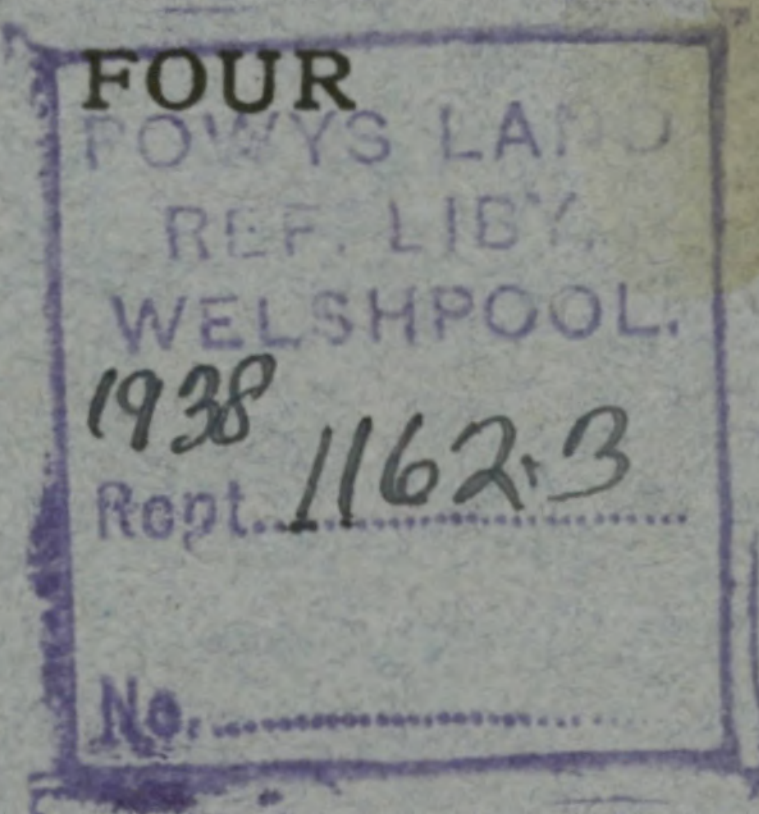


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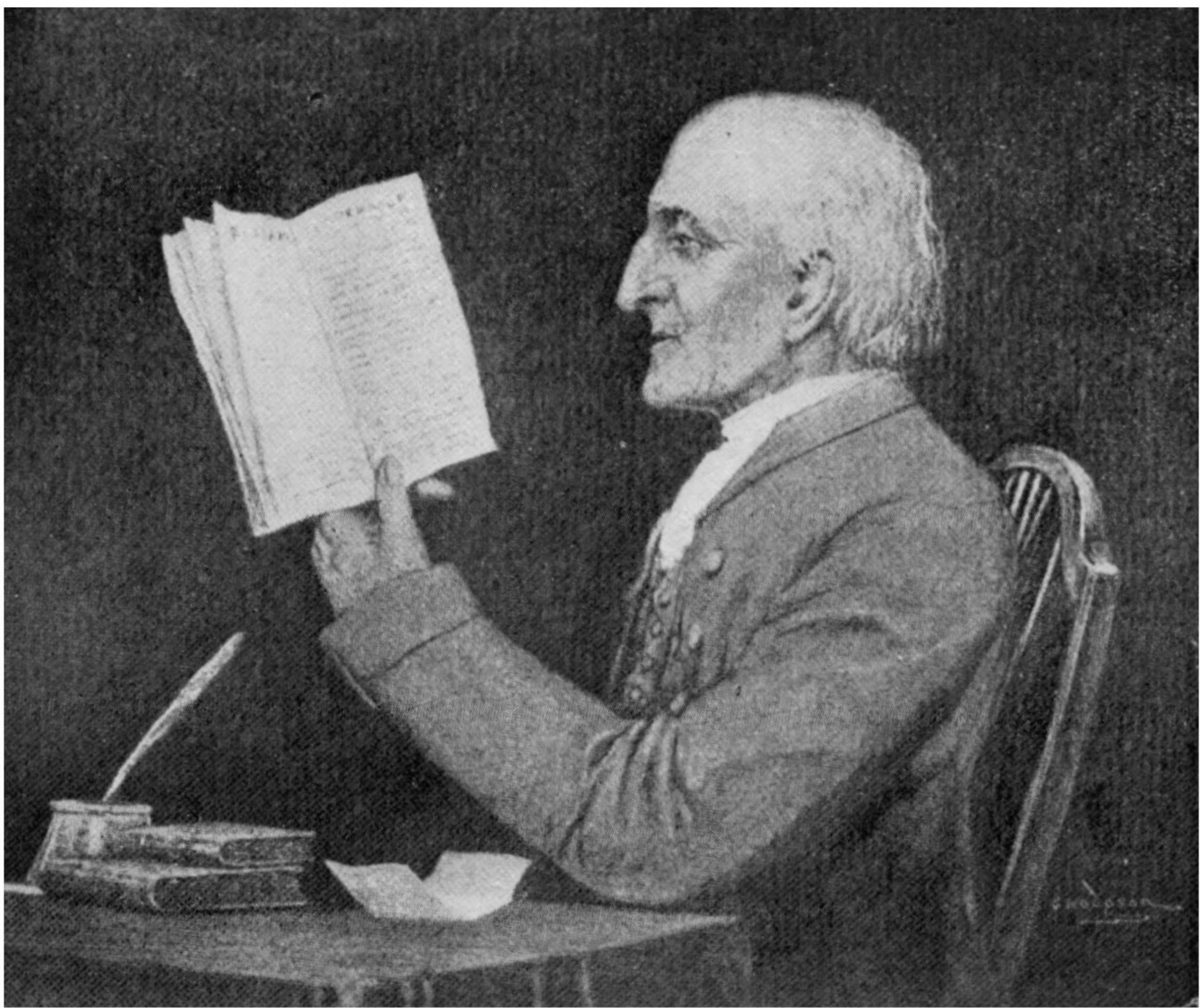
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SAMUEL FOX, OF NOTTINGHAM

See p. 89

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Our Quotation—13

“We must not have Christ Jesus the Lord of life put any more in a stable amongst the horses and asses, but He must now have the best chamber, the heart.”

GEORGE FOX, to Friends, 1657, *Journal*, bicent. ed. i. 391.

George Fox and Sixteenth Century Bibles

JN the Cambridge edition of *The Journal of George Fox* is given (vol. i. p. 160), in addition to Fox's famous letter to Cromwell, 1654, another very brief and cryptic warning of the same date, in which Isaiah viii. 19-21 is quoted in the following form :

“Should men run unto ye Dead for ye Livinge. If any man want light let him looke upon ye Law and the Testimony whether they speake not after this meaninge : if he doe this he suffers hunger, he is out of patience, and Blaspheme his kinge & his God.”

To the quotation is added the note: “This was taken out of ye bible at Gravesend.”

Norman Penney has this note: “An authority on Biblical MSS. states that he does not know from what version of Isaiah the words are taken.” The passage may

serve as text for some comments on Fox's use of older Bibles, for the solution of this quotation is not found in some foreign version but in an early English Bible.

The Bible best known and habitually used by Fox was the so-called Authorized Version issued in the year 1611. Prior to that the more important Bibles were the Bishops' Bible, first issued in 1568, the Geneva Bible (also called Breeches Bible), 1560, and the Great Bible (also called Cranmer's), 1539. All these are dependent each on the earlier ones and all on the pioneer work of Tyndale. They often resemble each other closely, but it is usually possible to distinguish the version employed. Thus the quotation from Isaiah is evidently from the Great Bible, as will be seen by the following transcript from the first edition :

“ Shulde men renne unto the dead for ye lyvyng? If eny man want lyght, lett him loke upon the lawe, and the testimony, whether they speake not after this meanyng. If he do not thys, he stombleth and suffreth hunger. And if he suffre hunger, he is out of pacience and blasphemeth his King and his God.”

There is some difference in spelling. The copy of Fox has suffered the omission by *homoioteleuton* of the words between “ hunger ” and “ hunger.” Otherwise the source of Fox is plain. The other versions read differently. Just how Fox expected the new Protector to use this passage as divine warning I do not know, but evidently Fox did not forget its divergent rendering. Norman Penney quotes a letter, dated Gravesend, 27 i. 1655, from Henry Fell to G. Fox, in which the writer adds : “ I sent those words taken out of y^e old bible in a letter to Hump. Bache in Tower Street & likewise those few words to oliver which I had in characters.” Still later, in 1659, the same passage in the same version appears at the end of the *Great Mistery of the Great Whore unfolded*, p. 375. At the foot of the preceding page Isaiah ix. 5 (6) is printed in Hebrew (with some typographical errors) as a kind of colophon. Then occur a series of comparisons between English versions or between the English version and the original Greek New Testament. Only three Old Testament passages are given ; Isaiah viii. 20-22 is the first and longest. It is quoted at more length than in the letter to Cromwell, but evidently

from the same translation. Some variants have crept in (and still more occur in the later edition, Philadelphia, 1831). The other two passages are Amos iii. 6 and Proverbs xxiii. 1-3. In them also the "old translation" is evidently the same, for they agree with Cranmer 1539, in the first case *verbatim*, in the second more nearly than with the other versions. It will be remembered that the Bible at Swarthmoor meetinghouse given by George Fox was a Great Bible of 1541.

Further inquiry into Fox's Scripture quotations is suggested by a note in his doctrinal works published after his death (*Gospel Truth Demonstrated*, 1706, p. 468) :

"Reader, be pleased to observe, that the author of this treatise having the ancient approved Bible, printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign; most of the quotations being taken out of the same, differs in some expressions from our new translation, but not in substance."

This is evidently the editor's note, for the original tract, *A Testimony of What we believe of Christ, etc.*, printed in the year 1677, has no such note.

This tract seems to lend itself readily to the discovery of the particular version of the Scripture quoted. It is quite lengthy, over fifty folio pages, and is largely a catena of extensive New Testament passages quoted in their order of occurrence. The principal versions found in Bagster's *English Hexapla* seem to offer convenient collation, but none of the columns there printed (Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Rheims and Authorized) agrees with the wording of Fox's quotations. Nor does the text of the official Bishops' Bible agree. But our baffling is only temporary. The Genevan Version printed by Bagster is, unfortunately, the New Testament of 1557, which was considerably revised when issued in the Geneva Bible of 1560 and never had any direct influence. The Geneva Bible, on the contrary, was the most popular of all the versions in England, except the Authorized, passing through from 130 to 170 editions and only going out of favor in the reign of Charles I.¹ A little comparison of Fox's tract shows that this is the Bible employed. The

¹ See John Eadie, *The English Bible*, 1876, vol. ii. pp. 35, 52.

following are a few of the passages quoted where its difference from the Authorized Version appears :

Acts iii. 21, whom the heavens must contain until the time that all things be restored.

John vii. 38, out of his belly shall flow rivers of waters of life.

Romans iii. 25, whom God hath set forth to be a reconciliation.

Romans vi. 5, for if we be grafted with him into the similitude of his death.

Ephesians iv. 4, even as you are called into one hope of your vocation.

Philippians i. 21, Christ is to me both in life and death, advantage.

Hebrews iv. 12, For the word of God is lively and mighty in operation.

Hebrews xii. 1, let us . . . cast away everything that presses down and the sin that hangeth so fast on.

Jude 9, Michael . . . durst not blame him with cursed speaking.

Revelation xxi. 21, the streets of the city are of pure gold, as shining glass.

Most of the variations from the Geneva Version in this tract may be explained as reminiscences of the Authorized Version. That was the version Fox commonly used and his recollection of it would make it almost impossible for him to copy accurately any other version. His contemporaries remarked on his memory of the Bible. "I have heard some of his friends say," says Gerard Croese,² "that though the Bible were lost it might be found in the mouth of George Fox." The influence of the Authorized Version in the tract appears in such familiar passages as the following :

Acts x. 34, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter (Gen. "accepter") of persons.³

John iii. 16, God so loved the world that he sent (Gen. "hath given") his only begotten son.

² *The General History of the Quakers*, 1696.

³ The "old translation" of this verse (Cranmer) is the form quoted by Fox in *The Heathen's Divinity*, 1671: "there is no respect of persons with God."

Luke ii. 7, She . . . laid him in a manger (Gen. "cratch").

In the context of the last passage the two versions are mixed. This happens elsewhere. Thus in quoting 1 Corinthians i. 22, 23, Fox follows the Geneva Version in "the Grecians seek after wisdom" but relapses to the Authorized Version in "to the Greeks foolishness." The use of the two versions produces some curious cases of conflation, where both renderings of the Greek original occur :

Phil. i. 8, I long after you all from my very heart-root or bowels (A.V.).

Heb. ii. 10, that he should consecrate the prince of their salvation through sufferings (A.V.) and afflictions.

Acts xxiv. 16, and herein I endeavour myself to exercise a good conscience (Gen. "and herein I endeavour myself to have alway a clear conscience" ; A.V. "and herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offense").

Allowing for errors of memory and of scribal transmission, the problem of the quotations in the tract seems to be satisfactorily explained by the use of the Geneva Version with memory of the Authorized Version. One passage only seems to invalidate that explanation : Hebrews i. 3 is quoted in the form "express image of his substance," where both the Genevan and Authorized Versions translate as "his person." This change can be no accident of scribes or printers ; "substance" and "person" are variant renderings of the Greek. Fortunately Fox himself supplies the explanation. The list of comparisons between the old (Cranmer) version and the new at the end of the *Great Mystery* includes also this passage where the former is quoted as "the very image of his substance." Fox evidently had long preferred that last word and quietly substitutes it (along with some A.V. echoes) in copying out passages of Hebrews from the Geneva Bible.⁴

It would be interesting to know which edition of the Geneva Bible Fox used. They were very numerous ; sixty

⁴ Another quotation from Cranmer (Matthew v. 37) occurs in Fox's *Small Treatise Concerning Swearing*, 1675 : "Now in the old Bible it is 'but your communication shall be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is added more than these, it cometh of evil.'"

are assigned to the reign of Elizabeth alone. Apparently they differ very slightly from each other. Even the editions of S. Thomson are scarcely distinguishable. Since the note to the reader in *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* is not known to be Fox's own (and it does not sound like his style), we cannot be sure that the copy he employed was printed in that reign. The author of the note may have been familiar with copies which contained an address to the Queen (as did the editions from 1560 to 1585) and may have described it so on that account.

It would be more interesting to know why George Fox used this unusual text in this particular tract. It is dated "VVorcester Prison, the 25 of the 11 Moneth, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$." The suggestion is obvious that he could not get access to a regular Bible because of the restrictions of his imprisonment. On the other hand a reference to "Arias Montanus his interlineary translation" of the New Testament in this same tract suggests that he had certain Biblical helps and was using his leisure for study. We may recall that he spent a morning on the voyage to America "findeing out the signification of the foure Rivers of Eden, according to the Hebrew together with the misticall meaneing of them."⁵ Perhaps some evidence that Fox's use of the Geneva Version was due to necessity and not preference is found in the fact (not noted by the editor) that two others of his essays written in Worcester Prison show similar use of the Geneva Bible :

(I) *A Warning to England*, etc. Worcester Prison this 1st of the 11th month 1674.

⁵ *Camb. Journ.* vol. ii. p. 180. More likely the reference to Arias Montanus is from memory, since in 1671 the same passage was studied by Fox and others on the basis again of "the Greek cobby with Arias Montanus his interlineary translation." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 170. It need not be supposed that George Fox himself used the Greek and Hebrew readily. John Hull, who reports the conversation on ship-board, had been a minister and in his own writings refers to Arias Montanus. John Stubbs, who was present at both Biblical discussions, was admitted even by Roger Williams (*George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*, 1676, p. 38) to be "learned in the Hebrew and Greek." *Camb. Journ.* vol. ii. p. 78, gives a bit of Hebrew (not however in Hebrew letters nor in Fox's handwriting) which Fox quoted at his trial at Lancaster in 1664 at which he adds: "They all Gazed: and there was A great Calme." (Ellwood editions omit.) It is evident that Fox, in spite of his frequent comparison of University trained ministers to Pilate because they knew Greek and Latin and Hebrew, borrowed freely, remembered diligently and used thriftily the philological learning of his friends.

(2) *For all the Bishops and Priests in Christendom,*
Worcester Prison, the 11th month 1674

The same textual phenomena recur, agreements with the Geneva Version and with the Authorized Version, and confluations. Thus in the initial quotations we have in (1) Heb. xii. 29, For, even (so Gen. ; A.V. omits) our God is a consuming fire, and in (2) Acts i. 20, Let his habitation be void (Gen. ; A.V. "desolate") . . . and let another take his office (A.V. mg. ; A.V. and Gen. read "bishoprick").

In (1) the influence of the Genevan Version is everywhere apparent, in (2) it is evident in many phrases as Ebedmelech, the black moor (A.V. "Ethiopian"), wise and learned (A.V. "prudent"), without bag (A.V. "purse") and scrip, young scholar (1 Tim. iii. 6, A.V. "novice"), wrapped in error (2 Peter ii. 18), makers of sects (Jude 19), or by such difficult verses as Colossians ii. 18. But the Authorized Version is more prominent than in the other papers, whether because the passages quoted in this paper (invectives against false teachers) were more familiar to Fox or because he made more thorough comparison of the two versions. Cases of conflation are frequent as

- Jude 10, brute (A.V.) beasts without reason (Gen.).
- Jude 11, cast away by the deceit (Gen.) and error (A.V.) of Balaam's wages.
- 2 Cor. xii. 17, Did I make a gain of you (A.V.) or peel you (Gen.).
- 1 Tim. iii. 8, Deacons must be grave (A.V.) and honest (Gen.).

But there can be little doubt that the Genevan Bible was in Fox's hands when he wrote, for he quotes *verbatim* its arguments on both 2 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians, calling the readers' attention to them as "your own margin," "your own marginal notes."

These words suggest another explanation of Fox's use of the Geneva Bible—its appeal to certain readers as their own approved version. It was, however, the Puritan Bible and not so appropriate to use against "all that call themselves papists, bishops, ministers and teachers of the gospel," in the year 1674. We therefore must return to the conjecture that Fox was limited in his reading materials in prison. Perhaps there is some old letter stored away in D,

which will confirm this conjecture, reminding us of Paul's request that the books and especially the parchments be brought to him (2 Timothy iv. 13) or of still another prisoner, William Tyndale, who at Vilvorde in 1535 begged for his Hebrew Bible, Grammar and Dictionary.⁶

No doubt other interesting evidences of Fox's use of earlier Bibles lie undiscovered among his voluminous writings.⁷ One would suppose that some of the earlier versions would have left a few proverbial phrases in the current language of his day which would occur, without specific quotation, in his writings and those of other Friends. For example, when Howgill refers in a famous passage to the lost piece of silver of Luke xv. as a groat,⁸ he is following a rendering that appears in Cranmer but not, I believe, in the later versions. I have discovered scarcely any evidence of influence on Fox of the Bishops' Bible. Perhaps none was to be expected. A possible exception is his use of the phrase "hang down the head" in the titles of two of his tracts against fasting. This evidently comes from Isaiah lviii. 5, where, however, A.V. and Geneva Bible read "bow down the head," and only the Bishops' Bible "hang down the head." The same phrase occurs in an address to the Government as printed in Ellwood's edition of Fox's *Journal* (bi-cent. edition, vol. i. p. 364), but the Cambridge *Journal*, vol. i. p. 335, using a still more unusual phrase, gives "hould downe the head." In any case the editor tells us in his note that the paper was written by Margaret Fell, not by Fox.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

7, *Buckingham Place,*
Cambridge, Mass.

⁶ Demaus, *William Tyndale* [1871], p. 475.

⁷ A list of nine essays written by Fox while at Worcester is given in his *Journal* (Cambridge edition, vol. ii. p. 311f, cf. bi-cent. edition, vol. ii. p. 230f.). Three have already been mentioned. Two cannot be certainly identified (see notes). I have not examined the Biblical text used in the others. It is striking that although the imprisonment covered nearly fourteen months, five of these essays appear to be dated in one month (11th mo. 1674), and only two of the five were printed before 1676. There is slight evidence of the use of the Geneva Bible in Fox's letters from Worcester Jail, e.g., Luke xii. 51 in *Epistles*, No. 300, dated the 2nd of 7th month, 1673.

⁸ "Return home to within; sweep your houses all, the groat is there." *Works*, 1676, p. 70.

An Eventful Y.M. Sunday, 1846

AN envelope containing "Notes of the Yearly Meeting, in letters to his mother, by Joseph John Dymond, 1846," was some time ago sent for deposit at Devonshire House. The following is an extract. The writer was then about 20½ years of age.¹

"Now comes yesterday [24 v. 1846]—a day which I shall long remember with a pleasant remembrance. We went to Croydon and got there in good time for meeting. The principal weight of the meeting seemed to rest upon John Pease, who addressed us in a long & very powerful manner, first enlarging on the peaceable nature of the Christian religion & then addressed himself in a very reaching manner severally to the parents, school-keepers, ministers, & young persons present. A very solemn covering was over the meeting. It concluded with the appearance of a woman friend in supplication.

"We dined with John Squire & company, which was a tolerably agreeable opportunity to me, & drank tea at cousin Henry's. In the evening we had another very nice meeting in which a woman friend first appeared & then John Pease again much in the same way as in the morning.

"We proceeded directly after meeting to the station, where we had to wait a long time before we could get into the train. When we got in, the train would not hold all that were to go. We had however good seats in a 1st class carriage, the other three seats being occupied by a worthy friend & his wife & the youngest brother of John Pease² as it afterwards proved. We had however a scramble for it, & after we were comfortably seated, we saw 2 young women friends whose party had got into a carriage & then the train being full they were left in the lurch.

"In my exceeding gallantry!! I proposed to young Pease that we should accommodate them by sitting on the elbows of the seats & giving them our places, which we did. They proved to be Anna Mary Trusted (a Worcester girl) & her friend.

"After a long time we set off & after another long space of slow travelling & stoppages we completed the distance (12 miles) in just one hour and twenty minutes. Our impressions of the atmospheric principle were not much to its advantage, but we had an immense train & in one place we stopped for 20 minutes on the line for some reason or other. All the stations we stopped at were crowded with persons anxious to go on & of course disappointed. Some however got on the roofs of the carriages & so were conveyed, but at one station I am satisfied we left behind more than 150 persons—all crying out upon the 'Quakers,' with whom they said the train was filled. However we got home safe & so this ended our 1st-day's doings."

¹ Joseph John Dymond (1825-1907) was the second son of John and Sarah Dymond, of Exeter. He spent some years at the school of William Lean, of Birmingham. In 1852 he married Hester Maria Grace, of Bristol. He was engaged in a bank in Exeter, until, in 1857, he became Secretary of the Friends' Provident Institution in Bradford, being connected therewith until 1904. He travelled considerable distances in the ministry.

Annual Monitor, 1908.

² "The youngest brother of John Pease," Henry Pease, was then approaching forty years of age. The "young Pease" was, perhaps, the nephew of John Pease, afterwards Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, then about nineteen.

"Stand Plumb for the Truth"

"R. Valentine was very intent indeed stirring up Friends to the right exercise of the discipline and not to Slubber and daub things over in a deceitful [manner] but to come to the bottom of things and stand Plumb for the Truth on earth and for its precious Testimonies w^{ch} were to a remnant precious indeed, more so than gold or anything this world can afford."

From a MS. account of London Y.M., 1783, in possession of Charles J. Holdsworth, 1924. Robert Valentine (c. 1717-1786) was a native of Carlow, Ireland, he emigrated to Pa. at the age of ten and travelled much as a Minister in his adopted country. He visited Europe in 1781.

Comly, *Misc.* vii. 270, 273; viii. 81, ix. 116; *Jnl. F.H.S.* xv.; *Bulletin F.H.S. Phila.* ix. 103.

Fincham of Norfolk and Suffolk

ANOTHER Quaker incursion into family history (see vol. xx. p. 2) is referred to in *Historical Notices of the Village and Parish of Fincham, in the County of Norfolk*, by the Rev. William Blyth, M.A., Kings Lynn, 1863, 190 pages.¹

Chapter xvi. p. 130, introduces us to JOHN FINCHAM, of Thelnetham, "a considerable landed proprietor, from whom we have known and manifold descent." His second wife was Dorothy White, of Thetford, married 1681. "He was among the first in these parts to adopt the tenets of the Society of Friends, when that body took its rise in this country about 1670 or 1680. And, dying in that community, he was buried in their burialground at Hopton, Suffolk. His will is dated 11th month (January), 1710/11, and was proved December 13th, 1712." The name does not appear in Besse's *Sufferings*, or has it been found elsewhere.

The only surviving son of John and Dorothy Fincham was BENJAMIN FINCHAM, I. (d. 1727). "He married Mary Browne, of Hempnall [near Norwich], and lived at Diss, and was, I suppose, the founder of the well-known banking establishment in that town." He was buried in Friends' burialground at Tasburgh. He had two sons (Benjamin and Zachariah) and a daughter, who married Dr. Goddard. Zachariah (1722-1767) married Elizabeth Heywood, of Diss, 1743. His family had a Quaker birthright, but were all baptized in early life.

