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1930

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**THE JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

**EDITED BY**  
**NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.**

**VOLUME XXVII**

**1930**

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*Photo from a daguerreotype.*

*[Frontispiece.*

Seated in centre Elizabeth Fry with a daughter on each side. On her right Josiah Forster, and on her left her husband, Joseph Fry.

Standing, Joseph J. and Eliza P. Gurney.



# Friends Historical Society

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*Nov. 1930*

*Mabel R Brailsford*

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# THE JOURNAL

## OF THE

# FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## Our Quotation—21

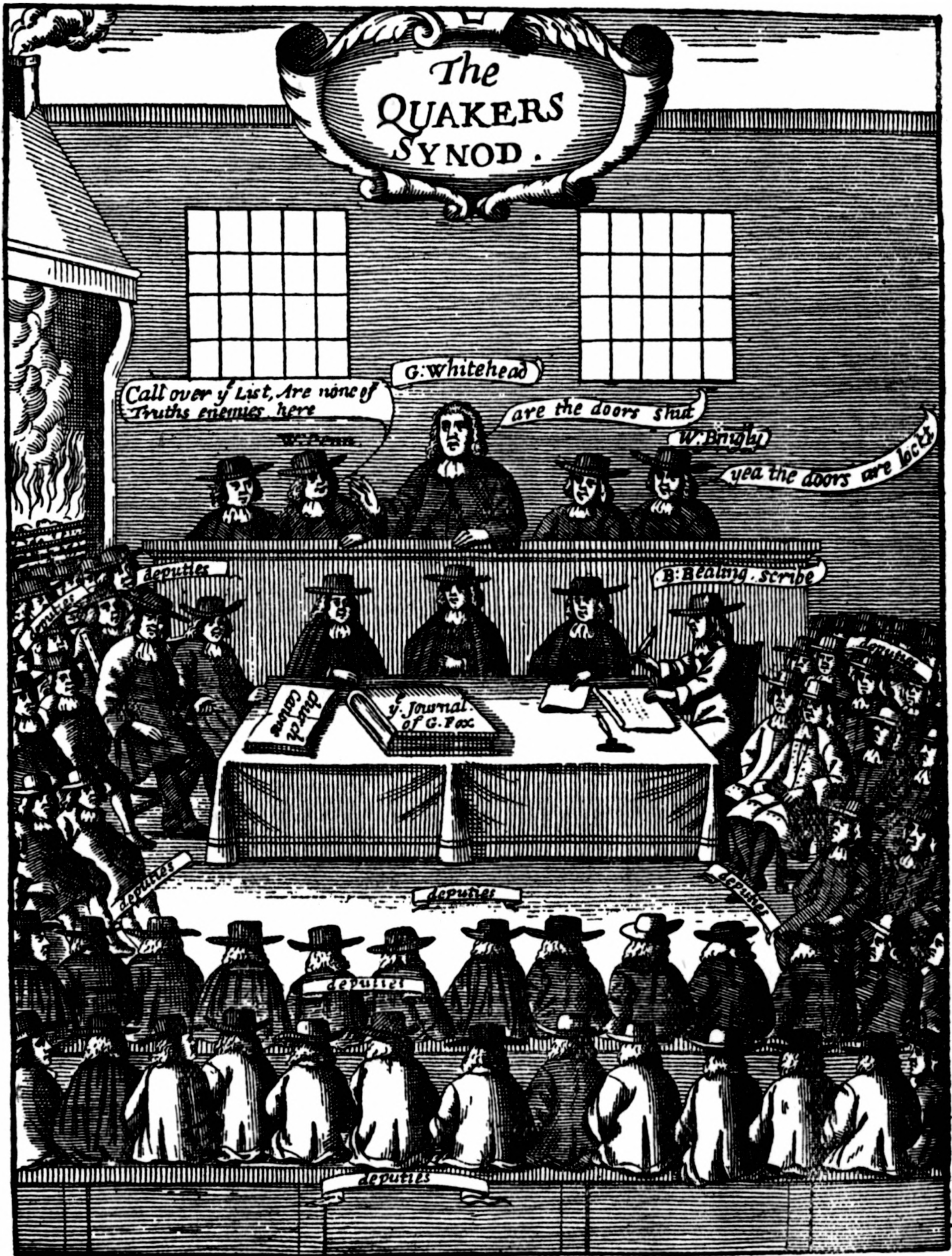
*"He kept his habitation, in all lowliness of mind, near to the Root of Life, and was preserved fresh and green and faithful in old age, even to the conclusion of his days."*

From the testimony respecting WILLIAM DILWORTH (1716-1789), of Lancaster, Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, 1753, 1773.

## Editor's Hints

**T**HIS year's volume contains much which will, at once, attract the eye. The Editor draws attention to a few items of interest which might otherwise escape notice.

The vagaries of spelling are well illustrated by the word Edomites (p. 35). There is a touch of modernism in the statement that, in 1790, a Friend was "shoved down by a carriage in Cheapside" and fatally injured (p. 46). The ignorant and disastrous destruction of Quaker writings is, alas, not confined to that noted (p. 48). Excerpts from James Jenkins's *Records* are attractive, "whose comments while pithy and sometimes caustic, are not meant unkindly" (p. 11, 49, 53, 63). Note the Indians' estimates of Friends, and their kindly actions, contrasted with those of the English and Dutch (p. 23). Anecdotes are scattered about the volume even in the section of "Friends and Current Literature" (pp. 70, 76). Please note request and correction (pp. 82, 85).



From Bugg's *Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698

# Our Recording Clerks

*Continued from Vol. I, p. 68*

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## No. 3. BENJAMIN BEALING, 1689-1737

**T**OWARDS the close of the clerkship of Richard Richardson, there were two assistants, Mark Swanner and Benjamin Bealing. The latter has been traced back to the early part of 1685 by his writing in minute books. He was paid fifty shillings in 2 mo. 1687 by the Meeting of Twelve.

In the Fourth Month of 1687 the Six Weeks Meeting (the London finance committee) appointed several Friends "to consider and conclude with the Meeting for Sufferings whether 3 Clerks shall be continued, or whether of y<sup>e</sup> two Mark Swanner or Benjamin Bealing should go off."

Swanner's services were dispensed with and Bealing continued as Assistant; and on the death of Richard Richardson, 13 iv. 1689, Bealing was appointed to the post of clerk to Friends, and commenced a service which lasted forty-eight years, fifteen years longer than any of his race.

Settled in his office as "scrivenor," at Three Kings Court in Lombard Street, the premises rented from Richard Davies for £30 a year, Bealing turned to matrimony and on the last day of Sixth Month, 1693, he married (son of Edward and Alice, of Penryn, Cornwall), at Devonshire House, Elizabeth Laterup or Latherup, of Spitalfields, spinster. Children arrived in course but to find early deaths—between 1694 and 1703 five children came and went. One son, Samuel, lived to be thirty-two, the second, Benjamin, appears to have survived. Elizabeth Bealing died in 1703, aged thirty-seven, and B. B. took to himself another wife at the close of 1706—Cordelia Cowdry, of Southampton, a widow. Similar infant mortality attended the second

marriage. The survivors of B. B.'s marriages have not been traced. Cordelia Bealing died in 1729, aged fifty-two. It was probably from his second wife that he became possessed of a small estate at Millbrook, near Southampton, respecting which there are letters in **D**, with a reference to Cordelia Cowdry, daughter of Cordelia Bealing, she and her step-father being both deceased.

The long years of B. Bealing's secretaryship, from the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, and consequent slackening of persecution, to the establishment of birthright membership in 1737, saw many changes in the Society and much drawing apart from external interests.

"It showed little of that daring spirit of adventure and missionary zeal which had given Quakerism its immense initial energy" (*250 Years of London Y.M.*, 1919).

