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Hew Wood, Gardener to the Duke of Hamilton

AMONGST the members of the Society of Friends dwelling in the West of Scotland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, Hew Wood seems worthy of special notice.¹ He was for many years the leading Friend at Hamilton, the Meeting there being held at his house. A much esteemed Minister in the Society, he was also a prolific writer, though few of his epistles and treatises have appeared in print.

He appears to have joined Friends shortly before 1669, when his name occurs in the list of members of Glasfoord Meeting. The baptisms of several of his children between 1663 and 1666 are recorded in the records of Hamilton parish; on the 25th of December, 1664, he was one of the "witnesses" to a baptism in the parish Kirk. The name of his youngest son, born in 1669, does not appear in the parochial registers, but is duly recorded in the books of Hamilton Meeting. Hew Wood's wife, Agnes Black, would seem never to have joined the Society: she died probably in 1670.

Like a good many other early Friends, Hew Wood followed the calling of a gardener, and as such he generally figures in the Meeting records; but as we learn from that

¹ In the parish registry of baptisms his name is spelt *Huch Woode*, whilst in the Meeting books the first name is written indifferently, *Heugh*, *Hugh* or *Hew*; but where his autograph signature appears it is invariably *Hew Wood*.

quaint book, *The Scots Gard'ner*, the author of which was probably a Friend, at one time resident in Hamilton, he had a flourishing nursery business. John Reid, the author,² when he is discoursing of "aples to make cyder," says, "In France they extol the rennet cyder, in England the Hereford-redstrake (which in France they set at nought); they speak of genetmoil and musts, some pipens and parmains; and for perry, the Bromsbury and ruddy horse-pear, all which and many more Hugh Wood gard'ner at Hamiltone has to sel."³ Towards the close of his life he is described as gardener to the Duke of Hamilton; perhaps he combined the duties of that position with his nursery business.

Early in 1670, Hew Wood was one of twenty Friends attending the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh, who were arrested and imprisoned for a short time by order of the King's Council, on the information of "some malicious persons y^t there was a great meeting of the qwakers which they suposed to be of dangerous consequence there being the heads of them as they Caled them gathered together."

In the following year Hew Wood married again, a Friend, Grisell Richardson by name. The minutes of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, in Ninth Month, 1671, record :

Notice being given from the monthly meeting at hamiltowne of the purpose of Marriage betwixt hew wood and Grissell Richeson and also by the s^d hew & grissell wnder their hands, freinds leaves it to them to proceed to the conswmatone thereoff according to the order and methode of trwth and freinds.

Accordingly, the Quarterly Meeting having also given its consent, the marriage took place at Drumbuy on the 6th of Ninth Month. A short time previously Hew Wood had set aside a sum of money for the benefit of his four sons. The deed, recorded amongst the minutes of Hamilton Meeting, is as follows :

² THE JOURNAL, viii. 50. John Reid was born at Niddrie castle, near Edinburgh. His autograph is appended to marriage certificates at Edinburgh, 1682-3; but after the latter date he is not mentioned in the Meeting minutes. He afterwards became gardener to Sir George M'Kenzie, of Rosehaugh, Ross and Cromarty.

³ *The Scots Gard'ner*, p. 171, ed. 1907. The book was originally published at Edinburgh, in 1683.

At the Monthly Meeting holden at Hamiltone upon sixth of eighth month 1671 J Hew Wood gardiner in Hamiltone being present be the tennour herof signifies and declares, That in regarde of the fatherly care and affectione that J hawe and beares to my childreine, James, Williame and Robert and Alexander Woods and in regard of discharging my dwetie to them, J (be thes presents) ordeans and setts apairt the sowme of eight hundred merks Scots money,⁴ eqwally to be divided amongst them, as being the fwill and compleat pairt and portione dew and belonging to them by vertewe of their mothers decease and Legacie.

Jn witnes herof and in condescentione herto J hawe swbscribed thes presents with my hand, day moneth, yeare and place aforsaid befor thes witnesses Alexander hamiltone in drumbwy Andrew browne in west maines and John hart in heids writter herof.

The autograph signatures duly follow.

From this date Hew Wood is often mentioned in both Monthly and Quarterly Meeting records, as treasurer, representative, witness to marriages, keeper of the "rights" of Gartshore burial ground, etc., etc. His very neat, precise but somewhat cramped handwriting, with his careful punctuation, and his signature with a little self-conscious flourish at the end, are of frequent occurrence in the Meeting books.

In 1691, Hew Wood was one of three Friends appointed by Hamilton Monthly Meeting "to keep correspondence w^t freinds at London anent the affaires of truth." It was not until 1696, however, that the minutes of the Monthly Meeting were generally penned by him. He seems to have continued to act as clerk until the year of his death.

In 1684, Hew Wood published a little book of some forty-eight pages "Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle" London, and entitled *A Brief Treatise of Religious Womens Meetings . . . Also something concerning Womens Prophecyng and Teaching, &c*;⁵ and ten years later he again appeared in print in conjunction with

⁴ Equal to about £44 5 0.

⁵ Copy in D. It forms a recital of Biblical instances of the public service of women, and ends: "And now you may see, that the Promise is to Daughters as well as to Sons, to Hand-maidens as well as to Men-servants; and that the one shall prophesie as truly as the other. Hugh Wood."

It obtained the approval of the Morning Meeting in London on the 20th of Sixth Month, 1683: "Hugh Woods treatise of women's meetings read by G.W^d. [George Whitehead] & to be corrected by him. And is left to him and G.f^f & James Parks, whether to print it or not."—ED.

Patrick Livingstone—*Some things Writ Concerning Forms*.⁶ In regard to this work Edinburgh Yearly Meeting decided “that three hundred [copies] shall be sent to the west and on hundred to the north and on for this meeting and Kelso.”

The due apportioning of Friends' books had early engaged the attention of the Quarterly Meeting at Edinburgh. In Ninth Month, 1674, it had been

Condescended upon by friends of this meeting That what friends Bookes Comes from London shall be thus dispersed Tow for Edenbrouh: for which david falconar and Jeames Broune undertaekes Two for the South for which Walter Scot & Charles Ormestone undertackes . . . for the West for which Hew Wood & Allx^r Hameltoune vndertackes. And the other sax is to be taiken by the freinds of Aberdine for which they have ordered dauid Falconar to answer And forasmuch as friends in this natione have Undertaken to tacke of 400 Copies of all bookes sent up to London to be prented for the service of truth heer The Friends in and about Aberdine hes given order to receave 200 for them The friends at Edenbrough taikes 150; and orders Jeames Broune to Answar them. The friends of the South tackes 25 and orders Charles Ormestone to answeere them The friends of the west is to tacke 25 and orders Hew Wood [to answer for them].

In the following year Hamilton Monthly Meeting arranged further

that whatsoever bookes are given foorth by jnglish freinds and are printed in england that one of everie sort shall come to the west of the which bookes Freinds att Garshore are to receave the third pairt and freinds at dowglase the fifteinth pairt and freinds att hamiltone and glasfoord the rest of the books.

Whether any of Hew Wood's writings were printed except the two already mentioned, I know not,⁷ but from time to time mention is made in the Meeting minutes of “good and savoury papers” of his which had been read to the satisfaction of Friends. He was specially concerned to testify “against the superfluity of young men and womens apparell,” also “against the vanitie of perriwigg and the unlawfullnes of them being made of

⁶ Pamphlet in D. It occupies seventy small octavo pages; Livingstone's foreword “To Friends in the Kingdom of Scotland or else where” &c. runs to page 25.—ED.

⁷ No more than the two above-noted are known in D. There is no evidence that the paper of Thomas Hicks, “ane English Friend” (THE JOURNAL, viii.), was printed. It is in manuscript among Miller Family Papers. See next note.—ED.

womens Hair.”⁸ Two of the original documents have come down to us. One is entitled “A love letter to the tender hearted people in Glasgow.” The epistle commences :

Awake, awake, Arise in power, O thow seed of God, shake thy self from the Dust of the earth. Arise, arise, and sanctify thy chossen vessels in glasgow, that they may be uncloathed from their filthy raggs of self Righteousnes and self workings, and may be Cloathed wpon with the Beautifull garment of Christs Rigeousnes.

Another of his writings, given forth in 1698, is entitled “Ane humble advice given to Friends how to behave when the travailling Ambassadors of our King and lord Jesus Christ comes into our Meetings.” After pleading that “these travailling messengers and servants of the living God (who some of them has travailed some hundreds of miles)” should not be disturbed when they “sitts down with us in true silence, that so they may feell in what state and condituion All of us, or some of us are in,” he proceeds :

Can, or doe any of yow think it seemly, or according to wisdom, discretion, or good manners to step in and trouble their silent waiting with your words, be it either in prayer or declaration ? (J mean yow who are daiely in our meetings, or dwell near, and may come at another time, and ease yow of your true burthen, if you have any from the Lord) As for example, if a earthly king were sending forth his Ambassadors to declare and signify his mind and will to his people ; and they being gathered together to hear their kings will and mind declared to them, by these his servants ; were it not unseemly and a piece of Arrogancy for some one, two or three of the people to whom they were sent, to stand up and disturb those Messengers and as it were stop their mouths, pretending they knew the kings mind and will already.

In 1679, Hew Wood with many other Friends was a sufferer at the hands of the Covenanters. At a Monthly Meeting held at Hamilton “on the last sixt Day” of the Seventh Month of that year “Jt was ordered that thes sufferings which have been inflicted wpon freinds of truth by the seditiowse in their late rebellione against Authoritie be recorded in our register.” Accordingly on the succeed-

⁸ Thus in a postscript by Hew Wood to an Epistle addressed to Friends at Aberdeen by Thomas Hicks, the former exhorts his readers to “be made conformable to the image of Christ Jesus, whose coat was without seam ; hee, nor his apostles was neither the tailors fool, nor the utlandish merchants pray, neither was there heads adorned with the periwig-makers livery.” (See THE JOURNAL, viii.)

ing page of the minute book there is a careful summary of the outrages committed by the Covenanters on Friends. It is penned by John Hart, the clerk, who, besides chronicling births, deaths and marriages, and the proceedings of the Monthly Meeting, was wont from time to time to make pithy comments on the course of public events.

In the yeare 1679 wpon the first day of the fowrth moneth, the titular presbiterians in the West Sowth and severall other places of Scotland being of a long tyme seditiously inclined did breake owt in open rebellione against the present awthoritie by opposing and asawltng ther forces. And likwyse in the tyme of their rebellione they searched and robbed severall freinds houses and violently tooke away some of there goods as in the particulars after mentioned doeth appeare.

Hew Wood's experiences are thus described :

Dwreing their abode and residence at and about Hamiltone some of them threatened Hew Wood and his family many tymes w^t distructione and offered violence to his persone And made a prey of his house eating drinking and wasting his goods at their pleasure searching and spoiling his house wnder the pretence of seeking armes And tooke what they fownd fitt for them, to wit sadls, bridls boots hatts spwrrs &^{ct}.

(John Shaw, a neighbour of his, besides having his house broken into, was made a prisoner, his captors threatening " that they showld make him eat his own flesh, and goe many a weary foot " !)

In 1688, Hew Wood and other Friends again fell into the hands of the Covenanters. John Corstorphin, another chronicler of the " Sufferings of freinds of trwth," relates :

Upon y^e 23 of y^e same m: [Tenth Month] a rable of armed people w^t on[e] William dalzel^l of ridmire y^r Captain came to y^e house of Hugh Wood in Hamilton where friends were at a meeting & by force & violence broke up y^e meeting and pulled & draged sea^{vl} women through the floor and so down stairs & particularly Jenet Simpson relict of W^m Mitchel in douglas and tosed her from place to place till some compassionat women recovered her out of their hands she died about a month after. And then they tooke away friends books but being reproved by some people of the toun brought some of them backe againe. Upon y^e fift day of y^e week ther after after friends meeting was broke up a partie of those caled y^e mountain regiment came & tooke away y^e books which had been formerly brought backe which they never restored again and tooke all men friends to prison but y^e people of y^e toun being unsatisfied to see their peacable neighbours so abused were ready to rise against them for friends help so y^t within few hours they let them out of prison.

Early in 1692, Hew Wood accompanied Thomas Story and John Bowstead⁹ on a religious visit to the little company of Friends at Glasgow, and on First-day morning they attended the meeting there. Thomas Story gives a graphic account of the unsuccessful attempt of those in authority to break up the meeting :

The Presbyterian Provost (or Mayor) notwithstanding the Establishment of Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion, sent three of his Under Officers to disperse the Meeting ; but the power of the Lord being over them, they were over-awed thereby for some Time, till one of them, more hardened than the rest, laid hold on one of the Friends belonging to the City, and haled him out of the Meeting-house ; and then the other two, by his Example, laid Hands on other Friends, and took several more out ; and, at length, they laid hold on *Hugh Wood*, (Gardener to the Duke of *Hamilton*, a grave and religious Man) who they forced towards the Door, but, suddenly turning, he twisted himself out of their Hands, and sat down where he was before : And then several other Friends came in again, and so the Meeting continued : and, through the good Presence of the LORD, who never fails his People in the needful Time, we were much comforted and strengthened against all their Disturbance : But, when they saw they could not prevail that Way, they used Threats, saying, “ It is just upon the Stroke of Twelve, and the Kirks are ready to break loose ; and if you are not gone before the Rabble come, they will tear you in Pieces, and we shall not be able to hinder them.” Then said *John Bowstead*, “ Do your Kirks consist of Rabble, that they will come with such Violence so soon as the Clock or Dial assigns the hour ? ”

So the Friends continued to hold their meeting until “ the Kirks were broken loose,” and then, after John Bowstead had engaged in prayer, which one of the officers attempted in vain to hinder by placing his hands repeatedly over J. B.’s mouth, they made their way to their quarters “ through a great Multitude of People in the Street, without any Harm ; so good was the LORD to us,” adds Thomas Story “ in preserving us from the Cruelty of that self-righteous and persecuting Generation : Yet a better Disposition appeared in many among them, which was obvious by their Countenances and Behaviour.”¹⁰

⁹ The main authority for the life of John Bowstead or Boustead (1659-1716) is *The Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747, and that of Christopher Story, 1726, the scene of his principal labours and sufferings being the north of England and Scotland. He visited Ireland in 1702. His home was Aglionby, in Cumberland. He wrote testimonies respecting John Banks (d. 1710), and William Edmondson (d. 1712).