BENJAMIN FINCHAM, II. (1716-1789), married Hannah Simpson, of Diss—issue, Benjamin and Hannah. Hannah died in 1827, aged 84.

BENJAMIN FINCHAM, III. (1741-1820²), married, in 1763, Margaret Hopson, of Norwich, where he lived sometime in a house said to have belonged to the notorious Kett. He removed to Wymondham and later to Epping. He was buried at Southwark. The children were John, Benjamin and Margaret, who all died young, and William. James Jenkins notes in his *Records and Reminiscences* under date

1815: "3 mo. 1. deceased my much esteemed friend, Margaret, wife of Benjamin Fincham of Epping" (p. 887), and in 1820 he wrote that "among the number of those with whom I am no more to enjoy pleasurable converse in this world" was "Benjamin Fincham, late of Epping, in the 80th year of his age. Whilst in London I visited his grave at Long Lane Burialground" (p. 1015).

WILLIAM FINCHAM (1769-1846) lived at Parkstone, Dorset, and married Sarah Rolles (c. 1774-1846), of Poole. They had a son, William.

WILLIAM COLE FINCHAM, of Blanford, married in 1855, Harriet, daughter of Robert Baskett, of Spettisbury, and had no issue. "He was the last member of the family educated in the communion of the Society of Friends; he was baptized into the Church of England in 1861."

The entries of Fincham in the Friends' Registers for Norfolk and Norwich extend from 1673 to 1827. The Quakerism of the family ended in 1861.

¹ H. W. Fincham, Esq., F.S.A., kindly lent us a copy of this book. Mr. Fincham is Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and Hon. Assistant Librarian to the Order.

² Blyth gives 1789, 1820 would seem to be correct.

George Fox's Caution Respecting Printing of Books and Papers

"Friends. To you all that answers any books or writes forth any papers to be printed, let them be sent to Robert Drings, at Moorfields to be seen and read before they go to the press.

"Let this go among all friends every where to be read in Yorkshire.

"GEORGE FOX."

From a modern copy in Kaye Papers, 4to, belonging to Charles J. Holdsworth.

The Early Life, Correspondence and Writings of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, by Samuels, 1923, contains correspondence between Burke and Richard Shackleton, with a portrait of the latter.

“The Forty Five”

JN volume xix, under the heading “On behalf of the King, 1745,” we printed a letter from Thomas Savage, describing the battle of Clifton; we now continue the subject of the connection of Friends with the rising of the Young Pretender, first noticing a recent publication: *The Forty-Five. A Narrative of the last Jacobite Rising, by several contemporary hands*, edited by Professor Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., etc. Cambridge University Press, 1922, 8s. 6d. net.

The method adopted by Professor Sanford Terry of the University of Aberdeen in his recent book *The Forty-Five*, combining into one narrative various original documents relating to the rebellion of the Young Pretender in 1745, has produced a valuable and full contemporary account of this important event in British history. The authorities laid under contribution number twenty, and have all been previously printed. This volume of 208 pages is supplied with maps of “The Highland Clans in the Jacobite Period” and of the route taken by Prince Charles Edward, also plans of the battle-ground of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden.

Interesting additions to the story of the Rebellion, not included in this book, written by Friends, have survived. In addition to the Savage letter referred to, printed in volume XIX, there was printed in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1874, pp, 63, 64, a letter by Thomas Rebanks, of Kendal, to Richard Hingston, of Penryn, dated a few weeks after the letter of Thomas Savage, which it seems well to place on record here, while the subject of the Rebellion is before our readers.

See also volume xviii—“The Acts of the Rebels.”

“Kend^l 13th 12th mo., 1745/6.

Dear Friend,—I immediately wrote to D. Keyton after y^e Receipt of thine to w^{ch} I had his ans^r the last post. That the Man whom he sent thy Son’s Box by, is lately arrived, has told to my Friend where he left it of w^{ch} he ha^s advis’d thee the 28th ult^o y^t and the Box too I hope thou hast received before this, the latt^r I expected had reached Penryn many months ago, but where it was left he cannot tell me.

To give thee a particul^r Acc^t how barbarously the rebels have used the Towns and Counties thro w^{ch} they march'd would fill a Volume more, especially in their return, every Family, yea, almost every person in a Family can tell a surprising Tale ; such a number of nasty, lousy Villains and Plunderers our eyes never beheld before, nor ever desire to see the like again ; to decypher them more particularly here is needless. The Public Prints w^{ch} circulate the Nation over, have done y^t to our hand. There might be about 2,000 clever stout fellows as any w^tever, some others of them men of good learning and finer sense that it was astonishing to think that men of their sagacity should be so warmly infatuated and attached in so bad a cause, but for the rest they were many of them old men and boys, mere Vassals to their Chiefs, an ignorant and stupid pack who bear the nearest resemblance to the ancient Banditti.

But as thy request is limited mostly to know how Friends in our part have fared, I am free to give thee a short hint whereby thou mayst judge of the rest. In their going south in a general way they behaved pretty well, only most of them ate and drunk heartily and paid little or nothing ; the Highland Clan, few of them had beds ; I pig'd twenty of them into my hayloft upon straw, they tarried here three or four nights. I had eight officers who had Beds—the rest of our Friends were not much throng'd, but came off wth the loss of Victuals, &c., but that Jn Wilson's son had much Leather cut, spoiled in the Fats. They collected the Excise, proclaim'd their king, which they did at most of the Towns between us and Carly.¹ At their first coming I was sent for to the Duke of Perth, whom I was twice with he was seemingly a corteous, humane gentleman, I should have gone along with him to the French ambassador, but time would not permit.

In their Retreat their countenances were changed, but indeed this Town had provoked them, tho' they were chiefly Country people come to Market w^{ch} began the Uproar.

Thou must know the Van Guard consisting of about 150, amongst them was the Duke of Perth in his chaise coming out of the High Street down ours. A mob begun to huzza, throw stones, clods, or any Thing they could get, which occasioned the Gentle Mens Men, in the Habit of Hussars,

¹ That is, Carlisle. See the same word in *Camb. Jnl.* i. 116.

to turn about & fire by w^{ch} 3 men were killed & then all rode away with the utmost Precipitation, down our Street and over the Bridge for diverse 1000^s were rising ; we many of us fear'd the miserable Calamities this would bring upon us, if not speedily prevent^d. 2 more Friends and mySelf therefore exerted our best endeavours to stop great numbers running down the Street, many wth Firelocks. Our May^r & Record^r were out of Town, but we applied to 2 Justices to suppress the Mob wthout Loss of time or they would be too powerful and w^tever the consequence might be wth The Van Guard, as Their Army was behind w^t could be thought would become of us & the Town. They Unit in Judgm^t, sent the Bell man & divers Others, with Orders to disperse without Delay ; & as the Men rode away no more Mischief was done, but a Serv^t of the Dukes wounded, & a Hussar killed. The next day came in their army provok'd at w^t had been done & as Lord George Murray's Horses were sent to a Stable out of Town, several Country men seiz'd of 4, dismounted the Men & rode away, with them, for w^{ch} the Innkeeper made satisfaction ; but still they threatened to burn the Town for Insult, and had not the Duke and his Company come back again, for they could not get forward, the Country was risen up, its still thought it would have been laid in ashes. The Duke had a Horse & a Portmanteau run away wth, for w^{ch} a Contribution was demand^d and 2 Justices secured as Hostages, 'till the money was paid, w^{ch} was done about 10 on Second Day ; That morning the clans did Abundance of Mischief by plundering the Houses for w^t Eatables & drinkables they could get & robb'd an industrious honest Friend, William Oddy, of £30 in cash and £10 in cloth and abused him severely besides, who perhaps have not left him more than they got, but his & some other's Cases, will be under Fr^d's consideration to relieve ; they broke my windows very much, pillag'd of good Bread and Cheese, took me Prisoner for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, present'd pistols and naked swords to my Breast, wth bloody threats they would kill me, but that I was not so much afraid of as their getting my money, my Watch, Shoes and Buckles : the Comon Cry was, your Brogues, so that many were stript of their shoes, however I play'd them the Slip & got away without suffering anything ; it was my own Curiosity to see w^t they called Their Prince y^t exposed me to so much Danger. At their

going out an house was by them set on Fire next our Meeting House, on which the Fire Bell rung and an Engine was sent for.

When the Rebels heard the Bell, they thought it was to alarm the Town to destroy their Rear, w^{ch} made about a 100 come back in a fury, but when they were informed bett^r were easy ; the Fire was extinguished without doing much hurt and that was the last time we saw them (save the Prisoners y^t came from Carlisle) and we are now in strong hopes we shall never see them more.

My Usher's Father, a Friend at Shop (betwixt Kendal and Penrith) was harassed exceedingly by 'em—having had 300 Horse and Foot of a night ; all in the Road were badly used—a worthy Friend near Carlisle, Jonathan Ostell, who is an able minister, was in great danger of his Life, w^{ch} was begg'd might not be put in execution by a Gentlewoman amongst them, in that she believed him to be a different Person to what he was represented.

A Detachment came near this Corporation again that night and a Spy was sent out but meeting with some of the King's soldiers and Sentries at the Bridge, delivered us once more from the flames.

The next day General Oglethorpe with 600 Dragoons came in at 10, but never alighted but stayed a little and went forward. In the afternoon at 3 came the Duke and his Army, a fine sight it was and acceptable to the Inhabitants. They were well pleased at the marks of loyalty shewn them, having not seen the like in all their journey. They were met at the verge of the Town by the Mayor and Alderman in their Formalities with 15 or 16 Flags or Ensigns belonging to the Companies of Tradesmen displayed before them, with such demonstrations of joy, was a glorious sight. They were generously entertained, few private Houses took anything. A great many Officers of distinction lodged at Friends' houses. I had an Earl's brother and a Captain of considerable note, and two officers more—they were well pleased with their quarters and took nothing.

The next night the Duke, after the skirmish at Clifton, took up his lodgings with a Friend, and many of high rank lodged with friends near Carlisle during the Siege ; a great deal of civility has been shewn our people by the Duke and all with him, one might frequently hear them blessing

Quakers in walking the streets. Much more might be said, more than can be contained within the compass of one sheet, but I have not time, and it is so intensely cold that I am obliged to warm me sundry times during my scribbling this. The rebels took up here 46 prisoners on First-day—for no other reason but to satiate their wicked purposes—stript them of their shoes, and made them go on foot to the City of Carlisle, with their hands tied to their backs with ropes, two of them were Friends who staid there until the Duke got possession, and then were released.

Thy real obliged Friend

THOMAS REBANKS.

The original letter of the foregoing was in the possession of Christiana A. Price, of Glenvellyn Cottage, near Neath, in 1874. She was a great-grand-daughter of Richard Hingston.

In a manuscript in **D** there are particulars of the losses of Friends caused by the soldiers of the Rebellion. In a report thereon from Derbyshire, 13 x. 1746, we read :

The loss of our Friend, Tho^s Cocking (a shoe-maker in Ashbourne) by y^e Rebel Army in their march to and from Derby being laid before our Quarterly Meeting, he's of a fare reputation, low in circumstances, and has a pretty large family, He makes y^e loss only £4. 9. 8. but is judged to be much larger, having had a party of them two nights (one night near 40) and they took from him in boots, shoes, &c., to y^e amount of £2. 6. 6.

Report from Kendal mentions £160
do Staffordshire £24 and upwards
do Lancaster £29. 10. 6. “ the rebels march through this County was above fifty miles and came back the same way.”

Report from Carlisle M.M. at least £50
do Cumberland £11. 18. 0

Joseph Besse states, in his *Sufferings*, that the total losses amounted to £389. 18. 2, “ exclusive of those who willingly sustain the whole or party of their own loss.”

From the Yearly Meeting of 1746 Friends sent an address to the King acknowledging his “ paternal care for the safety of his people . . . in permitting one of his Royal offspring [the Duke of Cumberland] to expose himself to the greatest of dangers for their security.”

The following was written by J. Holme Nicholson, of Owens College, Manchester, and was printed in *The Palatine Note Book*, 1 June, 1881, in Manchester :

In the *Acts of the Rebels*, by James Ray, of Whitehaven, mention is made of the aid afforded by the Quakers to the Duke of Cumberland in the pursuit of the Pretender's army as it retreated northwards (chap. xi. 6-7) :

" Their Elders gathered themselves up together and said unto the People; Oh Friends! let us now Walk circumspectly, for this is a time of Tryal.

" Let us take heed to ourselves, that the Sword be not unsheathed among us, but let us contribute abundantly unto the King's Fighting-men, not of the Weapons of Darkness, but Vestments of Warm Raiment that their Earthly Tabernacles may be covered with a Warm Covering, and it was so."²

In turning over some family papers some time ago I found a document in the handwriting of the last century (I believe in that of my great-grandfather, who lived not far distant from Sedbergh), endorsed: "The Quaker's letter to his Royal Hyness William Duke of Cumberland at the taking of Carlisle December 31st, 1745," which affords additional illustration of the loyal feelings of the Quakers, and of the apprehension of the peril in which the religious liberty of the nation would have been placed if the Stuart dynasty had been restored. The following is a copy of the letter, which, so far as I know, has not been published before :

" Sedbergh Dec. 31 1745

" William Duke of Cumberland

" Most Gracious Friend

" Being deeply affected with the present Melancholy Circumstances of affairs in those Northern Parts, occassioned by an Unnatural Rebellion, we do with the greatest regard for thy Royal Father & his Illustrious Family, Declare our utter abhorrence of so base a Design.

" And considering that Rebels have most greivously plundered wherever they came, we apprehend thy present Situation cañot be that of the best; therefore with the greatest unanimity we beg leave to Demonstrate our Hearty

² See vol. xviii. p. 33. For the gift of waistcoats see xii. 48. [ED.]

Concurrence in a Small but necessary & comfortable Subsistence.

“ Most gracious friend. As thou has been graciously pleased chearfully to engage in so great & hazardous an undertaking in order to preserve not only the properties of the country but what is infinitely more valuable the Right of Liberty of Conscience which we as a Society do freely Acknowledge our Selves Deeply obliged for. We farther beg Leave to Request that thy generous Regard for the Nation may not prompt thee to expose thy Self to too much Danger; thy magnanimity is not in the least Disputed, but be assured of this, that if mischief should befall, all true English men, (who we believe are not a few) would unavoidably Droop under it. May God preserve thee! We conclude for ourselves & the Rest of our Brethern thy very much obliged Sincere Affectionate Friends

“ J.W. ; J.B. ; J.S. ; J.A. ; T.L.

“ P.S. A List of Provisions
Two Loads of Bread, one of Cheese, and another of Beef, Hams, &c. which we believe are all well prepared.”

Copied for The Journal by Robert Muschamp, of Radcliffe.

George Fox to Friends in Holland

The autograph letter of George Fox to Friends in Holland, dated from Harwich, 23 viii. 1677, which was referred to in *Jnl.* ii. 2, has recently been sent up to Devonshire House by the exors. of Caroline Brown, of Gloucester, it having been the desire of our late Friend that the letter should be placed in the Friends' Reference Library.

The letter has appeared, *verb. et lit.*, in the George Fox Tercentenary Number of the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. xiii. no. 2 (1924).

DONKIN, “QUAKER HIGHWAYMAN.” A correspondent sends us a newspaper cutting referring to the pamphlet, issued in 1754, giving *The Surprising Life and Dying Speech of Thomas Donkin, the Quaker*, from “The Yorkshire Post.” There is a full description of this anti-Quaker piece in vol. iv., written by Albert G. Linney.

Murray Shipley, 1830-1899

WHEN the name of Murray Shipley was mentioned in a review of *A Dear Memory*, in our last volume, we were surprised to find how little was recorded of this Friend in **D**. The following will, in some measure, fill the gap.

Murray Shipley was the son of Morris S. and Sarah H. Shipley, of Uttoxeter, England. He was born in the city of New York on the first of Third Month, 1830. His parents removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he completed his education attending St. Xavier's College. After reaching full manhood he became interested in religious and philanthropic work, and his gift in the ministry was acknowledged in 1868, when he was about thirty-eight years of age. In the early history of the Y.M.C.A. he was a Director. He was also a Director in the House of Refuge, and was much interested in the welfare of working men. He was one of a number to organize the first foreign missionary work in Indiana Yearly Meeting, and was the faithful and efficient Secretary of the Yearly Meeting's Committee on Foreign Missions for many years. He spent much time and service in assisting to carry out the policy of the Government with regard to the Indians. He took an active part in the prison reform association and was much interested in the improvement of conditions and management of prisons. He travelled very extensively in Europe and made it a point to visit most of the important institutions, carefully studying the methods of caring for dependent children. He was particularly interested in the "Children's Home," which remained his burden and joy until the close of his life. He was a strong and determined character. He died First Month, 20th, 1899.

The above notes are taken from a Memorial of Murray Shipley, printed in the *Yearly Meeting Minutes* of Indiana Yearly Meeting for the year 1900, pages 187-193.

MURRAY SHIPLEY
AND
INDIANA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS

For many years previous to his death Murray Shipley, of Cincinnati, exercised a leading influence in Indiana Yearly Meeting, not because he spoke so frequently or took an active vocal part in its proceedings, but his educated and trained mind, his courteous bearing and his Christian spirit enabled him to exercise a quiet but powerful influence in the framing of legislation and in solving the important problems which came before the Yearly Meeting. He was a member of the Meeting for Sufferings or Representative Meeting of the Yearly Meeting and of the Yearly Meeting for Ministry and Oversight, and was on many of the leading Committees. He was one of the organizers of the Home Mission Association of Indiana Friends, and of the Foreign Mission Association, which first sent Samuel Purdie to Mexico. For a time he was Secretary of the Peace Association of Friends in America. He was on the Earlham College Committee for several years and had much to do with framing the work of that Institution and contributed to its growth and success. He was also a member of the Board of Managers of White's Institute located near Marion, Indiana, which did an effective work for its wards.

He was a member of the Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, a body composed of Representatives from all the Orthodox Yearly Meetings, to which was committed by President Grant, the care of several Indian tribes on the western boundary of the United States. This was a body of unusual ability, and met at different places in the United States, which required much travel and personal expense from the individual Committee members. This Committee kept up efficient Mission and Educational work amongst its wards, until they were converted from a dangerous and hostile element into a quiet and peaceful people, and it solved the problem of "What to do with the Indians." More than five hundred Indians became members of the Society of Friends. The work continued until the allotment of the tribal lands in severalty to the Indians, when they took their place as citizens of the United States.

Murray Shipley was one of the pillars of Indiana Yearly Meeting and one of my intimate friends and advisors. I loved him.

Signed—CHARLES F. COFFIN.

Chicago, Illinois.

10th Month, 22, 1903.

Copied from manuscripts written by Charles F. Coffin (1823—1916) and deposited in Earlham College Library.

Parliamentary Election, 1656

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN.

In that which of this world is not, wh. leads out of this world to reign over the world up unto God. . . . we . . . dearly salute you and before you do we it lay that upon the 22d day of this present month called August there is a meeting in the Castle Yard at York for the electing of some men to serve the county in Parliament (as is said) and therefore do we desire that all friends who find freedom in their spirits to bear witness to the truth and of the truth before men, Doe come up as one man . . . And at the Castle Yard aforesaid to meet together upon the 22d day, to be there and to meet about 8th hour of the said day—all men who are homeholders and other young men who have outward estates in possession. . . .

And it is desired that each church do send in writing the names of such persons as do come up to the said meeting.

Written at York, the 5th day of the 6th mo. called August, 1656.

THOMAS ALDAM.

GERVAS BENSON.

Sustenance of the Ministry

William Rogers, Separatist, 1683, "scornfully reviled his quondam brethren in paltry verses, stating that some sustenance had been given from the public cash to indigent preachers. . . . To this it was answered that if it pleased God to call to His ministry persons of mean estate, the Church was not warranted to hinder it and let such suffer want." SEWEL, *History of the People called Quakers*, first edition published in English in 1722.

Early Nineteenth Century Evangelism

STEPHEN GRELLET¹

AN account of some of the labours of our dear friend Stephen Grellet, during his visit to the Metropolis in the early part of the year 1813 :

His engagements were of a peculiar kind, in the form of detach'd visits ; the first of which were select, towards members of our own Society.—1st, Ministers & Elders.—2nd, Those above 35 years of age. 3rd, those under 35 years of age. 4th, Servants & Apprentices. 5th, Those who came into the Society by conviction. 6th, Those who had been disowned.

He had a meeting with the very poor of Spitalfields, supposed to be about 1600, in Devonshire-house meeting. This meeting was a little disturbed at first, but it ended well. At Ratcliffe he had a very satisfactory meeting with the Sailors & low class of Women. At Westminster he had the most vicious & abandoned, and the most wretched & depraved characters, which could be obtained from St. Giles's, so called ;—It was a meeting of uncommon interest. There were many fears lest so rude a rabble should become formidable, & a riot be the consequence of such a meeting. But to the admiration of everyone, it was as quiet as if it had been a meeting of Friends. S.G. spoke at some length—afterwards Eliz^h Fry, which much surprised & affected many of them : At the close, S.G. told them the meeting was over ; but he had a few words to say to them before they parted, which was (I believe) in substance, “ That he had been much gratified in observing their quiet & orderly behaviour, & that he had felt a great interest in their future welfare ;

¹ Stephen Grellet (1773-1855) was a noted preacher, of French origin, whose home was in New York State. At this time he was visiting Europe for the second time. It was at his instigation that Elizabeth Fry undertook the work of prison-visitation. His *Memoirs* were published in 1860. A useful *Life* was written by Rev. William Guest and published in 1880, and reprinted later.

Jnl. vols. iii. iv-ix. xi-xvii. xix. xx.

That he doubted not but that there were many there, who had never before been so favoured to sit so comfortably & so truly happy for so long a time together ; That could reflect from the feelings they had experienced, the great advantage & satisfaction in following virtuous pursuits ; how different it must be from the mind's being in a continual round of vicious habits : he wished them at all times to seek after virtue ; if they did, it would make up for many privations they naturally might expect."

He also added : " He had a serious request to make them, which was, that when they departed they would do it as quietly as they could, & avoid entering into discourse with each other, & endeavour for half an hour at least, to try to remember what had been said, & it might prove the most profitable time they had ever known in all their lives."

They attended to his advice, & they left the Meeting as quietly or more so, than Friends do in a general way.

He had a meeting at Devonshire-house with the Jews, supposed to be above 1000. He was much pleased with this meeting. While on his feet, he observed many Jewesses in tears ; He observed many of the men go out, which at first discouraged him, but he discovered they all returned with several others with them ; I believe it was hardly ever known that a Christian people ever collected so large a number of Jews together before.

He then, in company with Will^m Forster, visited the prisons. Many hundreds were visited in their abodes of wretchedness and misery. The tender minds of S.G. & W.F. were moved with the deplorable state of the females particularly. The prison allowance at this time being only 3 oz. of bread per day, was insufficient for the calls of humanity, compelled the sale of every, & more than every suitable garment. Eliz^h Fry interested herself in deeds of kindness for them, visiting them & providing cloathing for the destitute.

In Newgate they had ten sittings, in one of which among the State prisoners, they were so affected, that several of them could not contain themselves within any bounds, they flung themselves on their beds, & bewailed themselves in a most distressing manner. These prisoners were well satisfied with this visit, as indeed they all were except three men who were executed for stealing Silk from on board a

Ship, they appeared hardened to a degree, it seemed as if no impression could be made on them. A Convict for forgery was much affected, as was his Wife, after his execution he went to see her, & the man's Father, Mother, two Brothers & a Sister, & two children ; he was favoured to leave them under a sweet feeling of resignation to the Divine will.

At Giltspur Street and Ludgate (Debtors) he was well satisfied. At the new Prison Clerkenwell, there were 150 men & as many Women, he had them each separate, and satisfactorily. The State prisoners stood aloof at first, but a great change in their dispositions was evident before the work was got through, a remarkable solemnity and tenderness prevailed, which evinced that mercy and goodness was near.

The Poultry Compter was not so satisfactory.

In Tothill-fields Bridewell he saw the men & women separately greatly to his satisfaction : The men at first appeared hardened, & at first appeared light in their behaviour, but at last they were wonderfully changed, & brought to a sense of their awful situation. The jailer acknowledged the satisfaction he had experienced in being present at the Meeting with the prisoners, & with much earnestness pressed S.G. & the Friends with him to take Tea, which they were obliged to decline on account of a previous engagement. He visited Clerkenwell Bridewell, but could not get admission at the Fleet, or at the King's-Bench, or Marshalsea prisons. The day after he got through his laborious undertakings, he left London.

