of cleared land all being remarked. After it had rained on the fourth day, the roads were "like a clay-pit," and again, "bad beyond description." On the fifth day he was obliged to take the stage from Abbotstown to Gettysburg—"the many creeks being mostly impassable by persons on foot"; the fourteen miles occupied three and threequarter hours. Two days later he overtook the stagepassengers again, "impatient at being detained." He passed many emigrant waggons, often in difficulties, several of them those of the "peaceable Germans," an adjective he always uses; no doubt these were the Redemptioners, who had left Philadelphia many days before he did.

1817.

no mo. 28. Farms 120, 150 to 200 Acres, price p Acre \$100, 120 or 150; produce in Wheat 20 to 25 Bushels p Acre.

no mo. 29. The Tavern-keeper at Smoakers Tavern quite a Young Man, a horse-Racer; his Servant a wicked Swearer, detained my parcel till I had paid my Bill.

1817.

- that Land in that Township⁶ was worth from £100 to £200 sterling p Acre, fine grazing Land. The Dutch Language vernacular in the District. A Bridge over the Susquehannah [at Columbia] one mile long. Toll for a Waggon with 4 Horses \$1; Fine for exceeding a foot's pace \$20; taking a lighted Segar or Pipe \$50. Pd. 6½ Cents. Arrived at a Dirty Dutch Tavern.
- no. 31. The Shops shut up this day at York to Commemorate the Reformation by Luther 300 years since its comencement. Before I arrived at Abbots Tavern was wet thro.' Went with my Linen to Wash to a poor Woman who supported 3 Children & a blind Mother. Her Grandfather (Abbot) once owned the whole of the District. Gave her some Meal, currants & coffee. The Tavern-keeper said: "The following remark will generally apply thro' most of these parts & others, viz: First Generation, industrious sober Œconomists (scraping too near), The Second often Spendthrifts, the third very poor."

Lands in this District \$78 cash, \$100 credit.

- the foot of the Mountain, who carried their Beds with them & lay upon the floor.
- 11 mo. 3. The last 19 Miles almost one continued Chain of Mountains; the roads very bad. An Emigrant Waggon had the Axletree broken when I came up, another had spent nearly all his Money and his Waggon fast, being 150 miles short of his intended Journey.

This night was spent at Householders Inn, Junietta Crossings. On this and the previous day, he heard that Wolves and Bears did damage to farmstock.

- 11 mo. 4. [23 miles to Schellsburg.] In the Inhabitants little appearance of religion. Felt much weakness of Body (being very sore).
- 11 mo. 7. [At Adamsburgh] where I first saw coals burnt in America.
- 11 mo. 8. [26 miles to Pittsburgh.] At the principal Inn there was denied Lodging. [Perhaps he looked much like a tramp after the wear and tear of the road.]

Total of computed Expenses of Journey, \$10.38\frac{1}{2}, exclusive of about \$1 for Shoe Leather.

R. S. stayed at Pittsburgh a little under two months, with the exception of a short visit to Brownsville. He was occupied in selling and exchanging a part of his stock, which did not arrive till eight days after himself. He makes no reference to Friends whilst in the City, though some of their books were in the Public Library. At Brownsville he called on E. and Caleb Hunt with letters of introduction, who gave him much information about this neighbourhood, and "suitable advice for the disposal

of my goods, and gave me a Letter to a respectable man in Smithfield." It was no doubt on their advice that he went to that place. At Brownsville, also, he "spent an agreeable time with Jno. & his Brother William Cock, English Friends profitably engaged in a boat-building and Iron Foundry Business."

On the 3rd of First Month, 1818, R. S. left Pittsburgh for Steubenville in Ohio, 80 miles down the Ohio river, in an "Ark Boat, much more comfortable and quiet than a Keel-Boat." On the following evening they stuck on a sand-bar, and remained there seventeen hours, only getting off after the boat had been unloaded and the owner, the two passengers and three other men had got into the water to push.

1818.

- no. 7. [At Steubenville, the county town of Jefferson County; a person] spoke very lightly of my Pins, which caused me to call him a liar, after which I felt uneasy in my Mind, but became more reconciled after sitting in silence an hour or more in the Bed Room at Night.
- no. 8. Took of my Pins to S. Page's store & had them weighed; & found No. 4½ of mine half an ounce heavier than his No. 5. Went to J——7 with them, who would not be convinced thereof.

There is no notice of his meeting with any Friends at Steubenville.

On the 16th of First Month he went over to Smithfield, where his letters were of such service that he at once got into touch with Friends at their houses. The first reference to the Meeting calls it "Smithfield (late Plymouth)." He engaged a store at \$5 per month, fetched his goods from Steubenville and was able to write to his father on the 23rd of Third Month that though "this disposal of my Goods by retail is a slow way of Selling, yet I have done Business generally to my satisfaction, I believe to a Degree exceeding my expectation," and on the 13th of Seventh Month to send a similar assurance to Toft Chorley.

1 mo. 29. Stuck up behind the Door of the Store six religious Tracts.

On the 17th of Second Month a very unpleasant incident occurred which was destined to give him much trouble and perplexity of spirit. An old drunken man

"came into the Store and pocketed [various articles.] I was threatened to be prosecuted if I did not proceed against him." The account of the proceedings at the Sessions at Steubenville does not give a pleasant view of the Grand Jury. In the course of the Sessions, information was laid against the Judge and the lawyers attending the Court for gambling, viz., playing at cards contrary to law! The Case was not finally disposed of till the Fourth Month of 1819, when a small fine was inflicted on the culprit.

1818.

- 2 mo. 25. Felt a confirmation on my Mind from perusing the Ohio Yearly Meeting Extracts to settle near the Indians on the Tuskarawa River at Greentown or Jerometown.
- 3 mo. 6. Interview with old Sarah Jenny [Janney] whose Gigrandfather from Cheshire came over with William Penn.8
- 3 mo. 16. John Grimshaw informed me that Chesnut Rails would last 60 years, Oak Rails 15, & Locust Posts 100 years.

The letter to his father of the 23rd of Third Month has some paragraphs of interest:

It is very lamentable to observe the sad effects that are produced from the excessive use of spirituous Liquors in this Western country. Whisky distilled from Rye is sold for 2s. and under p Gallon, '& is drank, I believe, as common as Ale in England.

The following quotations are given:

Good wheat $3/4\frac{1}{2}$ sterling p bushel of 60 lbs.

Oats 1/1½ to 1/5

Rye 2/3.

The same letter contains a pitiful appeal for news from home, as he had not had a single letter in the eight months since he left:

Dear Father, I repeat the request which I made in a former Letter, entreating thee to write to me the first favourable opportunity. Altho' I have been preserved in much patience... yet judge, Dear Father, what acceptance a Letter (however short) wd have with me from one who is the nearest and dearest Tie I have in this World, & whose tender solicitude & paternal care I have so much cause to remember.

4 mo. 3. A muster of the Trained Bands and much intoxication amongst them.

[This is an entry that appears periodically.]

4 mo. 18. [At Pittsburgh.] Much exercised in mind concerning my future prospects & was at a stand for some time whether to purchase [goods] or not, witnessing many turnings & overturnings.

1818.

- 4 mo. 19. My future prospects seem gradually settling for a continuance at Smith Field.
- 5 mo. 9. A Day of Sickness & drowsiness to me, occassioned by chewing a little Opium not larger than a pea; alas, what poor Creatures we are at best.

In Seventh Month he wrote to T. Chorley that he had "been preserved in contentment of mind & health of body, although I have had to experience various outward & deep inward exercises." This letter contains an admirable general review of agriculture in Ohio, and refers with interest, and the promise of a subscription, to approposed Bible Society at Leek, of which he had heard.

- 7 mo. 29. [At Meeting] Jacob Ong⁹ preached. "Linsey Woolsey Garments forbidden under the Law."
- 9 mo. 17. I have been deeply exercised of late respecting my future prospects; felt some relief after seeing Benj: Ladd. 10

On the 25th of Tenth Month, while on an expedition to the northward, he met at Kendal Friends' Meeting with Thomas Rotch, one of the Friends appointed by Ohio Yearly Meeting to attend the Commissioners for the Indian Treaty. "A Settlement of Wyandots, at or near Wappaconata, requested Friends to send out a person to instruct them, which was not promised, tho' likely was intended."

12 mo. 22. I was under considerable exercise this day, finding my Way somewhat closed in. . . Thomas Ford came into the Store and spontaneously treated with me for the purchase of my Stock in Trade.

Of this first year in Ohio, George Crossield's sketch has the following remarks:

Though an entire stranger he met with many friends & received great kindness, both in this place & during his travels. His simplicity, meekness & humility gained their esteem & love; & for the kindness received he felt grateful, & was at all times desirous to return it; he was often so engaged by rendering to his friends assistance in various ways.

Throughout 1818, however, the way to the Indians was dark and he found no opening for fulfilling his concern. He was drawing more closely to Friends:

7 mo. 15. The Coat that was rent in the Ship went to be new Buttond, and the Collar taken off,

but recognised that their practice was somewhat short of their principles—a matter which often engaged the attention of the local Ministers and of visiting Friends. Waiting for guidance, he carried on his Store, boarded first with one neighbour and then with another, helped them with their crops and chores, and worked his two days on the public highway according to the law of the State. The Store contained a general assortment; thirty-four different articles are mentioned in one place or another—hardware, glass, groceries, drapery, etc., ranging from scales and stilliards to tobacco, vestings and kid gloves.