See also *F.P.T.* ; *Piety Promoted* ; *John Grattan*, 1720 ; Ferguson’s *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*, 1871.—ED.

¹⁰ *Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747, p. 74.

Returning to Hamilton in the afternoon the Friends, accompanied by others belonging to the town, united with Thomas Rudd¹¹ in perambulating the streets "two by two" whilst T. R. proclaimed his usual warning to repentance. They met with very rough treatment from the rabble who "pushed, haled, tossed, and abused *Hugh Wood* very much; which was the more inhuman, he being an ancient Man, a Neighbour, and had not said any Thing to provoke them, unless to persuade them to Moderation."

In the Second Month, 1701, Hew Wood attended the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh and reported "that there was one Charg of horning¹² out against him [self for tythes] but that the Dutches of Hamilton did not use any execution there upon, and that [Friends of Hamilton] did bear ther testemony against ther made fast days."

Within a month afterwards, his death is recorded by the clerk of Hamilton Meeting, 25th of Third Month, 1701: "Hew wood gerner to the duch of hamilton decesed this Life a bout the 3 our of the day and was buried in his yeard that he had prepared for himself and for any onest frind." His relict died four years afterwards (20. iv. 1705), "and was buried in her husbands buriall place prepared by himselfe in their own Garden next day."

In the year after Hew Wood's death, Edinburgh Yearly Meeting received a letter from James and Alexander Wood informing Friends that their father had bequeathed

¹¹ Thomas Rudd (c. 1643-1719) was a miller of Wharfe, near Settle, Yorkshire. His principal service lay in preaching through the streets, for which he suffered severely. For some account of this in Scotland see THE JOURNAL, xii., 141, 142. Several of his letters are in D.—ED.

¹² Sir Walter Scott, in *The Antiquary*, gives the following humorous explanation of the term: "You must know then, once more, that nobody can be arrested in Scotland for debt. . . . You suppose a man's committed to prison because he cannot pay his debt? Quite otherwise; the truth is, the king is so good as to interfere at the request of the creditor, and to send the debtor his royal command to do him justice within a certain time—fifteen days or six as the case may be. Well, the man resists and disobeys—what follows? Why, that he be lawfully and rightfully declared a rebel to our gracious sovereign, whose command he has disobeyed, and that by *three blasts of a horn* at the market place of Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland. And he is then legally imprisoned, not on account of any civil debt, but because of his ungrateful contempt of the royal mandate."—Jonathan Oldbuck *loquitur*. I believe a simpler mode of procedure has rendered the picturesque old custom obsolete!

the Meeting House and Burial Place at Hamilton "for the service of truth." The Meeting appointed Daniel Hamilton trustee thereof "he alwise granting a back bond and doeing all other things anent the securing the said house and ground for the end designed." We hear no more of the matter until 1720, when a minute of Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting records "a proposall made for Buying ye Burying Ground of Hew Wood and House ajoyning yr to. This Meeting do apoynt George Swan and John Purdon to use there Jnterest with Andr Lettimors asistance in the affair." It would seem as if Friends must have previously sold the property, if indeed it had ever been really in their hands, for in 1722, the Quarterly Meeting was informed by William Miller, who had written to John Peacock of Wester Mucroft "in relation to Hugh Woods burrying place (together with the house adjoining) that Hamilton of Raploch was not willing to sell it but that he would let it at a guiney a year wch being so ridiculous friends have thought fit to lay aside the thoughts of Burying there for some time."

One of the record books of Friends in the West of Scotland was known as "Hew Woods register." At the Yearly Meeting held at Edinburgh in 1708, George Swan was directed "to gett wpp hew woods register and any other peapers that continoues anything of the first spreading of truth or sufferings for it in the west of scotland and to remitt the sam to daniel hamilton also that Samuel Robertson Charles Ormston bartholomew gibson and William Miller doe the sam and that ane abstract of that don be andrew Jaffray be also sent up to the nixt quarterly Meeting at this place in order to be all put together and sent to London to be ingrosed in the generall historie acording to the memorial sent from frinds ther." (I suppose one can hardly hope that this interesting collection of documents is by any happy chance still reposing in the strong-rooms at Devonshire House.)¹³

Of Hew Wood's sons, James, the eldest, is frequently mentioned in the Meeting records. He followed his

¹³ There is no evidence at hand to prove that these historical papers ever reached London. There is no mention of Scotland in the list prepared by Benjamin Bealing, see frontispiece to "*The First Publishers of Truth*," 1907.—ED.

father's calling, and in 1692, was gardener to the Duke of Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle. In 1685, he had married Abigail, daughter of Thomas Robertson, gardener at Kelso, one of the leading Friends there. After her death, in 1693, James Wood married again, this time, according to the clerk of the Quarterly Meeting, "on of the world and that with on of the Episcopal preists." The matter was brought before Hamilton Men's Monthly Meeting in Third Month, 1696, when James Wood himself having been present at the meeting for worship, Friends

found a great concerne upon our spirits for him and y^e Lords power & mighty presence and tender love was blessedly manifested among us and mighty cryes were put up unto y^e Lord for his recovery in y^e sense of w^{ch} constraining love of God we sent for him into this our men's meeting and laid before him y^e reproach y^t is brought upon Truth and y^e great grieff y^t is brought upon his ancient father and his mother in law and friends that love Truth and him by his scandallous walking and going contrary to y^e order of y^e precious Truth in his lately marrying one of another perswasion by a priest. Friends having dealt with him in y^e fear and love of God have warned him of y^e danger he is in if not prevented by speedy repentance and have weightily told him y^t they cannot have fellowship with him in y^e Truth unless y^t by bowing to y^e Judgements of y^e Lord he bring forth fruit meet for repentance, w^{ch} is our earnest desire to y^e Lord for him.

James Wood appears to have written a self-condemnatory paper which was read at Edinburgh Monthly Meeting in Fifth Month, 1697. The Meeting directed that it should be recorded "and a copie thereof sent to the place where he Lived." He was then resident at Fetteresso near Ury, whence he had already written to Hamilton Meeting requesting "a testificat." Friends seem at first to have "found ffriedom to send him one: wherein God's Blessed truth might be kepted Clear Anent his former practice and yet as favourable as truth may permitt, that he may be rather gained then lost. But this is referred to the nixt men's meeting," and at that, Friends came to the conclusion "that no testimony can be given to him from this meeting both in relation as to his former practice, And also that while he kepted meetings at his house he lived at a great distance from ffriends in this place." However, the birth of a daughter in Twelfth Month, 1697, was recorded in Ury Meeting books, and he was evidently still considered to be a mem-

ber, as, four years later, his name was again brought before Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, he, poor man, having fallen into intemperate habits, and it was then decided that Hamilton Monthly Meeting should be directed to testify against him. Probably this was eventually done, though at the next Quarterly Meeting the issuing of the testimony was "deferred."

Robert, Hew Wood's third son, probably died in childhood as there is no mention of him after 1671, but the two other sons, William and Alexander, grew to manhood, and both appear to have married Friends—the birth of a child of each of them being recorded in Hamilton Meeting register. William's daughter Anna, born in 1687, at Trochqwaire, "was brought up and educat by Hew Wood her grandfather and grissel wood his spouse Att Hamilton." Alexander, the youngest son, is mentioned several times in the Meeting records, and he seems to have acted as clerk to Hamilton Monthly Meeting during 1701-1702. His death is recorded as having taken place on "the sixth of Twelfth Month, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$." Two days afterwards "he was laed in the ground," "in his father's new burill place in his own inheritance his age when he daeid was 33 yeairs."

W. F. MILLER.

Winscombe, Som.

Esther Kilden, the representative from Masham to Richmond Monthly Meeting, being unable to attend, sent a letter to the Women's Meeting—the original being loose in the Minute Book :


" 5th of 11th mo., 1761.

" As no woman could attend y^e Month Meeting have sent an Account of y^e state of our meeting not knowing anything but things is much as usuel, y^e First Days & week day Meeting is attended, for Poor we have none that hase any weekly Penshon, as for anything else we have no Reason of Complaint, heare is a friend has 3 Doughters which one of y^e youngest Enclines to go to plase, I Supose She may be about 17 years of Age, her Mother say she is Pritty Helthy, I think Betty Robinson knows something of em, if Thomas Bailey or Widow Smith wants She thinks She Could Do for them or any Friends plase Such like in Wensleydale, her Mother say She is good natered Girl and hops She will be willing to Learn any thing she do not know, she can sow nit & spin, for wages y^e mother say she will not think much about em.

" So concludedns with dear Love to Friends

" ESTHER KILDERN."

Note on Some Early Records of Quakers near Harrogate

URING the transcription of some local records the occurrence of a few references to the early Friends then resident, evidently in considerable numbers, near Harrogate, appeared to me to be of sufficient interest to warrant their publication. Although the names are herein lacking, a few may be found in the contemporary *Diaries of Oliver Heywood*¹ (1630-1702), and others are printed in the *Nonconformist Register*² (1644-1752), which contains lists of Papist Recusants and Quakers. Under the Toleration Act, on 8 October, 1689, the houses of the following persons were registered as meeting-houses: "Matthew Hogg, at Harrogate; William Dickinson of Bilton cum Harragate; William Reedshaw at Beckwithshaw in Panhall³; at Knarsborough at Mary Middleton house."⁴ In April 1697 the "Barne of Mr. Wright in Winser Lane, Knarsbrough," is similarly licensed, and is certified by James Talor, Minnister, John Wright, William Thompson, George Cass, Wm. Benson and others.⁵

Under the terms of the Conventicle Act, on Thursday 29 November, 1683, Samuel Thornton of Beckwithshaw, labourer, with seven others, was committed to gaol, but appears to have been soon afterwards discharged, for unlawful assembly at the house of Henry Thompson of Askwith. On December 6th following, an entry is made that on the previous Sunday morning, at 11, the Churchwardens of Weston, being informed of a conventicle in a house belonging to the above Henry Thompson, entered and found a large gathering including Walter ffawcett, of Haveray Park (Harrogate), labourer.⁶

¹ Edited by J. Horsfall Turner in 4 vols.

² Edited by J. Horsfall Turner, 8vo. Brighouse, 1881.

³ Pannal.

⁴ *Nonconformist Register*, pp. 145, 146.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 135, 136.

Oliver Heywood, who visited Harrogate more than once, speaks in 1668 of "Widdow Hog"—possibly the mother of the Matthew Hogg, whose house was registered as a Friends' Meeting-house. The diarist writes :

. . . And so passed on to Knaresborow Spaw⁷ where I met with many good friends of Leeds and others, and found comfortable employment, on Saturday in the afternoone I preacht at Widdow Hogs, on lords day at my own quarters, and George Wades, at his request and had a considerable number. on munday a considerable number kept a private fast at one francis Ingles near the wels where the Lord helped me wonderfully in preaching and praying.⁸

Possibly the foregoing extracts may serve to colour the picture presented in the matter which follows, and which now appears in print for the first time.

Pembroke, Harrogate WALTER J. KAYE, JR.

For permission to transcribe various documents my thanks are due to the Vicars of Pannal (Rev. M. Rowntree) and Christ Church, Harrogate (Rev. D. S. Guy), respectively.

[From the Pannal Parish Constable's Accounts]

1662.	ffor charges in carrieing 28 quakers before Sr will ^m Ingleby : ⁹ ffor souldiers charges that carried them	0 2 6
	ffor my charges in going to Ripley the next day after to get the said quakers Examined	0 0 8
	ffor my charges in carrieing Sixe quakers to yorke Castle the 21th of September two daies travell ..	0 3 0
1665	Paid ffor writeing a bill of 14 articles the second time concerning Recusants and quakers and others then in question to deliver in to the cheife Constable the ffourth of June	0 0 6
	paid to the cheife Constable when the said articles was delivered in the same time	0 0 6
	ffor my charges the same day	0 0 8
	ffor my charges in going before the Justices with the quakers	0 0 8

⁷ *i.e.*, High Harrogate, until 1749 in the parish of Knaresborough, —Low Harrogate, then often known as "Sulfer Well," being until 1825 in the parish of Pannal.

⁸ *Diaries of Oliver Heywood*, vol. i., p. 229.

⁹ Sir William Ingilby, Bart., of Ripley Castle.