Year by year appeared the Epistle, through all, signed thirty-three times by Bealing, 1689 to 1721, by appointment; after the latter date it was signed by the clerk of the Yearly Meeting.

John Kelsall wrote in his Diary of the Yearly Meeting of 1704:

"D. Quare first proposed whether John Field or B. Bealing was properly Clerk of the meeting. After some debate it was concluded to the former, yet not so but that the next Yearly Meeting might appoint whom they thought fit."

But the epistle of this year was signed by B. Bealing as before and after.

Francis Bugg, apostate Quaker, in his *Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, 1698, chapter xiii, "The Quakers' Convocation," describes a sitting of the Yearly Meeting in which, after recording sermons by George Whitehead and William Bingley, he states (page 121):

"Benjamin Bealing, Clerk. Let us sing an Hymn of Praise, and Self-Exaltation, and to the Confusion of our Adversaries as you will find written in the Epistle-General of the Son of Thunder, Edw. Burrough, prefixed to our Apostle, George Fox's Great Mystery. Printed 1658:

' The Waters have I seen dry'd up, the Seal of the great  
 Whore,  
 Who hath made all Nations drunk with her inticing Power ;  
 And caused the whole Earth, She hath, Her Fornication  
 Cup to take,  
 Whereby Nations have long time err'd, on whom She long  
 hath sate ' "

and sixteen more lines.

To this statement, B. Bealing replied :

" These are to Certifie all sober Readers. That Francis Bugg's Representing me, as calling to the Yearly Meeting, ' to sing an Hymn of Praise and Self-Exaltation ' &c and making some verses (out of Edward Burrough's Preface to G. F.'s Great Mystery) to be that Hymn: Tis all an idle false Invention and Forgery of his own; for I never was concerned in any such thing in my life-time; and I am heartily sorry that this poor Man should be so given up in his old Age to serve the Father of Lyes, with whom, in the Lake, he may expect to have his Portion, without he unfeignedly Repents

" Witness my Hand

" BENJAMIN BEALING.

" London, *the 4th of the 5th Month, called July, 1699.*"

(Whitehead's *Rambling Pilgrim*, p. II.)

In a later work of Francis Bugg, *A Finishing Stroke*, 1712, p. 554, there is another version of Bealing's part in the Meeting:

" Now comes Benjamin Bealing, with a Psalm, or Hymn of Thanksgiving. Friends, let us sing a Psalm of Praise to our Light within, as you find it in p. 45, 46, of our Prophet Josiah Coale. The Whore Unveil'd "

followed by twenty-two lines, and this after B. Bealing's disclaimer.

As the years went by, the ability of the Clerk to conduct the duties of his office lessened and it became a question of help to be rendered him. In the minutes of Yearly Meeting, 1729, when he would probably be between sixty and seventy, we read :

" A motion being made to this Meeting in favour of Benjamin Bealing y<sup>e</sup> care over him, and allowing him such

further assistance as may be Judged Reasonable, is referred to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting for Sufferings.”

The Meeting for Sufferings agreed to allow him £28 13 3 “to help in his low circumstances and for extraordinary charges he has been at.”

His usual salary was about £40 per annum.

In the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, 27 i. 1733 we read :

“ This Meeting having maturely considered y<sup>e</sup> affaire of choosing an Assistant to Benj. Bealing, do agree y<sup>t</sup> Benjamin Bourne be accepted for y<sup>e</sup> service.”

Four years more, and the end of the service of nearly half a century arrived. Bealing would appear to be a lonely survival, widower, and perhaps without a descendant near. Friends desiring a quiet remainder for the life of their servant recommended his removal into the country. Joseph Smith surmises that his retirement was spent either in Cornwall or Hampshire but now we know that it was Northamptonshire ! If born about 1663, his age at death would approximate seventy-six years.

“ Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, the 21st day of Novemb<sup>r</sup> 1739 :

“ We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed do hereby Certifie all whom it may concern, that Benjamin Bealing, One of the People call'd Quakers, died at the house of Lawrence Cowper in this Town on the 26th Day of the Month calld May, 1739, and was Buried in the Burial Ground belonging to the People call'd Quakers on the 29th day of the Month aforesaid.

“ Witness our hands the Day and Year first above written

“ LAWRENCE COWPER.  
BENJ<sup>A</sup>. MIDDLETON.  
THOMAS THURGOOD.  
JOHN HOUGHTON.  
WILLIAM BROWN.”

“ Nov. 22<sup>d</sup> 1739.

“ I do hereby Certifie that a Copy of an Affidavit was brought to me properly attested and bearing Date May y<sup>e</sup>



31<sup>st</sup>, 1739, Setting forth that the Body of Benj<sup>a</sup> Bealing Late of Wellinborough Deceased was Wrapped for Burial in Nothing but what was made of Sheep's Wool only. So Testifyeth

“ THO : HOLME, Curate of  
Wellingborough.”

No. 4. BENJAMIN BOURNE, 1737-1746, 1748-1757

The fourth in succession of the Society's principal officers was Benjamin Bourne. What little we know of him presents a picture of trouble of both a family and official character.

Born about 1684, son of Thomas Bourne, of London, gloveseller, he appears to have followed his parental occupation, for at his marriage with Hannah Parker, at the Bull and Mouth in 1710, he is described as of Cheapside, Citizen and Glover.

The fatality which accompanied the family of the previous holder of the clerkship was increased in that of his successor—according to the Registers of London, B. and H. Bourne had sixteen children between 1713 and 1730; and eleven of them died in infancy. There were two Josephs, two Marys, three Hannahs, two Benjamins and two Thomas. On the first of Fourth Month, 1716, daughter Hannah died, aged nine months, and on the 26th of the next month another Hannah died, aged eleven days.

In 1733, when approaching fifty years of age, Bourne relinquished his business life and entered the service of the Society as assistant to Benjamin Bealing and on the retirement of the latter, four years later, he became Clerk.

After nine years of service, and for some reason not at present evident, B. Bourne was superseded in the clerkship of the Yearly Meeting, the Meeting for Sufferings, and other bodies; and by minute of Third Month, 1746, Joseph Besse was appointed to his position and at this date Besse's writing begins. B. Bourne was appointed to the subsidiary post of “recording the sufferings,” with a reduction of his previous salary of fifty pounds a year.

Presumably financial difficulties sent him to the Fleet Prison from which he wrote the following letter :

“ To Friends of the Meeting of Twelve To be held the 27th of 8th month 1746.

“ Esteemed Friends

“ Necessity obliges me thus to Address you

“ Requesting that you would be pleased so to Consider of it, as to find out some Way to order the payment of my Quarterly Bill Exhibited to the Meeting on the 29th of 7th month Last.

“ The Various & grievous Oppressions & sore Afflictions, I have for some time Labourd under, together with the Extream Illness, Weakness and Languishing Condition in which my Poor Afflicted Wife has Layn for five Weeks, have brought me under great Straits.

“ And altho' this delay of Payment may in it self be but a Small Matter, Yet to me at this Juncture, it proves an insupportable hardship—and had it not been for the Singular & unexpected kindness of Two or three particular friends only, We might, in this months time, have been in want of common Sustenance.

“ Wherefore I do Earnestly intreat that you would Consider of it (pray Excuse my Tautology) & forthwith order my said Bill amounting to £7 : 16 : 4 to be paid me.

“ Your poor friend  
very greatly afflicted  
and Distressed,

“ BENJA. BOURNE.

“ Fleet Prison

the 27th 8th mo. 1746.”

The bill was passed for payment at the meeting held on the date above mentioned.

A letter from B. Bourne to the Meeting for Sufferings early the next year resulted in the decision that a quarter of a year's notice was to “ be given on either side before the current year expires in case of parting,” which perhaps was preparing the way for the re-instatement of the writer.