INCIDENTS IN THE MINISTRY OF MARY DUDLEY

Mary Dudley² about this time, had some meetings among those of the upper classes of Society. She had one in the Meeting-house, Westminster, which was not very relieving to her. At the Town-hall at Windsor, She met a large assembly of Nobility & Gentry ; She appeared in an extraordinary manner in supplication for the King, which greatly affected the audience. The solemnity was said to be marvellous, & She has at times since acknowledged, she had

² Mary Dudley (1750-1823) was a celebrated Minister, wife of Robert Dudley, of London, and mother of the Minister, Elizabeth Dudley, who edited the *Life* of her mother.

Jnl. vols. i. xii-xvi. xx.

never experienced the like descending of divinely empowering influence ; A person present penned her prayer down from memory, & it was presented to the Queen, who was greatly affected at the perusal, to the shedding of many tears : It is said she dispatched a Lord in waiting, with a message of kindness to M. D. directing that every attention, comfort, & accommodation, should be rendered her.

The Earl & Countess of Harcourt invited her to their home, to spend a few days with them, which she declined, having other Religious engagements in prospect.

A Clergyman who resided in the neighbourhood being present, invited her to have a meeting in his place of worship, to which she consented, & he took the pains of inviting the great people near him, & a very satisfactory meeting was held both at Windsor & at his own place, he expressed his full unity with her ministry : He very kindly provided some refreshment in the Vestry for herself & Friends, after the meeting was over.

This Clergyman again met her at Staines, where there was a very crowded meeting, mostly of the upper class of Society ; but M. D. having been much exhausted at the close of the Meeting, fainted ; when she recovered, the first person she saw, was the Clergyman assisting, to whom she said : "What! art thou here?" "Yes, Madam," said he, "& what is of greater importance, God has been here."

Thus, we see how all ranks of Society have been watered, the rich & the poor, whom the World seemed to care little about, have been favoured to taste of the heavenly bread.

From a manuscript in **D**.

Sleeping in Meeting

Bickersteth (near Wigan).

"Preparatory Meeting," 14 ix. 1697.

Minute 2 :

"Upon the reading of the minuite in y^e sevnth mo: relating to Friends clearness of sleeping in meetinge, an Acc^t in general was given y^t dominion & victory, in a good degree, is witnessed ov^r y^t weakness by those who, formerly, have thereto been adicted."

13. i. 1697. "Friends who have been adicted to sleep in meetinge keeps the ground they got some time agoe ov^r that weakness."

“Every Man at Nature’s Table has a Right to Elbowroom”

GEORGE HARRISON¹ TO DAVID HOLT², 1819

Wandsworth 18th 8^{br} 1819

DEAR FRIEND,

I sit down to apprise thee of the safe Arrival of thy kind Communication of the 11th Inst., with the Packet accompanying it; the Contents of which, of no common Interest, I have read with Attention, & with a cordial Gratification under the Consideration that the poor & the Distressed have so able an Advocate in a Juncture of unprecedented Emergency.

¹ George Harrison (c. 1747-1827), of Wandsworth, Co. Surrey, was a son of Edward Harrison, of Kendal. He was a barrister-at-law. A list of his writings occupies three pages of Smith’s *Catalogue*. An abridgement of *Barclay’s Apology* came from his pen in 1815 and in 1818 he brought out his *Adversaria: or Selections and Reflections on civil, moral and religious Subjects*, etc. He wrote also on the slave trade, education, and capital punishment, and in respect of a Loan Fund for Friends—“married men and widowers with offspring.”

In 1822 the Duke of Gloucester visited Ross, in Herefordshire, and Nathaniel Morgan, a Friend, of that town, shewed him round. “He asked me if I knew George Harrison. I said, ‘Very well,’ and that he was a very excellent man and one of our greatest legislators; he spoke very highly of him and that he was one of y^e first in Slave Trade, which I had forgotten myself” (xv. 138).

George Harrison, son of George and Susanna, of the Middle Temple, married Mary Coleman, in 1813. He published an edition of the works of Swedenborg and a life of William Cookworthy (c. 1704-1780). He left Friends.

² David Holt (c. 1766-1846) was a cotton manufacturer with mills at Holt Town, and a house in Temple Street, Manchester. He accumulated a collection of pictures, then considered large, which ultimately sold for £4,000. He was not successful in business. His son David attained to some celebrity as a poet and was for many years with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (v. 20). D. Holt wrote *Miscellaneous Extracts from Various Authors*, calculated to amuse, instruct and edify, with portrait, 1836. He was actively engaged in the local government of Manchester and was the chief promoter of the establishment of a Lancastrian school. In 1843 he published *Incidents in the Life of David Holt . . . during a Period of Forty Years*, in the hope that the sale and knowledge of his “comparative dependence” might help him financially.

The above letter is addressed to David Holt, Chorlton Cottage, Manchester. The original was presented to D in 1921 by Oliver S. Holt.

Thou may rest assured that thy confidential Indulgence, in Regard to the Letters will not in any Degree be abused, but they will be carefully returned, after retaining them, I hope not longer than may be convenient to thee; but in my State of Retirement my Intercourse with my Friends is not so frequent as it used to be in earlier Life.

I am particularly struck with thy Sympathy for the poor & labouring classes. My Opinion is, that every man born in a Country whether England or any other, has as much Right to Subsistence (I don’t mean in Idleness) in *that* Country as any Lord of the Land; in other Words, that *every man at Nature’s Table has a Right to Elbow Room*. And unquestionably it is the first duty of Government to provide such Subsistence. Is it not then deeply to be lamented that in this Age of the World, & under a Dispensation that recommends Love & Goodwill to Men, the Means of effecting such a vital Purpose should rather be expended in the Gratification of Pride, Ambition or Avarice, by the Slaughter of Thousands of Lives & the Dissipation of Millions of Property?

That Man, I think, philosophizes the best, who best reduces Science to the Principles of Common Sense, & this seems to be exemplified in Regard to the Science of Political Oeconomy, by what thou has stated both in thy second Letter to the Duke of Kent, & in thy last Letter to the Editor of the *Star*—I mean in Respect to the vast Mass & Weight of human Labour, which presses upon the Manufacturies, the Diversion of a Portion of which to other Purposes, whether to Agriculture or the Fisheries, or other Purposes of profitable Exertion, would of course render the remaining Quantum of Labour more valuable, & such as would afford competent Support to human Life; & here, as I conceive, rests the Upshot of the Matter, & the Quintessence of Relief, if it could be promptly & practically applied by the immediate Exertions of Men of Weight & Opulence, either with or without parliamentary Sanction & Aid.

I have long been acquainted with Robert Owen³, of

³ Robert Owen (1771-1858), as a philanthropist, was associated with several Friends. He wrote *New Views of Society*, in 1812. His model colony was at Lanark, Scotland, and later at Harmony Hall, near Stockbridge, in Hampshire. (This latter became, in 1847, Queenwood College, under George Edmondson, 1798-1863). William Allen was much interested in his work. He published his autobiography in 1857.

Jnl. vols. xi-xiii; *Second Period*; *Later Periods*; G. D. H. Cole, *The Educational Ideas of Robert Owen*, 1924.

Lanark, have read his Numbers, particularizing what he calls his *New View of Society*, & have attended his Lectures at the City of London Tavern, but though I think highly of his Benevolence & sincere Wishes to serve the Community, I see no rational Ground whatever to infer that his Project will or can be attended with successful Effect. After his first Lecture I sent a few Strictures on his Plan to the *Monthly Magazine*, which the Editor inserted in his Number for September, 1817, signed Philoponus. His last lecture, at which the Duke of Kent presided, afforded me as little Conviction; but I was glad to notice that the Duke discretely & expressly avoided committing himself, as to the Practicability or ultimate Utility of the Scheme.

Mentioning the Duke of Kent, I am free to say, that from his benevolent Disposition, I feel an interest in his Character & Comfort, which induced me a little while ago to make a Communication to his Friend, Alderman Wood, respecting the Duke's financial Concerns, for which the Alderman, a few Days since was commissioned by the Duke to make me his best Thanks. I wish what I communicated may have a Tendency to add to the Comfort of one, who has on many Occasions, and in so distinguished a Manner, devoted himself to promote the Comfort & wellbeing of others.

I infer, from what thou expresses, the Delicacy that affects thy Mind, lest what thou hast done & art doing may not in some sort comport with thy Character as a Friend, or with the prevailing Sentiments of Friends; but really I see no just Reason for thy being discouraged on that score, surely the characteristic Feelings of the Society for Benevolence cannot upon any sound Principle run counter to thy distinguished Exertions to promote Peace, Harmony & Goodwill upon Earth.

I have said in a late Publication: "We are all sent into this World to do all the Good we can, & every Man is expected to do his Duty," & I am not prepared to retract what I have said.

I remember, upon a singular Occasion, which occurred many years ago, the 10, 11, 12 & 13th Verses of the 41st Chapter of Isaiah were addressed to me, & I now hand them over to thee, for thy Encouragement also. I don't know whether the sad demoralizing effect of public Houses has ever

particularly struck thy Attention. In this little village of Wandsworth [we] have *twenty one* public Houses which paralyze & defeat every Project to benefit the labouring Classes [and] swallow a large Part of our most burdensome poor Rates through [the] Outdoor poor. On this Subject I have lately sent an anonymous Address to Thos Fowell Buxton to the *European Magazine*, the Editor of which tells me it shall appear in his next Number, but I mention this to thee confidentially, not wishing, & that for a particular Reason, that my Name should be connected with that Address.

I have noticed with Regret what is stated to [have passed] at the late Meeting of our Merchants, Bankers & Traders at the London Tavern. I have indeed regretted that they had not at least petitioned the Prince Regent, to call the Parliament together *immediately*. What did pass seems to have amounted only to this—"Go, be ye fed & be ye cloathed." Poor Comfort for Men in the Depth of Distress! whence may arrive dreadful Irritation. It was wise Advice given by Pythagoras: "Don't stir the Fire with a Sword."

I am apprehensive that thy kindly intended Communication to my late worthy Friend, Joseph Saunders, of Exeter, would not reach him before he died.

I am sincerely Thy Respectful Friend.

GEO. HARRISON.

(The above is confidential.)

Since penning the within I have had put into my Hands an anonymous Pamphlet, ascribed to the Pen of a female Friend, Herrick⁴, late a Schoolmistress at Leicester. It is an Enquiry into the Consequences of the present depreciated Value of Human Labour, etc, etc, in Letters to Tho^s F. Buxton. I think that thou would like to see it.

⁴ Elizabeth Heyrick (c. 1770-1831) wrote, anonymously, *On the Advantages of a Remunerating Price for Labour*, printed in 1825. This must have been a later edition or another pamphlet on a similar subject.

In the Gateshead Parish Books, under 1684, occurs the following entry: "For carrying 26 quakers to Durham, £2 17s."

The Diary of Joshua Wight, 1752-1756

Sometime ago Mary Pike, of Dublin, sent us a few extracts from the Diary of her ancestor, Joshua Wight, of Cork. He kept a diary for about four years in order to enter a record of the weather. He was an elderly man at the time but was out in all weathers, following his calling as a surveyor in the South of Ireland. He had one child, a daughter, who married Ebenezer Pike, from whom Mary Pike descends.

“ 27th 8^{mo}. 1753 :

Fine warm westerly wind. I walked to Marybrook and dined with my cousin, Richard Newenham, who was in y^e gout, where was our friend May Dromond . . . who was much disordered with a cold.

“ *Fifth day*, 6th 9^{mo}. 1753.

“ This Afternoon our friend, May Dromond went to Passage to take ship for Bristol, who have been on and about Cork for five weeks visiting several meetings as Kinsale, Brandon, Youghal, but most of her time was in y^e City of Cork. She was a Scotch gentlewoman of note and had Education, who was convinced of y^e Principles of y^e People called Quakers & for many years have been a Preacher & many psons of Different Persuasions had a Curiosity to hear her, & gave her considerable applause. She was in Ireland about fifteen years ago & travel'd throug several parts of y^e Nation & was Publick y^t time & before.”

J. W. laid down his diary ; someone took it and filled the next six pages with remarks on the worldliness of Cork Friends and the goodness of M. Drummond. The remarks of this Unknown Person on Cork Friends are clear :

“ Instead of plainness of apparel, we see a wig of extra-ordinary magnitude, nicely curled and adorned, and which in times past would have been judged to the flames. A cloak likewise of finest wool, to which is superadded (I suppose for ornament) an unnecessary excresence the like of w^{ch}, in a similar garment where really it would be useful, has repeatedly been condemned. Linnen exposed in places where all appearance of it has been disapproved [? ruffles]. The cut of the coat quite wide from the Antients. . . . An excessive eagerness in obtaining riches. No mortification in eating or drinking, but a hearty liking to both. No rusticity in the finishing or decoration of houses, but an embellishment with marble & other worldly gaietys. . . .”

Joshua Wight writes :

“ N.B.—The foregoing Six Pages was wrote not by me, nor know I anything of it, neither was I aiding or assisting therein. . . . what I remarked about May Drummond was n't in y^e least to lessen her.

“ The author of the foregoing libel breaking in & imposing on my diary has don very unfriendly by mee.”

Some Quaker Records at Blyth

BY favour of Mr. D. Cruse, M.A., librarian of the Leeds Subscription Library, I have been allowed to see and copy the accompanying notes from the MS. extracts from the parish register of Blyth, which lies partly in Nottinghamshire and partly in Yorkshire. The document has recently been found loosely inserted in a book in the Leeds Subscription Library and was probably written by a clergyman named Johnson in 1808.

- 1699 John Wilson of Blyth & Mary Greaves of Harworth joined in marriage in the Quaker manner July 14
 A son of Joseph Shipprah, a Quaker, called W^m [born ?]
 A son of John Bullivant, Quaker, called W^m [born ?]
 [1700] John Seaton, Quaker, buried at Tickhill, May 22, 1700
 1700 A son of Edw^d Bush, Q^r.—called Edw^d [born ?]
 A d^r of John Bullivant, born, called Susanna
 1701 A d^r of Rob^t Lambert, Q^r called Ann [born ?]
 A son of John Wilson, Q^r, called Matthew [born ?]
 1702 A son of John Stansfield, Q^r, named John [born ?]
 1703 Tho: Buck, Q^r, buried Ap^l 12
 A son of John Wilson, Q^r, called John, bap^t [sic]
 A d^r of John Shipprah, Q^r, called Ann, bap^t
 1704 A son of John Holbam, Q^r, born, called Benjⁿ
 1705 A d^r of Fr^s Chambers, Q^r, born, called Ann
 1705 Ferdinando Buck, Q^r, buried May 9 1706
 A d^r of John Bullivant, Q^r, born, called Ann
 John Wilson, Q^r, buried 6 [1706 ?]
 A son of John Hopkinson, Q^r, born 1707
 A son of John Stansfield, Q^r, born, called John—8 [1708 ?]

WALTER J. KAYE.

The Meeting at Blyth is mentioned several times in the articles on Notts. by Emily Manners, in vols. iv. and v. "There is a disused meeting house in this village belonging to Nottingham and Mansfield M.M. In the early Q.M. book mention is frequently made of Blythe and the Friends of that Meeting" (vol. iv., p. 155). In early times Blyth and Moorgate were in Sand and Clay M.M.

If a Family Chronicle be compiled with care it should be read with sympathy. . . . Every fragment of past life be it concerned with only one family, and a narrow tract of property, has in it the promise of the present and the future.—ST. LOE STRACHEY, quoted in *History of the Bevan Family*, 1924.

Gleanings from the Minute Books of the Quarterly Meeting of Sussex

AN ancient minute-book, in perfect preservation, is kept in the safe at Brighton Meetinghouse, and records the fact that, in 1668, George Fox met Sussex Friends at the house of Richard Bax, at Capel, just over the Surrey border, to organize a Quarterly Meeting for the County of Sussex.

One woman, Margery Wilkinson, was present, but, for many years after this date, women's names only appear as objects of charity or of discipline. In the year 1740, however, a women's meeting must have been in existence, for the men kindly condescended to "lend them seventeen shillings"! There were eighteen men present at this first meeting, besides George Fox. A list is given of the Meetings which had been settled after the "great conviction," when G. Fox and his friends had evangelized the county some years before. Only four of these are still in existence. Then follows the "names of such Friends as are judged fit to keep y^e Monthly & Quarterly Meetings." "Three papers given by dear George Fox" were read at this meeting and copied into the records in full. One was "Friends Fellowship must be in y^e Spirit."¹

The second Q.M. was held at the house of Widow Scrace at Blatchington,² a tiny hamlet on the Downs near Brighton.

Q.M. was held several times at Hurstpierpoint, but there does not appear to have been a meetinghouse there, and several were held at Hurstmonceux.

BUSINESS TRANSACTED

Until 1784 when Mary Pryor, of Hertford, and Hannah Wigham, of Yorkshire, are mentioned as attending, I have found hardly a hint that the quarterly gatherings were for any purpose than the careful allotment of funds and a little

¹ See *Journal of George Fox* (Camb. ed.), ii. 416.

² See *My Ancestors*, by Norman Penney.

discipline of members. But we may be sure that there was some stronger motive than material needs which drew these new converts to Quakerism together. There was doubtless a meeting for worship whenever they met. Indeed, we get a glimpse in the following minute that they were none too ready to stay for the meeting for business: "Representatives to go to Quarterly morning meeting with the Friends of the ministry, and to consider some means to prevent the abrupt parting & over hasty doing business at Quarterly Meetings."

ISLINGTON WORKHOUSE

Among various money grants was one of £10 15s. 10d. for a year's maintenance of Sophia Sayers at Islington Workhouse. In 1760 the Meeting complains of the "great charge for the maintenance of the children of Ben Rickman³ at the workhouse in London," and after various negotiations they were brought back to Sussex and established with relations at Lewes and Hurstmonceux, the Q.M. still paying for their board.

YORK RETREAT

In 1803 William Marten collected and forwarded to Samuel Tuke the sum of £123 for the York Retreat, a handsome contribution from the farmers and tradesmen of Sussex.

APPRENTICESHIPS

The apprenticeship of children was often referred to. In 1720 an orphan, Josiah Shaw, was apprenticed with the fee of £10, to Francis Hogg of Ifield, at the tender age of five years! That such care was appreciated is shown by a minute about 1710: "Margaret Robinson is apprenticed to Mary Grafton. She, having been herself apprenticed for £10, in grateful sense of Friends' love and the blessing of God upon her industry, took Margaret Robinson free. This good example is worthy of imitation of all good people." Another apprenticeship agreement closes with the words: "If he should happen in that time to have the small-pox, Friends to pay the necessary charges."

³ Benjamin Rickman (1707-1751), son of John and Abigail (Reynolds) Rickman, married Elizabeth Manchester and left numerous descendants.

OLD COINS AND NEW

From a M.M. at Hurstpierpoint in 1696, no funds could be forwarded to the Q.M. : "Whereas the great interruption of the coin, the ould being refused in payment and little or none of the new yet among people, has hindered the collection."

A BREACH OF PROMISE CASE

In 1671, John Martin appealed to Friends because Mary Bennet refused to marry him. At the next Q.M. there is this minute : "Mary Bennet hath appeared this day, at y^e desire of y^e meeting and given a positive testimony before us that she neither hath, nor ever intended to have, any thought of joyning with John Martin by way of marriage." At the next Q.M. four weighty conclusions are recorded :

"1st. That John Martin hath done amiss in prosecuting that for which he had no true and sollid ingagement from Mary Bennet.

"2nd. That he ought not to presecute it any further unless she express her inclination voluntarily thereto.

"3rd. That Mary Bennet condemn her folly and childish actions in this matter, and that in time to come she avoyde such actions.

"4th. That there never was any solid engagement with truth between them, and on this account they are free of and from each other."

But even this did not satisfy the disconsolate lover, for at the next Q.M. : "John Martin hath made complaint to this meeting that Thomas Moseley [a leading Friend] hath in some indirect way been y^e cause of averting Mary Bennet's mind from him. This meeting having examined Thomas Moseley, do not find any just cause to judge the said Thomas Moseley."

Three months later : "John Martin seemed to object to something more concerning Mary Bennet. John Shaw to see him if he remain unsatisfied. Mary Bennet is cleared from the said John Martin." And so the matter ended.

YEARLY MEETING'S COMMITTEE.

At a Q.M. at Ifield in 1777, a Yearly Meeting's Committee was present, consisting of Edmund Gurney, Jun., Jeremiah Waring, William Squires, Joseph Elgar, George Gibson, Richard Baker and Thomas Wagstaffe. After this visit the following Minute was made : "We have cause to

thankfully acknowledge our Heavenly Father's merciful care in that His gracious visitation is still extended in this visit of Gospel love, in which many spirits have been tenderly reached." Before they left the County these seven Friends wrote a letter to the Q.M., which is copied in full in the minute-book, in which they say that they "were sorrowfully affected in every Monthly Meeting that many in profession with us are very deficient in due attendance at meetings for worship. The lukewarmness and unconcerned state of many hath greatly affected us and caused us to go heavily on our way."⁴

BANKRUPTCY

Many minutes occur in 1795 as to the bankruptcy of the Brighton Friends, John and Sarah Chalk. John had neglected his business and Sarah had been extravagant in her household. They were "very disrespectful when visited" by a committee who were only anxious to help them. At last comes the minute: "The difficulties with J. and S. Chalk are to be buried in oblivion." Their son John was sent to Ackworth School at the expense of Friends, in 1796, and later two more children, Catherine and Thomas, were also sent, for four years. But Thomas paid for his training, for he became a much esteemed Minister, and did excellent work in Kingston-on-Thames in starting schools for poor children and in connection with the Bible Society.

MAUDE ROBINSON.

Saddlescombe,
Hassocks, Sussex.

⁴ This was at the time known as "the revival of the Discipline." See *London Yearly Meeting during 250 years*.

FICTION. The novel *When the King came South*, by Helen H. Watson, London, 1912, pp. 369, contains several references to George Fox and his followers (pp. 53, 60, 80, etc.). The story circles round Borwick Hall, near Carnforth, N.W. Lancashire, where lived young Sir Robert Bindloss. Sir Robert is mentioned in *The Journal of George Fox*. Some of his servants abused Friends in the year 1652, and he fined Robert Widders for attending a meeting in his own house. See *Camb. Jnl.* i. 104, 415, ii. 105, 390, 394. The Borwick chaplain, Richard Sherlock (1612-1689) also appears in the book and in *Camb. Jnl.* i. 415, and *Smith's Adv. Cata.*

A Quaker Newswriter

SOME letters written by Richard Cockin (1753-1845), of Doncaster, to his niece, Mary (Sanderson) Fox, of Wellington, have been through our hands and we have copied some extracts which seem worthy of preservation in print.

R. Cockin became a Friend about 1778, largely influenced by the ministry of Isaac Sharples and Thomas Rutter, while resident in London. His companions there were Thomas Shillitoe, and John Sanderson of Old Jewry. In 1781 he married Deborah Frinston (1754-1795), of Whitechapel and began business in Doncaster. In 1799 he married Ellen Abraham (1758-1841) of Whitehaven, descendant of Judge and Margaret Fell. He was an Elder and she a Minister. Their daughter Ellen (1803-1841) married into the Miller family, of Edinburgh.

In 1829 R. Cockin took Robert Whitaker's place for a short time as Superintendent of Ackworth School.

He was an excellent letter writer and his accounts of the Yearly Meetings he attended, thirty in number, written out fair by himself, are in **D**. His letters usually begin with a page of spiritual encouragement, and then follows: "I apprehend it will be acceptable to thee to have a little information"

Richard Cockin was a draper, glover, and breeches-maker. He was the son of Joseph and Ann Cockin of Armthorp, near Doncaster.

I

"7th of 10th mo. 1818. Its probable thou hast been informed with the arduous service that WILLIAM & REBECCA BYRD¹ and ELIZth ROBSON² have been engaged in this summer. THO^s CHRISTY joined them at Inverness and accompanied them to fifteen Islelands that lays to the North of Scotland. They had to suffer very great inconveinance for want of comfortable accommodations perticularly as to lodgings on some of the Islands, several of them frequently having to sit up all nights. And in passing from one Isleland to

another in small, open Boats, they frequently were in apparent danger. However they were all favoured to return, with sustaining only temporary inconveniency and are now all of them, I believe, got to their comfortable homes and I trust with the reward of peace.

“ No doubt but thou hast heard of the movements of our mutually dear Friends, JOSEPH J. GURNEY and ELIZth J. FRY. Elizth commenced her religious labours at Doncaster, on her way to the Half Years Meeting at Aberdeen. A few of our principal Inhabitants accompanied her to our prison ; they were also with her in a Religious opportunity at a Friend’s house. The impressions of esteem which are made on their minds towards her are very great.

“ J. Gurney, with his Wife and a female servant, had passed through Doncaster two days before on their way to Ackworth, where they had an attraction to visit that institution. Elizabeth Fry & her second daughter [Rachel] joined them there and they all proceeded together [northward]. They visited a great number of Prisons and where also at many Houses of Persons of account. I heard J. Gurney give a relation of their visit to the Lord Derby’s, which he said was one of the most memorable seasons he thought he had ever been a witness of. In a religious opportunity there where estimated to be one hundred present. The power of Truth rose so into domince, as to tender into brokenness all present, many being melted, even to weeping, and they separated from the Family under endearing impressions. When Lord Derby came to bid them farewell, he burst into tears, so as not to be able to speak to them . . . Many persons of account esteemed it quite a gratification to have it in their power to say they had seen Elizth Fry.”