- zealous, powerful, baptizing manner, so that tears were shed by different persons present (myself for one). Towards the latter part of the sermon he was led out in an extraordinary manner to speak to the states of some of the Youth present on their Deviations from plainness & primitive simplicity, etc.
- 1819. I mo. I. [A public meeting.] The M. house was very full and yet quiet. C.H. preached 2 hours or more; he was much led out on doctrinal points, particularly on Election, etc.

In the early part of the year 1819 there are many signs that R. S. was identifying himself with the Society of Friends. It is not easy to decide who among the various neighbours named belonged to the Society, and who did not; but from the beginning of this year there is constant mention of one with whom R. S. was on terms of very great intimacy—a young Friend named Joseph Watson, whose mind was turned, like his own, towards the Indians. They were probably not very different in age; many were the discussions they held together, and when the concern was formally put before Friends, it was the joint concern of the two young men.

The maturing of this exercise of mind was closely bound up with the application of R. S. to be received into membership in the Society; the two matters run side by side and overlap, giving the impression that only by membership could he get to the Indians, though it would not be right to say that he joined Friends on this account.

1 mo. 24. Jos. Watson informed me that W. Wood, 22 a Minister & Elder in this Meeting, informed him that Friends had an attachmt towards me, & wd be glad for me to request to be received a Member, but I have not clearness to do it, etc.

On the 17th of Second Month, 1819, the Indian concern was formally put before Benjamin W. Ladd and William Wood. "After sitting about an hour under a considerable degree of exercise, the Business was opened by reading a written 'account of our exercise.' W. Wood queried about being received into membership; 'I stated that I should go to instruct the Indians on principle, & Wages were not my object." Two days later, at the Monthly Meeting at Mount Pleasant they laid the matter before the Indian Committee. "Horton Howard¹³ expressed the inconsistency in sending a Person out, not of Friends Society, that we are poor Creatures, and, let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall, with other discouraging Language towards myself. jonathan Taylor¹⁴ expressed a few words to the same effect, but I thought more Charitably."

- 2 mo. 21. Went with J.W. to B.W.L.'s, when J.W. conversed privately with B.W.L., the result of which, as respected myself, J.W. stated to be unfavorable, on account of my not being a Member of Friends Society.
- 2 mo. 23. Ever since the Opportunity on the Evening of the 19th at Jonathan Taylor's it has been a gloomy season to my poor tossed & not comforted soul. The Divine presence & life-giving power of the Holy Spirit have been in a great degree withheld, so that which ever way I have looked there has appeared to be no resting-place; till this morning the holy seed has arisen with victorious power & peace, and there appears to be a prospect of my joining the Society of Friends.
- 3 mo. 16. John Hoyle did not much encourage visit to the Indians, principally on the ground of being removed from Friends.

On the 17th of Third Month he applied to the Overseers to be received into membership: "Robert Lesslie said he believed it was at the right time, he had been wishing it for some time. J. Hoyle likewise received the request favourably. R. L. urged Friends principles—being smitten on the right cheek to turn the other also." [It is possible that R. S.'s temper was rather peppery.]

On the 18th of Fourth Month he met the Committee appointed to visit him on his application:

After about half-an-hours silent waiting, B. W. Ladd queried of me whether I understood Friends Discipline? afterwards whether ever I had failed in Business in England? what where my Motives in making

the request to be received a Member? I gave them a little outline of my history from the first time of my going amongst Friends, & offer'd to produce or fetch Documents to convince them about my not having failed in Business. David Way expressed himself perfectly satisfied with my word. Lewis Carey said I must not be discouraged if it lay over for some time, which was common in these cases.

1819.

5 mo. 15. [At Q.M. at Mount Pleasant.] Jonathan Taylor gave a discouraging advice relative to J. Watson & myself visiting the Indians. A letter had been received stating the appointment of a Man to settle with the Indians at Lewis-town.

On the 17th of Fifth Month R. S. had another interview with four Friends on his application:

It came with force upon my Mind to ask them whether Black People were admitted into Friends Society. The answer they returned was that some of their Members were opposed to it, but those only that were prejudiced against them by Education. It was concluded to pass my application over this Monthly Meeting, being most easy to myself.

The following entry is marked in the margin, "Extraordinary Exercise," possibly by T. Chorley:

5 mo. 19. The North has now given up, saith my Soul, and it is a long time since the South kept back. All the influence of fixed Northern points of attraction and prospects of time of my own fixing, I hope, are given up, which for so long time have accompanied me; and I trust I am made willing to wait the Lords time (however long) before I proceed to the Indians. My Mind has been greatly refreshed this morning from the time I awoke in meditating on these things, & the nearness between Jos. Watson and myself, & my following of him from place to place without any premeditation of my own. A memorable day this has been to my soul. Yea, as Water to a dry & thirsty soil after a long drowth. Long has the Heaven been to it as Brass and the Earth as Iron. My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed. Man's extremity is Gods opportunity, and my Mind appeared to be at its utmost extreme or stretch.

On the 2nd of Sixth Month he met the Committee again: "Wm. Wood said he had much satisfaction with my conduct since I came amongst them." On the 18th of the next month he was asked if he wished his request continued, and the next day the Monthly Meeting at Smithfield admitted him into membership.

At Ohio Y.M. on the 10th of Ninth Month, "the report of the Comittee on Indian Affairs was so generally satisfactory as to occasion fervent Desires for the continuance of further aid and attention."

9 mo. 13. I find myself almost at a standstill respecting my future prospects... as the Indian Committee give me no encouragement at present to prosecute my prospects towards them.

11 mo. 20. [At Q.M. at Short Creek.] On Indian affairs M. Mtgs are to report to next 8th Mo's Quarter the subscriptions.

which makes it probable that finance was an obstacle preventing Friends from accepting R. S.'s concern more heartily.

The story of these matters has been entered into at length; they bulk largely in the Journal of the year 1819. It is only too evident that R. S., with his sensitive mind, was often sorely discouraged and oppressed. In this matter, as in another to be noticed presently, Friends seem to have suspected the ulterior motive of earning a livelihood. For this suspicion, though doubtless groundless, they were not without some small justification from a worldly point of view, as R. S. would appear to them to be a man without any definite occupation at this time, which, in a newly-settled country without a leisured class, could not but raise the question. He had closed his Store on the 9th of First Month, and, with the exception of schoolmasterships, which he held intermittently, he must have been supporting his financial needs, small as they were, from his capital, and perhaps from money or board and lodging earned by helping his neighbours.

It will help us to an estimate of the powers of perception and judgment of the leading Friends of the district to remember that it was in 1819 that William Flanner¹⁵ was liberated for service in England and that it was the Quarterly Meeting within whose limits R. S. was living that liberated him. Such minds might not find it easy to understand the purity of the motives that animated R. S.

11 mo. 20. [At Q.M. at Short Creek.] W. Flanner stated his reasons for his early return from England, and produced a written paper which was addressed to S. Cr. M.M. It was signed by a select Council of Liverpool Friends, men and women.

Unfortunately we are not told what the Quarterly Meeting said about it!

JOHN DYMOND CROSFIELD.

Savernake, Marlborough, Wiltshire.

(To be continued).

The following notes have been written by the Editor; further information respecting any of the Friends mentioned would be welcomed.

- In Toft Chorley's transcript, which, unfortunately, is as far back as we can go, there is an unfilled space left for the name of the Township.
- 7 In the transcript the name of the traducer of Richard's pins was first written, but now all we can read is "John," while over the crossed-out surname are the words "a person."
 - 8 This was Thomas Janney (1634-1696).
- ⁹ Jacob Ong (c. 1759-1849, see Minutes of Ohio Y. M. 1849) was a member of Smithfield M.M. His wife was Mary (c. 1763-1852); of their daughter, Mary McGrew (c. 1802-1829) there is a Testimony in *Memorials concerning deceased Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting*, Phila. 1868. [The copy in **D.** was presented in 1914 by Elwood D. Emmons, of Whittier, Ia.]
- Benjamin W. Ladd (d. circa 1856) was a Minister of Short Creek M.M. and was also a clerk of Ohio Y.M. He travelled in the ministry as far east as Nantucket. His Testimony was presented to Ohio Y.M. 1856.
- Christopher Healy (1773-1851) was a prominent Minister of this period. He visited the British Isles in 1831. See The Journal, iv. 89.
- ¹² In the Minutes of Ohio Y.M., 1844, there is a reference to William Wood, "a minister and member of Smithfield M.M." who died that year in his 87th year. There is in **D.** a sheet, brown and worn, containing a Testimony of Smithfield M.M. concerning Mary Wood, daughter of William and Mary Wood, who died in 1819, "not having reached her twentieth year." It is signed by Benjamin W. Ladd, clerk, 19. vii. 1819, and countersigned by his wife, Elizabeth Ladd, and others.
- ¹³ The minutes of Y.M. for 1826, 1835, etc. were printed by Horton J. Howard, a Friend, of St. Clairsville, O.
- Jonathan Taylor (1768-1831) was "one of the earliest emigrants of the Society of Friends to this part of the western country (Testimony of Short Creek M.M. in Ohio Memorials). He was born in Pennsylvania, and shortly after his marriage to Ann Schofield in 1789, he settled in Virginia. In 1800 they went west. He died in Ireland, while on a religious visit. See The Friend (Lond.), 1847; Annual Monitor, 1833; Iowa Journal, xii. 421; The Journal, iv. 88, 96; etc. Extracts of a letter from B. W. Ladd, describing the receipt of the news of J. Taylor's death, are in **D**.
- 15 William Flanner (1766-1837) was born of humble parents, non-Friends, in North Carolina. He joined the Methodists and later the Friends. His first wife was Peninah Parker and his second Catharine Patterson. In the years 1801-1808 he travelled through many of the Eastern and Southern States. In 1808 he went west. In 1819 he arrived in Liverpool and "after travelling a short time, diligently visiting the meetings of Friends, to their satisfaction as appears by their certificate, seeing no way to proceed further, he returned to his native land." In 1828-9 he was again in England and Ireland (Ohio Memorials). But Flanner will be remembered principally in connection with the strictures of Sarah Greer in her book Quakerism; or the Story of my Life, Dublin, 1851, wherein she described "James Flannil" as "six feet four inches high, large boned and coarselooking in the extreme," and devoted most of chapter vi. to very highly coloured picturings of him and his uncouth ways. Her statements are criticised by Sandham Ellyin his Ostentation, Dublin, 1853, p. 44, but the late Samuel Alexander in The Journal, iv, writes of "his very tall and rather uncouth form . . . and his apparent total ignorance of what were then, as they are now, recognised as the ordinary amenities of civilized society." See The American Friend, 1907, p. 501.