B. Bourne again addressed the Meeting, in Eleventh Month, 1747, with the result that the Meeting approved the decision of a committee that “ Joseph Besse should be continued in his present post till the 24th of Fourth Month, and that then Benjamin Bourne be restored to the place of clerk to the Meeting for Sufferings as formerly.”

The handwriting of B. Bourne recommences 3 iv. 1748 ; he is careful to insert the decision of the Meeting in the index to the volume of minutes.

After a further service of nine years, during which time his successor, Jacob Post, was appointed to assist, B. Bourne, weakened by attacks of an asthmatic affection, departed this life 20 i. 1757 at the age of seventy-three, at Camberwell, and his remains were buried at Bunhill Fields.

#### No. 5. JOSEPH BESSE, 1746-1748

The brief interval in the clerkship of Benjamin Bourne was filled by Joseph Besse, who was at this time occupied with work for the Society of a secretarial and editorial nature. The minute which installed him, Meeting for Sufferings, 2nd of Third Month, 1746, runs thus :

“ This Meeting desires Joseph Besse to write the business of this Meeting, usually done by the clerk of the same, from this time and during the ensuing Yearly Meeting, and untill such time as the Meeting shall otherwise direct, and this Meeting will satisfy him for his trouble and Labour therein.”

Besse was born in 1683, so would be about sixty-four at this time. He died in 1757.

*To be Continued*

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### Nephew of Peter Collinson

“ At Bath, of a paralytic stroke, under which he had lingered ever since Oct. 26, 1802, Thomas Collinson, esq. nephew of the late eminent Naturalist Peter C. and formerly partner with Hinton Brown, esq. banker, whose daughter he married. He was distinguished by his progress in the various branches of science, and his readiness to communicate his knowledge. About ten years ago he made the tour of Europe, with his friend John Walker, esq., only son of his friend and patron Isaac W. esq. of Arnold's Grove, Southgate, whereby his curiosity was gratified to his utmost wish, and his observations on this excursion, which his modesty concealed from all but his intimate friends, would, if permitted to see the light, be a greater gratification to the learned than half the tours which are obtruded on them. Though bred in the principles of Quakerism, Candour taught Mr. C. to be the friend of mankind and even the misfortunes he had experienced in a profession to which he was ill-adapted did not oppress or debase his philosophic spirit.” He died in August, 1803.

*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1803, II. 795 ; Brett-James, *Peter Collinson*, 1925 ; letters in D.

## Supplements Nos. 16 and 17— London Yearly Meeting 1789-1833

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THE Friends Historical Society has rendered a service to students of Quakerism by publishing these two volumes.<sup>1</sup> They consist of notes carefully written down during the sittings of London Yearly Meeting, in the later part of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, by Richard Cockin—supplemented (especially during a few years when R.C. was not in attendance) by notes found in the writings of James Jenkins, William Savery, Elizabeth Fry and others. Norman Penney has edited the volumes with his usual scrupulous care, preserving the quaint spelling of the authors, and giving the main biographical facts concerning nearly every one of the scores, if not hundreds, of Friends mentioned by them; with explanations, when needed, of episodes which they allude to. There is an excellent Introduction, running to nearly twenty pages, by T. Edmund Harvey, which directs attention to many of the most interesting and important features of the Notes. I will endeavour not to repeat here what he has so well said.

The period is one of considerable importance for the understanding of Quaker history. The Quietism that marked the greater part of the eighteenth century was being very gradually disturbed, and was finally broken up, by the Evangelical movement that was rapidly changing the face of religion in this country, but was very late in affecting a body so exclusive as the Society of Friends had then become. Most Friends of the period, including the authors of these Notes, seem to have been, for the most part, quite unconscious that any radical change was taking place.

<sup>1</sup> *Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting, 1789-1833*, being Extracts from the Notes of Richard Cockin, supplemented by those of James Jenkins and others. In two parts. Edited by Norman Penney, LL.D., F.S.A., Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A. (London: Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1; Philadelphia, Pa. 304, Arch Street; 217 pages, price for the separate parts 7s. 6d. (\$2.00) each, for both parts 12s. 6d. (\$3.25).

Richard Cockin (1753-1845) came from a village near Doncaster, joining the Society by conviction during a stay in London, after which he carried on a drapery business at Doncaster. He was well acquainted with Thomas Shillitoe, the shoemaker-minister, who had become a Friend rather earlier. His Notes reveal him as a man of sterling character, humble and cheery and benevolent, who, though without any marked ability or profound insight, was a not unskilful judge of spiritual things and earnestly desired to follow the best light he had. He welcomed (for example) every movement towards a better realisation in practice of Friends' theoretical belief in the spiritual equality of the sexes. Very different was James Jenkins (1753-1831), his contemporary, whose "Records and Recollections" have here been drawn upon. He had a wonderful gift of hitting off in a few words the characters of prominent Friends, and tried to use it fairly. His comments, while pithy and sometimes caustic, are not meant unkindly. He evidently had little faith in the "prophetic" ministry (then frequent in the Society) which followed the example of the Hebrew prophets and the Book of Revelation in announcing forthcoming woes. Of a sermon by Job Scott in 1793, in which the speaker foretold the speedy downfall of the Roman Church after attacks upon the Quakers, he writes: "I recollect that it made a great impression on the Meeting at the time, but, as with myself so I have reason to think it was with many others, that impression subsided, and was succeeded by a belief that this eminently qualified and excellent minister was, in what he said respecting the disturbance of Friends, most assuredly mistaken. . . . In 1798 the Pope Pius VI. was dethroned without more disturbance to the Friends of this country than the alighting of a fly on the dome of their famous Cathedral." James Jenkins would seem to have been one who helped Friends towards a sounder valuation of the nature of "inspired" ministry.

Much of the time of Yearly Meeting in those days was taken up with hearing Appeals—usually of individuals against their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for disowning them—which yielded very little, if anything, of spiritual value. We may be thankful that the practice of

“appealing” has died out. The number of American Friends travelling in the ministry was surprisingly large; at most of our Yearly Meetings quite a number were present.

The change in religious emphasis as the years went on—from faithfulness to the Inner Light to correctness of belief in the Bible and the Divinity of Christ—is illustrated in these pages, and was probably due in part to the influence of some of these American visitors, especially David Sands. The landmarks are the Hannah Barnard episode of 1800 and 1801 (which is treated here with freshness by James Jenkins); the unanimous decision of the Yearly Meeting of 1814 to uphold the disownment of Thomas Foster, who had appealed against his Monthly Meeting after being disowned for circulating Unitarian books; and the great Separation in America of 1828 and 1829. On the two latter subjects little fresh light is here thrown.

Some new information will be found concerning the thrilling incident at the Yearly Meeting of 1830, when the Duchess of Gloucester came from the dying King, George IV. (her brother), and called out William Allen and Elizabeth Fry to ask for “the prayers of Friends.” It seems that what the Duchess really wanted was Thomas Shillitoe, whom the King wished to see instead of a clergyman. “Send for the old Quaker” are said to have been his words. Shillitoe had had an interview with him at Brighton, presenting a paper in which he had the courage and faithfulness to rebuke him for his sins.

EDWARD GRUBB

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### Southey and Early Friends

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In a letter, dated Dec. 1. 1820, Robert Southey acknowledges the receipt of a “pamphlett,” sent him by Mrs. Fry, and answers a criticism of a passage quoted by him in his *Life of Wesley* (Longmans, 3rd ed. 1846, vol. 1, p. 442)—the passage appeared to him to be a curiosity and that nothing could be further from his intention than that of offending the existing Society of Quakers. He adds, however, that the opinion that some of the Quakers of the “first age” were contentious and given to railing had some foundation in fact.