II

“ 4th of 8th mo. 1819. Its probable you have heard of the arrival of WILLIAM FLANNER³, one of the men Friends from America. He was at our last Quarterly Meeting, having then been landed about two weeks. He appeared in rather a feeble state of health, and evidently under discouraged impressions. He proceeded by way of Hull, Ackworth, Sheffield, and then towards Liverpool, where, we are informed he had actually taken Shiping in the same vessel for

America that he came in. . . . I wrote a letter to him but I believe he was sailed before it got to hand."

III

" 19th of 2nd mo. 1824. We have had this week our Friend ELIZth WALKER,⁴ from America. She has had the company of MARY WRIGHT (late WITCHELL). She is in a very feeble state of health. She has been through Scotland, the Isalands also adjoining thereto with the northern part of England."

IV

" 9th month 8th, 1829. A few days ago William Manley⁵ gave me a gratifying account of JOHN ROE's⁶ disposal of his large Property. He sais he has left about 12000 Pounds for Charitable purposes and not more than one thousand Pound to any one."

V

" 11 mo. 10. 1830. I will first notice how highly we have been gratified with a few days visit from your beloved Uncle THOMAS SHILLITOE. I was informed one morning before leaving my Lodging Room that he was sitting in our Parlour. He had traveled all night on the outside of the Coach, and was as lively and cheerful as if he had had a comfortable night's sleep. He said his health was better then it was fifty years ago, that he would walk more then twenty miles a day. He indeed looked to be in vigerous good health and as cheerful as I have ever seen him.

" During the time that we had the pleasure of his company, it was the usual season of our annual Bible Society meeting being held, to which he went and sat towards the lower end of the large Room in the Mansion House. About the middle of the meeting a Friend came to me and inquired if Tho^s Shillitoe could be admited to address the Meeting. I accordingly arranged matters so, as far as to get a resolution for him to move, and when he was called upon to move it, I went and fetched him from his seat, and showd him the way to the Plat-form, from whence he addressed the large assembly with impressive effect. The chairman who is a gentleman of considerable account in our Neighbourhood, adverted to his address, in terms of cordial approbation,

and after meeting much enquiry was made who this extraordinary Friend was. One Clergyman came to our house to have some of his company, and we had a large company to dine, who were delighted with him.

“ And in the evening there was a large meeting held in the Towns Hall for to afford the Working Classes of the Town an opportunity of obtaining information respecting the good effects of reading and circulating the Scripture, to which meeting he also went, where it appeared as if he was attending a Publick Meeting. He was largely engaged herein. Some persons of account wished I would give some information respecting this extraordinary Friend as to who he was and from whence he came, to be put in the Nuse Paper when the account of the Bible Meeting was published which was done.”

To be continued

NOTES

¹ William Byrd (c. 1757-1835) lived at Marnhull, Co. Dorset.

Rebecca Byrd (1758-1834) his wife, was a daughter of John and Jane Young, of Shrewsbury. She travelled in the ministry with that noted Friend, Deborah Darby (1754-1810), both before and after her marriage with William Byrd in 1800 and travelled also with her husband.

x. xiii. xv. xx. ; Smith, *Cata*.

² Elizabeth Robson (1771-1843), née Stephenson, of Yorkshire, was the wife of Thomas Robson, of Liverpool, and a Gospel messenger for many years in both hemispheres.

xiv. xv. xvi. xix. xx.

³ William Flanner (1766-1837) was a member of Short Creek M.M., Ohio. On his arrival home in 1819 he stated his reasons for his early return and produced a paper signed by a select Council of Liverpool Friends. He was in Europe again in 1828-9.

iv. xiii.-xv. xvii. xix.

⁴ Elizabeth Walker (1761-1821), née Hoyland, was from the State of New York. A pamphlet, printed at Leith, Scotland, in 1823, describes her as “ the short, soft, sentimental Trans-Atlantic Mrs. Isabell Walker ” !

xiii. xvi.

⁵ William Manley (c. 1772-1851) was the Recording Clerk of the Society from 1811 to 1844.

⁶ John Row (c. 1766-1829) was a London Friend. He accompanied Isaac Hammer, of Tennessee, on a portion of his religious visit to Europe in 1828. He was an Elder of Devonshire House M.M., and a silk-manufacturer in Spitalfields—a man of great force of character and active benevolence. His successor in business was Peter Bedford. He made a bequest of £1,200 for the benefit of the poor of his Meeting, and also left money for the education and clothing of girls, the children of poor Friends, and providing each with £30 at the age of twenty-one years.

xvii.

A Long Island Marriage Puzzle

The celebrated case of marriage of William Ashwell and Ann Ridge which was "stated and maintained Legal at a tryal at Nottingham Assizes ye eight of ye sixt month called August 1661,"¹ is the first document "copied by Isaac Horner, 1685," in the earliest record of marriages of Quakers on Long Island. It is followed by the account of a like case tried in the Richmond spiritual court, 1673, and by the following:—

"In Maryland their was twoo friends married y^e maiestrates Questioned their marriage and brought them in to trouble a bout it & at last it came before Assembly & Counsell as alsoe y^e Governor they were much puzled about it & friends haveing gone together according to y^e practice of y^e holy men in y^e scriptures of truth and law of god they lying y^e matter before y^e meetings all things being cleare a meeting was appointed on purpose for y^e taking one an other, & haveing a Certifycate, they being much puzled, both y^e Assemble Counsell Governor & maiestrates at last Referred y^e matter to an old ffryer a Papist a ffather as they Called him, And his answer was to them y^t if y^t was not a Lawfull marriage their was not one in y^e world, Here y^e Papists are made to Confess to y^e truth of this marriage Contrary to y^e commande of y^e church of Rome this was a bout y^e yeare 1670."

The earliest recorded marriage certificate of Quakers in this Colony, in 1663, immediately follows the above account in the record. The case of William Ashwell was cited in 1680 by John Bowne and Henry Willis when prosecution was attempted against them for allowing their daughters to be married without a licence. It was the only known case in America in which Quakers were called to account for neglecting the licence, which was never fully enforced, and fell into disuse.

New York.

JOHN COX, JUNR.

¹ The case is given in *The Journal of George Fox*, tercent. ed., p. 198, without names of parties concerned.

"1761. January 15. Last Sunday Evening [Jan. 11] departed this Life, after a week's Illness of a Pleurisy, Mrs. Sarah Hill, one of the People called Quakers, wife of Mr. Joseph Hill [Williamsburg] . . ."

"1761. October 29. Sunday last [Oct. 25], Died at his Plantation, near Town, Mr. Joseph Hill, an eminent Planter, and one of the People called Quakers, who by an honest Industry accumulated a very good Estate."

Taken from the *Maryland Gazette*, reprinted in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, June, 1923.

Establishment of the Meeting for Sufferings, 1676

First Settling of the Meeting for Sufferings in London & the Names of Friends who constituted it, in the 4th Month, 1676.

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>London Friends.</i>	<i>Country Friends.</i>
Bedfordshire & Northampton	John Staploe Francis Camfield	Edward Chester, Dunstable, for Bedford. Dan ^l Wills, Physician, North- ampton.
Berkshire & Bucks. Cornwall & Devonshire Hampshire & Surrey Sussex & Kent Essex & Suffolk	John Osgood Thomas Zachary Thomas Taunton Gilbert Latey Edw. Brookes Ellis Hooks William Mackett William Welch Walter Miers James Braines Rich ^d . Whitpane Fra: Moore Thomas Yoakley	Benjamin Coale, Reading. Thomas Elwood, Hunger Hill. Lawrence Growdon, S ^t . Austle. Arthur Cotton, Merchant, Plymouth. George Embree, Southampton. John Cooper, Guilford. Luke Howard, Shoe-maker, Dover. Solomon Formantel, Colchester. Rob ^t . Duncan, Tanner, nr. Mendlesham. Sam ^l . Duncan, Hosier, Norwich. W ^m . Brassier, Shoe-maker, Cambridge. Sam ^l . Cater. W ^m . Garland, Gainsborough. John Hall, Monksgate, York. John Ayrey, Soap-boiler, New Castle for both Durham and Northumberland.
Norfolk & Cambridge	Thomas Cox Clement Plumstead	James Collinson, Shopkeeper, Penrith. Bryan Lancaster, Tanner, Kendal.
Ely & Lincolnshire Yorkshire Durham & Northumb ^d	George Watts W ^m . Parker Tho: Hart & Ra: Rudyard Thomas Rudyard William Meade	Thomas Green, Shopkeeper, Lancaster. Edw ^d Morgan, Shoe-maker, Chester. William Fallowfield, Leek. William Storrs, Shopkeeper, Chesterfield.
Cumberland & Westmorland	Wm. Laithwaite Francis Dove	Samuel Wilson, Baker, Leicester.
Lancashire & Cheshire	John West Thomas Mathews	
Staffordshire & Derbyshire	James Claypoole Tho: Rudyard	
Leicestershire & Rutland &	John Elson Arthur Cooke	

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE M. FOR S., 1676 43

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>London Friends.</i>	<i>Country Friends.</i>
Nottinghamshire	Rich: Mew, Tho: Robertson	John Reckless, Shopkeeper, Nottingham.
Worcester & Gloucestershire	Gerard Roberts } Ezekiel Woolley }	Edw ^d Bowne, Physician, Worcester.
Herefordshire & Shropshire	Philip Ford John Dew	James Merrick, Ross. Constantine Overton, Shrewsbury.
Warwick & Oxfordshire	Francis Bellers William Crouch	John Murdock. Baker, Coventry.
Hunts. & Hertfordshire	Hugh Lamb Job Bolton Wm. Ingram	Silas Norton, Maltster, Oxford. Rich ^d Jobson, Fell-monger, Huntington. Henry Stout, Maltster, Hertford.
Wiltshire	Arthur Cooke, Ellis Hookes	Tho: Neate, Chippenham.
London & Middlesex Bristol	Tho: Cooper, Wm Meade, Jos: Scott, Jn ^o Kimble James Claypole } Ezekiel Woolley }	Thomas Gouldney, Grocer, Bristol.
North Wales ,,	Wm. Gosnell Edw ^d Man & Petter } Evans }	Rich ^d Davies, Hat-maker, Welchpool.
South Wales ,,	Benj. Antrobus W ^m Peachey	
Ireland ,,	Sam ^l Newton } Ja ^s . Claypoole } & Wm. Penn }	Sam ^l Clarridge, Merchant, Dublin.
Scotland ,, ,,	W ^m Welch } John Swinton } Gawen Lawrey }	
Barbadoes ,,	Thomas Hart Gerard Roberts	
New England & New York	William Mead Joseph Scott	
Virginia & Maryland	Sam ^l Groome Francis Camfield & James Braines	
Nevis, & the Leeward Islands	John Goodwin Hugh Hartshorn	
Jamaica ,,	Edw ^d Brush William Crouch	
Holland ,,	W ^m Crouch W ^m Welch	

At a Meeting of the aforesaid Friends & Others, assembled upon the account of Sufferings, held at James Claypoole's, the 12th day of the 4th Mo. 1676, agreed at followeth, which I omit copying, being only Rules

for the good Government of said meeting. The following are the Names of Friends appointed for the immediate service, & to continue till the General Meeting, viz'.

<i>Meetings.</i>	<i>London Friends.</i>	<i>Meetings.</i>	<i>London Friends.</i>
Westminster	Gilbert Latey	Southwark	William Shewen
"	Francis Dove	"	Henry Snook
Wheeler Street	Francis Moore	Peele	William Parker
"	Francis Bellers	"	John Elson
Ratcliffe	Arthur Cooke	London (Bull &	John Osgood
"	Ja ^s Braines	" Mouth)	Tho: Rudyard
		Foreign Parts	Tho: Hart
			Jos: Scott

Early Wedding Certificates

1661

We whose names are here vnder written doe Beare witness in the p^rsence of the Lord of Those two p^rsons Mosess Breant of the p^rish of Naylsey husbandman And Mary Whiting Widdow of the same p^rish and Countie a fore said Beinge Joyned to geather in Marriage according to Church order this Tenth Day of fite mounth called July in the thirteenth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Charles the second in the Yeare of our Lord God one Thousand Six hundred Sixtie one.

ED: BEAKES.

WILLIAM HOBBS.

SAMUELL BULLOCK.

THOMAS BROD.

RICHARD CAMPLIN.

JAMES CARTER.

THOMAS EWENS.

THOMAS MULGREY.

GEORG HARRIS.

THOMAS HARRIS.

Copied from the original at Devonshire House, presented by Samuel Lawrence, 6 mo. 1919. It is on parchment and measures 7½ ins. by 5½ ins.

1663

Wee whose names are hearevnto subscribed doe heareby Certifie all whome it may Concerne, that John Playse of the p^rish of Portbury, And Joane Skidmore of the p^rish of Naylsy wi^d, Haveinge severall times formerly Guien notice of thire Jntention of Marriage, did take each other to husband And wife, in the p^rsents of vs, and severall other friends, the Two and Twentyeth day of y^e second Moneth (caled Aprill) Jn y^e yeare 1663.

RICHARD HETHWAY.

HENRY MOORE.

DANILL BULLOCK.

JOHN SPOORE.

THOMAS MULGREY.

EDMOD^o BEAKES

JAMES HARRIS.

JOHN COTTRELL

Copied from the original at Devonshire House, presented by Samuel Lawrence of Taunton, 6 mo. 1919. It is written on stout paper and measures 7¼ ins. by 6½ ins.

The Diary of a London Quaker Apprentice, 1765-1768

AMONG papers belonging to the late J. J. Green's Collection is a copy of the diary (1765—1768) of Edward Binyon,¹ of Northampton, apprentice in London. It is in the handwriting of J. J. Green. Extracts are given below.

1765

April 16th. Left Burford School in order to come to London, W. Grover² coming with me to town, desiring to go to Brighthelmstone, about 3 o'clock in y^e afternoon.

July 16th. Was bound apprentice to Daniel Vandewall,³ linen draper at the Leg and Star, Cheapside, London, for seven years, at the White Lyon Tavern⁴ in Bishopsgate Street.

November. I fell ill with the small pox.

1766

Feb. 13. Went down to Northampton to spend a few weeks at home.

March 22. Agreed with the barber to comb my Wig 3 Times and to shave me twice p week for 6/- p Quarter.

April 13. [entry in cypher. Read by J. J. Green.]
Went into the new river for the first time this year.

May 2nd. Leonard Ellington⁵ came to Town from Burford. N.B. He brought me 2 letters.

May 16. Went with Master and M[arkes] Vandewall to see the Exhibition of the Society of Artists of G.B. at Spring Gardens. Expenses 1/-.

May 17. Tho^s Huntley⁶ came to town from Burford. I dined and drank tea with him at Fr^d Ellington's & spent the evening with him at the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate Street.

May 24. Our maid Kitty came to town from Northampton. N.B. I went to the Inn to meet her. Went with her and her aunt to see the Waxwork [etc.]

June 14. Agreed with Mary (the cook) to clean me a pair of shoes every day for 2/6 p Quart^r.

August 7th. Nathaniel Sterry and myself lay in this house in the Poultry the first of all the family and for the first time.

August 15. W^m Grover came to town from Burford. Lenny Ellington and myself went to meet him at the Inn.

August 21. Lay in my own room for the first time. N.B. N. Sterry lay with me.

September 6. Went with Fr^d Ellington and son in their chariot to Ponders End to tea.

September 7. Went with them to Enfield Meeting. After Tea Lenny and his Father rode in their Jemmy and I on horseback about 8 miles.

Sept. 8th. Lenny, I & his father took a walk to see the Huntsmen, & the rest of the Time before Dinner we employed in fishing in their Pond. N.B. Wet Weather & no sport. After dinner Lenny & I rowed about in their Boat or Cooler for Beer, and so 2 Garden Chairs put in it back to back till tea; after tea Fr^d Ellington & I rode in the Jemmy & Lenny on the Mare for about an hour and a half. N.B. I drove.

Sept. 9th. Fr^d Ellington, Lenny & I came to Town in their Jemmy as far as the Turnpike on this side Tottenham. Stayed & breakfasted with them in Broad Street, & came home about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock. N.B. We had some Water Gruel before we set out Ponders End.

Sept. 27. Went with Master after dinner to Blackwall to see some India ships. Stayed there an Hour & half. Had some Brandy & Water. Master smoak'd. Walked home again by 6 o'clock. N.B. There was one ship building upon the stocks. I remark'd the White Horse at Poplar.

[Entry in cypher—"bathed in the New River" etc.]

Oct. 15. Went to the Young Folks Quarterly Meeting held at Grace-church Street Meeting House.

[Though his master was from home the apprentice seemed to secure plenty of time to go about with his brother from Northampton.]

November 2nd [Sunday] Spent the whole day with my brother, viz. called on him in the morning at his Inn after I had breakfasted, called & breakfasted with Mrs. Valentine; then went to Gracious St. Meeting: Dinner with Jemmy Freeman; after dinner went in Co. with Mr. Valentine to the Park. Saw the Elephants and Zebra; from thence to

Don Saltero's coffee house at Chelsea⁷, stayed there till near 5 o'clock, had some coffee and hot buns. My brother & myself came home in the Chelsea stage: he having a sore toe; got home to Mr. Valentine's about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock, where we supt: I spent the evening.

Nov. 4. Supt & spent the evening with him at Dicky Chesters.⁸

1767

Jan. 13th. Master gave me leave about 3 o'clock in the afternoon to go to the Park to see the People scate, stay'd there till $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour past 4 o'clock.

21st. Went to Young Folks Quarterly Meeting, held at Grace Church Street. N.B. The meeting held till very near 9 o'clock, which began at 5 in the evening.

May 20. Lost my pocket Hk as I was going to Wood street, between 9 and 10 o'clock at Night.

Agreed with my Barber to find me in Wiggs, shaving, etc. for £4 4. p ann. N.B. He has promised to make me 2 new Wiggs a year, if not more.

May 10th. After tea I went & sat an hour with Dr. J. C. Lettsom⁹ at J. Freeman's as he was alone p himself

15th. I went to Fr^d Ellingtons & L. Ellington & myself went directly to Littlewoods Livery Stables at the Man in the Moon in Chiswell Street & took 2 of their Horses and rode to Barking; got to Barking abt 12 o'clock, had some refreshment at the George Inn, stay'd there till L. E. had done his business, return'd home abt 2 oclock & got to Fr^d Ellington's again abt 4. Stay'd there & had some bread, butter etc & got home abt 40 min. past 4 o'clock.

[During a visit to London by the writer's mother and sister from Northampton.]

May 17th. Call'd on them at their lodgings about 10'clock Morn. & went with my sister to Devonshire House Meeting. Dined with them and cousin J. Vastons at my Uncle Vastons.¹⁰ Drank tea with them at their Lodgings. N.B. Miss Sterry and a young gentleman that came with her M. & Mrs. Page drank Tea with us also. After Tea, my sister, Miss Sterry, & 2 young Ladies that lived next door to Mr. Page went in a Coach to the Magdalen.¹¹ Mr. Page, & a young gent. that came with the 2 Ladies & myself walk'd to the Magdalen. The Ladies return'd in a Coach & we 4 gents walk'd home again. Supt with my Mother & Sister

the same evening at my Uncle Vaston's. After supper attended them to their lodgings & got home myself at 15 Min. past 10'clock.

May 23. N.B. My sister went to the Play as Mr. Garrick acted that night.

May 24. Went to them at their Lodgings after Morn: Meeting. Mr. Jacob Jackson call'd upon us in a Coach abt 30 Min. past 1 o'clock. We went with him p way of the new road to dine with the Bishop of Kildare [Charles Jackson] & his Lady in Hollis Street, Cavendish Square. After dinner Mr. Charles Baker & myself took a walk in the Park & got to the Bishop's again abt 6 o'clock to tea.

May 29. N. Sterry went out as soon as shop was shut & did not return till 15 min. past 9 o'clock which detain'd me from going out as soon as I had intended. I did not get home till past 11 o'clock.

May 31. Call'd on them at their Lodgings before Morn. Meeting. Dined with them at my Uncle Vaston's for the last Time, as he behaved very ungentielly to my Mother & she has charged my sister & me never to dine or sup there any more, as not intending to do it herself. We went away as soon as we had dined & I went to Grace Church Meeting on account of speaking to Dr. Fothergill.¹² Drank Tea with them, my cousins S. & J. Vaston at their Lodgings. My mother & sister went to take their Leave of my Uncle Vaston. S. Vaston came after supper to set with us & stay'd till we went away which was about 15 Min. before 11 o'clock in a Coach. The Coach broke down in going along London Wall, one of the Leathers break^d. There was fortunately a gentleman passing by that helped us out of the Coach. There was also another Coach going with a fare a little further, which call'd in coming back & took us up & carried us safe to the George Inn in Smithfield, where I took my Leave & left them abt 20 min. past 11 o'clock. My Mother treated me with the same Coach and I got home by 30 Min. past 11.

My Mother made me a present of a mettal watch in a black shagreen case, String, seal, etc. The Maker's name M. Ransom, London No. 3975. Bought of Tho^s Wagstaffe,¹³ watch & clockmaker in Grace Church Street, London. My Sister also made me a Present of 4 Hearts united work'd in point to wear in the watch for her sake.

[They returned home on June 1. Then the arrival of Mary Huntley is recorded and their meetings on various occasions.]

June 7. Drank Tea with her at Fr^d Ellingtons. There was some comp^y to tea & amongst them Sally Cartwright, but we did not then know one another.

June 14. Drank Tea with her at Fr^d Ellingtons. After Tea walk'd with her and the 2 Miss Ellingtons to the Magdalen where we were refused admittance as being 3 Min. too late ; we stay'd there till 7 o'clock to see if the Dr. would take us in with him, but he did not come out ; so we walked back.

21. After tea we walk'd to the Magdalen where we stay'd in one of the rooms till S. Ellington & a young Lady with her came with a ticket. Lenny had slip'd into the Chapell unobserved among the Croud. After Service was over we walk'd home together.

June 23. Went with her, S. & L. Ellington, at 5 o'clock Morn to the Angell Inn, the back of St. Clements Church in the Strand & saw her go of ab^t 6 oclock in the Henley Stage.

19. Went with J. Zachary¹⁴ & his Father ab^t 30 min. past 5 oclock in a Coach to the British Museum, which we were 1 hour & 45 min. in seeing. . . . were to have went, but they went to see the famous Price perform his various feats of horsemanship. N.B. It was my birthday, which I did not think of till I was coming home.

June 12 (cypher). Bathed in the New River for the first time this year ab^t 7 o'clock morn. : I call'd on L. Zachary who went with me.

Sept. 20. Din'd at J. Vastons at Clapton in Co. with Syl Bevan.¹⁵

Oct. 15 (cypher). Went with N. Sterry ab^t 30 min. past 6 o'clock to Covent Garden theatre, there we got into the 1/^s gallery & sat the 2 last acts of the beggars opera with harlewvin¹⁶ doctor Faustus for the entertainment. N.B. It was the first time that I ever sat at a play in my life.

16 (cypher). Went with N. Sterry ab^t 15 min. past 7 o'clock to Drury Lane theatre. There we got into the 2/^s gallery for $\frac{1}{2}$ price & sat the latter part of Tancred & sigismunda with harlewvins Invasion for the entertainment.

17. Went by myself ab^t 7 o'clock to Covent Garden theatre . . . & sat the latter part of Jane Shore with

the royal chace or harlewvins skeleton for the entertainment.
N.B. Master & Mrs lodged at Clapton.

November 15. Went with L. Ellington after Morn. meeting on one of their horses to dine with Mr. Jackson of Chelsea ; after dinner we went with Jackson & his wife to their Meeting (Moravians). After Meeting we returned to their House & drank Tea & returned to town & L.E. & myself went to the Even^s Meeting.

[On attending another theatrical performance, the diarist writes : " Master gave me leave to go."]

1768

June 22. (cypher) Bathed in the river at talwin & forsters at bromley hall¹⁷ in C^o with N. Sterry for the first time this season.

[On August 8, our apprentice had a holiday, and went to Burford, and on the 29th he reached London again. " I was found the next day in my Business as usual, my agreeable trip to Burford appearing then no more than a pleasant dream."]

NOTES

¹ Edward Binyon (-) was a son of Edward Binyon (- 1762), and Mary, his wife (c. 1719-1778). With the Diary is a document entitled : " E. Binyon's Cobby of his Freedom of the Town of Northampton," in which he is described as Edward Binyon, Tanner, a Quaker, son of Thomas Binyon, Tanner. Date of admission, 18 April, 1734.