1684	for a privat search for Conventickles	00 01 00
	ffor making a privat search every Quarter Sessions for all Absenters and Conventickles	00 04 00
1685	one search ffor Conventickles	0 1 0
	. . . and search for Nonconformists	0 1 0

[From the Pannal Parish Register]

1700 James Bentlay quaker [buried] August 29.

[From the Parish Register of Christ Church, Harrogate]

1785	Jan. : 1 :	Quakers: { Mary Johnson, born June 26th, 1778 Joseph Johnson, born June 30th, 1781 Ann Johnson, born Dec. 18th, 1782 Jane Johnson, born Apr. 3rd, 1784 }	Children of Thomas and Eliz : Johnson.	
	[baptized]			
1786	Feb. 17th			David, son of Thos. and Eliz. Johnson.
1788	Aug. 3rd.			Maria dau ^r of Tho ^s and Eliz. Johnson.
1790	July 4th	John, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Johnson.		
1792	Jan. 31st	Ellen, daugh ^r of Thomas and Eliza : Johnson.		

A Quaker Idyll, 1693

SAMUEL COLE emigrated to New Jersey and settled on a large landed estate bounded by the Delaware River and Pennshauken Creek. Having been summoned to his former home in England to arrange some unsettled business, he sailed thither, and returning home by way of Barbados, he was taken ill and died there. Says Clement, "The extended distance of the voyage, and consequent delay therefrom not being known to the wife, she made frequent visits to Philadelphia to meet her husband and welcome him to his family again. Tradition says that she would stand for hours by the water's edge, looking anxiously down the river for the sail that would bring the father of her children. These visits and watchings at last attracted the attention of a young mariner who frequented the port, and who was not long in discovering the cause of her anxiety. Sympathizing with her, he extended his enquiries in her behalf, and at last discovered that her husband had died on his return as before-named. Her grief for this sad bereavement interested his feelings, and, finding that she was about returning home alone in her boat, he offered to accompany her and manage the same. This offer she accepted, and he sailed up the river to Pennshauken Creek, and thence nearly to her residence, thus bearing the sad news to her children and neighbors. This man was Griffith Morgan, who, after a proper interval of time, sailed his own skiff to the creek aforesaid, to offer his consolations to the widow, and to interest himself about her children and estate. This solicitude soon assumed another shape, and culminated in the marriage of Griffith Morgan and Elizabeth Cole."

(CLEMENT, *First Settlers in Newton Township, New Jersey*, 1877, p. 307, quoted in *My Ancestors*, by William Hopkins Nicholson, 1897.)

Richard Smith and his Journal, 1817:1824

Continued from volume xiii, page 141

RICHARD SMITH had now, it seems, made up his mind to return to England :

1820.

7 mo. 23. Spoke to John Hoyle to request my Certificate next M.M. to Friends M.M. in the County of Stafford,

but was not easy to do so without first paying at least a visit to the Indian settlements. This subject appears again in the Journal on

7 mo. 7. Departed from John Watson's this forenoon, having had a weighty opportunity with Joseph ; his father being present, who urged outward objections. [Joseph Watson had been married 4th mo. 26th.] Jos^h expressed a willingness to go with me to the Indians, but said his present situation as to the outward was very inconvenient ; and Friends not uniting with his going were powerful objections against his accompanying me. . . They both thought it a large undertaking for myself, & John intimated going as proxy for his son Joseph, to which I made no answer.

7 mo. 9. Jos. Watson expressed himself free to leave all his outward concerns, & go with me ; but his wife is still a great obstacle, who seems irreconcilable.

7 mo. 16. Joseph Watson expressed satisfaction at what I had acted towards him . . . & in a weighty Frame of Mind I expressed to him that I looked for trouble of Body in the Journey, but peace of Mind.

7 mo. 17. Joseph Watson informed me this morning that his Wife had given up for Joseph to accompany me if Friends unite therewith. [Then followed the Mo. Mg. at Smithfield.] I sympathized with Jos. Watson's deep exercise in the Meeting, who opened his concern to visit the Indians, which Friends did not unite with at the present time. . . . Went to Benj. Ladds in the Evening, to whom I opened my Concern of visiting the Indians soon.

7 mo. 18. [At Short Creek Mo. Mg.] The Members of the Indian Committee stopped after Meeting, to whom Jonathan Taylor opened my Concern of visiting the Indians, to which no objection appeared except in W^m. Flanner. . . . He said I was a young man only lately received into Society : but the sense of the Meeting was in favour of my going.

R. S. was now at last to carry out the concern which had so long rested on his mind : he left Smithfield on the afternoon of the 24th provided with letters from

Benjamin Ladd to Friends at Alum Creek and Mad River settlements, and to Waughpokonetta and Lewistown, and one from William Wood to Isaac Harvey,³⁶ who was the Friend on the spot as superintendent. G. Crosfield writes: "In thus giving up from a feeling of duty to undertake the laborious journey, he does not appear to have had in view any definite prospect of service amongst them, but rather to have yielded to a strong desire to assist them in any way in his power, and be resigned to the performance of whatever service he might find to open before him." He travelled on foot, as usual, and found much of the country unsettled and dreary, while what crops there were stood unreaped, and worthless from damage by frost in the spring.

1820

- 7 mo. 27. Experienced a most uncomfortable Lodging, being annoyed with Fleas, Rats and the Rain beating thro' the Roof on the Bed, so that I slept very little; & the libertine manners of a Man from Frederic were disagreeable; but I felt thankful for being so well off as I am in this Wilderness Country. The woman of the house is civil.
- 8 mo. 1. Experienced very fatiguing Travelling to-day by reason of the quantity of Water lodged on the Road, so that I took my Shoes & Stockings off & walked about 5 miles barefoot.
- 8 mo. 3. At Darby Friends Meeting, where but about 15 or 16 persons were present, & the Meeting sat only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour: to me it was a time of suffering to see so little life & much formality manifested.
- 8 mo. 4. To the house of Henry Pickerell³⁷ with whom I had a long Conversation respecting the Indians, he having resided amongst them.

R. S. reached Isaac Harvey's at Waughpokonetta on the 7th of Eighth Month and quickly began to acquaint himself with the conditions prevailing there: but he was much impeded by the "soreness" of his leg, "supposed to be occasioned by walking in swamps," and was unable to get about much; on some days being confined to the house, with his leg on a chair "to ease the pain." The details of the visit cover thirteen closely written pages: it was a critical time, evidently, in the fortunes of the settlement, and no particular service in which he could be useful opened to him. He occupied himself in his times of enforced leisure in working at a Shawanese vocabulary, preparing alphabets for children, and in teaching Lydia Ballard, who was a keen learner, to write. The Indians were in council on a proposition to remove

them to the Missouri, or west of the Mississippi,³⁸ and their deliberations, accompanied with much drunkenness and turbulence, had lasted a long time, so that their crops were entirely neglected. The settlement contained a proportion of steady Indians, but the majority were thriftless and drunken. The chiefs had, nevertheless, considerable control, and held Isaac Harvey in esteem, protecting him from disturbance.

1820

8 mo. 13. The Indians during the past night have kept up a constant noise & confusion, riding about at a great rate, shouting & singing. Several drunken Indians made bold to come into Isaac Harvey's house, and behaved as well as could be expected. . . . W^m. Perry called to apologize for the confusion, & said the chiefs keep constantly speaking & tell them to behave orderly towards the Friends, and not let Friends be afraid of getting hurt.

8 mo. 14. The Indians being mostly set off for Picquay to receive their Annuities in Goods, the Town is in a state of Stillness after the very severe Storm of yesterday & preceeding, which was the most violent & confused among the Indians I. H. ever remembers to have seen.

8 mo. 15. I. Harvey related concerning Kinchin Taylor (Black Man) who requested Cent^r M.M. to become a Member, w^{ch} was standing 10 years, & a Jury of 12 appointed to visit him : 14 attended.

The entry of 8 mo. 16 contains an account, derived from Isaac Harvey, indicting Baltimore Friends for want of care and efficient oversight of the settlement, " who are, or have been completely under Johnson's³⁹ Thumb, they having entrusted him with the Money sent by an Ancient Friend from Ireland, which he appropriated as he thought fit, contrary to the Desire of the Chiefs . . . and it is contrary to the opinion of the active Com̄ittee [i.e., those on the spot], who are likely to be proper judges, and requested to be released, as the Baltimore Friends, I understand, have only been out at Waughpokonetta once since the commencement of the Establishment."⁴⁰

Under the same date, 16th, are two curious notes :

I. Harvey related the circumstance of the Friends at Darby joining or mixing with the Methodists in the erection of a Meeting-house, till it came that the Methodists came to the Meeting-House before the Friends Meeting had broke up, and even sat with them the whole time, till at last the Methodist Minister began to preach amongst the Friends ; which caused an Ancient Friend to get up & say it was an imposition, desiring him to desist ; & another Friend at his Elbow also got up and declared it nothing less than persecution to oppose his, the ministers

preaching. I. Harvey instanced this as co-respondent to the Baltimore Friends mixing their Concern with the Government.

A woman Friend, a Minister, M. R^e, opposed to receiving Blacks into Membership, convinced by I. H. ; another woman Friend, then in good health, declared that she wished she might be cut off if K.T. or Blacks were received—deceased in one quarter of a year after.

8 mo. 18. [Two Friends arrived from Lewistown] they had received account at Lewis Town of I. Harvey's family having to move off for fear of the Indians.

8 mo. 19. Noah Haines & Caleb Harvey⁴¹ were drawing a Draft of Indian Report, who are under considerable discouragement at the present prospect of affairs.

On the 22nd of Eighth Month, 1820, R. S. left Waughpokonetta. Though there is no record of his sensations, one cannot but feel deep sympathy with him in what must have proved a keen disappointment to the high hopes he had entertained of usefulness among the Indians.

8 mo. 23. Attended Goshen (on Mad River) Friends Meeting, & a dry & lifeless time it was. I went to Aaron Brown's—found several of his Family sick of a remittent Fever.

[Query : was his own illness a week later the result of this visit ?]

8 mo. 24. Attended Valley F. M., which was rendered consolatory and refreshing to me on account of the sincere-hearted and affectionate Friends I found there, particularly the late J. Paxton's widow & descendants, also John Williams, a very affectionate Friend. They appear concerned to have their Children attend week-day Meetings.

On the 28th, after seeing the sights at Columbus, he reached Black Lick, where he was so unwell that "from present Feelings I did not know but I might be detained on my Journey." "Let me not omit to record the peoples kindness & attention to me at this Tavern." Next day he managed to cover twenty-two miles : "in passing thro' Granville and Newark I found no freedom to stay in either place ; in the former is a frame Meeting house, which has more of shew than substance."

R. S. was now really ill with a "bilious fever," but walked three hours on the morning of the 30th when he had to lie down at a Tavern. "I lay thus for several hours endeavouring with Divine assistance (which was in a marvellous manner afforded) to preserve in the Patience ; after a time of deep inward waiting, all sense or feeling of sickness was overpowered by the holy Influence of the Divine Life & the feelings experi-

enced in England between 5 and 6 years ago brought fresh to my remembrance." Then follows a closely written page of exercise, marked in the margin: "V½ Years Meeting of Covenant Mercy."

In the cool of the evening he came downstairs and had some supper: "I was favoured to feel my Mind calm & serene, & far above the World & the things thereof."

Next day he walked 11½ miles: "I made 3 applications for lodging & was denied, but I accepted the good will manifested at the last place." At the Tavern where he put up, he was told of the difficulty people had in getting their corn ground, and the exorbitant charges at the only available mill:

This latter information fastened on my Mind. This morning early the exercise was revived . . . resulting in believing it was commanded me to visit the proprietors of said mill; so I proceeded to return back to Zanesville . . . where I found one of the proprietors . . . I sat about 30 or 40 minutes, during which time his brother came not. I found myself so weak, weary, dull & exhausted that I felt freedom to tell the Man as I was so weak I purposed going & resting myself, & promised to call again.

By this time R. S. hardly knew what he was doing, or what house to go to, but chanced on a Watch-Maker whom he had known at Mount Pleasant, who took him to Robert Stewart's Tavern, "where we met with a young Man, viz., Sam^l Burnham, a Physician from Boston [probably Ohio] into whose care I freely gave up myself." Following this are two pages of very intimate details of symptoms and medicines: and from the 4th to the 10th inclusive, "I kept no Account of these 7 days." On the 11th and 12th, Friends returning from the Yearly Meeting called on him, one of them "an old Man Friend in mixed Clothes."

1820

9 mo. 13. Benj. Hoyle⁴² arrived with a led Horse, intending to take me away, but I was too weak to undertake the Journey at present.

9 mo. 16. Mended my Socks, which required considerable repairs. Went to Grangers mill where I stayed two hours. I opened my concern to the elder Brother, but he justified his conduct by reason of a contract . . . walked with him up from the mill to R. Stewart's but no favourable impression appeared to be produced on his Mind. Dined with the Boarders and ate with great Relish on fresh roast Beef & Apple-pye. . . . procured Sam^l. Burnham's

bill, amounting to 60 dollars for 10 days and nights attendance. Called on Charles Deeble [the kind watchmaker].

That evening he set out, covered six miles on foot, and by easy stages, with many rests by the wayside, reached Smithfield on the 22nd.

9 mo. 18. Met men returning from mustering, riding at full speed, using bad language, oppressing their horses—exceeding the drunken Indians, tho' professing Christianity.