*Information from Edgar G. Harcourt, Four Oaks, Birmingham.*

## Letters of William Forster of Tottenham

*Continued from vol. xxvi, p. 26*

### HENTON BROWN

Wm. Forster, to his sister, Elizabeth Forster, at Samuel Galton & Son, Merchants, Birmingham, dated 7 mo. 6th, 1775 :

“ The Yearly Meeting was thought to be as large as usual, many of the younger Rank attended it, and most of the eminent Ministering Friends in England. On the first sitting our ancient Friend Hinton Brown came in, supported by two, being indeed very infirm and feeble. After sitting a few minutes, he expressed his Thankfulness in broken Expressions that he was supported till then by that Power and Arm which had been the Stay of his Youth, and which he then renewedly felt ; advising all to adhere to its divine admonitions. This was explained to the Meeting by Dr. Fothergill, which had a very solemn effect on the whole Meeting.

“ On the sixth, Afternoon, he also came in & again expressed the Satisfaction he felt on seeing his Friends once more, and advised all to be willing to give up everything to the requirings of the most High, which wou'd undoubtedly procure them that peace of which he was then a Sharer, and support them thro many Trials ; this was also explained by Jno. Fry. It appears as if this was his final Adieu, tho' he has continued much longer than was expected. He has been favor'd in this long Illness to see Things in a very different Light to what he formerly did ; I well remr. our worthy Sophia [Hume] some time before her Decease giving an acceptable acct. of a Visit to him, in which he expressed the great Concern he then felt for his too far deviating from the Principles he professed and once publicly owned and supported.”

Henton Brown (1698-1775) was a banker, of Lombard Street.

Elizabeth Forster (1745-1841) lived in the Galton family. She is frequently mentioned as “ Lizzie Forster ” in the autobiography of Mary Anne SchimmelPenninck, née Galton, see pp. 45ff, 51, 117, 180f.

### MINISTRY AT TOTTENHAM

William Forster to his sister Tabitha, 18 ii. 1778, referring to a meeting at Tottenham :

“ I never heard anyone so powerful and so weighty in his doctrine as ROBERT WALKER, or any who appear'd to keep more to the Spring & to its movings alone, if I had any sense of the same.

“ Honest THOMAS CARRINGTON in his several Remarks was very short and very expressive ; also RICHARD BAKER very feelingly indeed, and H. WILKINS treated on the several Subjects like a Scholar & Philosopher, yet not without their due weight.”

Robert Walker and Thomas Carrington were from North America ; Richard Baker was a Dover Friend ; Henry Wilkins lived at Cirencester.

FANNY DODSHON

William Forster, 11 i. 1775 :

“ Fanny Dodshon is now in the City—how much longer will stay I know not. She is a Minister I esteem much and shou’d with pleasure attend her company, but unluckily for me she is surrounded by so great a Circle that we lesser have no chance of entering it.”

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## The Minister and His Boots

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Journal of James Bellangee (1788-1853), of Ohio, when the writer was at Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1837 :

“ Went to see our friend George Hatton before meeting, and he soon began to find fault with me, saying : ‘ James, have you no Elders at Stillwater Quarterly Meeting ? ’ I said, ‘ Yes, plenty of them.’ ‘ Then,’ said George, ‘ I think they are good for nothing, for I see thee has square-toed boots on, which are not fit for a preacher to wear in the gallery.’ I then asked him if he had no superfluous things about him. He looked at himself and said, ‘ Not that I know of ; does thee see any ? ’ I told him it was not my place to judge him ; he must be his own judge about his dress, and I would be about mine—for my boots did not hurt me.”

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WORTHY WIVES.—Letter from Thomas Shillitoe to Dykes Alexander, dated Tottenham Midx : 9th of 11 Mo. 1790 :

“ P.S. My Dear love to thy Wife in which my Dear Wife Unites. I sent p Jo<sup>s</sup>. Head one of my hearty Shakes for thee & Wife but doubt of his delivering it to the full as he complain’d of it him self. I was favoured to Reach home well and found all in Good order as if I had been at home, agreeable to my Great Masters Promise, and my dear Wife Gladly Received me, not as poor Luke Cocks did him with the Joint-Stool. What a mercy, my Dear Dykes, that we are favor’d with Such Partners in Life as I am and I believe thou art. may we Walk worthy of it . . . .”

From the original letter in D.

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*Annals of Southport and District. A Chronological History of North Meols, A.D. 1086 to 1886, by E. Bland :*

“ 1857. Nov. 29th. A lady 102 years old preached at the Meeting House, Lord Street ” (page 124).

“ 1865. April 9th. Friends’ Meeting House, Portland St. Opened ” (page 151).

*Information from R. Muschamp.*



## Yearly Meeting Attenders—Familiar Personalities

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Shortly before his death Alfred Tuke Alexander<sup>1</sup> supplied the editor with the list which follows of London Yearly Meeting *habitues* :

JOSIAH FORSTER. Right hand of Clerk's Desk ; seemed to have something to say on all subjects. JOHN PEASE. " Silver trumpet of the North." WILLIAM BALL. Combination of a Minister and an Eccentric. MARY ANN BAYES. One of the old style Preachers ; would sometimes remove her bonnet when speaking. WILLIAM MATTHEWS. Minister well known. JOSEPH SMITH. Essex Farmer. SAMUEL BOWLY. Early Apostle of Temperance. ROBERT CHARLTON. Evangelistic fervent ; active in assistance to Freedmen after American Civil War. His wife, Catherine Fox, elder sister of Anna Fox (so notable for her eloquent intonations) (they were my cousins). SAMUEL FOX. Tottenham. JOHN MORLAND. Father of John M. and Charles M. LUCY MORLAND. His sister. ISAAC SHARP. The Traveller. JONATHAN GRUBB. Evangelist. EDWARD C. MAY. Tottenham. HARRISON PENNEY. Darlington. SARAH FORSTER. Tottenham. SOPHIA ALEXANDER. Close friend of my Mother ; Clerk in 1865 (and probably previously<sup>2</sup>) of Women's Y.M., died later in that year. WILLIAM THISTLETHWAITE. I remember chiefly as one of the Friends (including my parents when at Y.M.) who formed a sitting room party at " Four Swans," Bishopsgate. GEORGE SATTERTHWAITE. Ackworth Superintendent. ISAAC BROWN. Principal of Flounders Institute, Ackworth. JOSEPH PEASE, with a companion<sup>3</sup> ; J.P., being blind, stopped to enquire who it was they were meeting. I do not remember J. P. so specially in Y.M. as his brother John Pease. JOSEPH HUNTLEY. Reading. JAMES BOORNE. Reading. JAMES CLARK. Street. SARAH B. SATTERTHWAITE. Afterwards wife of James Clark. THOMAS HARVEY and SARAH GRACE HARVEY. Leeds. JOSEPH SHEWELL. Minister. JOHN CANDLER. Minister. JAMES THOMPSON. Kendal. WILLIAM and HENRY MARRIAGE (Chelmsford). Brothers so alike it was difficult to distinguish them. ROBERT and CHRISTINE ALSOP. EDWARD BACKHOUSE. Sunderland, and wife ; usually appeared at Devonshire House Meeting, Sunday preceding Y.M. ; Entertained parties during Y.M. at " Castle & Falcon Hotel," Aldersgate. JOSEPH ROWNTREE (" of all England ") on side floor seat near right main Entrance. General exponent of grievances, frequently called to order by the Clerk. WILLIAM GRAHAM. By Pillar (side seat) to right of Clerk's desk. Consistent opponent of change or forward movements. Adult Schools were places where Men were " ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the Truth." ALFRED LUCAS. Same side of House also an opponent but quite different spirit. " It's all wrong, dear friends, departure from our principles, but I love you all, dear friends, that's why I speak." J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE. No Y.M. complete without him ; for many years chief author of Y.M. Epistle ; " Quaker Bishop " keeping Society