At the conclusion of his schooldays at Thomas Huntley's at Burford, Oxfordshire, Edward Binyon, the younger, was apprenticed to Daniel Vandewall. The following is a copy of the Articles of Agreement :

" Articles of Agreement between Mary Binyon and Daniel Vandewall concerning Edward Binyon.

" On the day he is bound apprentice M Binyon is to pay the sum of £315 in consideration of which if Ed Binyon shou'd die in the 1st year Danl Vandewall is to return £200, on the same condition at the end of the 2nd year £150, & at the expiration of the 3rd year £75. If the fees of binding do not exceed £3, D.V. is to bear the charge, if more, to be equally divided ; D.V. to defray the expence of washing his Linnen, &c. It's mutually agreed that at the end of 6 years he shall have leave to ride on account of Business, in case he shou'd have the small pox [he had it] he is not to be removed out of the house ; all charges attending that distemper or whenever the attendance of a Physician, Surgeon, or Apothecary is necessary M Binyon is to defray the same. We do hereby agree & abide by the above & have hereunto interchangeably set our hands, this 11th day of March 1765.

Witness
JAMES VASTON, JUNR.

MARY BINYON
DAN : VANDEWALL."

A memorandum book accompanied the original Diary, in which it is stated " Edwd Binyon, Tottenham, moved to No. 12 Britannia Row, Islington, Oct. 2nd 1781." The Diary is written in a small book with

mottled red and blue cover. J. J. Green's copy, from which we print, was made in 1904 from the original among family papers belonging to Lydia Whitehead.

² William Grover (1752-1825) was a son of William and Elizabeth (Ellis) Grover, of Brighton. Presumably he was at this time a scholar at Burford. He became a prominent Friend and Elder, married Isabel Weatherald (1748-1839) and lived at Stansted Mount-Fitchet, Co. Essex. xiv. ; Smith, *Cata.* ; Penney, *My Ancestors*.

³ Daniel Vandewall (1727-1772). He married his first cousin, Sarah Vandewall, while living at Wellingborough, apparently.

⁴ The White Lyon Tavern, in Bishopsgate Street and Cornhill, was once in Quaker hands, and George Fox and others visited there at times. See *Camb. Jnl. Supp.*, p. 340.

⁵ Ellington, of Wellingborough, was a name known among Friends for many years. Francis Ellington, upholsterer, was one of the first to receive Truth and Friends, being convinced by William Dewsbury at Harborough fair in 1654. Joseph Smith records tracts by him issued 1655 to 1665. (*Cata.*) See i. ii. ; *F.P.T.*

There was also a Leonard Ellington of Hunts. in 1668.

The names Francis and Leonard survived many years in the family. The Index to *The Annual Monitor*, 1813-1892, does not contain the name.

"Friend Ellington" was perhaps *Leonard* Ellington. We read in *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, 1919, that Leonard Ellington was chosen, with others, to act as arbitrator in the matter of *Fothergill v. Leeds*, in 1770.

⁶ Thomas Huntley (1733-1813) lived at Burford, Oxon, all his life. He commenced a school at the age of eighteen and conducted it for over fifty years. He was a clerk of London Y.M. in 1792 and a Minister for many years. He wrote several school books. He was a son of Joseph and Mary Huntley, of Burford, and married Mary Coles, of Henley, in 1770.

xv. xvii. ; Smith, *Cata.*

⁷ Don Saltero's was a famous coffee-tavern in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. It was opened in 1695, by James Salter, a former servant of Sir Hans Sloane, who had in it a collection of Spanish and other "curiosities," and Salter was nicknamed "Don Saltero" therefrom. Steele wrote an account of Salter and his collection in *The Tatler*. The tavern was the resort of the wits and social figures of the district. Many editions were issued of the catalogue of the extraordinary exhibits in the tavern. Don Saltero's flourished for over a century.

Note by J. Henry Quinn, Chelsea Borough Librarian, 1925.

⁸ Richard Chester (c. 1735-1810) and Patience Chester (c. 1742-1802) were Friends of Stoke Newington, near London. Rachel Wilson died at their home in 1775. Richard Chester was Y.M. Clerk in 1784 and his wife was clerk of the Women's Meeting, 1788 to 1794. The abbreviated form of the first name (Dickie) was not uncommon at [this period ; see Tommy Bland in xx. 77, 86.

x. xii. xvi.

⁹ John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815) was the well-known London doctor, assisted into fame by Dr. John Fothergill. At this time he was about twenty-three years of age and working in a London hospital. (Jenkins, *Tortola*, 1923, chap. vii.)

vi. vii. ix. x. xiii. xv. xvi. xx.

¹⁰ Little has, so far, been recovered from the ravages of time respecting the Vaston family. In 1780 Sarah Vaston, of Homerton, married Benjamin Soundy (*Gent's. Mag.*). Mary Vaston, of Clapton, died in 1826, aged 87.

v.

¹¹ Magdalen Hospital for the reformation and relief of penitent prostitutes was instituted in 1758, the first house being in Prescott Street, Goodman's Fields. The site was found to be inconvenient, and in 1772 another was obtained in St. George's Fields (the south end of Blackfriars Road). This was thought to be in the country, but a century later was unsuitable, and the institution was removed to Streatham in 1868. From the character of the inmates the institution would not be much open to the public.

Note by J. Henry Quinn, Chelsea Borough Librarian, 1925.

¹² John Fothergill, M.D. (1712-1780). See *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, by R. Hingston Fox, 1919.

i. iii.-ix. xi. xiii. xv. xvi. xviii. xx. ; *Bulletin F. H. S. Phila.* I.-iii. v. ix. x. ; Rancocas *John Woolman ; Tortola.*

¹³ Thomas Wagstaffe (1724-1802) was a noted clockmaker. Friends returning from Europe to America often took his clocks back with them ; hence the many Wagstaffe longcase clocks in U.S.A.

viii.-x. xix.

¹⁴ Thomas Zachary (c. 1622-1686) lived at Beaconsfield, Co. Bucks., and removed later to London. In 1725 there was another of the name, "citizen and skinner of London." In 1769 there was living another of the name. Daniel and Elizabeth Zachary lived at High Wycombe. Deaths of members of the family are reported in *The Annual Monitor*, 1816 to 1870.

i. xiii. xvi.

¹⁵ This would be Silvanus Bevan (1743-1830), son of Timothy and Elizabeth Bevan, of Plough Court, Lombard Street. He was educated at Hackney, probably at the school of Forster and Hodgkin (xx. 85). He was first a chemist and then a banker. He married Isabella Wakefield in 1769 ; she died seven months later, aged seventeen. He remarried. (*History of the Bevan Family*, 1924, chap. iii.)

v. xvi.

¹⁶ In a newspaper, published before Christmas, 1924, we read : "Old-time Harlequinade: A revival of the humours of the harlequinade promises to be a feature of Christmas at the theatres. Preparatory to the visit of the Hippodrome revue, 'Leap Year,' to Manchester next week for the Christmas season, the authors have strengthened it with a seasonable scene built on the tradition of an old-time harlequinade. George Robey as the clown gives a pleasure at once fresh and reminiscent, and Columbine and Harlequin trip themselves into the affections of an enthusiastic audience."

¹⁷ Joseph Talwin (c. 1718-1793) lived at Bromley and Joseph Foster (c. 1761-1835) lived at Bromley Hall. There was also a Thomas Foster, of Bromley Hall, who was disowned for holding unitarian views and supporting Hannah Barnard, 1814 (*London Y.M. during 250 Years*). See xvi. 10 for a description of these beautiful residences.

B. Kaye's Journal to and at y^e Yearly Meeting, London, 1787

1787

5 mo. 19. being 7th day, I left home on horse back & went to Sheffield that night, having left my Horse at the house of my Friend PHILIP MADIN,¹ whose intention is to go with me. On the First-day I staid both their meetings at y^t place, it was but a low time here. I was pleased to find my son William well.

On the First-day evening we set off & went to Chesterfield and lodged at the Falcon Inn, having called in at the house of our Friend JOSEPH STORRS,² who was set off for London. From this place, rising early, went to Mansfield to breakfast & to Nottingham to dine where we called to see many Friends. After went to Loughborough to tea & reached Leicester that night being 51 miles.

Setting off from Leicester in the morning not so early, we went to Kibworth to breakfast and dined at Kettering and reached Wellingborough to tea where I found my cousin B. MIDDLETON,³ his wife and the two children well. At his house I met with many Friends, who coming from distant parts, had called here, about 17 in number, amongst whom were seven from Ireland, R. SHACKLETON, BENJ. GRUBB & others--W[illiam] & E[sther] TUKE & some of their family, &c., &c. Here I staid the next day, being 3rd of the week.

Next morning set off with my cousin, BENJ. MIDDLETON and MORDECAI CASSON,⁴ of Thorne, who we had come up with upon Nottingham Forest.

Passing through Olney where 40 houses or upwards had been consumed by fire, through Newport Pagnal, Dunstable & Albans, we reached Mims, having travelled 54 miles y^t day, w^{ch} was rainy. We were agreeably entertained at the White Hart, a house that Friends frequent at a General Meeting held there once a year.

Setting off next morning I reached Islington to breakfast from whence I took coach and went to y^e George in Aldermanbury & dined. After went to y^e Meeting for Sufferings, at the close of which I went with my Friend

SIMON BAILEY,⁵ who had reserved me lodging. He was not willing I should go to lodge at an Inn, so I took up my lodgings at his house.

On 7th day I attended the Meeting of Ministers & Elders & y^e Committee of Elders. First-day forenoon I attended the meeting at Horsley down which was satisfactory till the conclusion when it was much hurt by an imprudent appearance, made in too much of the heat and zeal of the Creature. I, with some others, could not think myself excused but to speak to the party, which having done & being well received, had satisfaction in. I attended the meeting at Gracious Street, w^{ch} was rather a heavy meeting. After meeting I went home with WILSON BIRKBECK,⁶ & after tea walked to Friends Workhouse School near Islington, w^{ch} I had satisfaction in seeing the children & all in good order

2nd day morning, I attended the adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders, where Elders gave in their reports. In the afternoon at — began the Yearly Meeting.

3rd day. Attended the meetings. Breakfasted at Jos^h Rows,⁷ dined at my lodgings, supped with Jos^h SMITH.

4th day. Went to Westminster meeting which was a solid satisfactory meeting, present MARY RIDGWAY, JANE WATSON from Ireland⁸ and sundry other Friends. Dined with GEO. STACEY⁹ & then walked to the adjourned Yearly Meeting. Then home to my lodgings.

5th day. Breakfasted with Jos^h Row & attended the Com^{tee} upon drawing up certificates for our American Friends about to return home, when PATIENCE BRAYTON,¹⁰ with much deliberation, opened her mind expressing that she was under a cloud and could not see her way quite clear to leave this land & that a further service seemed required of her, which claimed much of my sympathy. At length the endorsment was agreed to be made that she might be at liberty to return. At 10 began the adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders, when things were a little opened & many excellent advices given, none of which struck my mind with greater attention than an observation of EDMUND GURNEY¹¹ to this effect—"There is a saying that Charity begins at home. I am afraid there is too much a disposition to be scattering to others what we ought to reserve to ourselves to feed upon & by that means we are left in a more poor & destitute

condition than it is intended. I remember what I have heard an experienced minister say respecting what occurred betwixt himself and one he travelled with, who seemed to have great openness in most meetings he came to & was much drawn to the people, & complained of great leanness and poverty attending him when out of meetings. 'Well,' said the Friend, 'I don't wonder at it, if the Master give thee a few silver pence for thy own support, thou seemest always ready to throw them about thee.' I wish Friends may take the hint." I dined with ROBT HOWARD & went to the adjourned Yearly Meeting at 4. After this broke up was held the Gen^l Meeting for Ackworth. Went to my cousin ANNA KAYE & supped.

6th day morning. Breakfasted with ELIZth FOSTER, after which I attended the committee upon the Epistles, which being large, met in the great meeting house. Several things that were referred to us coming under consideration were deliberated upon; a proposition from the Women's Meeting was laid before us by a number of Women Friends by deputation from their Meeting, requiring a revision of their Queries, having a tendency to bring the youth of that sex under the care of the Women Friends. It was agreed to propose that they answer the same Query as the men respecting Overseers & have a Query also respecting providing for the poor, same as us. Went to dine with JN^o SANDERSON.¹²

6th day afternoon. Attended the adjournment to the Yearly Meeting. After a time of solemn silence, EDMUND GURNEY stood up and said a little matter had spread over his mind & wished we might all of us come under an exercise to get out of the cumber, and said that he had thought about Martha whom I believe our Saviour loved much. She was careful and much cumbered about many things, but Martha [should be Mary] abode in the house ready and attentive to hear the Masters voice. He exhorted Friends like Mary to abide in the house, attentively waiting upon their gifts ready to hear the Masters voice.

Drank tea at THO^s COMPTONS¹³ who married JN^o TOWNSENDS daughter, with many Friends. Then went to JOSEPH GURNEY BEVANS to sup, where I met with JN^o HUSTLER & his wife, REBECCA JONES & many other Friends. [T] CLARKSON¹⁴ supped with us & sat at the table just by me & PHILIP MADIN. He is the author of the Treatise on

Slavery which had the prize given him at Cambridge for writing so well on the subject. PHILIP MADIN being near, & he being informed that he had been in the West India Islands, made much enquiry respecting the treatment of the Slaves in those Islands where he had been, the information he received, he expressed was satisfactory, & from many instances he had been authentically informed of before, confirmed him in the sentiment that if the Slaves were kindly treated and as they ought to be, there would arise from them such a numerous offspring that there would be no need of importing any from Africa. Philip informed him, at the plantation where he lodged their numbers had increased & they had not purchased a slave for 40 years, & that their offspring thus born upon the Islands became more naturalised & seasoned for labour in that clime. He was very free in Conversation & is much devoted to serve this oppressed People, having, as I am informed, declined some advantageous offers of promotion in the Church that he may properly attend to this Business. Friends here have formed themselves into a Committee & a Contribution is begun to support him, about 150 Guineas being raised. I heard him say 2000 Guineas would not be enough to go to Parliament to get through with an affair of such magnitude. He said he had had conversation with the Bishop of Bangor whom he considered as the most skilled in the Law of any one in the House of Lords, & had a general idea that the House might be likely to adopt, & he told him he should not doubt, should it be brought forward, in time it will have the full consent of their House. In the House of Commons there seemed little danger could he gain over Pitt and Wilberforce to his interest, there is little doubt it would attain the Royal assent.

Clarkson intends to be providing himself every proof that may be necessary to advance well authenticated for which purpose he is intending to go and remain a few weeks at Bristol and Liverpool. I could not but congratulate him upon having espoused so good a cause and invited him to my house should he come to Leeds. He is a plain sort of man and seems very agreeable in the company of Friends, I think. He seems mostly to be at Friends' houses. G. DILLWYN told me he said to him, "I would have thee keep thine eye upon thy duty in this business" & no doubt he would receive the penny.

7th Day morning. Breakfasted with Dr. GILBERT THOMPSON.¹⁵ Dined at JN^o SANDERSONS. Attended the adjournment of Yearly Meeting. Supped with my cousin ANNA KAYE.

First day morning. Took coach to Tottenham in company with ISAAC COOK & MARGARET COOK¹⁶ from Manchester. ELIZABETH NORTH attended their meeting in the morning. Went to dine with THO^s. PHILLIPS at the House where ROB^t. WALKER¹⁷ died. A very agreeable family of Friends. Went to Tottenham evening meeting which began at 4. Went to the Widow FORSTERS¹⁸ where I lodged & was very kindly entertained as heretofore many times.

2nd day morning. Went to the Com^{tee} of Elders which began at 8, when report was given of the meetings in the course of the week. . . . At 3 met the Committee upon the Epistles and at five the adjournment of the Yearly Meeting when the Epistles were gone through & 12000 of the General Epistle to be printed. When the business was gone through we had a solemn pause in Silence—a solemn pause it was indeed in which my mind was bowed in humble thanksgiving to the Almighty for his unmerited favours dispense to us.

The meeting ended at about halfpast 8 o'clock. After went to bid farewell to sundry of my Friends amongst whom was REBECCA JONES of Philadelphia.

3rd morning. I called to see JN^o PEMBERTON, WILLIAM MATTHEWS, ZACHARIAH DICKS, PATIENCE BRAYTON, REBECCA WRIGHT, all from America. The 5 last I took my solemn leave of, never expecting to see them more.

I took horse at Islington, 3rd day at 11 Forenoon. . . . By way of Uxbridge reached Amersham, having met with my Friend ROB^t EELES at Uxbridge he would not readily excuse JAMES FAWCETT & me lodging with him at Amersham, where I called to see JA^s. TATHAM, my brother JN^o. TATHAM's son, who lives with an Apothecary there. [Passing by the house of ISAAC PENINGTON & Jordans, and accompanied with ROBERT EELES's son JOHN for five miles] we came to Stoken Church where we refreshed ourselves with a dish of coffee & soon after left intending for Oxford, 17½ miles.

Reached Oxford before two and dined at The Bear. I admire* the number of students sent here to study School Divinity. Am informed there are about 1500. They crowd the streets (being noon) with their Black Gowns, Powdered Wigs & 4 square flat black Caps on their heads with a corner before. I could see a scornful sneering look from many of them towards me as I passed along the street. I was just for saying to one who flouted much at me on the road ; had he spoke, I should have told him to read his Bible & he would find it was the son of the Bond woman was a scoffer.

[On the further journey our Friend visited THOMAS HUNTLEY, at Burford, schoolmaster ; WILLIAM ATKINS, a watchmaker, at Chipping Norton ; SUSAN & HANNAH GAYLARD at Warwick ; and here the story closes abruptly.]

From a sm. 8vo. vol. of ms. with an endorsement on one page : " Jos^a Kaye's Book 2^{mo} 10th 1790." Later in possession of George Tatham of Leeds and now belonging to Charles J. Holdsworth, of Cheshire. The book also contains copies of letters which passed between JOSEPH MILTHORPE, of Painthorp and THOMAS WORTHINGTON, " Priest of Middleton," 1751 ; and also a printed Leeds Directory of 1799. In this Directory appear :

Kaye, James, William and Joshua, flax dressers and sacking manufacturers, Lowerhead Row.

Kaye, Benjamin, mercer and woollen draper, Cross-Parish. Also the following, resident in Quakers Meeting House Yard : David Jepson, dealer ; Gervas Storr ; Mary Tatham, schoolmistress. Other Tathams are James, surgeon and apothecary, Briggate ; Joseph, schoolmaster, Water-Lane ; George and Thomas, mercers, woollen-drapers, and taylors, Briggate. Among public buildings is " The Quakers' Meeting-house, Water-Lane. Meetings on Sundays at ten in the forenoon, and half-past two in the afternoon ; also at ten on Thursday forenoon."

NOTES

¹ Philip Madin (c. 1733-1804) was a Sheffield Friend and a Minister. He was in Scotland in 1777. He travelled in the West Indies in 1779 with Thomas Colley (1742-1812), and later, with the same Friend, in Scotland. He left by his will £100, the interest from which was to be given to poor Friends of Sheffield.

x. xiii.

* *Admire* is here used with its old meaning of *wonder*.

² Joseph Storrs (1742-1824), of Chesterfield, who was the clerk of Y.M. this year (*London Y.M. during 250 Years*, 1919).

³ Benjamin Middleton (1746-1814) married Tabitha Hoyland (c. 1750-1809). In 1794 they "had just lost an only son, a very promising youth who died at school" (iii. 141, 142). Their daughter Maria (1793-1844) married Samuel Fox, of Wellington, Som. (*Maria Fox*, 1846). The son John and daughter Hannah (d. 1835) would be the children mentioned.

vi.

⁴ Mordecai Casson (1745-1822), of Thorne, was educated in the principles of the Anglican Church. As he approached manhood he was brought under a religious exercise of mind and for a time attended the Methodist gatherings. About 1776 he joined with Friends (Testimony).

⁵ Simon Bailey lived in Spitalfields and was a hospitable entertainer of Friends from the country. Martha Routh lodged at his house at Y.M., 1817, and died there. The Registers record the death, at Tottenham, of Simon Bailey in 1827, aged sixty. If this was the same Friend as above, he was but about twenty at the time of Benjamin Kaye's visit in 1787.

⁶ Wilson Birkbeck (1754-1812) was an ironfounder of London, with residence on Stamford Hill. His second wife and widow, Grizell, became the third wife of William Allen.

xv. xviii.

⁷ Joseph Row (1722-1792) was a weaver in Spitalfields. John Jenkins was with him for a short time, who writes of him in his *Records and Recollections*. In connection with the solar eclipse of 1 iv. 1764, an alteration of the time for the holding of the morning meetings of that First-day was proposed, "Joseph Row objected, adding: 'Suppose it should not happen.' Doctor Fothergill replied: 'Joseph, as sure as the day happens to come, that will happen.' This was just like J. Row, who, although of exemplary life and conversation, was always deemed a weak man." Sarah Row, his wife, was a Minister (d. 1803). They were great entertainers at Y.M. time.

xiii. xvi.

⁸ Mary Ridgway (1728-1804) and Jane Watson (? 1739-? 1812) travelled much together in the ministry in Europe and America.

xx.

⁹ George Stacey (-1816), Senr., appears to have been in the employ of Thomas Corbyn, apothecary, of Holborn. He married Mary, daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, of Kendal, in 1781. He was Y.M. clerk in 1799. Their son, George Stacey (1786-1857), was Y.M. clerk from 1838 to 1849.

Mary Stacey was a valuable Minister, of Tottenham. She died in 1836.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

¹⁰ Patience Brayton (c. 1733/4-1794) was of Swansea in the State of Massachusetts. She came over to Britain in the Rebecca Jones band of visiting Ministers, and was in this country 1783-1787. Her maiden name was Greene. In 1758 she married Preserved Brayton. She paid religious visits in her own country, on one occasion feeling it in the line of duty to leave a weakly husband and infant family on religious service, during the course of which one child died, followed, soon after her return, by the death of another. There is a long account of her European visit in her *Life*, New York, 1801.

xiii. xv.

¹¹ Edmund Gurney (1723-1796) was a prominent Minister who had experienced a remarkable change of heart and life in younger days. With regard to the financial troubles which clouded his last days, his nephew, Joseph Gurney Bevan, wrote wishing that some written memorial of him might be preserved, adding: "Why not to some advantage seeing we read that King Asa, who, saith the text, 'did that which was good and right . . . yet in his old age was diseased in his feet and sought not to the Lord but unto physicians.' . . . Surely his life, taken all together, proclaims forcibly this caution: 'Let those who think they stand take heed'" (*The Gurneys of Lakenham Grove*, by Sir Alfred E. Pease, 1907, in MS.).

xvii. xviii. xx.

¹² John Sanderson (1781-1841) was a prominent London Friend, living in Old Jewry. His daughter Mary married Sylvanus Fox and Elizabeth married Cornelius Hanbury. There were other children.

xiv. xvi. xix.

¹³ Thomas Compton (1749-1817) was a pewterer, of London. John Townsend (1725-1801) was apprenticed to Samuel Jefferys, pewterer, of Holborn, London.

vi. x. xii.-xv. xvi. xvii.; Compton, *Recollections of Spitalfields*, 1908.

¹⁴ Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) wrote on Slavery, Quakerism and William Penn. Sarah Cockfield, later Dimsdale, acted as his secretary (Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill*, 1919, p. 82). His home was Playford Hall, Co. Suffolk.

iii.-vi. ix. x. xv.

¹⁵ Dr. Gilbert Thompson (1726-1803) was a grandson of the Friend of the same name, founder of a school at Penketh in 1687, ancestor of the Friends' school there. He was secretary to the Medical Society (of physicians) and wrote the *Memoirs of Dr. John Fothergill*, who said of Thompson: "He will be either a man or a mouse; never any man hid his talents more under a bushel" (Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends*, 1919). He resided in Salters Hall Court, Cannon Street. Jean de Marsillac sends a message to "Doctor Thompson" in one of his letters (xv. 56).

¹⁶ The Burial Registers of Lancashire record the death of Isaac Cooke, in 1804, aged 56, Liverpool, broker; of Margaret Cooke, in 1821, aged 78, at Everton, Lancashire; and of Sarah Cooke, in 1826, aged 79½, widow of Isaac Cooke of Liverpool, broker; all buried at Hunter Street, Liverpool.

Isaac Cooke, of Liverpool (c. 1780-1862), cotton-broker (xiv. 24), was probably a son.

¹⁷ Robert Walker (c. 1717-1785) lived at Gildersome, near Leeds. He visited America in 1773.

Thomas Phillips lived at Tottenham. He is mentioned also in connection with the Y.M. of 1794.

x. xv.

¹⁸ Widow Forster would be Jane, *née* Birkbeck, second wife and widow of Josiah Forster. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* we read: "1797. Died 13th Sept. At her house at Tottenham High Cross, aged 88, Jane Forster, one of the people called Quakers," etc. She was the mother of William Forster (1747-1824), schoolmaster, and others.

Isaac and Rachel Wilson, 1924.