9 mo. 20. Succeeded in getting exchanged a 3 dollar Note (Mt. Pleasant) at Moorfield

is one of various entries indicating that the paper currency was of local circulation only.

9 mo. 24. Jonathan Mash requested me to undertake some business for him in Ireland about recovering an Estate, which did not seem likely to be attended with success.

On the 25th, preparations were in progress for the journey to Philadelphia, whither John Hoyle was to accompany him: an arrangement was made with James Calder to take them in his waggon for \$1.50 per day, and all expenses allowed him.

The difficulty in transmitting money is illustrated by the arrangements for paying the \$60 to Dr. Burnham. The money was taken to the bank at Mt. Pleasant; next day, hearing that Lewis Cary was going through Zanesville, "I felt free to send the money by him;"

10 mo. 1. Called on Lewis Walker,⁴³ who was not willing to go into the Bank for the Money I had deposited (being first day) so he procured $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of the amount, viz., \$40, by borrowing of his friends.

[A distinction without much difference.]

10 mo. 3. In the afternoon I felt dull, caused, as I supposed, by drinking Honey-drink at noon.

10 mo. 7. Sold some old Apparel to Jos. Watson, fixt the price at \$30 being \$10 less than I was charged, with which I united.

10 mo. 8. Took my seat facing the Meeting, at the intimation of Benj. Talbott.

On the 14th of Tenth Month, 1820, R. S. set off with John Hoyle in the waggon for Philadelphia. He had spent the last three weeks moving about Smithfield, Richmond and Mount Pleasant, in much weakness of body, disposing of the remnant of his stock, collecting debts due to him, writing to those who had befriended him on his travels, and bidding farewell to his neighbours.⁴⁴

Every day he records lying down for some hours, wherever he happened to be.

Travelling about twenty miles a day, and R. S. often very poorly, the party reached J. Hoyle Jr's house, Morris place, Whipping [Whitpain] Township, Montgomery County, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, on the 29th.

1820

10 mo. 29. J. H. [Jr.] informed me of 3 young Men Friends that were in prison at Norristown for not paying the fine of \$40 imposed for refusing to turn out to fight—last war. One of them (Phipps) refusing to pay the Jailer \$2½ 'p week for Board, was thrust into a lower Apartment & had the Fever & Ague.

[Query : A relation of a past event.]

10 mo. 31. Went in the Evening to Samuel Bettles house, & deliver'd to him this Years Ohio Yearly Meetings Epistle for Philadelphia & for New York, entrusted by B. W. Ladd.

Four weeks were spent at and near Philadelphia, ascertaining what ships were to sail for England, laying in stores, and, as always, in useful help to his host and friends: writing letters for John Hoyle, preparing his will and mending J. H. Jr's saddle and hat; "assisted Ann Shillitoe to form part of a letter to her parents." The names of many local Friends occur in the Journal of these days.

11 mo. 9. [At Abingdon Q.M.] Most of the Young Men & Young Women appear'd wild, & wore gay Clothing.

11 mo. 15. Jos^h Everall came.

[It is not stated who he was, but he returned to England with R. S.]

11 mo. 18. Went to 4 or 5 houses in quest of something to make raised pies for ship-store.

11 mo. 20. Went to T. P. Cope's⁴⁵ to enquire ab^t Ship, marked a Berth in her.

11 mo. 21. Paid Passage Money to Liverpool in the Steerage of the Ship *Tuscarora*, W^m. West, Master.

On the 28th, R. S. and his companion left Philadelphia, by steam boat for Newcastle, and went on board the *Tuscarora* next day. The account of the voyage is in detail, and covers twelve pages: though often rough, it was much more comfortable than the outward passage, as there were but nine passengers in the steerage, and he had the company of J. Everall.

12 mo. 6. Had a honing after Oysters & Cider, both of which the Captain had, but did not feel a favourable opportunity of obtaining them.

1820

- 12 mo. 8. Able to get Articles cooked to some degree of satisfaction which had not generally been the Case heretofore.
- 12 mo. 10. Exercised about distributing Tracts, in which no way appears yet to be open, except one to the Steward.
- 12 mo. 11. A Sailor informed me that it had Thundered, & about 11th hour in the Night, a Corposant appeared which remained about an hour on the top of the Main-Mast in the form of a ball of light. Engaged this forenoon cutting up the Insides of some raised Pies, which were mouldy, having been cooked on Land.
- 12 mo. 19. Prepared the inside of raised Meat Pies for rebaking.
- 12 mo. 22. Distributed some Tracts among the Passengers to satisfaction.

The ship docked in Liverpool on the 24th: they landed in the afternoon and "Examined the directions of Letters entrusted to my care by Persons in America, some of which had the words, Old England, on them, which we erased: put 23 of them into the Post Office."

- 12 mo. 25. J. Moore gave me £2 Bk. of England paper for 16 half-crowns, which I had rec^d of Lewis Walker [at Mt. Pleasant] at the rate of 3/- each.
- 12 mo. 26. We got our Articles conveyed to the Custom House, where they underwent a strict scrutiny by an Old Man (a Land waiter) who used very prophane and uncivil Language towards me. A Box of Books, belonging to each of us, was detained, tho' they were english-printed, & had been taken out by me from this country.
- 12 mo. 27. Engaged . . . about Box of Books, but did not succeed in getting them away, though the Collector of Excise told me they would deliver them, but they made a charge for an Entry, but I did not feel freedom to affirm to them all being British-printed Books.
- 12 mo. 28. Delivered the Ohio Yearly Epistle for Ireland to Isaac Cooke.⁴⁶ Took away box of books from Custom House.

On this day J. Everall left for Chester by the steam boat.

On the 30th of Twelfth Month, R. S. left Liverpool on foot for Manchester, and after a short stay there, during which he visited the Infirmary, seemingly to arrange about the arrears of his subscription, walked home to his brother-in-law's house at Endon, reaching it on the 4th of First Month, 1821.

- 1 mo. 3. Altho' a Coach passed as I was leaving Manchester, I did not feel free to ride on it, as I expected to do last night (on account of my sore feet); but I have been enabled thro' favour to perform my Journey far beyond my expectation.

It is indicative of his desire to seize all opportunities for religious worship, that on his arrival at Leek, he went straight to the mid-week meeting, before going on to his brother-in-law's at Endon.

³⁶ In a report to the Y.M. of 1826 from the Committee on Indian Concerns, signed by Lewis Walker, there is a reference to a School under the superintendence of Isaac Harvey and his wife which, though held successfully for some time, was discontinued early in 1826, the superintendent having been "notified by the Indians that they intended to remove to the country west of the Mississippi." Harvey's place of residence appears in the Y.M. printed extracts as *Wapaughkonnetta*, now *Wapakoneta*, Auglaize County, O.

There were two ancient Friends, Isaac and Sarah Harvey, living in Clinton County, O., at the time of the Civil War, who visited Abraham Lincoln at the White House in 1862. (Wilbur, *Friends with Lincoln in the White House*, Phila., 1912.)

³⁷ In the printed minutes of Ohio Y.M., 1838, there is a reference to Henry Pickerell, of *Zanesville*, Logan County. This should probably read *Zanesfield*, which is in Logan Co., the district in which Richard Smith then was; in which Co. also is Pickerelltown. H. Pickerell accompanied Smith on several visits.

³⁸ See note 36.

³⁹ This was probably John Johnson, the Indian Agent. R. S. writes under date 8 mo. 5, "John Paxton informed that J. Johnson (Indian Agent) had written to T[homas] Ellicott of Baltimore informing him of the distressed condition of the Indians for want of clothing and desiring him to send on \$1,000 worth of goods on Friends Acc^t . . . which letter T. E. took to the President," etc. In a report dated Ninth Month, 1819, there is noted a gift of £150 from "our brethren in Ireland."

John Paxton lived at Lewistown. His wife and he had the care of Indians at this village, as Isaac Harvey and his wife at Wapaughkonetta.

⁴⁰ It is clear that local Friends were somewhat out of harmony with Friends of the distant Baltimore Y.M. Committee. This Committee reported to the Y.M. of 1821 that "since the union of our Committee with that of Ohio Yearly Meeting, in the year 1816, the more active part of the duties confided to us have been discharged by Friends of Ohio, as the very remote situation in which we are placed necessarily rendered much personal attention on our part impracticable." The Committee proposed to hand over to Ohio the control of the work. (Extracts from the Minutes of Baltimore Y.M., 1821.)

⁴¹ Caleb Harvey (1776-1830) was a native of North Carolina, and removed to Ohio on his marriage. "He was appointed a member of the Committee on Indian Civilization by Ohio Yearly Meeting soon after the commencement of that concern in said meeting, and upon the establishment of Indiana Y.M. at Whitewater, in the year 1821, a committee was appointed to co-operate with Ohio and Baltimore Y.M.'s, their labors being directed more particularly to those of the Shawnee tribe on the reservation at Waughpaughkonnetta." Testimony in *Indiana Memorials*, 1857. A letter written to Robert Forster, by C. Harvey, is in D., dated from Wilmington, O., 7 mo. 20. 1826.

⁴² Benjamin Hoyle sat at the Clerk's desk at Ohio Y.M., as assistant to Benjamin W. Ladd, from 1832, for several years, and in 1838 he became Clerk. In 1854 B. Hoyle signed one of the two Epistles addressed to London Yearly Meeting, sent from two bodies purporting to be Ohio Y.M., but the Epistle signed by Jonathan Binns for the body he represented was accepted in London in 1855. See *Statement of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting held in London, 1855, in reference to the Division in Ohio Yearly Meeting*, London, 1855.

⁴³ Lewis Walker was a prominent Friend, Clerk to the Committee on Indian Concerns, treasurer to the Y.M., etc, which he held for many years. (see e.g., *Report of the Trial of Friends at Steubenville, Ohio, 1828*, Phila. 1829, pp. 57-61.)

⁴⁴ A pen-map of Ohio Y.M., prepared at Salem School in Fifth Month, 1827, has recently been presented to D. It gives many of the place-names which appear in R. S.'s Journal in Ohio, and locates the Meeting of Kendal (with 99 members), on the Tuscarawas River, perhaps the present city of Massillon in Stark County.

This map records that (1) Westland was the first Meeting of Friends settled west of the Alleghany Mountains. (2) Redstone the first Quarterly Meeting west of the Mountains. (3) Concord the first Meeting in the State of Ohio. (4) Short Creek the first Quarterly Meeting in Ohio. . . . (6) Ohio Y.M. contains fifty-three Meetings and nearly 9,000 members. (7) Indiana Y.M. contains about 110 Meetings and about 15,000 members.

⁴⁵ Thomas P. Cope (1768-1854) was a Friend, son of Caleb Cope, of Lancaster, Pa. The following is a list of his numerous activities :

Merchant in Philadelphia, 1786-1854.

Established the first line of packets between Philadelphia and Liverpool, 1821.

Cared for sick during yellow fever, 1793, and small-pox, 1797.

Member of City Council.

Helped to introduce water into Philadelphia.

Member of State Legislature.

Member of State Constitutional Convention.

President Board of Trade many years.

President Mercantile Library.

Executor Stephen Girard's Estate.

Interested in Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

Secured "Lemon Hill" as Public Park.

Promoter of Pennsylvania Railroad, 1846.

Information from Allen C. Thomas and Ella K. Barnard.

⁴⁶ Isaac Cooke (c. 1780-1862) was a cotton-broker in Liverpool, and one of the founders of the Bank of Liverpool. He was also instrumental in founding the Friends' Boarding School at Penketh, near Warrington (1834). There is a picture of him, with other notices, in the *History of Penketh School*, by Joseph Spence Hodgson, 1907.

With reference to note 32 (xiii, 141), the following information has been sent us from "Brittany," Gerrards Cross, Bucks. :

"I met twenty years or more ago in Moorestown, N. J., an old Friend, over 80, named Seth Warrington, who told me of the accident referred to. He (a young man at the time) was driving the conveyance across the Delaware, on the ice, when the back wheels went through and the women were thrown under the ice and lost.

"WILLIAM KENNEDY."

[The owner of the original Diaries has lately been so kind as to lend them for comparison ; there has not yet been time to examine them thoroughly, but, as the account of R.S.'s sojourn in Ohio is now concluded, a few particulars from the cash memoranda at the end of the volumes for 1818 and 1819 will be interesting.

As is natural, the products of the district were cheap, though R.S. once records that there was no flour to be had in the district as the drought had stopped the water-mills ; while articles that came from a distance were high in price. His board and lodging cost him \$1.50 to \$1 87½ a week, and for much of this he paid with goods from his store, keeping a running account with his landlady. The average amount paid for a night at a tavern was 37½ cents for supper and bed, and 25 cents for breakfast.

Eggs were sold at four for a penny ; butter in quantity at 12, 14, and 16 cents a pound ; "segars" cost him \$1.25 and \$1.50 for 500 ("½m"), and he sold tobacco at 12½ cents a lb. ; sugar was bought at 18¾ cents per lb., coffee at 40 and 42 cents ; tea seems to have been little used, only a lb. or two was stocked at a time, costing \$1.37½ and even \$2.

The "drab roram hat" (see xiii. 131) cost \$4.50, which was also the price of wool hats ; he sold shoes in the store very cheaply, ranging from 75 cents. for "children's green" to \$1.50 for "men's coarse" ; but for his own use he paid \$3.50 for a pair of "high-quartered double-vamped" shoes. On one occasion he obtained 3¾ lbs. of veal for 18¾ cents !