sound in doctrine; but broad-minded and would visit the B.I. meeting sometimes, and said "The Bedford Institute belongs to this (London) Quarterly Meeting." WILLIAM LITTLEBOY. Valuable in counsel and in sympathy with forward Movements. JOSEPH JOHN DYMOND. Secretary of Friends' Provident Institution; always worth listening to; sound judgment, broad outlook, helpful ministry. WILLIAM SCARNELL LEAN. Also helpful speaker; left us for Anglican Church and returned; I last met him at Y.M. at Birmingham. WILLIAM WHITE. Universally known "Father of Adult Schools." I remember his remark during a cold Y.M. no fire in Friends' Institute. "When Friends come to Birmingham won't we keep them warm! We are sent into the world to keep one another warm." HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN. Also universally known; one of the leaders forward of the Society. JOHN THIRNBECK GRACE. Bristol. WILLIAM EDWARD TURNER. Birkenhead. WILLIAM POLLARD. Lancashire. JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE. Always to the point. ANN F. FOWLER. Gracious and choice ministry. JOHN and ANNA R. WHITING. Leeds. JOSEPH ARMFIELD. London. JOHN G. ARMFIELD. London. Regular feature in later years. THOMAS BARROW. Lancaster (and wife) very regular; seldom spoke, but I think in 1914 or 1913, spoke briefly from near the Clerk's desk. It seemed to me to be a parting message and so it has proved as he has not come to Y.M. since but I believe is still living.<sup>4</sup> JOHN BRIGHT. I remember on one occasion entering from the yard, right hand door, taking seat on the long form on the floor of the Meeting House and speaking briefly to the subject under consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Alfred Tuke Alexander, of London (1842-1920), will be remembered particularly for his connection, over many years, with the Bedford Institute Association. He was a regular attender in later years of the First-day morning meeting at Devonshire House. He attended every Yearly Meeting from 1864, except the year he was present at Canada Yearly Meeting.

*The Friend* (Lond.) 1920, obituary notice and portrait.

<sup>2</sup> Sophia Alexander was clerk of the Women's Y.M. 1859-63, 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Hare, of Darlington, was secretary to Joseph Pease and his constant companion.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Barrow died in February, 1919.

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LINKS WITH THE PAST.—"I was born in 1857 and was taken in my infancy to visit Ann Ecroyd, born in 1780 died in 1859, who knew my great-great-great-grandfather, Richard Ecroyd, born in 1689 and died in 1787, thus constituting a single life between 1929 and 1689.

Again, Alice Ecroyd, mother of Richard Ecroyd, was born in 1647 and died in 1742, thus showing a case of hands between 1929 and 1647, counting 282 years.

THOMAS BACKHOUSE ECROYD,  
Armathwaite, Cumberland, 1930.

## Extracts from the A.R.B. MSS.

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Early this century, in a dark corner of a fireproof room at Devonshire House, London, was discovered a bundle marked "Early Manuscripts." From evidence then apparent but now lost, these manuscripts were worked over by Abram Rawlinson Barclay when he was preparing his *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, published in 1841—hence the name—and were lost to sight and knowledge for more than half a century. They number two hundred and fifty and are dated from 1654 to 1688.

The extracts have been taken from a copy made by Charlotte Fell Smith in 1915-16 and have been checked with the originals, now bound in two volumes in D.

*Notes are only supplied to Friends respecting whom no notes appear in the Cambridge edition of "The Journal of George Fox," or the Supplement to "The Journal."*

### I

#### ROBERT FOWLER'S VOYAGE IN THE WOODHOUSE, 1657

Friends boarded the vessel on the first day of 4 mo. (June), and were visited by William Dewsbury and Michael Thomson, at the Downs. After twice touching shore—at Plymouth and South Yarmouth—they lost sight of land, and on the last day of 5 mo. they made land at Long Island. Richard Dowdney, Robert Hodgson, Sarah Gibbons and Mary Wetherhead landed at New Amsterdam, also Dorothy Waugh.

Humphry Norton is mentioned and Christopher Holder.  
(Endorsed by George Fox)

ROBERT FOWLER was a ship-builder of Burlington (Bridlington), East Yorkshire. When no sea-captain could be found who would receive a Friend as a passenger to America, he offered the vessel he was building, the *Woodhouse*, which accomplished a remarkable voyage.

*A Quaker's Sea Journal*, 1659; *Collectitia*, 1824; etc.; MSS. in D.

ROBERT HODGSON was a Friend, of County Durham. He remained some time in America, returning to England in 1669, but visiting the New World again.

Bowden, *Hist. of Friends in America*, 1850, i. 333; *F.P.T.*

## II

WILLIAM AMES TO MARGARET FELL. *From Frankfort on the Oder in Brandenburg, 18 ii. 1661*

After a warm salutation he writes that he has come from the Palatinate "where I was som time with oure dear friends there, and was with the prince who shewed more friendship then ever," but leaves William Caton to enlarge. He has been through Bohemia where "the people are generally slaves within and without," and has been three weeks in Frankfort. He proposes going by water to "Dantzic and that side of Poland." "I have an honest man with me, a friend of palatine, who could not be Cleare to let me pass alone."

In a postscript, signed W. C., and dated from Amsterdam, 26 ii. 1661, Caton reports receipt of a letter for M. F. from some writer "farre Remote in a strang Land."

(Endorsed by George Fox)

The prince was probably CHARLES LOUIS, son of Frederick V; died 1680.

## III

WILLIAM AMES TO MARGARET FELL. *From Bristol, 2 vii. 1656*

Gives particulars of proceedings in Holland. Reported at Rotterdam to be a Jesuit. Was at Middelburg, Flushing, and Amsterdam. At the last place he was well received at the "meeting place of y<sup>e</sup> English," but was cast out of a meeting of English Brownists. Visited also Haarlem and Vlaeden<sup>1</sup> and returned to Rotterdam, "wheare the Contenders were so made manifest that a separation began to be made betwixt those that owned the truth and the Contenders and a silent meeting was determined."

His proposed return to England was stopped by receipt of a letter from M. Fell, announcing the arrival of John Stubbs, "which meeting by me will never be forgotten." The two visited places already mentioned, also Zaandam, Alkmaar, and Utrecht. At Flushing they had "a meeting Consisting of severall sorts of people but all Chayned by

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, Vlaardingen, near Rotterdam.

the eternall power, that although the meeting was very large yet not one word objected." They were accompanied to the boat by several Friends "great in the outward."

"We have ben with george and we are to pass into Ireland and from thence through Scotland and into fflanders and through holland and into Jermany and much I see of passing into denmark."

(Endorsed by George Fox)

IV

WILLIAM AMES TO MARGARET FELL. *From Amstelveen near Amsterdam, 13 vi. 1658*

"Thou knowest I love thee, and great Cause I have toe love thee above all others that ever I yet saw, because such an overflowing of wisdom and love which is in thee I never yet in such a measure Could be sensibel of in any other."

He complains of the non-receipt of letters during his eight or nine weeks' tarrience in Holland—"truly if it were not that the mighty powerfull presence of the lord was with me . . . friends might think I was not owned of friends in england because not one letter have I received since I Came over, except one from William Caton." "I doe greatly desire toe heare from thee."

[Addressed] ffor my dear sister margeret ffell at Swarthmore in Lancashire. Leave this with George Tailor at his Shop in Kendall in Westmore-land.

(Endorsed by George Fox)

V

WILLIAM AMES TO WILLIAM CATON. *Near Amsterdam, 22 v. 1658*

"Here is more apearance of truth then ever I saw before, and more desires toe speak with me then yet I am free toe answee."

He wishes to pass into Friesland and Germany but cannot leave, so urges Caton to come. "This day or yesterday B. ff [Benjamin Furly] received a letter from J. S. [John Stubbs] and S. ff [Samuel Fisher] from Venice

w<sup>ch</sup> signified there intents toe pass towards rooame where they mention that John parrot and his Companion is in the inquisition.”