Friends in Public Life

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM AMERICAN HISTORY

The following paper by Isaac Sharpless, Sc.D., LL.D., President 1915-16, was read at the Annual Meeting, held 25th May, 1916.

Tesults the other of might divide ethical on results the other of the standards. One is based on results, the other on principles. The first is the favorite method of the politician, the man on the street and on the farm. If a thing produces good, it is good in itself; if evil, evil. A method of action, a piece of legislation is to be justified or condemned by the consequences which follow it. In ordinary affairs not involving moral considerations this sort of judgment is universal. Business decisions are wise or unwise according as they prosper. Fiscal legislation is ordinarily decided, not by eternal principles of political science, but by results as shown by history and experience which followed similar legislation in the past and are likely to follow it in the future. Perhaps ninety-nine per cent. of the acts of legislatures are determined by such considerations.

Philosophers codify these methods and variously call themselves hedonists, utilitarians, pragmatists and so on, as they vary the theories to suit the conditions of the age or country.

If one could see all the results nothing could be better. But the wisest of philosophers can only see a little way ahead and the shrewdest of politicians and business men have a limited horizon. What is manifestly useful to a few people immediately affected may not be for a more distant future or a wider circle. The primary results may seem highly beneficial but those which result from these, unseen by the performers, may be disastrous.

The other sort of standard is based on something supposedly more fundamental. According to this when

it comes to decisions involving the moral idea there is no room for a consideration of consequences. Things are inherently right or wrong. One must be guided by what is called the moral law. If we can ascertain this as applied to the case human duty is determined. It may lead apparently into all sorts of pitfalls and failures but in the long run it will prove a safe guide. In the eternal plans of a Divine Ruler of the universe that which seems inexpedient to us may be of the highest expediency; our very failures may be the means to the greatest success. The real good is the permanent, abiding, satisfactory result which comes by the operation of all the many factors and forces producing it, too various and too hidden for human ascertainment, but which are all parts of one great plan. It is the duty of the individual not to mar this plan. If he knows what his part is, small or great, resulting to himself as it will in loss or gain, resulting to others apparently for material good or ill, he performs it faithfully, and concerns not himself greatly with what follows. His conscience determines his course and that is all that there is to it.

But how is the man who takes this attitude to find what this moral law is? How is his conscience to be enlightened? There are quite as many philosophic views on this question as in the field of utility. Men base the standards of rectitude on reason, or intuition, or revelation, or on authority human or divine, and deduce a code of conduct which satisfies the argument. Sometimes it is expressed in the sacred books of their religion, sometimes it comes to them directly as the revealed will of their Deity felt in their consciences, sometimes as the logical result of their rational processes.

The standard Friends of the past have belonged to this second class. When their duty was made known to them from their Bible or from direct revelation they were not disturbed by results. So they went to jail or to death for a conviction which often seemed trivial or foolish to others, rather than abate an item of it. If one argued with them that their liberty might do more for their cause than the small testimony, the argument fell on deaf ears. That testimony was their present duty and

all the rewards of disobedience, all the plausible considerations of results, had no bearing on the case. One and all the Friends of the first generations and the typical Friends which followed them were never utilitarian.

But the interesting fact remains that though they thus ignored results they got them. Their policy or, as it often seemed, lack of policy, secured consequences. They received religious liberty earlier and more fully than the temporising sects. They had their marriage regulations made legal; they were allowed to affirm rather than to swear; much respect was paid to their anti-martial views; they reformed the jails and asylums of England and America, and their treatment of aborigines and its consequences have become historic.

There are many reasons for saying that fidelity to right in the face of seeming disaster works better than any one expects. There are many facts of history which show that men and nations do get along, when they follow the right, in a way which no one could have foreseen. There is some inherent vitality in the truth which makes its own way, or has a way made for it.

Let us consider the subject with which Friends have most often come in conflict with the problems of government—the subject of military attack and defence. Is it at all as sure as most men suppose that a military force is the effective means of sustaining the national life and preserving the national ideals? We look on defenceless China with pity, perhaps contempt, a prey to every designing enemy. Yet for 5,000 years China has lived at least as securely as other nations, and preserved her civilisation. She has seen the death of Assyria, Greece, Rome and Carthage, the decay of the Ottomans, and may outlast the militarism of Europe. Her boundaries are largely intact, and she finds friends in time of need.

Poor Finland is in the hands of an unscrupulous despotic power. Had she resisted with arms her liberties would have long since perished. But she through her schools and churches kept alive the national spirit and ideals; and through the resistance of this spirit and these ideals has maintained a liberty which cannot be quenched.

The province of Pennsylvania, without forts, arms, martial spirit or equipment, for seventy years lived and prospered as no other Atlantic Colony, and though threatened by Indian attack by land, the inroad of pirates by water and the many enemies of England, preserved her peace with her liberty and her integrity, alone among the English Colonies.

The good following wars is often adduced. It is not possible to deny it. Manifest good things have been the consequence, often the effect, of many cataclysms, war, fire, flood and pestilence. The independence of America followed the Revolutionary War, the freedom of slaves the Civil War, settled government in California the Mexican War, and the rights of Cuba the Spanish War. But before we can logically credit war with all these benefactions, it is right to inquire whether the results could have been obtained by means which would not have caused the cruelties and crimes of the battle line or left the inheritance of bitter feeling which usually follows war. We can probably answer this in all cases in the affirmative.

We have only time for one illustration. The Mexican War is usually considered our most indefensible conflict, for the extension of slavery was its ulterior motive. But as we look at the prosperity of the great States bordering the frontier as compared with the anarchy and suffering across the line, was not the Mexican War justified by results?

Undoubtedly, the condition of the population has been improved. But records now in existence show that the war was unnecessary to produce this result. For the people of California were just ready to ask admittance to the United States, and the annexation would have come peacefully and left no inheritance of suspicion and hatred.

But we are not much concerned about such arguments nor should they be used too much as a basis for action. They are mentioned only to show that reasoning from results has two sides and is an uncertain support of theory. It is often more easy to ascertain the right than to ascertain the expedient, and it has been the custom of Friends in their attitude to public life to work in this direction, and to trust the consequences.

This little dissertation seems necessary to explain their abstinence, in many cases in the past, from the activities of politics and of government. Their thoughts have been so pervaded with the idea that immoral acts cannot be made moral by the beneficent consequences which seem likely to result, that they become inefficient in the work of practical politics as it usually exists in America. When they swallow their scruples they cease to be in harmony with the Friends' position and lose their standing in the Church. Hence we have frequently found that those members who have become active in political life have been on the fringe of the Meeting rather than as they were in early Pennsylvania, the trusted ministers and officials, whose state duties bore on their consciences no less rigorously than their ecclesiastical duties, but who would sacrifice either rather than violate an apprehended moral obligation.

For good seems to come from the chicanery of politics no less certainly than from war. Out of the selfishness, the venality, the immoral strategy of the presidential nominating conventions has come the greatest line of rulers any country has ever seen in any age. From the days when Hamilton traded off with Jefferson, the location of the capital city for the funding of the state bonds in the first Congress down to the days of the last Congress, many measures yielding valuable results have come as the result of bargains not always honorable or moral. Every legislator knows that in order to have a good measure passed it often seems necessary to support others who want bad measures passed, and the perfectly independent man who yields nothing in this way is hardly efficacious in the councils or acceptable to his constituents. To do evil that selfish projects may succeed and to do evil that good may come are the lines that frequently distinguish the evil from the good man.

So I think that the principles which have been the keynote of Quaker morality and those which define the average morality of the politician even of the better sort are widely apart. The one is idealistic, the other utilitarian. The one has never been able to convert the other to the theory that idealism in the long run is of the

highest utility, and the other has had no faith in any principle whose utility he cannot grasp as likely to ripen in the very near future.