The goods he brought with him to Smithfield (see xiii. 89) were three dray-loads, and weighed 2,200 lbs. ; the freight in the Ark-boat (see xiii. 91) including his own passage was \$11, and the cartage from Steubenville to Smithfield, \$12.50.

There are several entries of loss through destroying counterfeit notes of various banks, but only small currency, 50, 12½, 6¼ cents ; the largest was \$2.

R.S. had not much to spare for charity—no doubt he made up for it by spending time and trouble ; some interesting entries are :

To Nich ^s Ross a slave tow ^{ds} purchasing Emancip ⁿ	12½ cents
M ^c Kever of Middle town towards emancipating a Negro	50 cents
Subscription to Andrew Cramblet whose house & property was destroyed by fire	50 cents
Subscription towards conveying a Black woman to New Lisbon	50 cents
Subscrip ⁿ towards defraying Expenses of a Delegate to Conv ⁿ at Philadel ^a	50 cents
Subscrip ⁿ towards defraying Expenses of Betty Davis suit for her freedom against Henning & others	\$3

The licence to retail goods for one year cost \$10.16 ; he paid C. Osborne \$2.50 for printing 150 copies of "Drunk^{ss} Cry to Beasts and on Swear^g" ; and there are payments to Philadelphia for tracts (see xiii. 141). There is a list of the subscribers to the School at Richmond, with various amounts opposite the names ; the practice was to make a three months' contract for schooling at 9s. per child.

The memoranda from which these details are taken do not afford any general survey of R.S.'s financial position ; he was not at any time penniless, for he deposited \$340.51½ with John Hoyle for safe-keeping in Sixth month, 1819, which, from other evidence, seems to have remained in J.H.'s hands till some time after R.S. returned to England.

[J.D.C.]

Two Letters from David Livingstone

Tette, 11 Dec. 1858.

MY DEAR MR. STURGE,

You were kind enough to write when I was in England in commendation of the views you hold respecting war and the taking away of human life. I am sorry that I could not give that due attention to the subject as put forward by you as it deserved, and the letter having been mislaid, I think I cannot do better than try to enlighten you by way of answer. The loss of the letter having left me in such a state of darkness that will procure pardon for my presumption.

I love peace as much as any mortal man. In fact I go quite beyond you for I love it so much I would fight for it—You, who in a land abounding in police and soldiers, ready to catch every ruffian who would dare to disturb your pretty dwelling may think this language too strong, but your principles to be good must abide the test of stretching. Fancy yourself here. A man whom I cured of fever at Quilimane when on my way to England in 1856 no sooner heard of Luis Napoleon's emigration scheme than he purchased a quantity of gunpowder, armed his slaves and made a foray into the Licunga country, and brought back some hundreds of captives. Had you been one of the Licunga, you would have been knocked on the head as too old, and your wife and children would have lost that liberty for which our fathers fought and bled. Ah, but I would not have used any defensive arms say you; & would have been safe. Well, six of my Makololo men—very fine young elephant hunters all of them—went down from this about thirty miles *totally unarmed*. They had been in the habit of visiting different chiefs in the vicinity and were usually invited to shew the dances of their country. After doing this they generally were rewarded with a handsome present of food. In this instance the chief named Bonga requested them to dance. They did so. He then ordered them to be taken to a certain hut where there were provisions on pretence of

giving some, and killed the whole six. He was perfectly aware of their being my men, but he wanted certain parts of their bodies as medicine and killed two of them very cruelly. Had they been armed with revolvers their lives would have been safe. I think so, though it is the most earnest wish and prayer of my heart that I may never be placed in those circumstances in which it may be necessary to take away the life of a fellow man. I have done nothing but speak to his nephew about it, and send a message to the murderer—the only excuse he urges is a false one—not knowing they were my men. Well, the moral effect of doing nothing is this. Wishing to be on friendly terms with another chief north of this I sent him a handsome present, and a message explanatory of our objects, our wishes to put an end to their wars, etc., etc. He received it in a very cordial manner, and sent two men to see me. He presented two elephants tusks also. I would rather not have received them, but it was said a refusal would be considered an insult. I treated the two men as well as I could but they thought that I ought to have given more. I offered the tusks but they went off in high dudgeon, roaring out the threat that they would kill any of my men they met, and taunting me with “though Bonga killed six of your men *you did nothing* to him!” The people near to the Portuguese are much worse than those farther inland, but this is the place where your principles ought to be tested, not where the people are friendly or where the policeman keeps the peace. I have in no way been mixed up with country affairs. We went from side to side during the actual war—bought what we needed from each—cut wood on the rebels bank one day and wooded on the Portuguese bank the other. I am widely known as a man of peace. I could quote this were I disposed to accept evidence all on one side, but I know the other side of the question too, and I can never cease wondering why the Friends who sincerely believe in the power of peace principles dont test them by going forth to the heathen as missionaries of the cross. I for one would heartily welcome them from the belief that their conduct would have a good influence though it would never secure their safety.

D. LIVINGSTONE.

Tette, 28th Nov^r, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reference to your letter of 30th Dec^r 1859, giving me an account of the decease of our much esteemed friend Joseph Sturge, I may be allowed to explain that he favoured me with a letter while I was engaged with several very trying public meetings in Glasgow, Edinburgh, &c. I just opened it and saw that it was on the subject of Peace—then put it aside in the hope of attending to what was said the first time I had leizure. Unfortunately I never saw it again, & have no idea how it was lost. It however remained on my mind that I had not treated him as I ought to have done, and to get rid of that feeling I wrote stating some difficulties that seem to stand in the way of the adoption of Peace principles. You appear to have answered them very fairly and I thank you and Mrs. Sturge for the trouble you have taken. I pray that the Almighty may so guide my steps so that it shall never be forced upon me to fight with either black or white—but I cannot but believe that war in some cases is both necessary & just. At best it is a monstrous evil,—and never to be resorted to except under the gravest necessity. In African forays we have the worst evils of war and I think that Christians ought to exert themselves to establish lawful intercourse with the degraded heathen. It seems certain that intercourse will be established and the good ought to forestall the advances of the bad. Some of the Friends ought to put their principles to the test of practise and appear among us the harbingers of peace. I lately marched 600 miles up this river on foot—people all friendly except those near the Portuguese. I carried a stick only until passing through a tangled forest alone a Rhinoceros made a charge and stopped short when within 3 yards of me—ever after I carried a Revolver—My kind regards to Mrs. Sturge.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Copied from the originals, the first in the possession of Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and the other belonging to Miss Magdalen Evans, of London.

Ann Whitall and the Battle of Red Bank, 1777

“ **W**HEN the war of the Revolution at last broke out, the Americans built a series of forts on the Delaware to protect Philadelphia from the British Fleet . . . Now it happened that one of these forts, Fort Mercer, was placed on the farm of Red Bank, so near to the Whitall house that Ann Whitall must have seen the work going on—with what grim reflections we can imagine—from her windows . . . During the battle which raged about her house Ann Whitall sat upstairs, spinning. As a Quaker, she of course utterly disapproved of fighting. . . . So there she sat, calmly spinning, in the midst of the cannon-balls ; quite refusing to move, and probably not even looking out of the window. And it was only, at last, when a shell burst through the walls and partitions behind her back that she reluctantly and leisurely took up her wheel and went down to continue her spinning in the cellar.

“ But when the battle was over, and the Hessians retreated, she came up to take care of the wounded who filled her house. We are told that she scolded the Hessians for coming to America to butcher people, but also that she was active and vigorous and kindly in nursing them ; and indeed, it was an unrivalled opportunity to gratify her love of herbs and prescriptions. Count Donop died in her house. . . . The gallant young German noble thus found his grave on this New Jersey farm. . . . Their orchard was cut down and their barns destroyed. . . . The only reference in Ann Whitall’s Diary to these events is the note that in 1777 the ‘gugments’ predicted by the aged woman preacher ‘Eals Holl’ [Alice Hall] had come upon them. And it seems that in her stern soul she believed this rage of musketry and cannon, these shells bursting through the house, and men-of-war exploding almost under her windows, were a judgment on them ; troops being sent from Germany and France, and war ships brought by

Heaven across the ocean, to punish her family and other Friends for sleeping in meeting and for Sunday skating and fishing."

The above is taken from an article by Logan Pearsall Smith which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1901, entitled: "Two Generations of Quakers. An Old Diary." He describes the Diary as "a little old book, shabby, and yellow and worn at the edges . . . every corner closely filled with small, old, faded writing." It was the Diary of Ann Whitall, *née* Cooper, (d. 1797), wife of James Whitall (1717-1808) of Red Bank, New Jersey, and appears to have covered the years 1760, 1761, and 1762, with an addendum written in 1780. Of the Diarist, L. P. S. writes: "She was a soul of the old, stormy kind; her spirit lived not so much in New Jersey as in the Jerusalem whose wickedness was denounced by the prophets . . . She would predict with grim satisfaction judgments from Heaven."

Ann Whitall and the Battle of Red Bank, 1777, is referred to at length in *John M. Whitall*, 1879, quoting Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* and Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. On the authority of her grandson, we read in *John M. Whitall* that Ann Whitall "saw the lower limbs of a thief going upstairs. She followed him up immediately, found him under the bed, ordered him out, led him by the collar down stairs and slapped his face, and bid him be gone" (page 11).

Meeting Records

AT THE MEETING HOUSE, BULL STREET, BIRMINGHAM

Campden and Stow Monthly Meeting,	1724-1779.
Old South Warwickshire ,,	1748-1790.
Shipston Monthly Meeting,	1758- 1790.
South Warwickshire Monthly Meeting,	1790 to date.
Shipston and Brailes Preparative Meeting,	1790-1854.
Shipston and Armscott Accounts,	1680-1701.
Campden Women's Monthly Meeting,	1754-1790.
South Warwickshire Women's M.M.,	1790-1831.
Shipston Women's Preparative Meeting,	1820-1857.

Notes on the Travels of Aaron Atkinson in America, 1698, 1699

AARON ATKINSON (1665-1740) was born at Masthorn in the parish of Stapleton, Cumberland, and became a packman, apprenticed to William Armstrong. Master and man both became Friends. "They attended various Meetings and preached together, and drew large audiences. . . . They prospered too, in business, which at first after their conversion declined, but afterwards revived, as they were found to be honest in their dealings" (Ferguson, *Early Cumb. and Westm. Friends*, 1871, p. 104). Atkinson travelled to many parts of the British Isles. He attended Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in 1698 and 1699 (Box Meeting MSS. in **D.**). On return he took up a residence at Leeds, where he died.

See *Christopher Story*, 1726; *Thomas Story*, 1747 (many reff.); *Collection of Testimonies*, 1760; *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849; mss. in **D.**

"That there was a great openness and tenderness in North Carolina, and Some Negroes broke into Tears.

"And in Virginia them called the Hatt Men none left, and of the ungodly Ranters but one left y^t troubled ffriends.

"And there are young and Middle aged People among them very tender and Truth prospers and there was great tendreness and Epistles hence are comfortable to them.

"Jn Western shore in Maryland very zealous in great love and keep up their Meets for Business and are of good Esteem among the people y^t are not ffriends & the Governour and very loving to publick ffriends, & Life Springs every where, where ffriends are, and he and Tho: Story were at their Yearly Meet at the Eastern shore and had a Comfortable Season with them.

"And there is a fine people at West Jarsey, at East Jarsey some y^t were hurt by that sp^t y^t G. Keith went forth in, were tendered and Returned to ffriends the Separation G. K. caused there comes to little.

“ Jn Long Jsland a good people, and they had a Comfortable Meeting, but one Meet: of the Ranters Remains in the Woods, and had good service among those people, where there had been Ranters, and in Road-Island; And also at Boston in New England, where ffriends were Executed, and Tho: Story was with the Governr abot ffriends Sufferings, and the Lord is at work there,—and there is a great tenderness among the people, and proposed y^t some books of Antient ffriends sufferings there, might be Reprinted, and sent thither, And had a Meet: at New London, where there did not use to be a Meet: and the Lords power came over all: —and they had oppertunity to acq^t the people they were none of the Ranters; and also to declare the Truth, and had another Meet: after the Priests had their Conference there.

“ Jn Pensilvania a great opennes and a large Meet: House 4 Schooles good Meets: and the Lord with them in a great Measure was at two Yearly Meetings where he was greatly comforted.

“ Friends in Maryland, Virginia and Pensilvania are greived wth ffashionable things sent from England. They carrye it well to y^e Indians.”

Copied from the Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. ii., p. 302 (*anno* 1700), in the handwriting of Benjamin Bealing, Recording Clerk.

Mary Whitall and Her Bonnet

ONE day, when quite a little girl, she was crossing the bridge over Woodbury Creek on her way to school, when her dislike to her bonnet grew so strong that she took it off and kicked it before her. The deed weighed heavily on her conscience, and, as she was returning home in the dusk of evening, she was startled, upon reaching the middle of the bridge, to see a dark shadow at a little distance up the creek. This, to her excited imagination, assumed the appearance of a figure coming towards her, with finger uplifted in solemn warning. Filled with terror at what she felt a deserved rebuke, she ran home as fast as her trembling limbs could carry her, resolved henceforth to wear her bonnet in full submission. As she grew older and could better understand the reasons for her plain dress, her childish objections to it passed away, and she quietly settled down to the simplicity in which she was educated.