(Endorsed by George Fox)

## VI

WILLIAM AMES TO GEORGE FOX. *From Harlingen in Vriesland*, 14 viii. 1658

Refers to G. Fox's request to have his book to the Jews translated into Hebrew and printed. “ I have been diligent and have gotten it translated into dutch because he who is toe translate it into hebrew Cannot understand english, and I have spoken with one who hath been a Jew toe translate it intoe hebrew, but since I have understood that the Common people of the Jewes Can not speak hebrew but the greatest part Can speak high dutch and therefore I with som others according toe oure knowledge of the thing doe Iudge it would be of farr more service in high dutch then in hebrew, because it then would not only be of service for the Jewes but likewise to others . . . for if it be in hebrew they who can read it will not, and they who would Cannot.”

John Higgins is reported to be in Holland, “ who is farr more fitt for that place because of his blamles Conversation then many others who have a greater name.”

(Endorsed by George Fox)

## VII

WILLIAM AMES TO GEORGE FOX. *From Amsterdam*, 3 vii. 1661

As desired in a letter from G. Fox to William Caton, the writer sends a full account of his work and suffering in the Palatinate, Gelderland and Cleveland. At Heidelberg he visited the Prince and presented him with books. The Prince questioned him regarding “ that report concerning friends riseinge against the king. I told him I knew it was a false report, he shewing me the diurnall printed in english, for it was Just about that time, but I could not see that he was very ready to beleeve any such thinge of us, and alsoe

the Captaine of his guard said that he had written (to witt the Cap<sup>t</sup>) to a good friend and had received answere that we were innocent in it." Further conversation followed about the priests and Friends' sufferings. " I also manifested the love of friends towards him and told him his name was mentioned in one of those books for his devotion, &c."

After " good service with a Countis (so called in english)," he passed with a Palatine Friend as companion, towards Bohemia and Poland, where " people were living in all wickedness and especialy drunckennes, adultery and murder," and finally returned to Holland.

(Endorsed by George Fox)

### VIII

WILLIAM AMES TO GEORGE FOX. *Dantzic, 1st day 4th mo. 1661*

Brief account of work in Baptist assemblies and further note of the behaviour of the " prince of palatine."

Prospect of travel through Poland.

(Endorsed by George Fox)

### IX

WILLIAM AMES TO MARGARET FELL. *Amsterdam, 13 vii. 1658*

Expresses a desire to hear from her. " We have a pretty large meeting of ffriends. I have had much opposion Since I came over by professors and philosophers and such like."

Dear love to Elizabeth Stubbs and the rest.

(Endorsed by George Fox)

### X

WILLIAM AMES TO GEORGE FOX. " *Written at sonderlen neere the sea,*" 26 ii. 1656

After much adulatory expression, he writes : " I passed to sonderling upon the fift day wheare I was kindly received by our friends, and John Richardson past with me and

spake to Roger harper concerning provision for my journey ”  
to Holland.

(Endorsed by George Fox)

ROGER HARPER lived in County Durham, probably at Sunderland. He paid nineteen shillings from the Swarthmoor Fund towards the expenses of Ames's journey. (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vi. 128, ix. 56.)

## XI

WILLIAM AMES TO MARGARET FELL. *From Bristol,*  
18 viii. 1659

Reports “ passing for Ireland about some outward occasions.” Is desirous of having a letter from M. F.

## XII

JOHN STUBBS

A long account of the “ passages ” of John Stubbs and William Caton into Holland, 3 mo. 1655, shewing the difficulty of securing a passage from Dover and at last obtaining one from Newcastle—landed at Flushing. They were invited, on conditions, to attend the English church and then warned not to come, but, going, “ after all was ended the one of us begun to speake, but the priest said: ‘ Sirrah! you should have put off y<sup>r</sup> hatt’ and came running hastily downe without his hatt or gloves to p<sup>r</sup>vent us.” His example was followed by his people who fell violently upon them, and they were hurried out of the town, just escaping arrest. Middelburg was next visited and they were entertained by a Scotchman. Attending the church with their host, they were haled forth and “ sore p<sup>r</sup>secuted in the streets with their fists ” and were not allowed to enter the house they had left. Another resting place was found, and after a conference with the priest and his Elders, whom they left in great heat and rage, they journeyed to Rotterdam where they were received by an Englishman, and closely questioned by a priest, and “ many dangerous snares layd for us ”

This is a very full account occupying nearly three folio pages in a small and clear handwriting.



## XIII

THOMAS THURSTON, JOSIAH COALE AND THOMAS CHAPMAN. *Account of their passage by land and water from Virginia to New England*

“ When wee went from verginia 2. 6th month 1658 after about 100 Miles travell wee Cam amongst the Indians [in the margin is the name Susquehanna] who Courtiously Receved us and Entertayned us in theyr hutts with much Respect, and from that place after two or three dayse being ther with Diet free, severall of them acompanied us abut 200 miles farther through y<sup>e</sup> wildernes or woods.”

A very full account of the kind help of the Indians—  
“ Whilst T. Thurston was sick the Indians would goe forth some hourss in to the Woods to seek for Wild Turkyes to make broth for him. When wee Cam amongst the dutch they presently put us in prison and kept us ther some howers tell towards Evening, and then Cam with Souldiers and Caried my frend who was not well, and pulled mee along to ABoate, and Banished us over to A serten Island,” from which they were taken by some Indians in a boat and landed on Long Island. “ The dutch sayd they Marvelled how wee Cam through amongst them, for If they should goe but a Litle way from theyr plantations, the Indians would kill them. Wee found more favor and Christian Like Carage amongst them who Releevd us in our nessesity then we did amongst y<sup>e</sup> dutch (Caled Christians) ”

Thurston not being well enough to go further, Coale visited about on Long Island, crossed to the mainland, and travelled on to Rhode Island and then to “ Martens vinyard ” to visit some Indians there, and also “ a nother place Neare plimouth Coloney.” After imprisonment at Plymouth and liberation, he came to “ y<sup>e</sup> Indian Sagamores hous, which is theyre king, who sayd that the English men did not Love quakers, But sayd quakers are honest men, and doe noe harme, and this is noe English mans sea nor land, and quakers shall Com here and welcom ”

[addressed] Thes ffor

Georg Bishopp

To Bee d d d

Portions of this letter, headed "Josiah Cole to George Bishop," appeared in Bowden's *History*, i. 123, also in Janney's *History of Friends*, 1859, i. 432. (The "word indistinct" in the former is "diet free.")

THOMAS CHAPMAN was of Virginia. See *Early Friends in Maryland*, by J. Saurin Norris, 1862.

The island of MARTIN'S (MARTHA'S) VINEYARD lies about five miles from the shore of New England. In later years Martha's Vineyard was visited by David Sands and Hugh Judge, there being Friends there named Coffin. Hannah C. Backhouse, still later, paid a visit to the Indians on the island.

Agnes Harrison (Lady Macdonell) wrote a story, "Martin's Vineyard," in 1872. Various references in D.

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## Friends Historical Society

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### The Annual Meeting

The annual meeting was held at Friends House, on the 1st of May. Mabel Richmond Brailsford, president, was in the chair and read her presidential address on "May Drummond." Norman Penney was appointed president and Arthur Rowntree vice-president. There was a good attendance of Friends and others. The presidential address is appearing in *Friends Quarterly Examiner*.

### Statement of Accounts in connection with Volume xxvi of the Journal, 1929 and Supplements

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 31st Dec., 1928 .. ..	22	7	11	Insurance .. ..	5	2	
Subscriptions, 1929 ..	83	18	9	Postage .. ..	11	0	0
Sales .. ..	12	1	6	Stationery .. ..	5	7	1
Supplement 14 ("Cornish Sufferings") ..	8	4	0	Meeting for Sufferings, 6 copies of State Papers .. ..	1	10	0
Supplement 15 ("Quaker Language") ..	9	0	3	Printing of Journal, Vol. xxvi. .. ..	62	19	9
				Supplement 15 ("Quaker Language") ..	7	7	10
				Allocated to "Pen Pictures," Part II ..	30	0	0
				Balance in hand, 31st Dec., 1929 .. ..	17	2	7
	<u>£135</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>£135</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>

Examined with books and vouchers and found correct,  
24 iii. 1930.