To this extent we can sympathise with the abstention of Friends from politics. If a state is dominated by an unholy machine which allows no one in office except obedient henchmen, who must be without scruple or independent character, then "the post of honor is the private station." There may be a place for them in the ranks of the militant reformers, but hardly in official life. It is not to the discredit of moral people that they are not governors or senators or judges in certain parts of our Union, where such offices are filled by men whose qualifications are meagre and methods dishonorable.

Colonial Pennsylvania and Rhode Island are the only communities in which for any considerable length of time Friends had enough responsibility to make the government somewhat a reflection of their principles. In Rhode Island it was rather the influence of a few public-spirited and willing men, than the exertion of control by the whole body which gave them their prominence. We shall therefore turn to Pennsylvania for our illustrations.

Here Friends from 1682 to 1756 had practically unopposed control of the legislature. While for the most of these years they were a minority of the population, they were elected as a result of a combination of popular respect for their character and principles on the one hand and shrewd political management on the other. Indeed, it may be said that up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775 they controlled, except in the matter of martial preparation, the political destinies of the Province. For while after 1756 they did not hold office to any large extent, "the Quaker Party" was always an influence to be reckoned with.

During the first fifty years after the settlement, while the Executive was not always a Friend, he was under the practical control either of the Penn family or the Quaker legislature. Hence we have here conditions which give us the best opportunity to determine how a Friendly government would succeed in adjusting

the oftentimes conflicting claims of conviction and expediency.

In the matter of oaths there was no wavering. From the teaching of the fathers and from their own conscience they came with apparent unanimity to the conclusion that the taking or administration of an oath was wrong, and concerning this there could be no compromise. Whether it was the Biblical command or a sense of the nobility of simple truth that determined their position, they definitely and always refused to yield it to any consideration of political necessity. For about two years the Colony went almost without organised government because the English Crown would not permit official action without oaths and in many places all fit for official positions were Friends. The Meetings rigorously "dealt with" any, the least violation and many members objected to a form of affirmation which included the expression "in the presence of Almighty God" because it looked like an oath, and finally caused it to be abandoned.

But they could not prevent non-Friends from demanding and administering oaths, and so certain judicial and magisterial positions, the duties of which might require their administration, were closed to Friends by their own self-abnegation or the action of their meetings for discipline. Even complicity to the extent of accepting a clerkship under an official who administered oaths was prohibited. A Friend might, however, serve on a board of judges as a minority member if his position did not make him responsible for the acts of the board. Practically the agreement adopted in 1718 is still in operation over the country with a strong tendency towards the complete substitutions of affirmations for oaths. Indeed, the form of so-called "oaths" in many places now amounts to an affirmation.

When we turn from this consistent uncompromising idealistic position on the subject of oaths to other matters the record is not so clear. The taking of human life was not apparently a matter on which Friends felt that such a plain stand could be made. This was apparently in the realm of expediency to be decided by political considerations. William Penn himself reduced

capital punishment to make it apply to treason and first degree murder only, not an inconsiderable step in advance. But it is an interesting fact that in the year of his death, 1718, the bill granting relief to Friends in the matter of oaths, also contained a provision to adopt the English penal code, which included capital punishment for some dozen of crimes. This measure was a political bargain. The Friends gave up any convictions they may have had against capital punishment in order to obtain their liberty as to oaths. The bill containing both provisions was suggested by the non-Quaker Deputy Governor, Sir William Keith, a shrewd politician, was drawn up by a Quaker lawyer, David Lloyd,2 equally shrewd, adopted by a legislature almost if not unanimously composed of Friends, and received with acclamation by the Quaker population, which proceeded to raise through their Meetings a sum of money to defray the expense of having it ratified in England. The only explanation possible is that the life of a criminal was less sacred in their eyes than the protest against swearing.

But the sternest conflict between the claims of conviction and utility was on the question of war. While nearly all Friends of the first half century would subscribe to the statement that war was unchristian and wrong under all circumstances it was hard to draw the lines. Under the leadership of David Lloyd an appropriation for war was voted to the Queen and put into the hands of trustees till they could assure themselves that '9 it would not be dipt in blood." Under the influence of Penn's best friends another similar appropriation was voted unconditionally, how it should be spent being, as Isaac Norris³ expressed it, "not our business but hers." Frequently after 1740 the Quaker legislature would appropriate money "for the King's use," knowing well the use to which it would be put. Their favorite preamble to such a resolution was "As the world is now situated we do not condemn the use of arms by others but are principled against it ourselves." This was possibly a defensible position for it meant that things were right or wrong for individuals according as their consciences approved or disapproved. On the other hand, if there were any such thing as a standard of rectitude

they must have recognised that it was bad not only for the individual but for the state to violate it, and that all violations brought their inevitable penalties.

The opponents of Friends' views urged that there was no essential difference between resisting outside enemies and resisting criminals within. "You hang," said they, "a burglar who breaks into your house, yet you will not take any steps to resist an organised mass of men who plunder your houses wholesale, and destroy your families." To this Friends replied, in the great peace controversy carried on between Governor Thomas 4 and John Kinsey,5 the speaker of the Assembly, about 1740, that the burglar was consciously doing wrong, violating all laws human and Divine, and deserved what he got, while the soldier was innocent of intentional wrong doing or was even acting up to the highest conception of duty. Hence there was a difference in motive which justified different judgments as to culpability. With their views as to capital punishment this was probably as good an answer as they could have made, but was hardly basing their actions on an eternal principle.

If given to exact definitions they might have taken something like this position: "We are not absolute non-resistants but we stop resistance where it becomes in itself criminal according to the moral law as our consciences see it. We do not define the exact line where criminality begins but war and its practices are for us manifestly over the line and therefore we cannot accept any responsibility for it."

William Penn himself was a combination of an idealist and a practical man of affairs. In early life the former prevailed in his writings, but when the details of a most complicated and most insistent problem came upon him in the management of his Colony and his own unfortunate financial conditions, he went very close to the line. It was with a most abounding enthusiasm that he entered upon his task of government. Religious liberty, democracy, peace, plain speaking and honest dealing, justice to natives, these were the principles that he announced with evident sincerity and an apparently inextinguishable optimism. They were to be applied to Quaker and non-Quaker, to white man and red, to

individual and nation. There is nothing in history much sadder than the way in which this optimism was worn away by petty opposition, by well-meant but unfortunate financial management, by an apparent necessity for political compromises, by the breakdown of some of his cherished hopes. The cheering fact remains that during the last two years of his normal life his difficulties personal and political largely disappeared, his Colony returned to him in love and respect, and peace and prosperity began to cover his long and discouraging struggle. His idealistic plans had not all been realised, but neither had they all failed, and his hopes for a full fruition were strong.

From 1710 to 1739 was the Golden Age of Quaker government. No wars loomed up; the oath question received a settlement; the Quaker political machine was developed into a high stage of efficiency; the German vote was satisfied; the oncoming migration of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had not grown into large proportions; political expediency ruled the councils because there were no moral issues on which men would seriously differ; the Governors found it to their interest to act in harmony with the Assembly. The widow and sons of William Penn seemed to be better judges of Deputy Governors than was the Founder. Material prosperity added to the general satisfaction, and the foundations of Quaker fortunes in commerce and agriculture were laid. Coincidently with this prosperity and control, a generation of Friends grew up who were less certain than their predecessors that it was necessary to suffer seriously for convictions, or who argued that the good things brought about by peace and good fortune were worth more than the idealistic devotion to principles which would seem to work out doubtful results. In short, they changed from a priori devotees of uncompromising standards of rectitude to utilitarians.

This did not, however, affect the whole body but became most noticeable among the more wealthy old families, for already there were "old" families in Philadelphia.

Then troubles began to come. Thomas Penn⁶ treated the Indians badly, and they fell into the temptations which

the French laid for them. England went to war first with Spain, and then with France, and demanded colonial aid. The Penn family gave secret instructions to the Deputies which, because they were secret and only brought out as needed, incensed the Assembly. These Deputies could not understand Quaker scruples, and the Friends probably displayed "a little more warmth than is consistent with the moderation we profess," as Dr. Fothergill? expressed it, in opposing what they deemed unrighteous measures of defence and taxation. Till 1756 there was a constant series of disputes and occasions of ill-feeling which were injurious to harmony in the state and had reflex influence on the Church. James Logan, William Penn's secretary and agent, then an old and respected citizen, sent a paper to the Yearly Meeting advocating defensive war, and urging that those who could not join should give up their places in government, which paper was not read. On the other hand, the more rigid of the Friends of the old school gave the same advice because they thought that truth was being compromised by the unholy measures and injurious arguments used to support the political Friends in their contentions with the Executive.

The matter became critical in 1764 when a body of border ruffians marched in motley ranks from the Susquehanna and threatened to kill a band of friendly Indians encamped in Philadelphia. Many citizens, including about 200 young Friends, took up arms and the "Great Meeting House" was opened to shield the defenders on a stormy February day. Nothing came of the attack because Benjamin Frankling persuaded the frontiersmen to go home without damage, but the Monthly Meeting took up the case of the militant Quakers. Some repented and apologised; some were labored with with doubtful results, while some defiantly defended their action and were not disowned.