Northern Yearly Meeting, 1777

N'castle 29th 4th Mo : 1777.

Dear Friend

I now set Pen to Paper to acquaint thee I am just returnd from y^e Northern yearly Meeting¹ & as thou desires it shall hand thee a Short account Thereof.

I set out from home on First Day y^e 13th Inst & reached Staindrop that night & Kirby Steven about 7 °clock on Second day Evening, where I found a great Number of Friends arrived, both Ministering Friends & others. The Public Friends that attended this large Meeting were John Storer², Thomas Rutter³, Thomas Carrington⁴, Thomas Colley⁵, Esther Tuke⁶, Mable Wigham⁷, Elizabeth Robinson⁸, Jane Crosfield⁹, David Duckett¹⁰, W^m Rathbone¹¹, Sarah Taylor¹², Isaac Wilson¹³, Samuel Parrott¹⁴, Alice Rigg¹⁵, Anth^y Mason¹⁶ & some others, amongst whom were two young men, Henry Marriott of Marsden¹⁷ & Jonathan Williamson from Cumberland¹⁸, the first mentioned I tho^t seemed a very Pretty, young Minister & y^e latter was dressed in a very Singular Manner, I apprehend somewhat like Jno : Woolman. He was at Keswick last year cloth^d in y^e Same way. Some Fr^{ds} I beleive spoke to him about it, but I suppose he apprehends it his Duty to appear in that Singular way, & as a Fr^d remarked it required a good deal of Ballast to carry so much sail Properly.

But to return to y^e Subject of this Letter—on Third day Morning at Ten °Clock began y^e Select Meeting, in w^{ch} Thomas Carrington, Eliza : Robinson, Esther Tuke, Mable Wigham, Henry Marriott & one or two More appeared in Testimony. y^e Select queries were then read & answered verbally. Jno: Storer and Thomas Rutter Proposed to Friends to have them answered in writing in future, w^{ch} Method its likely may be adopted, it being very few that can do it verbally in these large Meetings. At Three in the Afternoon began y^e Quarterly Meeting for Westmorland, in y^e Forepart of w^{ch} John Storer appear'd in Testimony. Business was then gone Through & y^e yearly Meeting's Queries read & answered in writing. Some very pertinent

Remarks being made by John Storer during the reading y^e answers from each Meeting. After w^{ch} our friend W^m Rathbone bro^t the General Monthly Meeting Visit before y^e Meeting, informing Friends that Meetings were laid out in Cumberland, & that as only Thomas Rutter & himself who were under appointment of the Yearly Meeting¹⁹ cou^d go at this time, Isaac Wilson & Iona: Binns²⁰ had intended it seemed but could not attend now on acco^t of Some of their Relations being ill—he named Anth^y Mason, Tho^s Crewdson²¹, George Benson²², and James Backhouse²³ for to join them in the Visit—alsoe strongly Solicited Jno. Storer, but he cou^d not accompany Them. The three first ment^d its likely May. After Cumberland they Purposed going thro' Westmorland. About half Past Seven °Clock y^e Meeting broke up.

On Fourthday Morning at Nine °Clock began the 1st Publick Meeting for Worship w^{ch} was held in a large Booth built on Purpose, supposed to contain above 1200 People, & was quite filled. In this Meeting Jane Crosfield appeared first in Prayer, afterwards Elizabeth Robinson, Tho^s Rutter, Henry Marriott & Esther Tuke appeared in Testimony, & Tho^s Rutter concluded the Meeting in Prayer.

At 3 in the afternoon another public Meeting was held but the Concourse of People was so great that Friends were under y^e necessity of Dividing to accomodate them & accordingly their was two Meetings held at y^e Same time—one in a yard behind the Town & the other, in the Booth. I attend^d y^e latter, chusing rather to be under Cover, y^e day was remarkably fine & y^e Booth so crowded that y^e Windows were obliged to be open'd & some of y^e Boards taken down to admit the fresh Air in, it being exceeding Close & Hott. John Storer & Thomas Rutter had, I think, the principal Service in this Meeting, y^e first ment^d being largely open'd to explain y^e Principles of Truth to y^e People & stood upwards of an Hour & Half, being much favoured. Tho^s Rutter had also a very extraordinary time & is, I think, a most beautifull Minister. He closed this large Meeting with an excellent Prayer.

On Fifth day Morning at 8 °Clock began the Meeting of Conference, in w^{ch} Esther Tuke open'd the Meeting in Supplication, Thomas Rutter, Esther Tuke, Eliz: Robinson, Sarah Taylor, Anth^y Mason & Sam^l Parrott, alsoe Alice

Rigg, all appeared in Testimony. Y^e Northern yearly Meeting Queries were read & answered verbally by Representatives from each county constituting this Meeting, during w^{ch} time very pertinentt & weighty Remarks were made by Jno: Storer and other Friends, Y^e Meeting Closed about one Clock.

At 3 in y^e afternoon began the Parting Meeting, in w^{ch} Thomas Carrington, Thomas Rutter, John Storer, Esther Tuke, & Tho^s Colley all appeared in Testimony, tho' T. Rutter & J. Storer had, as I thought, y^e weight of the Service & indeed are both eminently qualified & dignified for the great Master's use. They were both favoured wth Matter Suitable to y^e occasion, & life & Power seem^d to accompany 'em in their Service. T. Rutter closed this large Meeting with an excellent Prayer.

Y^e Northern yearly Meeting falls next year in Lancashire & Swarthmore²⁴ was Proposed as alikely Place, where such a great Convincement was in George Foxs time. The Time seems not yet to come for Dropping these large Meetings.

I am sorry to put thee to y^e expence dble Postage, but coud not help it, shall endeavour to avoid it in future by Procuring a few Franks for thy address . . .

Thy affectionate Fr^d

JOSEPH KING.

P.S. I was glad to hear Fanny Dodgson²⁵ was going abroad again—being told by a Friend that she, Tabitha Marriott²⁶ & M. Routh²⁷ were to be at the welsh yearly Meeting²⁸ this Spring. . . .

[Addressed]

Joseph Wood, at New House, To be left at y^e Talbot, Huddersfield, Yorkshire.

Copied from the original (written in a good bold hand) in the possession of Albert Wood, of Colwyn Bay, 1923.

NOTES

¹ The Circular Yearly Meeting for the Northern Counties—Chester, Lancaster, Westmorland and Cumberland—was first held in 1699 at Lancaster and last held at Liverpool in 1798. Many Friends attended, and large companies of inhabitants of the district, special accommodation having to be provided. Other districts had their annual gatherings. By degrees the public element got out of hand and the end of the century

saw the close of this interesting effort. See a valuable article on these Y.M.'s by A. Neave Brayshaw in the "Handbook" of Y.M. at Birmingham in 1908. Very full list of years and places are in **D**.

² John Storer (1725/6-1795) lived at Nottingham. He was in "the wool stapling trade." He travelled extensively in the ministry and was in America in 1759 and 1786.

ii. vii. x. xi. xiii. xv. xx.

³ Thomas Rutter (c. 1741-1800) has left on record *Some Account of my Religious Experience*, 1803. He was a nominal Friend and attended meetings in Bristol, but took no interest in the Society. "I said to myself 'Surely they are of all people the greatest fools, and the preachers amongst them especially so.'" But the words of a preacher on one occasion went home, his views on religion and Quakerism gradually altered, and he became a prominent Minister. In 1766 he travelled with John Fry in Ireland (ms. in **D**), and was later in that country again. Hester Rutter, his second wife and widow, added a few words to the *Account* of her husband.

xv.

⁴ Thomas Carrington (c. 1721-1781) of Pennsylvania, was in Europe in 1775ff.

xx.

⁵ Thomas Colley (1742-1812) joined Friends in 1768. In 1779 he visited the West Indies with Philip Madin (ms. in **D**). His home was in Sheffield. He was a frequent attender of this Y.M.

iii. x. xiii. xv. xvi.

⁶ Esther Tuke (c. 1727-1794), formerly Esther Maud, was the second wife of William Tuke, of York. She headed the deputation of women Friends to the Y.M. of 1784 to request permission for the establishment of a Women's Y.M. (*London Yearly Meeting, 1668-1918*).

ix. x. xiii. xiv. xv.

⁷ Mabel Wigham (1729-1781) was of Coanwood, Co. Northumberland; her husband was Thomas Wigham. Her journals are extant in **D**.

xiii. xiv. xv.

⁸ Elizabeth Robinson (1729-1804), *née* Hoyle, was the wife of Joshua Robinson, of Wensleydale, Co. York. Her second husband was George Gibson, of Co. Essex. She was in America in 1773-1775. (List of Friends crossing the Atlantic on Religious Service, ms. in **D**).

x. xv.

⁹ Jane Crosfield (1712-1784), *née* Rowlandson, was the wife of George Crosfield, of Preston Patrick, Co. Westmorland. She visited America in 1760.

ii. iii. vii. x. xiii. xv.; Rancocas *John Woolman; Isaac and Rachel Wilson*, 1924.

¹⁰ David Duckett (c. 1720-1789) was one of the large number of Quaker preachers travelling around Great Britain and Ireland about this time. He lived at Carlisle, Co. Cumberland. James Jenkins writes: "We were favored with a religious visit [at Clonmel] from David Duckett. Having been deemed unorthodox by our Elders on the doctrine of original sin, an explanation took place . . . which, in the absence of caution, the Friends suffered me to hear" (*Records and Recollections*, ms. in **D**). "He was convinced of the truth in the forty-ninth year of his age." He travelled in Scotland with John Pemberton.

xiii. xv.

¹¹ There were four successive Friends named William Rathbone—first, 1726-1789, second 1757-1809, third 1787-1868, fourth, 1819-1902. (*William Rathbone: A Memoir*, c. 1905.) The Friend attending this circular Y.M. would be the first-named (1726-1789). He paid numerous visits. His son (1757-1809) was the author of a book dealing with a division in Ireland, *A Narrative of Events*, 1804, for writing which he was disowned by Hardshaw M.M., Co. Lancaster.

ii. iii. vii. x. xiii.-xv.

¹² Sarah ("Sally") Taylor (1717-1791) was the daughter of John and Margaret Routh, of Wensleydale, Co. York. She was married for a few months to William Taylor, of Manchester. She was the instrument in the striking conversion of Edmund Gurney (1723-1796).

xiv. xv. xvii.

¹³ Probably, Isaac Wilson (1714/15-1785), dyer, of Kendal, husband of Rachel Wilson, the preacher-traveller. Letters of Isaac and Rachel Wilson have recently been edited by John Somervell, and published by the Swarthmore Press, London. Isaac Wilson took part in the visitation of Meetings in connection with the "revival of the Discipline," 1760, etc. He was clerk of London Y.M. in 1778—"made an excellent clerk with a fine, clear voice."

vii. xi. xiii.-xv.

¹⁴ Samuel Parrott's name has not yet been found among Quaker records.

¹⁵ Alice Rigge (1728-1809) was Alice Ecroyd. She married, 1751, Isaac Rigge, of Kendal (Ecroyd, *Smith of Cantley*, 1878, p. 98).

x. xv. xvi. xx.; *Isaac and Rachel Wilson*, 1924.

¹⁶ Anthony Mason (c. 1706-1794) lived near Settle, Co. York. He is referred to in *Isaac and Rachel Wilson*, 1924, present at a wedding, at which he "said a few words very prettily."

¹⁷ Henry Marriott () appears to have lived at Crawshaw-booth and was doubtless a member of the Marsden family of Marriott.

¹⁸ We should be glad to know more of Jonathan Williamson, who "required a good deal of ballast to carry so much sail properly," but particulars are lacking.

¹⁹ This appointment, with many others, was in connection with what is known as the "revival of the Discipline," 1760 and 1776.

x. xiii. xiv. xvi.; *Later Periods of Quakerism*, p. 137, etc.; *London Y.M. 1668-1918*.

²⁰ Jonathan Binns (c. 1745-1812), M.D., was the fourth and last Treasurer of Ackworth School. He took over the post in 1795 and left in 1804—"He was a man of independent spirit, and maintained discipline efficiently, but the Committee interfered so much . . . that he resigned his post" (*Superintendents . . . Ackworth School*, 1895). He had been a physician in large and lucrative practice in Liverpool.

²¹ ²² The names of Thomas Crewdson and George Benson follow one another in the list of Friends of Kendal M.M. signing a Testimony to Grace Chamber in 1763. Samuel Neale, when visiting Scotland, was accompanied by Thomas Crewdson, Kendal, "though not himself publick," that is, no preacher.

vii. xiii.

²³ James Backhouse (1720/21-1798), of Darlington, was extensively engaged in business as flax-dresser and in 1774 he founded the Darlington Bank. In later life he engaged in the ministry and visited Friends in Great Britain, Ireland and Holland.

xiii. xv.

²⁴ The Y.M. of 1778 was held at Ulverston, near Swarthmoor. Thomas Colley was among the Ministers present.

²⁵ Frances Dodshon (1714-1793). The principal authorities for her life-history, mostly autobiographical, are two pamphlets; one was printed by James Phillips in 1794, about which, in the copy in **D**, there is the following letter:

“ Dr Br. Were I a book-collector I should consider this pamphlet a *vast acquisition*. It was thus far printed by direction of the Morning Meeting, but suppressed by the Meeting for Sufferings from some discoveries of a certain kind of spiritual pride made, as I remember to have heard my Father say, by him and Wilson Birkbeck as Correctors of the press. It is I believe the only Copy in existence, at least in this form, but am not quite certain whether the Zeal of some friend has not given rise in some part of Eng^ld to the printing of a mutilated Edition.

“ Thine, WM. PHILLIPS.

“ Lond., 3/11m. 1808.”

This tract has, as title, *A Brief Narrative of the Convincement of Frances Dodgshon, formerly Frances Henshaw, etc.* The other pamphlet, referred to in above letter, was entitled: *Some Account of the Convincement . . . of Frances Dodshon, Late of Macclesfield*, printed by W. Leicester, Warrington, 1803 and 1804.

Frances Henshaw was born at Caldon (Cawdon) Hall, near Leek, in Staffordshire. Her parents dying when she and another daughter were quite young, the girls were cared for by relations and brought up in the rites of the Church of England. Their outward position was good and they received an education suited to their position. When the mind of Frances turned towards the Quakers, the opposition of her friends developed, but a letter addressed to her uncle and guardian, Thomas Sutton, by “T.S.,” dated Balby, near Doncaster, 8th month, 27th, 1736, relieved the situation (1794 ed.). On one occasion the illness of her sister prevented her hearing “a person (her name was Drummond) who professed the opinion of the Quakers, whom, as a stranger, many people went to hear speak.” (1794 ed.) “After I had waded for about the space of two years, through unspeakable afflictions of body and mind, it pleased divine Providence to open my way and cause my relations to assent to my joining in society with the people called Quakers.” And soon after this she became a popular preacher. “I was sought after by several of the chiefest persons in the society, as a companion for life. One William Paxton, indued with every qualification I could desire, found me in the covenant of light and life . . . and I was made his, and he mine” (1804 ed.). William Paxton lived in the city of Durham. The marriage lasted about eight years. William Paxton, of Newcastle M.M. died 1753. Four sons were born to them. As Henshaw she wrote *A Serious Call*, from Kendal, 10 ii. 1744.

In 1755 Frances Paxton married William Dodshon, of Co. Durham; “being of the people called Quakers, the Lady made a learned discourse upon the occasion”! (*Gent's Magazine*, 1755, p. 186, quoted xiii. 34). In 1774 she accompanied Abiah Darby into Scotland, being then of Leek. In the *Gent's Magazine* for 1775 (pp. 275, 276, see xiii. 74) is given a “Letter of F. D. to the King.”

“ During the latter part of her time her residence was at Macclesfield in Cheshire, with her son, William Paxton,” where she died 1 viii. 1793, “ aged 78 ; a minister about 56 years ” (Testimony).

It is curious that in neither pamphlet nor in the Testimony is there any reference to the marriage with William Dodshon, although she is given the name Dodshon (Dodgshon, Dodson) in each.

If the following, taken from the *Gent's Magazine*, 1782, p. 406, be correct, there must have been another Frances Dodshon, also a prominent Minister : Died 29 May “ At Bishops Auckland, Durham, Mrs. Frances Dodson, a principal speaker among the people called Quakers.”

²⁶ Tabitha Marriott (1724-1786) was the daughter of Richard and Susanna Ecroyd, of Edgend, Marsden, Co. Lancaster. She married Richard Marriott, of Mansfield, and they later resided near Edgend. She “ had a fine gift in the ministry, was accounted an acceptable and able Minister ” (*Smith of Cantley*, 1878.)

ix.

²⁷ Martha Routh (1743-1817), *née* Winter, married Richard Routh, of Manchester. She twice visited America.

ii. iv. vi. xiii.-xv. xvi. xx.

²⁸ The Yearly Meeting for Wales appears to have opened at Haverford West in 1682. A complete list of places where it was held appeared in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1870, p. 15. See journals of Richard Davies, Thomas Story, Samuel Fothergill, Catharine Phillips and others, and also vol. x. The meeting of 1777 convened at Builth, Breconshire.

“ Out of Lawful Matrimony ”

Sessions held at Hicks Hall, London, September, 1677 :

“ Information that Richard Stanton, late of Ladbroke, Co. Warwick, yeoman, ‘ pretending himself to be a Quaker and that he could not in conscience dispence [*sic*] with the ceremonies of matrimony used in the church of England, did, about three years since, with much persuasion, prevail with one Hanna Walford, widow, to espouse him, the said Richard, according to the manner used by the Quakers.’ Two daughters were born to him by s^d Hanna : Elizabeth, born in the parish of Priors Hardwick, & Mary, born in the parish of Tottenham, both being born ‘ out of lawful matrimony.’ Since the birth of the last child he has deserted Hanna Walford & married another woman & refuses to support the said Hanna & her children who are likely to become chargeable to the parish of Tottenham. Order for two of the Trustees to deal with the case & report thereon at the next Sessions.”

Middlesex County Sessions. *MS. Calendar of Sessions Books*, 1638-1738. Sessions Book 346. (Extracted by William A. Caffall.)

Some Early Sufferings in Scotland

1656. 6 mo.

William Stockdaill¹ and John bourane² with some other freinds of truth journeying through a merkat towne called strathaven and declareing the word of the Lord in the streets were by the inhabitants of the towne and some others crwelly beat with stones and abused with mire of the street [&] shamefully driven out of the towne.

10 mo.

William stockdaill and John gill³ with severall other freinds in and about Glasfoord [being mett at Strathaven] and keeping a meetting in the graveyard [6 x. 1656] wer by the rude and crwel multitud from thence expelled and stoned and some of their blood shedd.

About this tyme George Wilson⁴ and the said John Gill moved to goe to the steepl-hous of Glasfoord where George Wilson⁴ did aske the preist a qwestione three tymes, but he uowld not ansswer, then Claud mershell (called a constable) did lay hands on him and the rude multitud did assist him in stakeing and persecuting of them till some of George Wilson his blood was shedd and the preists servant was very active in persecuting them.

¹ William Stockdale (-1693) was of Scotland and later of Ireland (whence, in 1683, he wrote an account of Friends suffering in that land). In 1687 he removed to Pa., where he died (*The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 27, p. 294; *Bulletin F.H.S. Phila.* iv. 142).

v. vi. xii.

² John Bowron (1627-1704) was born at Cotherstone, N.W. Yorkshire. He travelled in many parts of the world and died in the house in which he was born (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 476). Stockdale and Bowron received a pound from the Swarthmoor Fund for their journey into Scotland, in 1655.

vi.

³ John Gill lived at Greysouthen, near Cockermouth. He was in Carlisle Jail in 1654. He visited Scotland in 1656 and Ireland in the next year (*Camb. Jnl.*).

xii.

⁴ George Wilson (died 1661) is mentioned in *Camb. Jnl.* He died in chains in Virginia. His Journal is extant in **D**, written microscopically small. He was a Cumberland Friend.

i. vi. x. xii.

1657. 3 mo.

About this tyme the presbiteriane preists held a synod at Glasgow and perceaveing that their former excumunicationes and declarationes against freinds of truth proved not so terrible to and effectwall amongst the common people as they expected did therwpon instantly ordeane and decree. That throwghout the Westland presbiteries belonging to that synod it should be procleamed in their steeplehouses by the preists that non of their hearers or societie should either bwy or sell w^t any of thes persones called qwakers nor give them any intertainment in meet drinke or lodging under the hazard of incurring their displeasure.

1657. 4 mo.

Christopher Fell⁵ George Wilsons and John hart⁶ being entred into a commone jnnes in the towne of Newmilnes were refused lodging and were violently drawn out of the house and stoned out of the towne into the open fields about the tenth houre at night. This was done (be vertew of the preists order above exprest) about the fowth moneth [1657] Richard pinder⁷ being moved to goe to the steeplehouse of kilbrid and when he came ther the peopl were sitting and no preist with them after a while he was moved to speake (when ther was none speaking) and foorthwithe the constabls came and carried him to a justice called James Stewart tutor of Castltowne who gave order that he should

⁵ Christopher Fell was probably one of the sons of John Fell, of Langlands (*F.P.T.*). He had been in Scotland in 1653 and 1655. See *Camb. Jnl.* His brother (?) had emigrated to and married in Pa. (Justice, *Clarke-Dungan*, quoted xx. 134.)

vi. xii.

⁶ There is a considerable record of the life and sufferings of John Hart, of Heids of Glasfoord, in William F. Miller's *Dictionary of Scottish Friends* (ms. in D). He was "clerk of Hamilton Monthly Meeting, 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" (xiv. 3, 6), as here seen. In 1656 he was threatened with "clubb-law" and imprisoned by the Presbyterian Priest of Hamilton. He was a witness at several marriages and held various official positions. John Hart, son of John and Barbara Hart, was born in 1670 and died in 1686, buried at Shawtonhill.

⁷ Richard Pinder (d. 1695) was of Wath, Westmorland. He visited the West Indies and "sevrall other plantations" (*F.P.T.*). Richard Pinder and Bridget his wife were excommunicated 'at Kirkby Stephen in 1673 (vii. 20). See *Camb. Jnl.* and *Supp.* He wrote several religious pieces and Testimonies to Francis Howgill and William Dewsbury.

xii. xix.

be imprisoned at Ruglane wher he cowld scarcely get any stroe to lye upon wher he continued three dayes and then was brought foorth and upon the nixt first day of the weeke being the [20 iv. 1657] he was put in the stockes at kilbrid steephous the space of five howres and afterwards by ane order from the said James Stewart it was ordeaned that he showld be carried from constable to constable furth of Scotland into ingland.

6 mo.

John hart elder in heids of Glassfoord and Janet Hamiltone widow in Westmaines were cited by a constable to compeare before the justices of peace at Lanerk [4 vi. 1657] at which tyme and place personally compeared William Hamiltone preist of Glasfoord and gave in acomplaint against them for entertaining thes peopll called qwakers in their houses and mor particularly for intertaining George Wilson whom the justices (so called) judged to be a Lawbreaker and condemned him upon that account being absent and never cited to appeare And did condemne the said John hart and Janet hamiltone as transgressoures and ressetters of Lawbreakers and did ordeane them to pay twentie shillings a piece of fine and upon their refusall to pay they were comitted to prisone wher they continued eight days.

1661

In this yeare the civill magistrats by pwblicke edict erected episcopall government and annihilated and abolished presbiteriane government by which dispensatione and sudden alteratione of church government (so called) ther fell a grivouse divisione and confusione of Langwages amongst the presbiteriane preists for because that some conformed to episcopacy and some dissented wherby the common people were redacted to a miserable distractione in their formal traditionall religione and professione through the unconstancie of their teachers who formerly concwrrred to gainsay the truth.

1662.

Episcopacy being now erected and presbiterie abolished (as said is) the presbiteriane preists confounded some of them for their (as swposed) misdeameanowes to authoritie banished others imprisond and the oath of aligiance and

supremacie tendered to them others for nonconformitie to Episcopacy suspended from their profitable traffique and merchandice in their steepshouses (At what rate would they now valve a day of toleratione or libertie of conscience which they formerly exclaimed against many a yeare and abridged others off) And many of them conformed to Episcopacy, which conformists (being not yet sensible of the dispensatione of the tymes nor of their owne conditione) actively concurred w^t the episcopal teachers (so called) in reproaching and gainsaying the truth and reviling the witnesses thereof in their pwblicke sermones to the peopple.

1665.

In this yeare the prelatieall teachers (so called) did mightily inveighe and excleame in their pwblicke assemblies against truth and the witnesses therof threatening and menaceing becaus of nonconformitie to their way and worshipe & discipline but they being much retarded in their perswit and resolutiōne against truth, partly by the interventione of the more opacious [?] bodie of nonconforming presbiters (so called) and partly by the prudencie of the civill magistrats being by this tyme sensible (in some measure) that persecutiōne for conscience sake was a worke nether sutable nor proper to a civill magistrat professing Christianitie wer in the end frustrated of their hopes And within short tyme their persecwting hornes were in some measure broken and their hand disabled so that they could not performe their interprise and they made mor sensible of there conditione and capacitie wher into they stood.