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

# An Original Letter of Thomas Carlyle

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We print below the autograph letter of Thomas Carlyle, mentioned in our last volume—in it Carlyle discusses the relative interest for biographical study of the lives of George Fox and John (or Robert) Lilburne. Although both brothers are mentioned, it appears from the references that John was really the subject of the comparison.

Towers (*British Biography*) has a Life of R. Lilburne,—not worth very much,

Biographia Britannica (§ *Lilburne*) is considerably better as an introduction to farther researches.

Clarendon (*Rebellion*) gives various anecdotes and details ; which are to be regarded mostly as mere rumours, and false, or unworthy of belief without better proof.

Goodwin (*Commonwealth*) contains accurate notices of L.'s public quarrels, trials and pamphleteerings : this and *Biog. Britan.*, with *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (2d. edit<sup>n</sup>), and the assiduous study of L.'s own writings, will afford a sufficient introduction to the "50,000 unread Pamphlets" (King's Pamphlets) in the British Museum, where alone the more minute history of R. L. can be completely investigated.

Provided always it can be considered worthy of such loving labour as the investigation of it needs? A contentious, disloyal, commonplace man ; little distinguished save by his ill nature, his blindness to superior worth, and the dark internal fermentation of his own poor angry limited mind, does not seem to me an apt hero for a "Life and Times."—Provided also some Bookseller will undertake to publish such a work, when once after long toil it is got completed?—

I should consider George Fox himself, whose history could be inquired into with somewhat less labour, and which after several old and new Books on it, is still utterly dark, to be a much worthier subject.—Take his own huge monster of a *Journal* ; select with rigorous candid insight what is still interesting and alive to a man of the year 1848,—which will not probably equal the hundredth part, I should guess ;—

accurately date, specificate, and in every way illuminate, and bring vividly before the mind that hundredth part; strictly suppressing (knowing and *not* mentioning) the other 99 parts, that are *dead* to all intelligent men of the year 1848. Here, I think, were the basis of a really useful, honourable and important labour in the field of English History;—far superior to any that the poor capabilities of that Puritan Thersites,\* poor Freeborn John could ever yield.

T. CARLYLE

Chelsea,

21 Feby, 1848.

\* “Thersites, a deformed and ill bred fellow in the Grecian army, a great enemy to Achilles and Ulysses.” See Ainsworth’s *Latin Dic.*

C. WISE. 8. 3 mo. 1883.

The footnote is added in pencil.

The envelope is addressed: “Mr. Thomas Wise, junr., 12, Portsea Place, Connaught Place”; the stamp is upside-down; on the back are the words: “Jno. Bright, 51, Wimpole St., Cavendish Square.” The letter is now in D (Port. 40, 109).

Robert Lilburne (1613-1665), brother of John, entered the army of Parliament and became M.P. for the East Riding of Yorkshire. *D.N.B.*

John Lilburne (“Freeborn John”) was born in or about 1614 and died in 1657. It was while in Dover Castle that he embraced the tenets of Quakerism, under the influence of Luke Howard.

See his *Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a Prisoner in Dover-Castle*, 1656; also Smith’s *Catalogue*; *D.N.B.*; *F.P.T.*; *Jnl. F.H.S.* ix.: etc.

“The mixture of old Friends and almost baby Friends at a meal often resulted in amusing episodes. It was at a Quarterly Meeting dinner that during the silence preceding the meal, an old Friend, having devoutly shut her eyes, the impressive stillness was broken by a youthful member of the family, who, gazing into the devout Friend’s face, said with loud reproof: ‘Wake up, lady, you mussunt go to sleep now!’ The Friend continued to keep her eyes shut, and no faintest smile passed across her lips.”

From *Some Little Quakers in their Nursery*, by the late M. Carta Sturge, new ed., 1929.

## Walker, of Southgate

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Elihu Robinson, of Cumberland, at London Y.M. 1799 :

“ Mett with my generous Friend Isaac Walker, who seemed remarkably pleased to see me, enquired after my wife, wished She had been here, then he thought he would have gott us a few Days to Southgate, rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from John Walker pressingly Inviting me to pay him a Visit. He had come about 4 Miles to see me and could not meet with me.

“ Was soon attended or Surrounded by Isaac Walker, Jn<sup>o</sup> Walker, his wife Eliza, &c. A very particular attention indeed to such an One as me. I am indeed but too much carressed. Was soon taken into Isaac's Carriage with himself only, & taken to John's in Upper Gower Street. The fine situation, elegance of y<sup>e</sup> Rooms & Furniture, would once have been Striking objects. The agreeable Wife of Jn<sup>o</sup> Walker seemed well pleased with her Fathers & her Husbands Fr<sup>d</sup> Though y<sup>e</sup> Table was uncommonly sett off, especially y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> course (which I did not taste) Yet y<sup>e</sup> kindness & serene Affability of y<sup>e</sup> Family made Visit as Easy as I did Expect. After tea was taken back to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting in Jn<sup>o</sup> Walkers Coach, though he Walked Himself, John Walker hath Four remarkable beautiful & healthy Children nursed by herself which I much approved. Saw in the LibRARY many Curiosities, several Vases & Potts found about Naples, some supposed Two Thousand years old.”

The home of Isaac Walker (c. 1725-1804), and later of his son John (1768-1824), was a mansion known as “ Arno's Grove,” ten miles north of London. In Brewer's *Survey of London and Middlesex*, 1816, we read : “ Conspicuous among the residences at Southgate is Arno's Grove, the seat of John Walker. This is a noble family residence, respectable in exterior architectural character, and highly adorned within by the refined taste and liberality of the owner. The apartments are conspicuous for size, elegance, and for that air of close domestic comfort so desirable in the variable climate of this country.”

The estate of about one hundred acres was purchased by Isaac Walker in 1772. There are pictures of Arno's Grove in D.

“ At his house at Southgate, Middlesex, in his 79th year, much and justly respected, Isaac Walker, esq. He had retired from extensive connexions in commerce as a wholesale linen draper, many years, not to a life of indolence, but to one of active and well-directed benevolence. He was buried in the Quakers' burial ground at Winchmore Hill ” (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1804, II).

Isaac Walker's wife was Elizabeth Hill (d. 1795, aet. 56). There is a long notice of her in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, I. “. . . To manners peculiarly attractive were united a natural and unaffected vivacity and sweetness of disposition that rendered her conversation

and society highly interesting to her friends and acquaintance, and were such as render her loss irreparable to an afflicted husband, son and daughter. She was sister to Mr. Hill, author of 'Observations on France.' "

Isaac Walker was the greatgrandfather of the seven brothers who were noted cricketers, born between 1826 and 1844, whose exploits are recorded in *The Walkers of Southgate*, by W. A. Bettesworth, a volume of 439 pages, published in 1900. (Presented to D by William F. Nicholson.) The estate of Arno's Grove has been partly cut up and built over.

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## *A Quaker Wine-retailer's Fortune*

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" Mr. Gray, who died at Tottenham at the age of 85, has left behind him 120,000 l. He has given to each of his three sons and two daughters 20,000 l. ; has left to his relict, the sister of Isaac Walker, esq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields, 1200 l. per annum, and 20,000 l. in her own disposal, to the Quaker's Seminary at Ackworth, to Christ's Hospital, and to the Philanthropic Society, 1000 l. each ; to St. Luke's hospital 500 l. ; besides several smaller legacies to various charitable institutions, and other private legacies. All this fortune was raised from the retailing of wine in small quantities, in a vault in Newgate-street, to chance customers, before the general prevalence of taverns or public-houses where wine was sold " (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1794, II. 956).