As we have seen, the Friends in the Assembly quibbled considerably in the days which followed 1740. Bad treatment for which the Friends were not responsible made the Indians hostile on the frontiers, and finally in 1756 the Governor declared war. When during these years they appropriated money quite liberally "for the

King's use," they knew it would be spent for forts and guns, though they all the time worked and hoped for an early peace. But with the declaration of war, their compromises stopped. Acting on the advice of English Friends they withdrew from the Assembly and declined re-election, and Pennsylvania knew direct Quaker control of politics no more.

It was a strain upon their past habits, for they had managed with striking success the most prosperous Colony along the Atlantic coast, and the people were continually importuning them to reconsider their declaration. Probably they themselves expected to return to political positions after the wars were over but that time did not come. Indian and French excitement and opposition to the English Government extended to the Revolutionary War and that cataclysm ended Quaker influence as well as Quaker official life in the Quaker Colony.

Through all these years there was growing up, basing itself on George Fox's advice to keep clear of the "commotions" involved in government, a feeling that Friends should take no part in public life. Their course in the Revolution, which had involved the disownment of some 400 members for participation in the warlike affairs of the day, mainly on the American side, made them unpopular, and they withdrew into a more mystical life and an uncompromising devotion to principle and testimony, and the Quaker of the nineteenth century of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was evolved.

This little historical sketch would seem to indicate that the application of a Quaker conscience to state affairs in a non-Quaker community is impossible.

Probably conditions will never be better than in Colonial Pennsylvania, and there it broke down, though at first against the popular will, in the face of apparent political necessity.

But it does not prove that Friends may not accept many posts in government, both executive and legislative, which need not touch on their convictions and in which they may render signal service.

They may also bring the attention of a nation to

the moral issues of the day, a task for which Friends with the ancient sort of standards would seem to have great advantages.

It tones up the nation to have its thoughts turned to ethical, rather than exclusively economic subjects. One moral question brings another in its train and men get to thinking in terms of right and wrong rather than expedient and opportune. In the decade prior to our Civil War when men were fused together on the subject of the rights of man, and used such phrases as "the higher law," "the irrepressible conflict," "the true grandeur of nations," there was a manifest toning up of standards. Then came the war and the host of questions of currency, tariff, revenue and material issues generally, which divided parties in the succeeding years, and morality took the second place to economics and men thought in dollars rather than in righteousness. We had a great growth in wealth and all its unhealthy accompaniments of monopolies, rebates, corporate interference with government and boss and machine rule in politics. Later the moral sense of the nation reasserted itself and the development of attention to human rights and the social conscience, and to specific matters like temperance and peace and civil service reform, went on apace. It is one of the great evils of war that it draws the interests of men from such movements, to the more pressing but less vital ones of national defence, sources of national income, reduction of national expenditure for social development, and all the lesser breed which designing politicians take advantage of to press upon us their own selfish designs for office and emolument. Some beneficent reforms which need advertising to make people appreciate them are thrust aside by the insistence on the more spectacular national needs, and the wholesome march of moral and political reform in a democracy is impeded. For this march under normal conditions is the very lifeblood of progress. The American nation will not get far astray if its attention can be seriously turned to a great issue and a great need. How quickly when it once grasped the dangers of corporation control of politics, with many blundering and foolish steps, it is true, it brought its downfall! Free discussion and the honest purposes of an intelligent electorate can be depended on to clear away any heresy before it reaches the stage of serious danger to the national soul.

But morality must have the right of way, and while matters in which the economic rather than the moral predominate, should have their large place in national councils and public discussion, it is the duty of every man with influence in public life to press to the front the great abiding projects which have their root in eternal right, and here our Quaker traditions and principles should make a prepossession in favor of such a course of action.

There are a number of reforms which have been our concerns very largely in the past. The substitution of life imprisonment for capital punishment, the development of the reformatory idea in our prisons and kindly treatment in asylums, the one-price system in sales, the limitation of fortunes and expenditures within moderate dimensions, theories of education which are at once practical and spiritual, the rigidly honest management of public funds, all of these, in which good men generally would now join, have some of their roots in legislation, and if not national party issues, not infrequently become the issues in State or local elections or legislation.

Then there is the great question of warlike preparation and policy. This is the rock on which Quaker participation in politics has usually been shipwrecked. It broke its control in Provincial Pennsylvania. It drove the Society back into itself in the Revolutionary War and produced an inwardness from which it has only in the last half century evolved. It forced John Bright from the British Cabinet when Alexandria was bombarded. It caused the breaking of the property of Joshua Rowntree in the Boer War. It has sent many a conscientious sufferer to jail rather than pay military fines or join in military exercises. It is now operating to render the pacifists, with whom all real Friends must join themselves, objects of unpopularity among a great host of men, some unthinking and hysterical, some seriously concerned for the national safety.

Here is the great problem of to-day for the Christian statesman who can maintain himself consci-

entiously in public life. He needs to show the nation that an aggressive policy of good will, the absence of all design on the integrity or interests of others, the rigid and even generous enforcement of all treaties and conventions, the full comprehension of and respect for the points of view and political and commercial interests of others, are worth more in maintaining peace than dreadnoughts or submarines, coast defences or standing armies. Had we the greatest armaments in the world, which after the expenditure of billions of dollars and years of time we might have, with all the military spirit and commercial interests necessarily developed by such an aggregation, who could trust the nation not to enter with slight provocation upon a career of conquests or overbearing treatment in the cause of mercenary or political interests. The danger of foreign aggression upon a nation doing its generous part in world diplomacy, upon whose goodwill the commercial prosperity of all others was largely dependent, is far less than the danger, under the the guise of preparedness, of creating a spirit of militarism, which will break down our Christian standards and lead on to a cataclysm such as a similar spirit has developed in Europe. We need to teach our people through the mouths of practical politicians, in office and out, the Christian basis of government, none the less so now, when the epidemic of force is being spread through the country with great skill and no little success. It is demanding of us that we reverse the policy of a century and, as Whittier told us in another cause, that we

"Run anew the evil race the old lost nations ran,
And die like them of disregard of God and wrong of man."

Friends will find more allies in our uncompromising positions than ever before. There are many who would say that under any provocation their allegiance to Christianity as they understand it is supreme, that conscience is so educated that the immoralities of war are impossible to them.

The Friend stands for the development of personality. For this he can not go to war, for this involves the subordination of personality to human commands, doing

evil that good may come, the merging of the individual conscience into the conscience of the mass. He can not swear for his every word has the sanction of truth behind it. He can not be an unquestioning member of a political group taking on or leaving off principle at the behest of a leader or of utilitarian considerations. He can not grind the poor in business or the criminal in jail, for the respect for his own personality induces respect for that of others. He must go through life more or less isolated, not from lack of sympathy for others, for he has this in the highest degree, but because the machinery of modern methods is too rigid for his open-minded and independent soul. He will take his orders from his own discerning heart rather than from current opinion or popular impulse.

If he can do all this and still be an effective public servant, as an exceptional man in an exceptional place may be, the Quaker in politics may live. If not he will sacrifice place to conscience, expediency to principle.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

Haverford College, Pa.

- ¹ Sir William Keith was nine years Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. He died in London, Eng., in 1749.
- ² For a review of the life and work of David Lloyd (1656-1731) see The Journal, iii.
- ³ Isaac Norris (1701-1766) was Speaker of the Assembly from 1751 to the year of his death, and an able Statesman.
- 4 George Thomas became Governor in 1738 and relinquished the office in 1747.
- 5 John Kinsey (c. 1696-1750) was also Clerk to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and Chief Justice of the Province.
- ⁶ Thomas Penn (1701/2-1775) was the principal Proprietor of Pennsylvania for nearly thirty years.
- ⁷ John Fothergill, M.D. (1712-1780), a prominent English Friend and noted doctor of medicine, of London.
- ⁸ James Logan (1674-1751) was prominent as a Friend as well as in public life. His daughter, Sarah (1715-1744), married Isaac Norris.
- 9 Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) was a prominent politician and public man in Pennsylvania. He was agent for this Colony in London and American Ambassador in Paris.

Two Eighteenth Century Pocket-Books

- E have received from Mrs. W. H. Gripper, of Tunbridge Wells, on loan, a little parcel of books, once in the possession of the Fox family, of Nottingham.
- 1. The/Minor's/Pocket Book/for the/Youth of Both Sexes,/1821./ London./Printed for Harvey and Darton/Suttaby, Evance & Fox/J. Poole & W. Darton.

This little leather-bound tuck volume appears to have had a Quaker origin. The first article is the oft-reprinted "I am a Christian and cannot fight." There are ten pages of poetry, including "The Ivy," by Bernard Barton. The Diary portion is headed, "Jan. 31 days, First Month, 1821," etc. At the close appears a collection of Enigmas, Charades and Rebuses, preceded by the solutions of riddles given in the volume for 1820, also some marketing tables and coach fares. Communications were to be sent to Suttaby, Evance and Fox, Stationers' Court. The owner's name was "Sarah Fox."

Among entries are the following: "July 31, Sam! Smith died." "Aug. 5, S. S. interred, a large funeral." "Jan 5, S. F. poorly." "Jan. 7, S. F. very ill." "Jan. 12, Dear S. F. went to the shop again." Visits to jails are recorded, also to Ackworth, Doncaster, Nottingham, Draycott, and numerous other places.

2. A plain skin-bound metal-clasped pocket book, with about a quarter only of the leaves written on, containing records of the Gospel travels of John Storer, of Nottingham (1725/6-1795), and miscellaneous writings.