1669.

In this yeare the Civill magistrats began to indulge severall of the old presbiteriane preists with a libertie (yet with some restriciones) to preach, wherby they both gratified some unsatisfied and unconformed peopl And allayed and softened the fierie edge of ane insulting episcopall partie, keeping both presbiterie and episcopacy (as it were) in ane æqwilibris, and both in subjectione to themselves. Nevertheles thes indulged preists (being mor insensible of there afflictione by a divine hand, then Nebuchadnezer was after his despositiōne from his kingly throne) began againe to renew their qwarrell and old warre against the truth.

by reproaching contradicting and railing against the truth and the witnesses therofe, for their cheife force and power did now reside in their towngues, this being all that they could doe because their hornes were broken wherewith they formerly we wont to push.

Above manuscript was referred to our late Friend and contributor, William F. Miller, who replied, under date 8th May, 1914: "The extracts are taken in all probability from one of the old record books of the Edinburgh Y.M. entitled: 'A Remembrance or Record of the Sufferings of some friends of truth in Scotland.' The book was apparently commenced about 1670, but the first entry is under date 6 mo. 1656."

Doctor and Mary Knowles

Wm. Forster, of Tottenham, to his sister Elizabeth, at Birmingham,
7 x. 1773 :

"Our Cousins Knowles honord us with a visit, which was very acceptable. . . . She far exceeds my Expectations in a chearful easy Behaviour, and in her many great Qualifications which made her Company truly agreeable. . . . Mother desires thou'lt see her and little George as often as thou canst, his Mother will take it very kind : we think him an extra fine Boy : They purpose taking a House here early in the Spring, for Nancy Morris & themselves."

Mary Knowles (d. 1807), née Morris, was wife and widow of Thomas Knowles, M.D., of London. She is principally known in connection with her friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson. See Smith, *Cata.* ; *Jnl.* iv. x. xv.

From original letter in possession of Mrs. Vere O'Brien, Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland, 1924.

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. We learn that Lucy B. Roberts has been compelled to resign the post of president, and that George Vaux, Junr., takes her place. Rayner W. Kelsey, Haverford, Pa., is editor of the *Bulletin*, and I. Thomas Steere, Haverford, Pa., is treasurer. The editor of *The Journal F.H.S.* has been elected an honorary member of the Association. The subscription price *p.a.* is one dollar. The office of the Association is located at 142 North Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xx., p. 96.

Several articles have recently appeared in a Pembrokeshire newspaper, written by David Salmon, of Narberth, Pemb., entitled "The Quakers of Pembrokeshire" (March 1st and following). The authorities are principally Besse's *Sufferings*, Richard Davies's *Travels* and George Fox's *Journal*. As regards the last named the author, from local enquiries, has been able to add to our knowledge of some persons hitherto anonymous.

84.—Vol. 1. p. 277. "I came to Tenby: & when I came uppe ye street a Justice of peace came out of his house & desired mee to alight & stay att his house & I did soe. And one ye first day ye maior & his wiffe came in . . . & a glorious meetinge Itt was." To this we have the following note:

"The mayors of Tenby were elected on Michaelmas Day, when the ex-mayor became the deputy, and two aldermen were appointed to act as justices for the year. The town clerk has kindly informed me that the mayor elected in 1655 was Thomas Rogers. He died in office and was succeeded for the remainder of the term by Thomas Barrett, who, at Michaelmas, 1656, was in turn succeeded by Richard Barrowe. For 1657-8 the mayor was John Sayes. If 1656 was the year of the visit of Thomas Holme (Swarthmore MSS.—T.H. to Margaret Fell, about 1656) and if Thomas Rogers died before June, *Thomas Barrett may, as mayor, have received Holme, and as justice have received Fox.* We know that he was a Quaker in 1659.

85.—Vol. 1. p. 277. "Ye preist" mentioned by Fox with "two capps on his heade a blacke on & a white" may have been *Edward Carner*, who had the living during the Commonwealth.

86.—Vol. 1. p. 424. There are several references to Thomas Hammersley, formerly a Baptist, in Matthews's *Congregational Churches of Staffordshire*, 1924, pp. 36, 38.

"In 1709 the company of felt-makers, curriers and armourers made an order 'that no Quaker should be taken apprentice on pain of forfeiting £100.'"

From "The Local Historian's Table Book of Remarkable Occurrences in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Northumberland and Durham," by M. A. Richardson, Historical Division, vol. i. (1846).

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

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

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Ind.

Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Frederick Andrews, of Ackworth, by Isaac Henry Wallis (London: Longmans, 8½ by 5½, pp. ix. + 325, many illustrations, price 8s. 6d.). This delightful book should be read by other than those interested in Ackworth. It gives a wonderful insight into a life of earnest work and successful endeavour. Many sidelights are thrown on Ackworth life, as, e.g., take the following :

"The Mistress required forty or fifty girls to cut potatoes. In the selection the method of Gideon was reversed. Said the Mistress: 'All the girls who have spoken in the bedroom since I last enquired, stand out.' This only produced a few, and so she continued: 'All the girls who have spoken at meal times since I last enquired, stand out.' Still there were not enough, and in desperation she shouted: 'All the girls who have run in the passage, stand out.' This produced a good crop, and the measure was filled" (page 29).

Andrews's lectures were very vividly illustrated :

"F.A. was dealing with the importance of Gretna Green for the wedding of minors. 'Now,' said F.A., 'we will suppose that Hilda [one of the girls present] has fallen in love with a young man of whom her father does not approve, and as they cannot get their parents' consent the young couple decide to elope and go to Gretna Green. Just as their destination is in sight they find they are followed. Hilda's anxious face looks out of one window of the coach and her lover's out of the other, and they see her father, in full pursuit, urging on his horses.' 'No, no,' shouted Hilda from her place in class, 'it wouldn't be Father, it would be Mother!'" (page 128).

The *Sunday Times*, of 31st August, in its "Woman's Corner," gives the following respecting John Bunyan and his Quaker visitor :

"Bunyan had a caustic tongue. His reply to the old Quaker who visited him in prison with a message from the Lord, is worth noting as proof thereof. 'After searching for thee,' he said, 'in half the jails of England, I am glad to have found thee at last.' To which Bunyan replied: 'If the Lord had sent thee you would not have needed to take so much trouble to find me, for He knows that I have been in Bedford jail for these seven years past.'"

In 1921 (vol. xviii. p. 37) we referred to Prof. Woody's "Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania." Our Friend has now done equally good work for New Jersey in his *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey*, 408 pages, price \$4.50. Published by the author, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1923. The "Quarters" are taken in order—Shrewsbury, Burlington, Salem, Haddonfield—and there are chapters on the Poor, Apprenticeship, "Inferior Races," etc., with fine Bibliography and Indices and numerous illustrations.

In the *Birmingham News*, of March 22nd, there is a portrait and sketch of the life and work of our friend William Noble :

"Although he has passed the milestone of 82, he is still a keen and active social and religious worker."

We regret to learn, since the above was written, that our Friend has been suffering from severe illness.

In *The Baptist Quarterly*, April, 1924, there is an article on "Baptists in East Kent," in which we see the Quaker propaganda from another point of view :

"In February 1643/4 Luke Howard of Dover went to London to be baptized by Kiffin . . . Howard married Anne Stevens . . . A Lancashire lad of eighteen, William Caton, who had adopted the opinions of George Fox, undertook most extensive tours in 1654. He came to the Baptist meeting at Dover and gave his testimony, to such effect that he won over a prominent member, Luke Howard, who placed his house at the disposal of the Quakers. Caton went on to Folkestone, Hythe and Lydd, actually persuading the Baptist Messenger, Samuel Fisher, and deeply grieving George Hammon. After going round Kent, to the great damage of the Baptist causes, he came again to Canterbury and testified in both the Independent and the Baptist meetings, winning adherents from each church. . . . Samuel Fisher, of Ashford, like Denne in episcopal orders, was asked by his fellow-Baptists to superintend the local work, but we have seen that he became a Quaker in 1655."

* In *Unknown Warwickshire*, by Mary Dormer Harris (London : The Bodley Head, 8½ by 6½, pp. 232 and many illustrations, some in colour, 15s. net) there is a short chapter on "Ettington and the People called Quakers."

Friends have considerable notice in *The Conscientious Objector in America*, by Norman Thomas, with an Introduction by Robert M. La Follette (New York : Huebsch, pp. xix. + 299, \$2⁰⁰).

A Hoosier Autobiography, by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. (New York : Oxford University Press, 8½ by 5½, pp. 252), is the record of strenuous years touching life at many points. The author was a Friend by birth—the son and grandson of American Quaker Ministers. Though

* Not in D.

relinquishing his membership owing to his views on the question of war and his energetic action in favour of "preparedness," he retained much sympathy with the Quakerism of his early days—"many of its earlier ways which have fallen into disuse, with precious recollections of old-fashioned Friends and old shingle meeting-houses shaded by big trees, with plain, unpainted benches inside, and where perhaps the only sounds heard from the time you entered till the time you left were the songs of the birds coming in through the open windows" (p. 220)—idyllic but not ideal. Presented by the author.

* "The Society of Friends, to name another instance, has been distinguished throughout its history for its contributions to applied Christianity. The first protest made by an American organization against the curse of human slavery was made in 1688 by the Friends at Germantown; the first English petition of the same character was laid, in 1788, by the Quakers before the House of Commons; the causes of the Negro, the Indian, and of peace between nations, have found among the Friends early and determined advocacy. Finally, the same small group of untiring philanthropists has won the gratitude of the world by its generous and judicious service of the afflicted populations of Europe since the world-war. Yet this philanthropic leadership has been attained by the most consistent and unwavering of mystics, whose sufficient authority is the immediate testimony of the Inner Light. The habitual inclination of the Society of Friends to quietism and pacifism seemed likely to arrest its progress, and leave it as in an eddy of the stream of thought in the modern world; but the mystic's faith has found a new channel for itself, even through the desert of war, and has carried to thirsty multitudes, even of hostile nations, an abundant supply of the water of life."

From F. G. Peabody, *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*, New York, 1923, pp. 183f.

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL MICKLE (1746-1830). Extracts from this Diary were printed in *Notes on Old Gloucester County*, vol. 1, prepared by Frank H. Stewart in 1917. Subsequent extracts have appeared in several volumes of the Year Book of the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania (1420 Pine St. Phila., Pa.)—in the issues of 1921, 1922, 1923. Samuel Mickle was a Friend, of Woodbury, N.J.

Hector Waylen, author of "Mountain Pathways," has issued "a Pamphlet for the New Era," entitled *The Clean Life for Body, Soul, and Spirit* (24 pp., price 6d. from author, 39, Regent Street, Oxford). Some of the sections refer to the Prohibition of War, Houses and Homes, The Food Problem, The Alcohol Question, The Tobacco Habit, The Way of the Cross, The Presence of the Son of Man.

We rise from the reading of *Isaac & Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714-85*, by John Somervell (London: Swarthmore Press, 8 by 5½, pp. 160, 7s. 6d. net), with some measure of disappointment. We hoped to have had longer accounts of the American journey of Rachel Wilson

* Not in D.

and of her varied experiences, as, so far as we know, no biography of her has been published, but we are glad to have this book as a result of the examination of "bundles of old papers . . . contents entirely unknown till examined recently." The verbal illustrations from contemporary events are distinctly helpful. Isaac Wilson (1714/15-1785) married Rachel Wilson (1720-1775) in 1740. Rachel Wilson was recorded a Minister at the age of eighteen years and in the intervals of home duties and increase of family responsibility, she "travelled widely in the British Isles." Towards the end of 1768 she reached America and was away from home rather more than a twelve-month, while Isaac Wilson cared for the family and the business at home. Rachel Wilson was much appreciated in America and became very popular; she wrote: "It was never pleasant to be so popular, but hath often deeply humbled my mind and caused me to drop some tears" (p. 74), adding: "Not one day's sickness since I came upon the continent."

Sarah, daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson, married John Abbatt, of Plymouth, in 1806, "it is said as his fourth wife. Report says that one day he quietly remarked: 'Sarah, I have been considering that I have had thee the same length of time as my other dear wives.' On which she told him straight that she was not ready to follow them. She subsequently outlived him" (p. 137).

There are notices of Joseph Southall of Birmingham and reproductions of his artistic work in *La Revue Moderne*, for July, 1924, and in *Revue du Vrai et du Beau*, for September, 1923 and July, 1924.

There is a continuation of extracts from "Early Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends" in the *Publications of The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. viii. no. 3 (March, 1923), just to hand. The following may be transferred to our pages:

"30th of fourth month, 1738.

Ruth Courtney and Susannah Hudson from Ireland set forward on their visit to the Eastward, and, after having performed it, intend to take shipping at Boston to return home . . ."

"25th of sixth month, 1738.

Leonard Snowden apply'd for a Certificate to Guisbrough Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire, Great Brittain."

"29th of tenth month, 1738.

Our Worthy Friend John Hunt from London produced a Certificate from a Monthly Meeting of Friends held at Horselydown in Southwark. . . ."

"27th of second Month, 1739.

Isaac Norris and Sarah Logan, Junr., declared their intentions of Marriage . . . Isaac's Mother being present declared her Consent, and the Young Woman's Mother being present declared her consent and her Father sent his in writing."

"Application was made on behalf of Anthony Benezet and his Wife for a Certificate to Newark Monthly Meeting."

" 25th of third month, 1739.

A Certificate for our Friend Elyihal Harper (who landed here on her return from a visit to Great Brittain) to Friends at Sandwich in New England was read [? "religious visit"]"

" 30th of eleventh month, 1740.

William Logan & Hannah Emlen declared their Intention of Marriage . . . the Young Womans Parents being present declared their Consent."

" 27th of twelfth month, 1740/1.

William Logan and Hannah Emlen appeared a Second time and declared their Intentions of Marriage, William produced his Father's Consent in Writing & his Mother being present declared hers."

" 28th of sixth month, 1741.

A Certificate for our Ancient Friend Thomas Chalkley directed to Friends in the Islands of Tortola & Anguilla (on religious service) being prepared pursuant to the direction of the last Meeting was read & signed.

A letter being prepared in answer to one received from John Pickering, Governor of Tortola, . . . was read, approved & signed."

" 25th of tenth month, 1741.

Our Ancient Friend Samuel Hopwood from Great Brittain being on a religious visit to these parts produced a Certificate . . ."

" 30th of fifth month, 1742.

Our Friend William Thomas on a religious Visit to these parts produced a Certificate to this Meeting dated at the Island of Tortola, 23rd third Month, 1742 . . ."

We are glad to learn that there has been a good sale for *The Journal of George Fox: A Revised Text*, prepared and edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., with an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, LL.D. (London: Dent, 7½ by 5½, pp. xxii.+359, with illustrations including reproductions of six etchings by Robert Spence, 5s.). Owing to illness the editor was not able to prepare the Index.

The same text but without illustrations has appeared as No. 754 in the Everyman's Library of J. M. Dent and Sons, price 2s. and 3s. Four Quaker immortals now appear in this Library—George Fox William Penn, John Woolman, and John Bright.

* *Christ Triumphant*, by Maude Royden, Putnam, 3s. 6d., is a series of chapters, originally sermons, on the application of Christianity to human organisations in various aspects. "An Unarmed State" is a plea for an honest attempt at a pacifist State, illustrated from Penn's Holy Experiment of Pennsylvania. Another chapter on business instances the work of George Cadbury in Bournville. Elizabeth Fry figures in the chapter on "The State and the Offender."

J.L.N.

* Not in D.

* *Modern European History, 1494-1914*, by John S. Hoyland, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. G. Bell, 5s. A brief and very readable little book intended for students requiring a concise account of the subject. Special emphasis on the story of the British Empire.

J.L.N.

* *Jack o'Peterloo*, by Theodora Wilson Wilson, Labour Publishing Co., 6s. An historical novel dealing with the lives of the workers during the period of the Enclosure Acts. The book, which opens with enclosures of common land in 1793, leads up to the climax of the "Battle of Peterloo" at Manchester in 1819. The hero is the unrecognised son of Sir Peter Mason and a country girl whom he secretly married and afterwards forsook for a lady of rank. Sir Peter is the lord of a north country manor in a mining district. John Wolfson, a leader of the labourers in their struggle for better conditions, is a strong and attractive character, and it is a pity he is made to die so early in the plot shortly after he has married Madge, the forsaken girl, and adopted the child that is not his own. The succeeding adventures bring the members of Sir Peter's family into contact, as friends or enemies, with his unrecognised working-class son and his comrades.

As we read of the injustice under which the labourer lived, of children under ten in the mines and mills, of hanging for theft and the horrors of transportation to Botany Bay, we are moved to sympathise with those who strive against these things, and not least when they belong to the possessing class like Sir Peter's sister Mary.

The book is written in an abrupt style that is occasionally rather confusing, but it is well worth reading and makes one realise what an advance the social conscience has made in the last century.

J.L.N.

Newspapers and magazines, edited by all sorts and conditions of men, have drawn attention to the life-work of George Fox in this the three hundredth year of his birth and the various celebrations have been well reported in local papers. *The Holborn Review*, for July, an organ of the Primitive Methodist body, devotes some eighty pages to articles on Fox of considerable value, dealing with his life in outline, his missionary labours, psychology, religious background, as a pioneer, and in connection with Christian Theology.

An important work, also connected with the tercentenary of the birth of George Fox is approaching completion—*The Short Journal and the Itinerary Journals of George Fox, in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of his Birth (1624-1924)*, now first Published for Friends' Historical Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, edited by Norman Penney, LL.D., F.S.A., with Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A. The Short Journal contains incidents in the life of George Fox down to his imprisonment in Lancaster Castle in 1664, and deals principally with the

* Not in D.

subject of his sufferings. The Itinerary Journals cover the periods 1677-1678 and from 1683 to the close of his life. The volume, which will run to about 400 pages, is to be published by the Cambridge University Press, England. At the close of his Preface Rufus M. Jones writes :

“ There have been many fitting commemorative events and activities during this tercentenary year, but it is safe to predict that nothing has been done which will give more satisfaction to those who come after us than will the publication of these quaint narratives of travels and sufferings.”

The volume will form a supplement to the two volumes of the Cambridge edition of the Journal of George Fox, published in 1911. The price will be three dollars or fifteen shillings net.

The *Intimate Letters of a Quaker Magistrate* provide us with extracts, on a variety of subjects, from letters of John James Cooper, of Reading, to his friend, Helton A. Baynes (London : Swarthmore Press, 7½ by 5½, pp. 138, 3s. 6d. net), but we think that the value of the letters would have been greater, had the editor given us a sketch of the life of the writer. By the kindness of a correspondent we can, in some measure, supply this seeming deficiency. J. J. Cooper was brought up in the Baptist faith. He was an auctioneer, land valuer and estate agent. He was much interested in a little chapel near a cottage which he built some miles from Reading, and for several years he set himself to serve it with profit to young and old. Obligated to live nearer his business and relinquish his loved work, he never felt at home in a town-chapel and discovered that he was at heart a Quaker. His first interest was the Adult School, and from this he soon passed on to the Society and became a much valued Friend and Minister. He was a strong Liberal in politics, and was a J.P. for about thirty years. His death took place in June, 1920, at about sixty-nine years of age. A son and daughter survive.

Our Friend was in favour of cremation ; called spiritualism a “ will o’ the wisp begotten of an unwholesome quagmire ” ; could not “ worship to order ” ; would have “ the New Testament always published as a separate volume ” ; and have the Old Testament “ carefully edited ” ; was of opinion that “ war is utterly contrary to the Spirit of Christ,” though “ freely acknowledging the high and noble purpose inspiring us in this war,” 1915.

Under the heading of “ Our Meetings for Worship,” we read :

“ Naturally and rightly we bring to Him all our perplexities, our hopes and our fears, but it is surely no part of worship to discuss one with another national and international problems or talk over *at such times* our differing points of view.”

Again :

“ To the Quaker, conscience is not the indwelling spirit, not the ruler but the ruled—the medium, if I may so express it, of that higher law governing our life in thought, word and deed.”

“ One fine quality in Friends is that, however strongly opposed in views, they are so genuinely friendly towards one another ; there is nothing like plain-spokenness to keep a sweet, wholesome atmosphere.”

In *The Educational Record* of the British and Foreign School Society, November, 1924, there is an article by David Salmon, M.A., of Narberth, Pemb., on "Three Centuries of Quakerism." There is, firstly, a survey of the life of George Fox and then a statement of the assistance to education given by Friends, closing with many Quaker names taken from the subscription-lists of the British and Foreign School Society. The article ends as follows :

"The future of Quakerism is uncertain, but its past is glorious. Is there any other sect which can look back over three centuries of such sincerity in religion, such integrity in business, and such fervour in philanthropy?"

Fifty Years' Work at Bunhill Fields, 1874-1924, is a record of valuable mission-work carried on on part of the site of the ancient burial-ground of Friends in the City of London. A portion of the pamphlet (London: Friends' Bookshop, price 6d.) is occupied by an account of the Friends' Bunhill Fields (near the great necropolis of nonconformity) from A.D. 1661 when a portion first came into the possession of Friends, down to the date of the last addition made in 1845 and to the closing of the ground for interments in 1855. It is estimated that between 12,000 and 14,000 Friends were interred there. There is also a reference to the discovery of the body of George Fox when taking down an old wall, and the removal of the coffin to its present position. "The leaden coffin was in pretty good condition. . . . On raising the flap the countenance was perfect, showing the features very distinctly . . . but soon the features became shapeless and very little more could be seen than hair and skull."

The latter part of the book gives the history of the mission-work, with portraits of J. B. Braithwaite, Junr., and Joseph Allen Baker (1852-1918), the principal Friends engaged therein.

The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, vol. 11, no. 2, Autumn, 1924, George Fox Tercentenary Number, is an admirable issue (Philadelphia, Pa., 142 North Sixteenth Street, 50 cents). Papers read at the great Tercentenary meeting, held at Merion, Old Haverford and Haverford College, are given here—Merion Meeting, by Charles E. Hires; Old Haverford, by Charles F. Jenkins; George Fox's Sea Journey to America, by Commander Richmond C. Holcomb; George Fox's Style, by President Aydelotte, of Swarthmore College; and The Life and Message of George Fox, by Rufus M. Jones. In addition we have presented "A Disputed Paper of George Fox," by Henry J. Cadbury; a forecast of the forthcoming "Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox" (Camb. *Jnl.* Supp.); the letter, reproduced *verb. et lit.*, of George Fox to Friends in Holland, 1677, and much other valuable matter.

Recent Accessions to **D**

JN 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 :

A wonderful book is *Our Ancestors the Stantons*, compiled by William Henry Stanton, Ridley Park, Pa., and privately printed in Philadelphia in 1922. It is a stout volume of 649 pages (weighing over 4½ lbs.) with illustrations on almost every opening, and interspersed with reproductions of maps, wedding-certificates, inventories of estates, genealogical tables, and even with tiny pieces of real wearing material such as wedding-dresses ! The editor-in-chief had the assistance of two nieces (one of whom, however, did not live to see the completion of the work) and a nephew, and also a host of relations and friends. The earliest known ancestor was Robert Stanton, of Newport, Rhode Island, born in England in 1599 and arrived in America shortly after 1627. Members of the family soon became Quakers, and many of their descendants still adhere to the Quaker faith. Stantons, of North Carolina, are recorded freely in the minutes of Core Sound M.M. from 1733, but by the end of the eighteenth century we find them rooted in the Middle West, around Barnesville, Ohio. Allied families are freely introduced—Bailey, Bundy, Doudna, Hodkin, Macy of Nantucket, Patten, and a host of others. There are minute descriptions of frontier manufacturers and labours, house-building, quilting, pump-making, spinning, butchering, schooling, feeding, wedding, wagon building, engine-building, etc. There are views of meeting-houses at New Garden (N.C.), Stillwater (O.), Mount Pleasant (O.), Lansdowne (Pa.), and of Barnesville (O.), and Westtown (Pa.) schools. Presented by the compiler.

There is a good summary of "Quakers in the Land's End District of Cornwall" in *England's Riviera*, by J. Harris Stone, chap. 9, pp. xii. + 494, second edition, 1923.

A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725, by Henry R. Plomer, et al., 1922, pp. 354. This is a sequel to Mr. Plomer's previous book of the same description dealing with the years 1641-1667. The Friend-printers named include John Bringhurst, Gracechurch Street, 1680 ; Thomas Northcott, of George Yard, from 1684 ; Tace Sowle, of White Hart Court, from 1695.

The J. J. Green Collection in D

FOURTH LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS¹

Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex, from the time of Wycliffe to the Restoration, by T. W. Davids, London, 1863, 657 pages. One page is devoted to an unsympathetic account of James Parnell (p. 319). Giles Barnardiston is named among those forming the twelfth Presbyterian Classis, 1648 (p. 293).