Memoir of Mary Whitall (1803-1880), 1885, p. 6.

Joseph Rickman and his Poems

A VERY rare, thin octavo volume has recently been presented to D. by Kirk Brown, of Baltimore, Md., entitled *Religious & Moral Poems*, by the late Joseph Rickman, of Lewes, Sussex, England. Philadelphia : printed for the Proprietor, 1828.

Joseph Rickman (1749-1810) was a son of John and Elizabeth (Peters) Rickman, and was born at Lewes, Sussex. In 1772 he married Sarah Neave, of Staines (when he was "of Maidenhead, Surgeon and Apothecary") and had a large family, among his children being Thomas, the noted architect (1776-1841), John, the accountant (1780-1835), Edwin Swan, the author (1790-1873), and William, the Schoolmaster (1781-1871). In 1777 he received Thomas Pole (1753-1829) into his family as apprentice, and they remained through life on very friendly terms. (*Thomas Pole, M.D.*, by Edmund T. Wedmore, 1908, where there is a reproduction of a profile of J. R., by Dr. Pole.)

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1810 has this reference to his decease :

"At Dublin, aged 64, Mr. Joseph Rickman, a native of Lewes, and formerly one of the people of Quakers. He had for the last two or three years held forth as a street preacher in most of the principal towns of the Kingdom, and particularly in the Metropolis, with a degree of eccentricity bordering on insanity. He was by profession a surgeon and apothecary, and practised many years at Maidenhead." (vol. 80, p. 662.)

There are nineteen pieces in this little book. One is addressed "To the little Lambs in Ackworth Fold, J. and W. R. their cousins, &c." J. and W. R. were probably his own sons, John and William, who entered Ackworth together in 1790, and the cousins would be some of the seventeen children of his brother, Richard Peters, and Mary (Verrall) Rickman, all who grew up, save George the youngest, being educated at Ackworth. Another poem was written on the death of his brother, R. P. Rickman, in 1801, the first of the line of Richard Peters and John, in alternate generations, down to the present John ; and another to the memory of his sister Ann (1757-1793), who married William Jeffrey, of Salisbury.

William Rickman (1781-1871) was the third son of Joseph Rickman. He was at Ackworth School from 1790 to 1795. It does not appear in what year he went to America, but in 1821 he transferred his membership from Frankford, Pa., to Baltimore, Md. It is probable that before residing at Frankford he taught school in Cincinnati. Later in 1821 he was at Nottingham, Md. In the Introduction to his father's Poems he writes : "The following collection of Poems is affectionately inscribed to his Scholars at Cincinnati, Frankford, Woodbury, Baltimore, East Nottingham, Bush, Fawn Grove, West Grove and Sadsbury, by their late teacher W. R." In his *Thoughts on Education including the draft of a Constitution for a contemplated Society, to be called The United States Education-Improvement Society*, William Rickman describes himself as

“An Instructor of Youth, in the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, from 1818 to 1826” (Smith, *Cata. Supp.*; pamphlet not in **D**). He had relinquished his educational work so far as we know, when he wrote a Preface to his father’s Poems in 1828, and issued his educational pamphlet in 1830, in which later year he was residing on Pratt Street (above Howard), in the City of Baltimore.

The late Perceval Lucas wrote under date, July 21st, 1902, “W. R. was an enthusiast on the subject of education and died in York Retreat, 1871, aged 89” (letter in **D**). The *Annual Monitor* gives his residence as London.

An Adventure on the Delaware River

JT was a winter’s day and the sleighing was perfect. The swine had been slaughtered, and a stock of lard, sausages and tenderloins, filled the larder. My mother determined that a sister in Philadelphia should have some of these good things, and this was a fine opportunity to take them. So Bob was rigged to the sleigh, and loading the spoils we started, my mother and cousin Rebecca, M. Cooper and myself the passengers, and father the driver. I remember well how I enjoyed the jingle of the echoing bells, as that frosty morning we passed by the old woods then bordering the road to Camden. Reaching the river we found it was solidly frozen over and covered with snow. It seemed a perfectly even plain of pure white. A stream of foot passengers, and sleighs and sleds were going and returning over it, and our only recourse was to do as did the rest. Down the slip we rode, and soon were in line with the others travelling on the ice. We reached the city gaily, and having done all our errands, started to recross the river, my father standing up in front the better to manage his steed and insure the safety of his precious charge. He wore a broad-brimmed hat, and an ample camlet cloak. We had just struck the ice when Bob took fright at something and began running. It was a moment of peril, for open air-holes lay not far distant. We in the sleigh were not a little terrified. As to father, while we were thus speeding, first his big hat flew off and took to the rear. Then a wig he wore came loose, and after flapping in the gale, shortly followed the hat. Now, bald-headed, with his cloak streaming in the wind, my father tried the expedient of guiding Bob towards a projecting wharf. Rather than strike this, Bob slackened his pace, and a man seizing him by the bridle, brought him to a halt. It was then my father enjoyed first the reception of his wig from a polite witness of his disaster, and then his broad-brimmed hat from another. After composing ourselves and calming Bob, we headed homeward, rejoicing that we had escaped a more serious disaster.

From *My Ancestors*, by William Hopkins Nicholson, 1897. The father and mother of the writer were Samuel Nicholson (1793-1885) of Haddonfield, N. J., and Rebecca Hopkins, his wife.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends Book Shop, 140, Bishopsgate, London., E.C.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to Librarian, Devonshire House. Bishopsgate. London. E.C.

AN improvement in the presentation of Quaker history to the general public is very noticeable in Henry T. Hodgkin's jubilee volume, *Friends Beyond Seas*.¹ Here there are careful explanations of Friendly terms—Meeting for Sufferings (p. 23n), Queries (p. 41n), "concern" (p. 59n), Morning Meeting (p. 60n)—also brief biographies of Friends mentioned, and a good index. Contrast this exact work with, say, the book on "The Friends: Who they are—what they have done," published by Edward Hicks, Jr., in 1892. Chapter V. mentions over thirty early Friends, but there is not a single date in the twelve pages! and there is little if any reference to authority, as *e.g.*, that, in the national emergency of Napoleon's threatened invasion, Friends prepared themselves to serve on ambulance corps or in hospitals (p. 215); or the fact that to the 2,800 pages of the works (1851-1868) of Samuel M. Janney there is no Index!

A few slips such as Cotherstone in Durham (*Yorkshire*), John (*Josiah*) Coale, (p. 16); James Jupp should be James *Jesup* (c. 1795-1868) who was the companion of Edwin O. Tregelles in the West Indies, (p. 31); the beginning of Y.M. in London was 1660, (p. 187), will no doubt be put right in another edition.

Edmund Yerbury Priestman (1890-1915) was a birthright member of the Society of Friends. He was much interested in Adult School and Boy Scout work at Sheffield, and in 1914 he took a commission in the York and Lancaster Regiment, and went out to Gallipoli, where he was killed. Many of his letters have been printed in *With a B.-P. Scout in Gallipoli, A Record of the Belton Bulldogs*. (London: Routledge, 7½ by 5, pp. 312, with 38 illustrations, 6s. net.) Sir R. Baden Powell tells us in his Foreword that Priestman "practised to the full" the requirements of "successful soldiering." The author suggested that the file of his letters should be entitled: "Huns in the Making, or the Belton Bulldogs," a curious title, printed large on the page of Preface. The letters are cleverly written. There is no indication of the religious atmosphere which we are told pervades the army at the Front.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was set on foot in September, 1915, and *The Journal of Negro History* has now completed its first year's quarterly issues (Lancaster, Pa.: 41 North Queen Street; and Washington, D.C.: 1216 You Street, N.W. \$1.00 a year).

¹ London: Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 256, thirty-four illustrations, 3/6 & 2/6 net.

Vol. I. runs to 450 pages, 10 by 7 ; each part divides itself into four—Articles, Documents, Reviews of Books, and Notes. In the last part (i. 4, October, 1916) there are references to letters to Dorothy Ripley (1767-1831) when in America in 1803 ; extracts from the Travels of Robert Sutcliff, 1804-1806 ; mention of Friends of Philadelphia sending 1,000 barrels of flour for the starving city of New Orleans, 1791, and other notices of Friends' work for negroes.

We have received a copy of the *Revised Marriage Rules, adopted by Philadelphia Y.M.* (Arch Street), 1916. The marriage of first cousins is still prohibited, but concessions have been made in reference to that of non-members, which may now take place in Meeting. Members marrying "in other way than in accordance with the regulations of the Discipline" may be retained in membership according to the decision of the M.M. if they desire so to continue and are "in a good degree of unity with our principles."

The Times (Literary Supplement) for 16th November has reviews of two works prepared by Friends—Dr. Thomas Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders," second edition, and John Bellows's French Dictionary, third edition. Each has been issued under the care of a son of its author.

From Isaac Mason, of the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, we have received the following pieces of literature in Chinese :

A Reasonable Faith, in Reply to Agnosticism, by Angus Mackay, B.A., Edinburgh, translated and adapted by Isaac Mason ; *The Progress of Democracy, or, Parliament and the People*, four lectures by J. H. B. Masterman, translated by Isaac Mason ; *The Federation of the World*, by Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D., translated by Isaac Mason and Lo Yung-Sheng ; *The Life of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania*, by Isaac Mason, with a reproduction of West's picture of the Treaty ; *War or Peace? a dramatic dialogue*, translated by Isaac Mason.

Also kindly sent by Isaac Mason, *The Worship of God*, written by him, printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press, and published by the F.F.M.A., China.

* Our readers who wish to follow the work of Friends' War Victims' Relief in Russia should read *The People who Run*. (London and New York: Putnam, 7½ by 5, pp. 176, 2s. 6d. net).

The last presidential address of the F.H.S.—*Friends in Public Life*, by President Sharpless, of Haverford College, Pa., U.S.A., has been reprinted and can be obtained from Headley Brothers, Kingsway House, London, W.C. (or through Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.) at twopence each, 1s. 6d. per doz., 12s. per 100. American orders may be sent to Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.

* = not in D.

The Tablet of July 22nd, 1916, contains an article signed Everard Meynell, on Perceval Drewett Lucas (1879-1916), born a Friend, became a Roman Catholic, enlisted in the Great War, was wounded at Fricourt, July 1st, and died at Abbeville, July 6th. He was the author of several genealogical and historical works, and brother of Edward Verrall Lucas, the writer.

* It is indicative of the widespread knowledge of the work of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee that a reference to it without explanation should appear in a non-Quaker novel. The following sentence occurs in Rose Macaulay's *Non-combatants and Others* (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916):

"She had gone there from France, where she had been helping the Friends to reconstruct. She was not a Friend herself, not holding with institutional religion, but she admired their ready obedience to the constructive impulse" (p. 21).

The Friends' Messenger (Clara I. Cox, High Point, N.C.) is now in its twenty-third year. Its subtitle is: "A Monthly Periodical for the Spread of the Gospel through the Instrumentality of the Society of Friends of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting."

* "'W. E. Quakerson' whose first novel has recently been published [London: Heath, Cranton, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5, pp. 304, 6s. net], is, as might be guessed, a Friend. In *The New Prospero* we have a very modern version, with many variations, of the Shakesporean story, in which the magic of the 'Tempest's' master has its counterpart in the great wealth of the modern Prospero. By its means, the latter influences the destinies of the rulers of a small state in the Near East, though there are other and still more powerful influences which finally change its government entirely. There is a charming Miranda, and a rather weak Ferdinand, who gets more than his deserts. The story is brightly and vivaciously told, and there is an original scheme for the manufacture of kingship." —*The Friend* (Lond.), 10th November, 1916.

* "I was more impressed by John Bright's speaking than by that of anyone else. It struck me as being so quiet and dignified, and more like being spoken to in a convincing way, than as being a display of eloquence. I remember once when Lady Ossington asked me to come with her to the House to hear him, Mrs. John Bright was there too, and was constantly sending messages to her husband, by a young man, before he began to speak." —From *Zoe Thompson of Bishopthorpe*, by E. C. Rickards, 1916.

* A Quaker farmer and a Radical named Braithwaite appears frequently in *The Tutor's Story*, novel partly written by Charles Kingsley and finished by his daughter, "Lucas Malet" (London: Smith, Elder, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5, pp. 371, 6s. net), but his Quakerism is very weak.

A volume of 727 pages devoted to one locality presents a striking illustration of thorough and careful research. The late Miss M. Louisa Armitt (d. 1916), of Rydal Cottage, Westmorland, has done this in her recent work, *Rydal*—a book which she completed in 1911 and is now published under the editorship of Willingham F. Rawnsley, M.A. (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 9 by 5½, pp. 727, and 15 illustrations, 12s. 6d.). There are several direct references to Friends, but some are obscured by their omission from the insufficient Index, as *e.g.*, Gervase Benson (pp. 486, 487), William Ball (p. 437), and Reg. Holme (pp. 277, 278), Quakers (p. 433); other persons who came into contact with Friends appear, as *e.g.*, Sir Daniel Fleming, Sir Jordan Crosland, Sir Joseph Williamson.