Of the travels we give the following:

- "An account of our jorney from York, 12 mo. 28, 1751.
- "Pickering & went y^t night to our Worthy Fr'd Jn° Richingson Whose Company & Conversation was very Entertaining & Edificing to us. . . Darlington Lodg'd at Jonⁿ headleys. . . . alandale & Lodg'd at Anthony Wadson. . . . went on y^e 1st day Morning to Parshaw Cragg Meet'g, which was there 6 Weeks Meet'g & a great Concourse of Fr'ds. . . . Sedberg. . . . Aysgarth. . . . Bradford. . . . Nottingham."
- "On ye 10th of ye 5 mo. 1752: I set out a Jorney into ye West

 . . . Skegby . . . Poulsworth . . . Birmingham . . .

 at Dudley & Lodg'd at Ann Paytons . . . Cheltenham . . .

 Thornberry & lodg'd at Jno Gayners . . . Bristol & Lodg'd at

 Henry Martains . . . Addington . . . Eatington . . .

 Warwick . . . Leicester . . . came home was out this Jorney

 9 weeks all but 2 days."
- "4 of ye 11 mo. 1752. Set out from home to Oakam.... Luton Lodg'd at John Freeth's ... Tottenham... London

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- . . . Bardfield at Joseph Smiths . . . Stebing & at Humphry Smiths . . . Needham at Dykey Alexanders . . . Norwich . . . Fakenham at Joseph Peckovers . . . Swafham Lodg'd at Travel Fullers . . . & so thro' Northamptonshire & Leicestershire home."
- "9 m° 10th 1753. Set out from home came to Stapleford & Lodg'd at Jn° Jallands . . . York . . . Yarm Lodg'd yt night at Barbery Flunder's . . . Borro wbridge Lodg'd at Boswell Middleton's . . . Sheffield . . . came home being ye 13th of 11 m° was out this Jorney 9 week's & 1 day."
- "25 of the 6th mo 1754. Set out from home . . . Edwd Gulson's at Leicester . . . went to London . . . & so to you Yearly M'gs at Colchester, Bury, Woodbridge & Norwich & so homeward."

Then follows a tabulated record of a visit to Ireland in 1755. The first column gives the date, then follows "Places," and "Lodg'd at," and then in three columns the number of meetings held, the number of miles travelled, and the days of the week. En route to Ireland, Friend Storer took in 17 meetings—"at Sandyacree (Thomas Gregory's), Haregate (Joshua Toft's), Warrington (Samuel Fothergill's)," etc. On the 22nd of Fourth Month he left Liverpool, and on the 27th arrived at Dublin. He remained here 10 days, lodging at Peter Judd's. Throughout Sixth and Seventh Months he travelled diligently, and on Eighth Month 6, he was again at Peter Judd's. "from thence took Shiping for Whitehaven & so homeward takeing m'gs in my way thro' Yorkshire."

The number of places visited in Ireland was sixty, the number of meetings held eighty-two, and the tale of miles travelled 870. In none of the above is there, unfortunately, any record of the condition of Meetings visited or of the proceedings in meetings held.

At the other end of this little book are numerous pages containing recipes for sore eyes, scurvy, strain in a horse, vertigo, to take an earwig out of the ear, for lost speech, etc. Here is a curious entry:

"For stopping ye most violent Effusion of blood take ye moss yt grows at ye Root of ye North side of a black or red Ash tree. Apply it to ye wound it will imidiately stop bleeding, also a Toad kill'd & Dry'd in ye sun & put into a little close box & hold ye belly part toward ye wound."

And here is another:

"For Stopping of the Breath Take the gum of a Cherry Tree and Dissolve it in old wine and let the Sick drink thereof & it will open his pipes gallantly."

¹ For the frequency in which the ash tree and the toad appear in vulgar specifics, see Index to Lean's Collection of Proverbs, etc. 1903.

Friends and Current Literature

be published occasionally. It was discontinued in 1912. In a very readable way it records work, and reports addresses, within the boundaries of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Eutau Street). We have before us the issues of January and (presumably the next issue) April (L. Oscar Moon, 724 Colorado Avenue, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.).

In the April issue (vol. 1, no. 2) of The Free Church Leader, the organ of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation (28A Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.), there is an article on Devonshire House, as no. 2 of "London Free Church Centres."

Two more portions of The Athenæum Subject Index to Periodicals, 1915, have appeared—"Language and Literature," and "History, Geography, Anthropology, and Folk-lore." Articles by Rendel Harris, Richard M. Gummere, and Ella K. Barnard appear in the first, and references to The Journal under headings, John Bright, Dinners and Dining, Martello Towers, Swarthmoor Hall, etc., in the second-named.

Despite the times which would appear to be against the prosecution of historical study (save that history repeats itself in these days, Quaker history at least) there has been considerable output of historical matter.

History has now reappeared under the auspices of the Historical Association (London and New York: Macmillan, 9\frac{3}{4} by 6\frac{1}{2}, pp. 64, is. net; p. a. post free, 4s. 6d.), under the editorship of Prof. A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D. It is a quarterly Journal, n.s. vol. i., no. i is April 1916. The Editor writes:

"Our ideal frontier will not be the frontiers of European States, which millions of men and hundreds of forts have failed to render secure, but that peaceful border between the United States and Canada, which remains the strongest frontier in the world, because it reposes on moral and not on military strength, and embodies the triumph, not of nation over nation, but of nations over themselves. If we compare the cost of that moral security, with the cost, in treasure and blood, of the martial insecurity of Europe, we may measure the comparative values of materialistic and moral development."

The Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, May, 1916, (vol. vii. no. 1) is full of valuable information. Original work appears respecting the John Warder Trust at Amsterdam, and by the Editor, respecting James Logan, and Claude Gay, and an important minute of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, 1732, re gravestones, marriages and the entrée to Meetings of Ministers and Elders. The Journey of David E. Knowles in 1839-1840 is continued, and we have five pages of book-reviews.

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The Friends' Quarterly Examiner for Fourth Month, is replete with good articles. Of historical nature we note Isabel Grubb, B.A., on "Irish Friends' Experiences of War, 1689-92," part 2 of the "Bronte-Wheelwright Friendship," by J. J. Green; and all who take up the magazine will read "Becky's Book," by Maude Robinson. Isabel Grubb is rapidly becoming the modern historian of Quakerism in Ireland. She has recently received the degree of M.A. of London University.

William A. Jesper, of Marygate, York, has presented a copy of his Short History of the Jesper Family, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time (10 by 6, pp. 32, and one illustration). After noting a disclaimer of descent from the Jasper ancestry of William Penn, we find brief records of the family in Essex from 1641, and follow removals to the North and Midland of England. Among collateral families are Puplett, Levitt, Marriage, Satterthwaite, Smith, Whitehead and Wilson.

Amid the flood of criticism and abuse, which has been poured out from the press upon Friends in connection with the European War, are some articles which deserve to be read and remembered.

In the Englishwoman for May, there appeared an article by Susanne R. Day, on Friends' work in Bar-le-Duc, France.

Bishop Welldon has an article in the Nineteenth Century and After, for May, on "Conscience and the Conscientious Objector," in which he quotes John Woolman and George Fox (Cambridge Journal). He appears to imply that Friends "prohibit all forcible resistance to wrong-doing," whereas throughout their history they have often appealed to the law for the punishment of evil-doers.

Propectuses have appeared of Bootham School, York, 1915 and 1916, beautifully illustrated and printed.

Headley Brothers (Kingsway House, London, W.C.) have caused to be issued in pamphlet form, at the price of two pence, under the title *Industry brings Plenty*, a reprint of the Proposals for Raising a College of Industry, put forth by John Bellers (1654-1725) in 1696.

The latest Swarthmore Lecture was delivered at Kingsway Hall, London, on May 6th.—The Missionary Spirit and the Present Opportunity, by Henry T. Hodgkin, M.A., M.B., secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association (London: Headley, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5, pp. 104, 1s. net). All the previous lectures, eight in number, can still be obtained.

Some useful "Notes on Histories and other Books Relating to the Society of Friends," written by Allen C. Thomas, emeritus professor of history in Haverford College, Pa., have appeared in *The Westonian*, for Fifth Month, 1916. This list is to be reprinted somewhat enlarged, and will be found useful for study circles, round tables, etc.

¹ The Editorship remains in the hands of Sir George Newman, M.D., not as stated in our last issue.

The index to the third volume of *The Pedigree Register* (1913-1916) is to hand (London; Sherwood, 227, Strand, 3s. 6d. or 87 cents. net.) There are over 2,000 surnames. There are a score of entries under "Green [Joseph J.]."

In the Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Vaudoise, No. 36, Avril, 1916 (Torre Pellice: Imprimerie Alpine), there is a good article on William Allen, by Prof. Davide Jahier, président de la Société, under the caption, "Un Quaker Bienfaiteur des Vaudois." A document in the Archives in Turin, naming William Allen, "accompagné de son neveu Hambuy" (Hanbury), drew the writer's attention to these Friends and the subject was mentioned on the recent visit to the Valleys by Joseph G. Alexander. Prof. Jahier writes:

"Ce noble nom est presque ignoré des Vaudois; La plupart de nos historiens l'ont passé sous silence; tel historien en a fait une mention fort vague et parfois erronée."