Biography of ELIZABETH ROBSON (1771-1843), 496 pages of manuscript, written in 1912, by her grandson, Joseph J. Green.

Original Letter from ISAAC ALEXANDER (1680-1705), son of Thomas and Alice Alexander, of Bendrig, in Killington, Westmorland, to Lydia Rawlinson, afterwards Lancaster (1684-1761). It is dated from Hill, 3 vi. 1704, and contains much advice on the subject of marriage from a youth of 24 to a maiden of 20! The letter commences:

“ My Dearely beloued friend.
Whome My soule doth Truely
and Intirely Love, and Tenderly salute.”

MS. Pedigree of the PERRY FAMILY, of Chartham, Kent, etc., 103 pages folio, original drawings and index.

MS. Journal of ELIZA ANN HOPKINS (1806-1866), wife of Joseph Hopkins, of Brigg, Lincs., 210 pages 4to, with notes by J.J.G.

MS. History of the DAY FAMILY of Co. Essex.

Documents relating to GREEN, of Liversedge.

MS. copy of a Journal of ELIZABETH ROBSON, JUNR. (1815-1881), of Liverpool, afterwards Elizabeth Green, of Stansted, Essex and mother of J. J. Green, when on a visit to Sunderland, Shields and Darlington, etc., 1837. Contains valuable insight into the class of reading of a young Quakeress of the period: *Phillips's Guide to Geology*; *Wiffin's Memoirs of the House of Russell*; “Mrs. Mayer's Letters”; *Selections from Bp. Horne's Commentary*; *Pollock's Course of Time*; *Childe Harold*; *Elijah The Tishbite*; but no record of Quaker literature. Frequent mention of Darlington Friends—Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse, Polam Hill—“a scene of state and grandeur rather appalling to us poor frightened creatures”; John Backhouse, Beechwood; Anna (Bradshaw) Pease “is a charming woman and was most kind and conversable”; “Jane Gurney Backhouse came for us, so off we went. Jinny is a most lively being, seems constantly on the high key, the very tip top, but doubtless even *she* knows the reverse of this.” There is an amusing

¹ For the first list see xvii. 94, for the second list see xviii. 39, and for the third list see xix. 126.

account of the efforts of Elizabeth and her cousin, Margaret Richardson, Junr., to avoid a "family visit," which however when over was felt by the girls to be helpful to them.

MS. copy of a Journal kept by ELIZABETH ROBSON, JUNR., daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Robson, of Liverpool, in 1828, at the age of thirteen.

"20-i-1828. Went to Meeting, was rather surprised and very agreeably so to see Edward and Anna Carroll, neither of whom spoke, for which I was sorry. Barbara Hoyland preached. . . . Samuel Stansfield and William Cook spoke, many friends think they had better keep their seats. In the afternoon no one spoke. Afterwards we [Elizabeth and Mary Charlotte] went to Thomas Thompsons; came home to tea, Joseph Coventry was with us."

There are numerous references to Friends who spoke in Meeting and what was said, sometimes accompanied with chapter and verse-- E. and A. Carroll; Mary Bewley; Thomas Frankland; "was surprised by a sermon from Isaac Hadwen"; "Margaret Kershaw, a friend from Langton."

Many visits were paid to the family of Thomas Thompson, the great Quaker book collector, Frances Thompson his wife, and children, Christiana, Silvanus, etc.

"31-i-1828. E. Carroll is gone to London. Anna C. not at meeting owing to the death of her husband's sister. To-day was Monthly Meeting, on account of which we did not go to school [kept by Ann and Maria Johnson] this afternoon."

"11-ii-1828. Mother has been from home [in U.S.A.] four years and a half."

"21-ii-1828. After school we saw Punch and Judith, a pupper show."

"1-iv-1828. Third-day. To-day is April fool day; was made one myself once, but made several more."

"19-iv-1828. Went to Meeting. Two friends there, James Marriage and Robt. Alsop, also Ann Fairbank from Sheffield. James Marriage has no roof to his mouth and is difficult to understand.

"The holidays broke up 2 weeks last second day; we were glad to go to school again, as we were almost tired of the holidays."

"28-vii-1828. Martha Bright [mother of John Bright] came to tea and supper. She had come from Rochdale to take her little girls [Priscilla (later Maclaren) and Margaret (later Lucas)] to school after the holidays."

"1-vi-1828. Went to Meeting. Margaret Crosfield gave a few words of advice to young men, advising them to sit still in meeting, etc."

"1st-day, 10-viii-1828. [Elizabeth Robson landed from the *Montezuma* this day.] She has been exactly four years away to-day."

This Journal and the previous one consist of 49 pages folio.

The MS. Diary of JOHN PERRY, JUNR., from 1818 to 1842 (see xvi. 12).

“ Paddy’s Son ”

Can any of our readers supply the circumstances out of which arose the following lines? They are copied from a much-mended sheet in **D**, which was found among the papers of Richard Lindley (c. 1721-1785), of Darlington (xiv. 86).

“ Paddy thought in return for the Darlington fun
In quitting the town he would leave us a son
The semblance to keep up, he thought it expedient
The Body to make of his *favorite Ingredient*.
He stuck in two teaspoons to make Legs and Thighs
Two circular Glasses were plac’d for the Eyes
The head from a turnip he form’d with some Pains
An Ounce of scotch snuff was cram’d in, to make brains.
Ned Backhouse the *Beauty* was made privy purse
And old Madam Morris appointed *wet Nurse*.
Away in a Bandbox was sent the small man
With his hat and his shoes he was onley a span
Old Morris exclaim’d as she lifted the lid up
God Bless me can this thing be called *Dr. Widdup*.”

THOMAS LETCHWORTH AND “ THE MONTHLY LEDGER.”—Thomas Letchworth (c. 1738-1784), of Southwark, London, was a Minister among Friends from an early age. His *Life and Character* was written by William Matthews, of Bath, and published in 1786. Letchworth’s book was entitled *The Monthly Ledger, or Literary Repository: to contain Philosophical, Historical, Biographical and Moral Essays, etc.* It was published in sixpenny monthly numbers, complete in three volumes, 1773-1775. See *Gent’s Mag.*, 1784, pt. 2, p. 878.

William Forster, of Tottenham, wrote to his sister Elizabeth at Samuel Galton’s, Birmingham, 7 x. 1773: “ Hast thou seen T. Letchworth’s Monthly Ledger? The first No. in no manner answer’d my expectations, he was previously advised by Friends not to publish it. The second No. is now out, and I think little or nothing better. Its not executed in a manner that might be expected after such an Advertisement.”

From original letter in possession of Mrs. Vere O’Brien, Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland, 1924.

“ Many things which were known to our Grand sires are lost to us, and our descendants will search in vain for many facts which to us are most familiar.”

Peter Collinson, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1693-1768)

A life of Peter Collinson, the Botanist, of Peckham and Mill Hill, who introduced so many plants into England and was a friend of John Bartram, Dr. Fothergill, Benjamin Franklin, Linnæus and the leading Friends of Philadelphia, will shortly be published. It has been written from original sources by Norman G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.), and can be obtained from the author at Ridgeway House, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7, for sixteen shillings, post free. It will contain 300 pages with portraits and other illustrations and will be uniform with the life of Dr. Fothergill and the volumes by W. C. Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones.

An English Traveller in North Germany, 1817

Under this heading several issues of *Notes and Queries*, London, contain extracts from the journal of John Fell (1786-1865), recording a visit he paid to North Germany, on business and pleasure combined, commencing 4 mo. 15 and concluding 6 mo. 19, 1817. John Fell was the son of John and Mary (Booth) Fell, of Peckham. He lived at the Hermitage, Uxbridge, and was thrice married but had no child. He was a wealthy man. In 1850 he was appointed, with other Friends, to visit Friends in Pymont and Minden (*Memoirs of John Sharp*, 1857, p. 182). There are lively notes on places visited—Hamburg, Stettin, Dantzic, Berlin. Sundays were usually devoted to rest—"I had intended to devote this morning to retirement, but was sadly broken in upon by persons calling in. . . . The evenings are devoted to cards which is usually the amusement of First-day evening and one of the company was a young man just ordained as a minister of the Gospel. There is certainly very little true religion on this part of the continent [Stettin], indeed there appear to be neither form nor substance." At Frauendorf, near Stettin, he met a lady, who "appears to know a good deal about Friends and much admires the character of William Penn, and past a very high elogium on our Society. . . . She says: 'I wish I could see your children in their neat quaker dresses.'"

Biographical information from Charlotte Fell-Smith.

"There was never any persecution y^t came but wee saw it was for Good & there was never any prisons or sufferinges y^t I was in but still it was for y^e bringenge multitudes more out of prison." GEORGE FOX, Camb., *Jnl.* ii: 338.

Editor's Notes

THIS issue of THE JOURNAL represents volume XXI. It is complete, with Index, etc. It presents a considerable variety of topics—students of the writings of George Fox will value the first article; the discomforts of early railway travelling are told; personal experiences during the rebellion of the Young Pretender are graphically described; social questions and needs of a century ago form the subject of a letter; the life of a Quaker apprentice in London is presented, with his veiled references to bathing in the New River and confessions of theatre-going. There are pages of book notes interspersed with anecdotes and many an incident describing man and manners of the Quaker past.

Volume XXII. may be expected in the autumn. Among probable contents may be mentioned :

The Story of a Great Literary Venture.

Some Account of Dorothy Ripley and her visit to America.

The French Prophets and their Connection with Friends.

In *Tortola: A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics*, by Charles F. Jenkins, 1923, there are several references to a diary written by William Thornton (1761-1828) between the years 1777 and 1782, while the writer was at Ulverston as clerk to an apothecary and at Edinburgh as a medical student. The diary consists of six little books, 4 ins. by 6 ins. Photostats of the diary have been made and presented to **D** by the kindness of Charles F. Jenkins. We hope to include some extracts in our next issue.

By the kindness of the Rev. E. G. O'Donoghue, Chaplain of Bethlem Royal Hospital, London, S.E., we have been provided with copies (checked by originals but not reproduced in the archaic spelling) of the minutes of the Court Book of the Hospital referring to the case of James Nayler, confined in Bridewell, 1657 to 1659. We propose to print these minutes in full in future numbers of THE JOURNAL.

88 BEATEN FOR NON-ATTENDANCE AT MEETING

In xv. 156, we reported the deposit by Thomas Reed Dyne of papers relating to Rachel Reed and her correspondence with Stephen Grellet. Extracts from this correspondence, under the caption of "The Reed Family, with special Reference to Rachel Reed and her Friendship with Stephen Grellet," are being prepared for publication.

The Quaker and the Pump

Charles Bratt built a range of tenements in Spitalfields, London, and, objecting to the charges of the East London Waterworks Co., for a supply of water, he set to work with the help of a labourer and dug a well in the court-yard of his premises, erecting pumping machinery to feed a large tank for supplying his tenements with water. In a recess in the wall next the street, he put a pump, open to the public, which was much used, though the pump was hard to work. A neighbour said to him: "Mr. Bratt, your pump-water is very good—when we get it, but it is hard to get." The fact was, the astute Friend had so arranged his apparatus that the public well-earned the benefits received. *For every gallon of water pumped into the public cans, two were raised into the owner's tank.* The Water Company, however, finding they had been outwitted, came to terms, which was the end intended. The public pump was accordingly suppressed and the reduced water-rate agreed to.

The above is copied from Theodore Compton's *Spitalfields and John Gray*, published in 1908. Charles Bratt (c. 1782-1862) and his brother William Bratt (c. 1789-1871) were Friends of good standing in Devonshire House M.M. They were the last Friends to wear the old Quaker garb. They are seen in the foreground of an illustration in *London Yearly Meeting during 250 years, 1919*.

Beaten for Non-attendance at Meeting

Sessions held at Hicks Hall, August, 1686 :

Henry Livesley discharged from his apprenticeship with Richard Love, weaver, who "hath several times inhumanly beaten him." Love, "being a Quaker," had used his apprentice "the more severely because he would not goe to the Quakers meeting with him."

Middlesex County Records. *MS. Calendar of Sessions Books, 1638-1738*. Sessions Book 440. (Extracted by William A. Caffall.)

Samuel Fox, Adult School Pioneer

By kind permission of the National Adult School Union we are able to present a portrait of this Friend,¹ as reproduced in G. Currie Martin's *The Adult School Movement* (London: N.A.S.U., 7½ by 5, pp. xviii. + 435, with an Introduction by Sir Michael Sadler, and twenty illustrations, 3s. and 5s.). Samuel Fox (1781-1868) was a Friend, a grocer in the city of Nottingham, "a man looked up to by every one for his probity and conscientious character." He became at an early age, a helper, in the work of Adult Schools, of William Singleton, a member of a Methodist body and originator of Adult Schools in Nottingham. "The School leaders were mainly recruited from the women assistants in his shop, and we are told that he closed on Saturday evening earlier than his neighbours that everyone might be in the School at seven o'clock on Sunday morning."

It is said that on one occasion he overheard a butcher name a certain price to a woman for a piece of meat. Though a low figure, the man knew she could not afford it, S.F. asked him to weigh it, paid the price the man had named and handed the meat to the woman, saying to the butcher, "If thou hast any complaint to make I will go with thee to the magistrate." One day a woman entered his shop and asked for a piece of string. He told her to help herself. This she proceeded to do rather liberally, and looked up to see how he was taking it. "Help thyself," he said, but eventually he stopped her and began to measure the length she had taken. She then offered to pay for it. "No," was his reply. "I just wanted to know the length of a woman's conscience."

One of his sayings was, "If you mean to thrive, you must rise at five."

Samuel Fox was one of the secretaries of the Nottingham Anti-Slavery Association. In 1836 he signed an appeal for support of T. F. Buxton's motion in Parliament for a Select Committee to enquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the Colonies. He was a son of William Fox, grocer and flax-dresser, and Mary, his wife. In 1810 he married Sarah Jowitt, of Nottingham.

¹ The portrait is a reproduction of a painting by George Hodgson from a pencil sketch by a relation of the family named Hackett.

Meetinghouses at Norwich

There are two books on the home of the Gurney family of Earlham, near Norwich, one the well-known "Gurneys of Earlham," by Augustus J. C. Hare, published in 1895, and the other much more recent (1922) a delightful prose poem on a later period in the history of the same home. It is strange that the writers of both these volumes have fallen into confusion between the two Friends' Meetinghouses at Norwich.

Augustus Hare, in vol. i., p. 47, says :

"These Meetings took place in Norwich at the quaint Dutch-looking Meeting-house, with high roofs, and a many-windowed front, approached by Goat's Lane."

The above is a description of the Meetinghouse known as the Gildencroft, built 1699, and, as a description, is correct, except that it is not approached by Goat's Lane, which is in a different part of the city. Further, it was not the Gildencroft Meeting that was attended by the Gurney family, and one can only suppose that the author had never visited either of the two meetinghouses in Norwich. The illustration on p. 48 is of the Gildencroft, but underneath are the words, "The Meeting House in Goat's Lane, Norwich."

The author of the book entitled "Earlham" (Jonathan Cape, 1922), Percy Lubbock, falls into another error. He says (p. 236) :

"If they [the Gurneys] died at Earlham, they were buried at 'Goat's'—a hard price—I should call it, to pay for the privilege of enrolment as a Friend. How could one submit to burial at Goat's with all the poetry of Earlham Church so near at hand."

"Burial at Goat's"—you might as well talk of burial at Devonshire House! It may safely be said that no Friend was ever buried within the precincts of Goat's Lane Meetinghouse, which is in a crowded part of the city. The original house dated from 1679, but was rebuilt about 1826, and the Gurney family worshipped there, but all interments took place in the Friends' burial ground at the Gildencroft, and there one may see the stones that mark the graves of Joseph John Gurney and others of the family.

It is to be hoped that if Mr. Lubbock's book reaches a second edition this curious confusion will be corrected.

ALFRED KEMP BROWN,
A native of Norwich.

NOTE.—The Earlham estate has recently been purchased by the Corporation of Norwich.

Richard Baxter and Friends

Our attention has been given to the chapter in Dr. Powicke's new life of Richard Baxter (*A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615-1691*, Frederick J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D., London: Jonathan Cape, 9 by 6, pp. 326, 15s. net), which deals with Baxter's "Controversy with Quakers." The controversy was opened by Thomas Goodaire and Richard Farnsworth about 1655, the former of whom shouted forth a question in the church of St. Mary, at Kidderminster, when the preacher, Baxter's assistant minister, had concluded his sermon, and was lodged for so doing in the town prison. Perhaps it was the nature of the question—"How are the Ministers of Christ and the Ministers of Anti-Christ to be known asunder"—which aroused the indignation of the "many hundreds" present rather than the fact of the outburst.¹ Wordy warfare spoken and written followed. Baxter complained: "I seldom preached a lecture but going and coming I was railed at by a Quaker in the Market Place or in the way and frequently bawled at by the name of Hireling Deceiver, False Prophet, Dog, and such language," worse degrading epithets appearing in print, of which Dr. Powicke remarks: "Not quite the language that might be expected from people inspired by the Spirit of Christ." The author writes:

"Nothing shows better how imperfectly Baxter was able to apprehend the inner springs of Quakerism than his belief that, together with other Sectarian movements, it was continued and engineered by the Papists. . . . This notion became an obsession." (On this subject see Prynne's *Quaker Unmasked*, 1655.)

Dr. Powicke concludes the chapter:

"The pity is that their differences excited a cloud of prejudices so dense and a heat of temper so violent, that they had no chance of realising the common foundation of Christian faith and experience which lay beneath their feet. Baxter's regretful memory of his feud with Edward Bagshaw [an Independent] when it was too late, might have arisen here on both sides, if they had known each other better. 'While we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the World that will decide all our Controversies; and the Safest Passage thither is by peacable Holiness' (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, iii. 89)."

We thank Dr. Powicke for his faithful summation of this sad controversy.

There are two references to Mary Dyer (pp. 231, 233) and others to John Tombes, minister at Leominster.

¹ On this question of *matter* rather than *manner*, see a quotation from John S. Rowntree in *Camb. Jnl. Supp.*, p. 284. See on the whole subject *Beginnings of Quakerism*, pp. 193ff.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.

D—Friends Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 2 vols., 1911.

Camb. Jnl. Supp.—*The Short Journal and the Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1925.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography*.

F.P.T.—" *The First Publishers of Truth*," original documents relating the establishment of Quakerism in England and Wales, 1907.

Rancocas John Woolman—The Rancocas edition of *The Journal of John Woolman*, edited by Amelia M. Gummere, Phila. and London, 1922.

Smith, Cata.—*A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, compiled by Joseph Smith, 2 vols., 1867.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF THOMAS STORY.—Thomas Story of Justice Town, co. Cumberland, gent., now residing in London. Unto John Wilson now or late of Kendal, co. Westmorland, William Williamson, of Windermere, and John Wilson, of Kendal, their heirs and assigns, all these my messuages, &c., called Justice Town, Brooming Knud, Pears-
piel [?], Linehow and Holesyke (otherwise Waly Lote) scituate in the parishes of Kirkclinton and Arthuret, co. Cumberland, &c., upon Trust and to the uses hereinafter mentioned. To my sister, Ann Elliott now living at Justice Town, £500. To Catherine Elliott and Elin Elliott, daurs. of the said Ann Elliott, £10 apiece. To Elizabeth Green, widow, £100. To my cousin, John Bell, of Bromley by London, £30 and also £100

for such charitable uses as by any other writing than this my Will I shall direct. To the said John Wilson, &c., £20 apiece. To Mary Elwood, wife of Thomas Elwood, of Kendal, in Westmorland, £50. To Anthony Morris, of the City of Philadelphia, in the province of Pensilvania in America, brewer, and Israel Pemberton, senr., of the same, merchant, their heirs, &c., all my messuages, &c., in the said city and my shares in the Pensilvania Land Company in London, to hold the same upon trust for the uses hereinafter mentioned. To my sister, Francisia, relict of my brother, Edward Shippen, late of Philadelphia, merchant, deceased, £30. To my niece, Margaret Jekyl, widow, only child of my said brother, Edward by the said Francisia, £300. To

Edward Shippen, son of my brother, Joseph Shippen, of Philadelphia, aforesaid, merchant, £300. And to William Shippen and Ann Shippen, son and dau. of the said Joseph Shippen, £50 apiece. The said John Wilson, &c., exors. as touching all my estate, &c., in Great Britain and the said Anthony Morris and Israel Pemberton, exors. as touching all my estate, &c., in America.

Dated 7 Sept., 1741.

Witnesses: Rachel Atkinson, Jonathan Hall, Benjamin Jackson, All at the White Lyon, Cornhill, London.

John Wilson, William Williamson, James Wilson, John Wilson.
Dear friends

Having appointed you my Trustees touching and concerning my estate and effects in Great Britain, and Executors of my last Will, &c., and having in my said will given unto my cousin, John Bell, of Bromley, £100 in trust only, I direct the said £100 to be for the use and behoof of poor children of the Hospital or Workhouse of Friends of the people called Quakers at Clerkenwell Green, London. And Whereas by my said Will I have given to you, the said John Wilson, &c. £30, in trust only, I direct and declare my true intent and meaning is for poor friends of the Monthly Meeting of the people called Quakers at Carlisle in Cumberland. And Whereas I have given to Mary Elwood, of Kendal, £50, the same shall be paid her by you and not to any other person except unto Sarah Tinling, sister of the said Mary Elwood, in case of her death. And Where-

as the residue of my personal estate I give and bequeath unto themselves the said John Wilson, &c., in trust for such uses, &c., as I shall direct. That is to say, I have many loose undigested papers relating to my Travells in the service of Truth in a trunk at my lodgings in London [no doubt at his usual lodging as he calls it, then Elizabeth Greens in Duke Street, Spitalfields] which I desire may be carefully perused and ratified by any of you or such persons as you shall appoint. And if any thing in any of them be thought of any service to the Divine Truth you may lay them before some competent Friends to whom and you they are submitted, since I have not been ostentatious or vain glorious that way or desired a name or Record upon Earth, but only keep Notes and Memorials of more particular Occurrences in my Travels therein in the service of Truth according to the Dispensation thereof to me committed unto that end, if then I say if any of those papers (a Collection whereof I have already begun) may be of any service worthy of the charge I desire that the residue and remainder of any of the money arising by sales of my said messuages, &c., and the residue of my personal estate shall be duly applied to the tenor of my Will but if they be not useful or worthy then my Will is that the residuary part of my Estate arising from the sales of my messuages, &c., devised unto you, I bequeath (in that case) unto my said sister Anne Elliott, Catherine Elliott and Elin Elliott and unto them the

said Edward Shippen, Margaret Jekyle, William Shippen and Anne Shippen in equal shares.

Dated 7 September, 1741.

Witnesses: Rachel Atkinson, Jonathan Hall, Benjamin Jackson, All at the White Lyon, Cornhill, London.

Proved (with a Codicil annexed) 3 November, 1742, by John Wilson of Graythwaite in Cumberland and William Williamson, two of the exors. named in the said Will for touching and concerning all the deceased's estate in Great Britain. Power reserved of making a like grant to James Wilson and John Wilson, of Kendal the other exors. named when they shall apply for the same.

(P.C.C., 337 Trenley.)

BURIED LIKE A DOG (xv. 45).—In the Shipston-on-Stour Register, March 15, 1695, occurs the name of John Waring, "who was by his relations putt ith ground lik a dog in ye Quakers meeting house yard, Rogues!" Brown, *Evesham Friends in the Olden Time*, 1885, p. 118n.)

BAPTISTS AND ANABAPTISTS (xix. 63).—There is a full article by Dr. W. T. Whitley on "Continental Anabaptists and Early English Baptists" in *The Baptist Quarterly*, January, 1924.

KAIGHN FAMILY OF PA.—In the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. viii, no. 3 (March, 1923), under the heading of "Bible Records," is information of this family from 1812 to 1883. This

is taken from a Bible published by the Bible Association of Friends in America, 1831.

=====
ANNA ELIZABETH DICKINSON (xvii. 127).—The *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, is running a series of "Pennsylvanians Past and Present." The fifty-fourth deals with A. E. Dickinson, "American orator, novelist and playwright, born in Philadelphia, October 26, 1842. She was the daughter of John and Mary Edmundson Dickinson, both orthodox Quakers. The father was a merchant, and an active abolitionist, but failed in business and died soon after, leaving his wife with five children, Anna, the youngest, but two years old.

"She was a restless child and impatient of restraint, and early developed a keen love of justice, fostered and confirmed by listening to the recitals of the horrors of slavery in the anti-slavery offices of that city. She wrote articles on slavery for the *Liberator* and made her first appearance as a public speaker in 1857 at a meeting of Progressive Friends. . . . She then determined to make lecturing her career. . . . She gained a splendid personal triumph. She was called the 'Joan of Arc' of the Civil War. In 1876 she left the platform for the stage, . . . but finally gave up the profession and returned to the lecture platform, writing occasionally for the current periodicals." No date of death is given.

Press-clipping sent by Ella Kent Barnard, West Grove, Pa.

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