* The following is from a review in *The Land Union Journal* for December, 1916, of Montague Fordham's "English Rural Life," London: Allen, 2s. 6d. net:

"Mr. Fordham seems on less sure ground when dealing with the religious side of rural life. He says that not much is known of Wycliffe or John Ball.¹ The latter is rather a hazy figure, but Lollardism has surely had in recent years a great deal of penetrating and accurate scholarship devoted to it. Elsewhere the slight references to Quakerism and Independency seem to suggest a concurrent rise, or even that Quakerism preceded Independency. But the historian, of course, cannot well explain the rise of the Friends, except as a rebound from a Puritanism that had lost its freshness and virility. Quakerism did not really make itself felt appreciably until almost the second half of the seventeenth century."

The following issues of the F.F.M.A. Jubilee Biographical series have appeared: *Rachel Metcalfe* (1828-1889), by Caroline W. Pumphrey; *Theophilus Waldmeier* (1832-1915), by Dr. R. Hingston Fox; *William and Lucy Johnson*, by John Sims; *George Swan*, by Frederick Sessions, F.R.G.S.; *Watson Grace*, by Herbert H. Catford. The price is two-pence for each, 32 pp., illustrated, from the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

M. Catharine Albright has written *A Short Sketch of the History, Growth and Prospects of the Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba*, to be obtained for one penny each at the office of the Mission, 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

The Earlham College Bulletin for August, 1916 (vol. xiii., no. 5), contains "The First Who's Who among Earlhamites," from 1847, with portraits of Presidents—Barnabas Coffin Hobbs, 1867, 1868; Joseph Moore, 1868-1883; Joseph John Mills, 1884-1903; Robert Lincoln Kelly, since 1903.

* *Kalendar of the War*, by M. Sturge Gretton, a daughter of the late Marshall Sturge, of Charlbury, Oxon. (London: Nisbet, 9½ by 7¼, pp. 122; printed by John Bellows, of Gloucester.) It is described as "a Kalendar of the last hundred and seventeen weeks, with readings appro-

¹ For John Ball, see *The Ploughshare*, for February, 1916.

priate to these weeks, and spaces for a chronicle of private names and events."

The Red Cross in France, by Granville Barker (London and New York: Hodder, 7½ by 5, pp. 168, 2s. 6d. net), contains a chapter of thirty pages, entitled "Among the Friends."

The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, 10½ by 6½, pp. 30, nine plates. 1s.). Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Oct.-Dec., 1916, in which Bulletin there are other articles by Dr. Harris.

Recent Acquisitions to D.

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to D. during the last few months:

Religion and Science: A Philosophical Essay, by John Theodore Merz, author of "A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century." Dr. Merz (b. 1840) married, in 1873, Alice Mary Richardson, daughter of Edward and Jane Richardson, and sister of John Wigham Richardson and Mrs. Spence Watson. He is a Ph.D. of Leipsig, D.C.L. of Durham, and LL.D. of St. Andrews. He is not in membership with Friends, but attends the Meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Other information may be found in Percy Corder's "Robert Spence Watson" 1914, and in George B. Richardson's "John Wigham Richardson," 1911.

William Penn and his Holy Experiment, by Allen C. Thomas, second edit., Phila., 1896.

Two reprints of articles by our Friend, A. Stanley Eddington, taken from *Scientia* (Bologna: Zanichelli; and London: Williams and Norgate) have been received: "Star-Streams," from vol. viii. (1910), and "The Stellar Universe as a Dynamical System," from vol. xviii. (1915.)

Also a reprint from *The Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1915, "The Movements of the Stars." Stanley Eddington, M.A., F.R.S., is Plumian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge.

The London Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1916 has been reprinted in English by the Canadian Methodist Mission Press of Chengtu, China. It has also been done in Chinese, and in German.

By the kindness of Allen C. Thomas, consulting librarian of Haverford College, Pa., twenty issues of the proceedings of Baltimore Y.M. (Park Avenue), ranging from 1825 to 1869, have been added to the Reference Library.

John Brown among the Quakers, by Irving B. Richman, of Muscatine, Iowa. Des Moines, 1904.

Three lectures on Friends in Darlington, by John William Steel, Mary Anna Hodgkin and Jonathan B. Hodgkin. (See *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1917.)

Memoirs of Catharine Seely [1799-1838] and Deborah S. Roberts [1802-1838], late of Darien, Connecticut. New York, 1844.

The Fruits of Silence, by Cyril Hopher. Macmillan, 1915.

The Story of the Ram Allah Mission, by Rosa E. Lee, 1912, sent by Sarah J. Swift, West Falmouth, Mass.

Manuscript account of the Women's Yearly Meeting of London, 1856, presented by Isaac Sharp, B.A.

The Sedbergh School Register, 1546 to 1895, by B. Wilson, 1895.

Do Plants Think? by Ellwood Cooper, Santa Barbara, California, U.S.A., 1916.

A little volume, to be named *Gulson MSS.*, containing copies of letters, dated 1697 to 1723, written by Mary, wife of Dr. William Gulson, of Coventry, and by Margery, wife of John Peters, of St. Minvers, from 1702 to 1707; also a letter "from William Payne, when at Harrogate to a young woman then there with whom he had some religious conversation in the year 1768." Attached to this little book was, at one time, a copy of a letter from William Penn to Margaret Fox in 1677 (another copy of this letter is in D.). Presented by Joseph J. Green.

A Lover of Books—Life and Literary Papers of Lucy Harrison (1844-1915) by Amy Greener. (London: Dent; and New York: Dutton, 8 by 5½, pp. 318, with illustrations, 5s. net.)

Henry Glisson's *True and Lamentable Relation of the most desperate death of James Parnel*, 1656, copied by A. Kemp Brown from the printed tract in the British Museum, and presented by him.

Bellows's *French Dictionary*, pocket size, 3rd ed., 1916; School 2nd ed, 1914, and 3rd ed., 1916, presented by the Proprietors.

With a Prehistoric People, the Akikiyu of British East Africa, by W. Scoresby Routledge and Katherine Routledge, London, 1910, pp. xxxii. + 392, and many illustrations, presented by Mrs. Routledge, *née* Pease of Darlington.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1915-16.

The War in Wexford: An Account of the Rebellion in the South of Ireland in 1798, by H. F. B. Wheeler, and A. M. Broadley, London, 1910, pp. xvi. + 343.

American Notes

The International Studio for November contains eight illustrations of etchings by Robert Spence, R.E., "one of the best of living English etchers of genre." His favorite period is the seventeenth century life in England, and the characters he best loves are Isaac Walton, Oliver Cromwell, Samuel Pepys and George Fox. Being himself a Quaker, George Fox attracts him strongly. The two pictures given here are "George Fox and the Lady," and "George Fox in Carlisle Prison." His workmanship shows much beauty of detail and depth of color. Quotations from Fox's Journal in old printing letters, add much to the pictures and harmonize with them.

Other pictures illustrated are: "Isaac Walton," "Pepys and the Ships," "King Charles II. and Pepys," "Vanderdecken" "The Vale," "The Bearskin." The two etchings of Pepys are very attractive, full of detail, and in this respect equalling a page of the famous diary from which their subject is taken.

Appleton & Co., of New York, advertise a biography: *Elizabeth Fry, the Angel of the Prisons*, written by Laura E. Richards, illustrated, price \$1.35. L. E. Richards is a daughter of Julia Ward Howe.

Harper and Brothers advertise *The Years of My Youth*, a delightful autobiography of William Dean Howells, "our most distinguished man of letters." A picture of his boyhood and early years in an Ohio town. Crown 8vo. Price \$2.00.

It is perhaps not generally known that Mr. Howells is of Quaker ancestry, and Friends are indebted to him for his sympathetic introduction to the Journal of Thomas Ellwood, which gave it a wider reading than it otherwise would have had.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for November contains an article on "The Conscientious Objector," by Henry W. Nevins, who, while not himself so classed, feels the government is mistaken in not following the words and intentions of their own Act framed and intended to grant absolute exemption to such objectors. He ends by saying: "And besides, what if he should be right after all? What if his path (hard though it can be made) should prove the beginning of the straightest path to the far-off salvation of man?"

The *Atlantic Monthly* announces "The Inward Light" as one of the topics for the coming year.

J. B. Lippincott Company (Montreal, Philadelphia, and London) advertise Joseph Pennell's *Pictures of the Wonder of Work*, sketches by the "master-draughtsman" of the building of railway stations, skyscrapers and of giant ships, etc., with short descriptions by the artist. Price \$2.00. Joseph Pennell is a Friend of Germantown, Pa.

West Grove, Pa.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

JOURNAL OF MARGARET WOODS.
—The seven volumes of the original Diary, in manuscript, of Margaret Woods, have recently come into the possession of the Society, as a gift from her great-grand-daughters, Elizabeth and Alice Woods, of Woburn Sands. The years covered are 1771 to 1821, and there are numerous contemporary references to visits of ministering Friends and matters of family interest. In 1829 John and Arthur Arch published a volume of 500 pages, containing *Extracts from the Journal of the late Margaret Woods*, and a second edition appeared in the following year. An American reprint was brought out by Henry Longstreth, of Philadelphia, in 1850. All three editions are in D. Practically all the personal references in the original have been omitted in the printing.

Margaret Woods (1748-1821) was a daughter of Samuel and Grizell (Gurnell) Hoare, of London. She married, in 1769, Joseph Woods (d. 1812), woollen-draper, of White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. Her niece, Sarah Hoare (1777-1856), writes: "My Aunt Woods, who married a man of small fortune, and had bad health, was her mother's great favourite." (*Memoirs of Samuel Hoare*, London, 1911.)

MEETING ANNIVERSARIES (xiii., 42, 84).—To those previously noted may be added: *A Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore . . . as read on its One Hundredth Anniversary, 1881*; bi-centenary of Woodbury Meeting, N.J., 1915, reported in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1915, and in the *Bulletin of the F.H.S. of Philadelphia, 1915*; centenary *Celebration of Whitewater Monthly Meeting, Ind., 1909*.

TONES IN PREACHING (xiii., 124).—A. Neave Brayshaw sends the following quotation from Samuel Bownas's *Qualifications of a Gospel Minister, 1750*, p. 41:
"Though the Matter delivered by thee may differ from that of another, whose Doctrine thou mayst think more acceptable and in more apt Terms, which may tempt thee to imitate him; this will bring an Uneasiness and a Cloud over thy Mind; therefore keep to thy own Way, both in thy Opening and delivering thereof, guarding against all affected Tones of singing or sighing, and drawing out thy Words and Sentences beyond their due length, and by speaking too much in a Breath, and so adding an Ah! to the end of them, and drawing thy Breath with such a Force and

Groan, as will drown thy Matter, and render thee unacceptable to thy Hearers; likewise guard against superfluous Words, impertinently brought in, such as I may say; As it were; All and every one; Dear Friends; and Friendly People, with sundry others of the like kind, which add nothing to thy Matter, spoiling its coherence and Beauty of Expression."

BURIED LIKE A DOG.—"1695[6] March 15. John Waring for his honestly living I cannot but mention among y^e Christian dead, who was by his relations put ith ground lik a dog in y^e Quakers meeting house yard. Rogues!"

From the Church of England Register at Shipston-on-Stour, Worcestershire. Sent by Richard Savage, Stratford-on-Avon.

BREAKING UP MEETINGS (xiii. 84). Allen C. Thomas writes from Haverford, Pa: "So far as I have observed, while still customary on the 'high seats' in Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings, it is not usual for those on the other forms." Do Whittier's lines embody a poetical licence?

Was the first Baron Dimsdale (1712-1800) a Friend?

REMOVALS TO PENNSYLVANIA.—At a Preparative Meeting held at Marsden Height, Lancashire, 13 ix. 1698, Henry Mitchel, Robert Brewer, Henry Whalley and John Baldwin, junior, obtained leave to "lay their Intentions of Removal into Pennsylvania" before the next Monthly Meeting.

MARTYRDOM OF MARY DYER.—Samuel Dyer, a grandson of Mary Dyer, who suffered death in Boston in the year 1660, owned and occupied the farm in the town of Newport, Rhode Island, on which she had long lived; and he died there in the year 1767, at an advanced age, a man of good character and exemplary life and conversation. During his life the legislature of the province of Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston was the capital, took into consideration the circumstances of her death; and being informed that one of her descendants was living, sent a deputation of their body to confer with him on that occasion: they represented that they deeply regretted the conduct of their ancestors, or predecessors, in putting his ancestor to death; and desired to know what compensation or satisfaction they could make; and offered to do what might be required in that way. He received them courteously and told them he was sensible of the good feelings and worthy motives which had actuated the Legislature in making the offer; but that no compensation could be made; he could accept nothing as the price of blood; that their sense of the injury and injustice committed, exemplified by their acknowledgment, was sufficient; and he freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe.

From a MS. in D., endorsed:

Copied from
T. Shillitoe's Scrap Book.

BAPTISM.—Baptized. 1783.
Apr. 20. Benjamin Court, a Quaker, aged about fourscore

years.—Registers of St. Nicholas, Warwick.

MABEL WIGHAM'S JOURNALS (1762-1776).—Mabel Wigham, of Coanwood, Northumberland, was the daughter of Cuthbert Wigham, a convinced Friend and Minister, and founder of that well-known Meeting, and the Quaker family bearing his name still resident there, and till lately at Edinburgh, etc.

Mabel Wigham was born *circa* 1729, and died in 1781, aged 52, having been a Minister some twenty-five years. Her husband, apparently a cousin, was Thomas Wigham, of Limestone, Coanwood. Of her is an account in *Piety Promoted* and a Testimony at Devonshire House.