The Workers and Education. A Record of some Present Day Experiments, by Frederick John Gilman (London: Allen and Unwin, 8½ by 5½, pp. 68, is. net). This is a useful guide to our various Settlements, Guest Houses, Lecture Schools, Study Circles, etc. There are contributions by Arnold S. Rowntree and William C. Braithwaite.

Timothy Nicholson, of Richmond, Ind., has forwarded a reprint of articles appearing in "The Survey" in April, entitled Glimpses of Social Progress in Indiana during One Hundred Years, by Alexander Johnson. There are references to Friends and to T. Nicholson. Of the former we read in a footnote:

"An interesting and unconscious testimony to the Quaker character is found in the colloquialism, Quaker measures, which still may be heard in the counties where many Quakers lived. It means that the Quaker's bushel or peck is heaped high and running over."

And of the latter, a saying of a prominent State official to whom T. N. had given a faithful but gentle rebuke:

"I would rather be called down by Timothy Nicholson than praised by most men."

An illustrated catalogue has been received of Friends' Select School, North Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, 1916-1617.

An attractively-printed pamphlet inculcating temperance has appeared, written by S. Millicent Sturge, a Birmingham Friend, entitled, Do you know this? Fathers, Mothers, Sisters, Brothers (Birmingham: D. McMichael, 11 Swan Passage, Worcester Street, 24 pp. two pence.).

The Houghton Mifflin Company, of Boston & New York have printed a limited edition of a Memorandum written by William Rotch in the Eightieth Year of his Age (8½ by 5½, pp. xii. +89, \$3.50). William Rotch (1734-1828) deals in his Memorandum of the troubles in connection with

the whale-fishery on Nantucket during the Revolutionary War, the fruitless attempt to establish fisheries in England² and their establishment at Dunkirk under the *aegis* of the French Government. The text of the Pétition Respectueuse presented to the National Assembly in 1791 is given, as also the reply of President Mirabeau. The imigrants had interesting conversation with prominent people on peace and Quakerism. One of these, Rabant de St. Etienne, Bishop of Autun, thus sums up what he considered to be the view of the advocate of non-resistance:

"If an assassin comes to take my life and I conscientiously refrain from taking his to save it, I may trust some interposition for my deliverance. If, however, no interposition appearing, I still refrain from precipitating a soul unprepared into Eternity, and he is suffered to effect his purpose on me, I may hope to find mercy for myself."

There are several beautiful illustrations.

The first article in the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society (v. 2. July, 1916) is "The General Baptists and the Friends," by Sir William J. Collins, M.D., etc. The writer quotes from "The Beginnings of Quakerism" and "Studies in Mystical Religion," in proof of his belief that "Fox was consciously or unconsciously the exponent of an existing faith rather than the originator of a new one," many of the truths expounded by him having been held by General Baptists, Waterlander Mennonites, Collegiants, etc.

At first sight, the statement that "within the walls of the city [of London], which had so many parish churches, Nonconformist public worship no longer takes place" (p. 74), looks debatable in view of our Meetings at Peel and Bunhill Fields, but these are situated beyond the walls.

² The whale fishery was, however, established later in South Wales, at Milford Haven. See the following:

"The southern whale fishery has been carried on with great success from Milford. . . . In order to set a trade on foot so obviously beneficial to the interests of this country Mr. Greville invited some American families, Quakers, to settle here, of which the Starbucks have formed the basis of the whaling concerns, and whose character and abilities make their small capital in different branches of business.

"The Quakers from the island of Nantucket who accepted of Mr. Greville's invitation to come and settle there were a valuable accession to his new colony, and everything like commerce and enterprise that has discovered itself at Milford may be dated from their arrival. They are a most industrious well-disposed people, with the dignified simplicity of manners and strong understanding that their sect is generally distinguished for."

Extract from pages 103 and 107 of reprint of Fenton's Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire. Published 1810, reprinted 1903.

Note added by F. William Gibbins, who sent the extract: The "Mr. Greville" named above was a Privy Councillor, and a nephew of Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister at the Court of Naples. Sir William Hamilton was husband of Lady Hamilton who was afterwards so closely associated with Lord Nelson.

Recent Accessions to D.

N addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have recently been added to the Reference Library at Devonshire House.

The Athenian Mercury, containing matter adverse to Friends. Knowledge of this paper has been handed down via Smith's "Catalogue of Adverse Books," p. 51, and various Quaker articles referring to the periodical are in **D**. The numbers acquired are for Tuesday, June 7, 1692; Saturday, June 11; Tuesday, June 14; Saturday, November 19, and portions of two later issues—all single sheet in folio.

The Ministry of Reconciliation, a composite volume of 162 pages, edited by Hugh Martin, London, 1916.

History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, from its Discovery by Hudson to the Colonization under William Penn, etc., by Benjamin Ferris, a Friend of Wilmington, Del. Wilmington, 1846.

By the kindness of Emily Manners, of Mansfield, a sampler, measuring 13 in. by 10½, worked by Mary Sankey, has been added to the collection of Quaker relics. The upper portion consists of letters and figures, etc. the lower "George Whitheads Epitaph." There is no date, but another sampler, now in possession of Emily Manners, has "Mary Sankey Ended this Sampler ye 26th of the 8th Month, 1730." The stitching is somewhat damaged by moth. The epitaph to George Whitehead, an early Friend, of London (c. 1636-1723), is as follows:—

Within this Place here Lies interrd.
A Servant of the Lord.
Who never Persecution Feard.
But Boldly Preachd his Word.
His name Exceeds the best Perfumes.
More sweet more Fragent Far.
Then Civit Musk or Arab's Gums,
Or Egypts Spices are.

Altho no Stone or Pompious Tomb. Be to His Body given.
His Soul no Doubt is welcomd Home.
By jesus Christ in Heaven.
And may we that are Left behind.
By His our Actions Steer.
That we like him may Comfort find.
And like him Persevere.

This Epitaph is taken from a broadside entitled, "An ELEGY, Sacred to the Memory of that Excellent Father in GOD, and Eminent Apostle of JESUS CHRIST, Mr. GEORGE WHITEHEAD, who (in full Assurance of a Blessed Resurrection) Departed this Life, on Friday, the 8th of March, 1723 Æt. 87." There are three editions of this in D. (1) with a border of quotations from Scripture, 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8, and Tit. 2. 13, 14, no date (2) "London printed, and Dublin Re-Printed, by Elizabeth Sadleir, in School House-Lane, 1723" (3) "Kendal Printed and sold by Thomas Ashburner." The Elegy contains 108 lines.

A Guide to Reports of Historical Manuscripts Commission, part 1, Topographical, London, 1914.

Whence come Wars? being the first report of the Committee on "War and the Social Order," appointed by London Yearly Meeting, London, Headley, 1916.

Supplement of the Longstreth Family Records, 1914, presented by Agnes Longstreth Taylor, of Philadelphia.

An American Pilgrimage to a Quaker Shrine and a Prowl in the Fleet, by John Edgar Johnson, of Philadelphia, 3rd ed. Philadelphia, Pa., 1902, presented by Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth, Mass. An account of a visit to Jordans under earlier conditions than exist there at the present time.

List in MS. of seventeenth century Quaker Trade Tokens, extracted from Williamson's edition of Boyne's Trade Tokens, 2 vols., 1889-1891, and presented by Joseph J. Green.

Parcel of Quaker trade circulars, presented by J. J. Green.

J. H. Davies, M.A., of Aberystwyth, has presented a copy of Y Crynwyr yng Nghymru (The Quakers in Wales), written by himself and printed 1912.

Several pamphlets presented by the author, William P. Thompson, Birkenhead.

Daguerreotype portrait of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913), dated 1859, presented by William F. and Mary M. Miller. W. F. M. writes: "Dr. Hodgkin was for some time in the Whitehaven branch of George H. Head's Bank, of which my wife's grandfather, William Miller, was Manager. On the death, recently, at an advanced age, of Miss Sarah Miller, the photo came into our possession."

The Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society, vol. 1, no. 7, August 1914, containing a "Bibliography of Quaker Literature in the English Language relating to Wales," presented by J. H. Davies, M.A., the Compiler.

Index-Catalogue to the Second Series of Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vols. i. to xii. (1901-1912), Kendal, 1915.

MS. Index to Miss Brailsford's Quaker Women, 1915, containing 1076 references.

MS. Index to The Life of Samuel Bownas, 1756, containing 1663 entries.

Memorial of David Hadley (1842-1915), presented by Dr. M. N. Hadley, of Indianapolis, Ind.

Index and Epitome of Second Supplement to Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1913.

Record of the Jackson Family, descendants of Isaac and Ann Jackson, of Ireland and Pennsylvania, married in 1696, presented per Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pa., Phila. 1878.

A new edition (Walter H. Jenkins, Philadelphia, 1916) of Lydia Maria Child's Life of Isaac T. Hopper.

The Registers portion of Records of Friends' Burial Ground at Colthouse, 1914, by Elizabeth J. Satterthwaite, presented by the Compiler.

Life of Mary Mitchell, of Nantucket (1731-1810), New Bedford, Mass. 1812, and Memoirs of Jacob Ritter, of Pa. (1757-1841) by Joseph Foulke, Phila., 1844, both presented by Haverford College, Pa.

German Crimes and our Civil Remedy, by Herbert Sefton-Jones, 1916.

The Athenian Oracle, or a Collection of . . . Questions and Answers in the old Athenian Mercuries, 3 vols. London, 1703-1706,

Songs of Hope, by Rebecca Nicholson Taylor, a Friend of Philadelphia, author of "Memoir of Mary Whitall," Boston, 1915.

A Brief Account of the lately intended Visit of Two Female Preachers [Sarah Lamley and Elizabeth Townsend] . . . to Overton, Hants, by Henry Fry, 2nd ed., London, 1824, presented by Jonathan B. Hodgkin.

Rhymes of the Yesteryear, by Henry Coffin Fellow, Ph.D., a Friend of Indiana birth, now a Professor in Friends' University, Wichita, Kansas: Richmond, Ind., 1914.

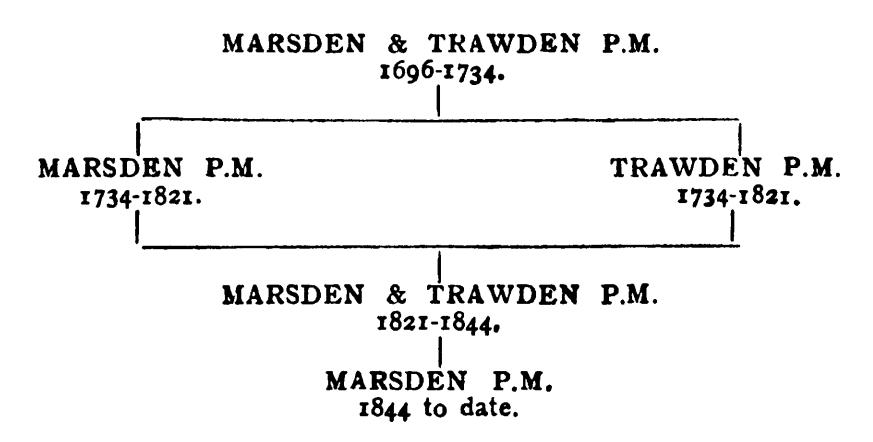
Almanacks for Students of English History, by Edward Alexander. Fry, London, 1915.

Meeting Records

AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, LONDON

Marsden Preparative Meeting, Do. Do. Women's.

Meeting, 1696-1875. 5 vols. Women's. 1698-1874.* 3 vols



* In Third Month, 1874, the two Preparative Meetings of Men and Women were united.

Motes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D.—The Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
- Camb. Jnl.—The Journal of George Fox, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.
- D.N.B.—The Dictionary of National Biography.
- F.P.T.—" The First Publishers of Truth," London, 1907.

CUMBRIAN MINISTERS IN THE Interregnum.—There is general ignorance as to the actual doings in many parishes between 1640 and 1662. Dr. Nightingale has done a very thorough piece of work for Cumberland and Westmorland in this connection, and as this district is so interesting to Friends, he has drawn on George Fox's Journal and other records of the same kind; also upon historical works which themselves rely on F.P.T. Conversely, Friends may well study his two massive volumes (in D.) on The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland, to annotate the Journal. Two notes will illustrate the interlocking.

- (i) Fox noted that in 1652 the minister at Grayrigg was a Baptist (Camb. Journal i. 105). This place is within the ancient parish of Heversham, and Dr. Nightingale could not fill the gap between Samuel Cole who left in 1650, and Richard Tatham who appeared on 9 May, 1654.
- (ii) Fox noted that in 1653 John Wilkinson held the livings of Brigham and two places adjoining in Cumberland (ibid, i., 109 ff); and that he was a Baptist. Dr. Nightingale quotes the Church book of the Independent Pedobaptist Church at Cockermouth, (in

D.) which shows that by 16 June 1654 Wilkinson and most of his hearers had joined the Friends. The book does not appear to show that Wilkinson had been officiating in the parish churches, but it does hint that Baptist sympathetically views were heard, though Wilkinson's was a sister Church to Cockermouth. The parish records are blank between 1617 and 1661, but the Baptist Church of Great Broughton does claim its origin in this period, without having any documents to prove its claim.

These are the only two cases given by Fox to substantiate the charge that Baptists obtained livings and collected tithes. Dr. Nightingale has found no evidence to corroborate him even in these two cases, though there is nothing to contradict him.

Note by Dr. W. T. WHITLEY, Preston.

Tones in Preaching.—Our Member, Richard F. Ball, draws attention to a passage in Joseph Hoyland Fox's Woollen Manufacture at Wellington, Somerset, 1914, p. 5,—a quotation from the Journal of Sarah (Champion) Fox (1741-1811), relating to Mary Were (1741-1805), a well-known

Minister, in which, under date 1785, we read that she "sang us two or three of her delightful songs." R. F. B. thinks that the meaning will be generally misunderstood, and that it refers to Mary Were's sermons delivered in a tuneful voice. In support of this, he sends another quotation, under date 1800, 9 mo. 19—"Mary Were, in one of her sweet songs, reminded us that 'though the branch was broken off, the Vine remained."

Here is an earlier reference to the same topic, taken from the Minutes of Reading Monthly Meeting:

"1683. 6 mo. 31.

Thomas Courtis said y^t Singing (or Speaking Singingly) in Prayer or in Preaching, or with a vocall voice was abomination, & he Reflected upon Samuell Burgis at Oare, & said he had Sang them many a merry Jigg, but now he would seem to Excuse it & said he would as leif heare one Sing a ballad, w^{ch} is noe better."

REGINALD HOLME (xii. 34).— The dispute with regard to his mill at Skelwith Bridge is referred to by Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal Hall, as follows:

"January 29 16 69 Spent in ale with my cosen Tho. & Rob. Brathwait, Mr. Nicoldson & his son Daniel, Renhold Brathwait, Ed. Benson, Rob. Partrigg, & others when we fill'd up ye Quakers Mill-dam att Skellat-bridge

ooli ors obd."

"March 13, Spent with my Cosen Brathwhait, Ren. Brathwhait, & James Johnston, when wee [went] to pull downe ye Quakers Mill-dam ooli o1s o6d."

"Trouble gathered round Regi-In 1676, the Friends their Lancaster decided at Quarterly Meeting that as he had so long resisted their counsel for a settlement of his dispute with one Thomas R., that the latter was justified in having recourse to the law. The climax came in 1684, when three men (chosen from a distance) were deputed to take legal possession of Reginald's premises. The result was not agreeable. Reginald, assisted by his sons, John, Jacob, George, and by his daughter Dorothy, 'did also riotously fall upon them, beat, and abuse them, and did also threaten them and speak very contemptuously concerning their authority—'[Rydal Hall Papers.] For this proceeding a warrant was issued for the arrest of the whole Holme family. We hear of Reginald later at Clappersgate, divorced from his mill."

Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archæological Society, n.s. viii. 149.

There are many references to R. Holme in the Minutes of Swarthmore M. M.

MEETINGS IN FURNESS, 1663.— A note in Sir Daniel Fleming's handwriting among the Rydal Hall Papers shows that the proceedings of the Friends were soon watched and reported:

"Nov. 1. 63. there then mett at yo house of Jno. Benson at Stangend in Lancashire these Quakers following

Westmorland people
Francis Benson, Bernard his
son, Regnhold Holme, Michael
Wilson, Barbara Benson.

Lancashire people

Gyles Walker, wright, near Hauxside, William Wilson ye speaker, & his wife.

These James Russell gave me in ye names of Nov. 5. 63."

From Transactions of Cumb. and West. A. & A. Soc., n.s. viii. 176.

THE HAT AND THE BUTTON (xiii. 3).—William L. May, of Maydena, Sandford, Tas., writes of a somewhat different story, which appears in the Life of Isaac T. Hopper, 1853, p. 257:

"Jacob Lindley of Chester another related Co. . . . incident, which happened in old times when Quakers were accustomed to wear cocked hats turned up at the sides. A Friend bought a hat of this description, without observing that it was looped up with a button. As he sat in meeting with his hat on, as usual, he observed many eyes directed towards him, and some with a very sorrowful expression. He could not conjecture a reason for this, till he happened to take off his hat, and lay it beside him. As soon as he noticed the button, he rose and said, 'Friends, if religion consists in a button, I wouldn't give a button for it.' Having thus delivered this short and pithy sermon, he seated himself and resumed the offending hat with the utmost composure."

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW (xiii. 69n).

—For further information respecting the Vicar of Haworth (1708-1763), see *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (vol. x., pt.

6, June, 1916, Rev. John W. Crake, Wotton Hill, Gloucester), "A Few Notes on Early Methodism in Haworth," pron. How'erth.

Benjamina, Candia, Tace.— Will our readers assist us to trace the origin of these well-known Quaker women-names, or supply instances of their early use?

New Jersey.—Extract from a Petition to the Queen, of the Lieut. Governor and Council of New Jersey, against the Quakers for their opposition in the Assembly "to the raising of men and money to carry on the glorious Expedition against Canada." Received in London, 3 Sept. 1709:

"Mr. Gardiner on behalf of himself and the rest of the members of this House that were of the People called Quakers desired the following entry might be made, viz.

"The members of this House being of the People called Quakers, have allways been and still are for Raising money, for support of Her Maj^{ties} Government, but to raise money for Raising of Soldiers is against their Religious Principles and for Conscience cannot agree thereto."

Public Record Office, London, CO., 5-970.

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ending 31st of 12th Wonth, 1915. Income and Expenditure Account for Year

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19 iv., 1916.

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