Not long before her death she communicated the above Journals to Solomon Chapman, of Sunderland, who lent them to Elizabeth (Dearman) Robson, a Minister, of Sunderland, and widow of Edward Robson, the botanist, of Darlington.

Elizabeth Robson transcribed these Journals, which are somewhat fragmentary, during the winter of 1833-34, to the best of her ability; and they came into possession of her daughter, Mary Edward Backhouse, of Ashburne, Sunderland, and later into that of her great-grand-daughter as well as grand-niece, Lucy E. Mounsey, of Sunderland, by whom they were given to Joseph J. Green, of Hastings, in 1916. By him they were indexed; and the references to persons and places, besides a great many repeated several times, amount to nearly a thousand. He has also mostly transcribed the Journals again and indexed them.

So far as he is able to discover by communication with the Wighams of Coanwood, no copy of Mabel Wigham's Journals is otherwise known, and it is to be feared that the originals are lost.

Elizabeth Robson's copy consists of some eighty-eight closely written quarto pages. The Journals are very interesting, relating to ministerial journeys in County Durham, Scotland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Essex, London, Lancashire, Ireland, etc. The reference to many Friends not named in other Quaker Journals is particularly valuable. One of Mabel Wigham's companions on a lengthy journey to Norfolk, Essex and Lincoln, was Esther Maud, wife of William Tuke of York.

Elizabeth Robson's copy of the Journals has been presented to Devonshire House Reference Library by the kindness of Joseph J. Green.

DANIEL QUARE AND THE BAROMETER (ix. 173; x. 43).—*Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, William and Mary, 1694-95, p. 395. Feby. 24/1695. Warrant for letters patent to Daniel Quare to have the sole use and benefit for fourteen years, of his invention of a portable barometer which may be removed to any place, though turned upside down, without spilling one drop of the quicksilver or letting any air into the tube, although the air shall have the same liberty to operate on it as on those common ones now in use, with respect to the weight of the atmosphere.

S.P.Dom. Warrant Book, 37.

BELLOWS'S FRENCH DICTIONARY.

William Bellows, Eastgate Press, Gloucester, has kindly sent, as requested, the following particulars of his father's French Dictionary :

Pocket Format.

First edition (I believe it consisted of 6,000 copies) was published in 1872. The type was then re-set for the

Second edition, embodying additions and improvements, brought out in 1876. This second edition was reprinted many times from standing type, the difference between the succeeding issues being a matter of alterations in minor details—fresh words added from time to time : so that, generally speaking, although the various reprints all bear the mark "Second edition," they vary in some degree as between themselves.

Third edition, published in the summer of 1916. By adding one type-line to the depth of each page of the dictionary proper, and eliminating obsolete matter, and condensing certain items, room has been found to add a large amount of up-to-date material which had not previously appeared. This third edition starts at the one hundred and first thousand.

School or Crown 8vo. Edition.

First edition (of 5,500 copies) appeared in the last days of 1910.

Second edition, containing alterations and additions, 1913.

Third edition, containing further additions, published summer, 1916. The first issue of this third edition completes the twentieth thousand of the Cr. 8vo size.

xii. 1916.

W. BELLOWS.

A FRIEND AND A WAR SONG.—

In *Just a Few "Friends,"* by Mary J. Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., privately printed in 1907, we read, under the heading "War Topics":

"It was a Hicksite Friend who wrote the popular war song, chanted by so many Union soldiers on so many a weary march in the Civil War: 'We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more.'"

This Friend was James Sloan Gibbons, son-in-law of Isaac Tatem Hopper (1771-1852), who was the well-known abolitionist, of New York (*Life*, by L. Maria Child, 1853). By the kindness of Mary J. Taber, a news-clipping from a Boston paper has reached us, which gives the words of the song and an account of its genesis :

Three Hundred Thousand More.

By James S. Gibbons.

(July, 1862.)

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream
and from New England's shore ;
We leave our ploughs and work-
shops, our wives and children
dear,

With hearts too full for utterance,
with but a silent tear ;

We dare not look behind us, but
steadfastly before :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

If you look across the hilltops that
meet the Northern sky,

Long moving lines of rising dust
your vision may descry ;

And now the wind, an instant,
tears the cloudy veil aside,

And floats aloft our spangled flag,
in glory and in pride,

And bayonets in the sunlight
gleam and bands brave music
pour :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

If you look all up our valleys
where the growing harvests
shine,

You may see our sturdy farmer
boys fast forming into line ;

And children from their mother's
knees are pulling at the weeds,

And learning how to reap and sow
against their country's needs ;

And a farewell group stands
weeping at every cottage door :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

You have called us, and we're
coming, by Richmond's bloody
tide

To lay us down for Freedom's sake,
our brothers' bones beside,

Or from foul treason's savage
grasp to wrench the murderous
blade,

And in the face of foreign foes its
fragments to parade.

Six hundred thousand loyal men
and true have gone before :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

In the year 1862, a Massachusetts regiment was marching down Broadway. There was no music of a band and the rhythm of the men's feet was the only sound. It became a musical measure in the ear of James S. Gibbons, who was keeping pace with the regiment, and the words fitted themselves to the echo of their steps.

Entering a friend's office, he repeated the unwritten lines and, the friend urging him to do so, sent the manuscript to the *Atlantic Monthly Magazine*.

The poem was returned as not adapted to their pages.

As a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Evening Post*, Mr. Gibbons carried the poem to the office and it was printed without his name. Later, the editor, William Cullen Bryant, was appealed to by an officer of an Ohio regiment for the privilege of changing the words "our wives and children dear," on the ground that his company was composed entirely of unmarried men.

Mr. Bryant appealed to Mr. Gibbons to allow him to make the change, without disclaiming the authorship. Hence arose the confusion which has always existed. Not only original copies in Mr. Gibbons's handwriting, but other abundant proof can be produced in support of this statement.

S.H.E.

[The song was published in the *New York Evening Post* for July 16th, 1862. It was written by James Sloan Gibbons. He never disclaimed the authorship. His wife was a daughter of Isaac T. Hopper.]

ROBERT PROUD (1728-1813).—Robert Proud was born at a "farmhouse, Low Foxton, near Crathorne, in the north part of Yorkshire, England, likewise a little more than the same distance from Yarm," May 10th, 1728. Son of William and Ann (Hedley) Proud, who removed about 1710 or '11 to a place called Wood-End, two or three miles north from Thirsk. Went to school to David Hall of Skipton. Took shipping from Scarborough in 1750 for London. Resided there for a time with

Joseph Taylor. "By the advice and recommendation of my friend and relative, Dr. John Fothergill, of London, I applied myself to further improvements in some part of learning and science." Was introduced into the families of Silvanus and Timothy Bevan; was a tutor to the sons of the latter.

Removed to Pennsylvania in the latter part of 1758.

Sailed from Portsmouth, "10th Mo. 22, and first of the week."

"1759, 1 mo. 3. After a stormy passage . . . arrived at Lewistown, on or near Delaware Bay, where M[ordecai] Yarnall and myself went on shore . . . and from thence by land we two arrived at M. Yarnall's house in Philadelphia on the 6th of the same month."

"Near two years after my arrival in America in 1st mo. 3, 1759, aforesaid, I undertook on the 11th of 9 mo. 1761, the Public Latin School of Friends in Philadelphia [now, 1916, the William Penn Charter School]. In which station I continued till 9 mo. 11, 1770, about 9 years when I resigned it. From that time till 4 mo. 24th, 1780, the space of 9 years and 7 months, I was partly employed in trade with my brother John Proud from England, and partly during the distraction of the Country here, engaged, at the particular request of some Friends in compiling and writing the History of Pennsylvania, in my retirement,—a laborious and important work."

Taken from the Autobiography of Robert Proud, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 13 (1889), pp. 430-440.

This Autobiography which was first printed as above, is the source of all notices of Proud which I have seen. ALLEN C. THOMAS.

LIBERATION OF SLAVES.—On the liberation of their slaves by Friends in America :

(a) What was the total value of the property of which they divested themselves ?

(b) What was the effect on their social and economic position ? Were any families reduced thereby to actual want ?

(c) Did the loss of property involve loss of leisure, of opportunities for education, of culture and of intellectual activity ?

WILFRID GRACE.

In reply to Wilfrid Grace's note. I am not aware of any statistics in regard to the losses of Friends or their deprivations of various kinds. Stephen B. Weeks's *Southern Quakers and Slavery* is the only book that I know of that has treated on the effect of slavery on Friends, and that does not give statistics asked for. I doubt if any exist, or indeed were ever estimated.

I can give what occurred in my own family in a general way. My father's father, John Chew Thomas, of Maryland, emancipated in 1812 about 133 negro slaves. As nearly as I can recollect I was told the value was about \$50,000 or 10,000 pounds sterling. Of course money was worth more then. He so lost caste in the neighboring country round that he felt obliged to change his place of residence, and he not only lost his capital invested in slaves but sold his plantation at a low figure, so

the total loss made him a man in moderate circumstances instead of a wealthy one. Doubtless there were a number of other instances. I possess a number of the original manumission papers. He found homes for most of his former slaves in Pennsylvania, which had become a free State. I saw one of the manumitted slaves when a young man.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

PAYABLE AT MARRIAGE.—I have come across what appears to be a curious custom in these parts but about which I can gain no information. Wensleydale Preparative Meeting, held at Bainbridge (Yorkshire), 2nd of First Month, 1725, deals with it as follows :

“For further explaining some further minutes in this book relating to John Routh & Tho. Robinson their Imprudent bargain for some cattle which the s^d John had bought of Thomas payable at the day of the s^d Thomas Marriage which when the thing came to Fr^{ds} knowledge several of them became uneasy about it. As believing such bargains to be inconsistent with Righteousness & equality which Truth would lead people to, whereupon several fr^{ds} laboured with them both privately & also publicly in Monthly Meeting in order to have them put an end to it after some more equitable way (viz) for John to pay an equal value for the cattle in Redy money & Thomas to accept it as being more honorable as well as just. Which after some time the s^d John was prevailed with so farr as to tell Thomas he would give him so much redy money which was judged by some

persons who had seen the beasts to be the full worth of them, but Thomas having gotten bond for performing their contract seems to slight fr^{ds} advice & stands at some distance, which fr^{ds} cannot but blaine him for. Furthermore it is the earnest desire & request of fr^{ds} under a sence of Truths reputation amongst men that for the future All such bargains as are made payable at the day of any persons marriage are to be wholly avoided by friends, otherwise they will be treated as persons slighting wholesome advice.”

ALFRED ROWNTREE.
Cotescue, Middleham, Yorks.

WILLIAM JACKSON PALMER.—“It is probably not generally known that the founder of Colorado College, at Colorado Springs [U.S.A.], William Jackson Palmer [1836-1909], was a member of Race Street Monthly Meeting, Philadelphia, and was a man at the same time of great wealth, generous nature and high ideals. It has been said of him that ‘no other member of the Society of Friends, either in England or America, has handled enterprises so extensive or achieved results so great.’ ”

From address by President Kelly, of Earlham College, Ind., U.S.A., on “Influence of Friends on American Education,” printed in *Centennial of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, Richmond, Ind., 1909.

There is a sketch and personal tribute to W. J. Palmer, by Isaac H. Clothier, in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1909, p. 225, with an account of his many railroad and educational undertakings.

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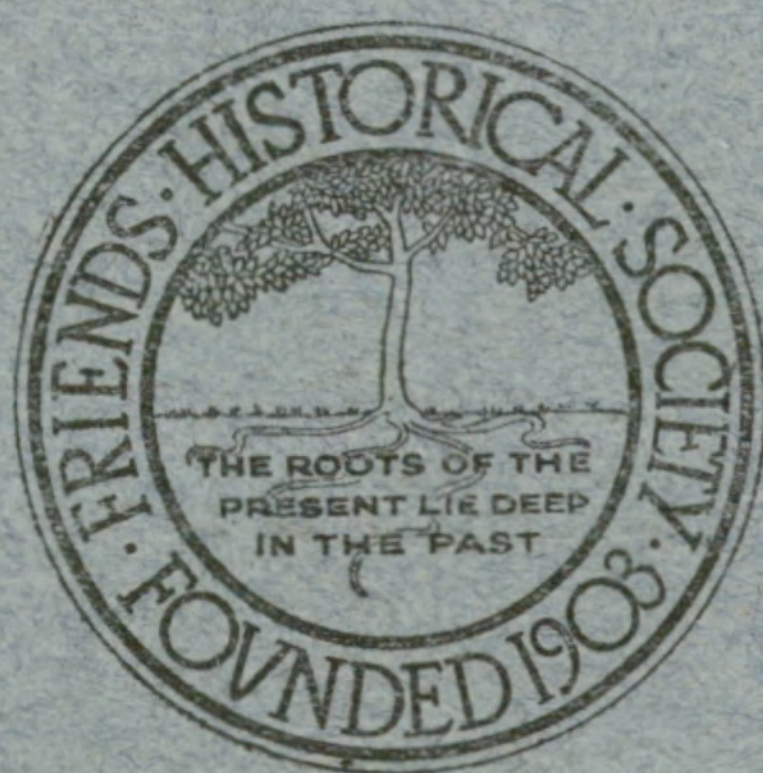
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