This was Abraham Gray, a Friend, of Tottenham. His wife, Rebecca (Walker) Gray, died a month after her husband.

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## *" Plainness "*

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The Testimony of London Yearly Meeting in the year 1718 :

" A Testimony against an undue liberty which too many under the profession of Truth run into, to the great grief of faithful Friends—by many Men among us putting on extravagant Wigs, and wearing their Hats and Cloths after the vain fashions unbecoming the gravity of a religious People : and too many Women decking themselves with gaudy and costly apparell, Gold Chains, Locketts, Necklaces and Gold Watches exposed to open view, which shews more of pride and ostentation, than for use and service, beside their vain imitation of that immodest Fashion of going with naked Necks and Breasts, and wearing hooped Petticoats inconsistent with that modesty which should adorn their sex."

Copied from Norris MSS. ix. 46 (D. Case 52).

## Stephenson, of Westmorland and Cumberland

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By the kindness of Robert Muschamp, of Heap Bridge, Bury, Lancs., a manuscript of 70 pages has reached D, picked up by him, "very dusty in a secondhand book shop," of which the following is a résumé with additional facts:

Introduction: "Anne Stephenson can collect only the following very few records of her Father's family. She leaves them for her Nephew and Niece, R. C. & M. A. Stephenson, after her decease. A.S. 24-8-59."

DANIEL STEPHENSON, 1ST ( -1752), was a Friend, living at Kendal in Westmorland. "He & his wife, Hannah, were both gifted and sensible, & acknowledged Ministers of the Gospel, & were married at Kendal."

The Diaries of John Kelsall give the name of Hannah Stephenson, of Kendal, among those of strangers present at the Welsh Y.M. at Bala in 1732.

DANIEL STEPHENSON, 2ND ( -1762), lived at the Cupola House at Whitehaven, in great abundance and luxury. When out, he carried a sword and wore a cocked hat, adorned with gold lacing and buttons, and dressed his sons in the same way save that the swords were shams. His wife was Sarah, daughter of Joseph Storrs, of Chesterfield, who lived to be ninety. When walking out she was always followed by a footman. Their children were Daniel 3rd, Sarah, Hannah and William. The family was much associated with that of the Earl Lowther, and the daughters danced and sang at the parties given by each family. It is related that, with the knowledge that strict Friends hung no pictures on their walls, Daniel Stephenson took down all his numerous possessions of that description and put them into a cupboard when some Friends were coming on a religious visit. Little Sarah, having seen and heard, met the Friends at the gate and said with much delight: "Oh, Friends, the pictures are all put in the cupboard."

In reduced circumstances the family retired to Douglas in the Isle of Man, where Daniel Stephenson died in 1762. His widow settled in Bristol in 1771, where she died in 1800.

DANIEL STEPHENSON, 3RD (1736-1818), son of Daniel and Sarah, went to America, owned many slaves and possessed land on which now stands the city of Washington, D.C. During the Revolutionary War he supported the cause of his native country and had to escape back to Europe, losing all his possessions in the New World (worth upwards of £30,000). The British Government granted him the sum of £7,000 in compensation and he made another fortune, "Keeping a chariot & fine horses & footmen behind." He married a non-Friend, Elizabeth Maddox, of Lancashire, but was not disowned. It is reported that one of his slaves

escaped, reached London, and was found on his master's doorstep in Guildford Street, Russell Square, becoming to the end of his days a faithful attendant. "Daniel left orders to be buried in the nearest Friends' burial ground & in the most simple style, but that his wife disobeyed, for it was as stately a funeral as I ever saw—ostrich feathers, full mourning, & four horses to the hearse, & four coaches, and between them a man who bore a huge board of feathers, the custom at that time. Between them who had the office of covering with the pall & the door-keepers & other Friends at the Bunhill Fields ground there was a complete struggle, the latter objecting to the determination of the former to introduce these appendages." "He was a very highly honourable & highly refined, nice, courtly gentleman."

SARAH STEPHENSON (1738-1802) was the elder daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Storrs) Stephenson, and was born at Whitehaven. The description given above of the life of her father would prepare the reader to learn that she was early given to dancing and singing and high life, but a serious illness and the influence of the visit of Elizabeth Ashbridge and Sarah Worrell, when she was residing in Worcester with her mother's sister, Hannah, wife of Samuel Corbyn, turned the current of her life into a more serious channel. The former visitor addressed her one evening in a weighty manner, remarking also: "What a pity that child should have a ribbon on her head." From Worcester Sarah went back to her parents, who, with her sister Hannah and brother William, were then residing at Douglas, in the Isle of Man. Eighteen months later she left the island and visited relations at Chesterfield, Worcester, and in the county of Wilts; and returning to the North she heard of the serious illness of her father, who died before she could reach home. The family scattered, and the mother, after a visit *en route*, settled with her relative, John Fry, at Sutton Benger in Wiltshire.

Sarah Stephenson began to speak as a Minister, was recorded as such and for many years travelled incessantly, Mary Jefferys (later Powell) of Melksham, Wiltshire, being her constant companion. In 1801, though she was in poor health, she and her companion crossed the Atlantic, and in 1802 her strength gave way and she departed this life in the city of Philadelphia.

Her niece, Anne Stephenson, records that once, when her aunt was at her home, her huge beaver hat was placed on the floor and the niece put her little feet alternately into the crown—"bright red morocco Shoes and silver clasps, the first made by Thomas Shillitoe, for he made all our Shoes then—it was at Tottenham—in the Terrace." "Mary Wright of Leeds records that when she was very young, walking in a street of London, under a visitation of soul that was calling her to follow the Lord, a Quaker lady entirely unknown to her, who had passed her some little distance, returned to her, stopped & uttered these words: 'Be thou faithful unto death & I will give thee a crown of life.' It was Sarah Stephenson." Her niece writes: "I have a faint remembrance of a mild, sweet face, a drab dress and clean white kerchief & apron & a much brighter one." The memoirs of Hannah C. Backhouse, Rebecca Jones



and Sarah Tuckett bear testimony to spiritual good received from Sarah Stephenson, and also the diaries of Samuel Dyer, of Bristol, in which are some thirteen references, the first reading: "Sarah Stephenson, a good young woman, appeared very lively & it had a reach over the people," anno 1773, and another: "Sarah Stephenson was at Bath, in her way to Bristol. She was much enlarged among them in addressing the different states & was very sweet & lively; owing to that mild sweet manner she has much place in many minds," anno 1791, 10 mo.

*Memoirs of Sarah Stephenson* were published in 1807.

Like her sister Sarah, HANNAH STEPHENSON (1745-1804) lived a frivolous and gay life until her conversion. Anne Stephenson remarks that she was less generally pleasing than her sister. At the age of twenty-two she also began a life of vocal religious service, first in Essex, later in London, and last in Bristol. Samuel Dyer refers to her repeatedly in his diaries—6 mo. 1782. "Hannah Stephenson, a friend from London, has come here to settle, she appeared today I thought acceptably." In 1792 she united with Mercy Ransom, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, in a series of family visits, but in 1799, the proposal of Samuel Dyer and H. Stephenson to visit families was met with a refusal by the Monthly Meeting—"a great deal was said by three friends against it, so for peace sake I relinquished the matter both as it related to Hannah & myself. But I was informed we were at liberty to begin a family visit, provided Hannah & I went by ourselves, which was not what we had in view." In 1804, 2 mo. 4, S. Dyer reported the death of H. Stephenson after a long illness. "She was an excellent spirited woman though not large in her gift as a Minister, but sound & lively."

WILLIAM STEPHENSON (1752-1822), the youngest child of Daniel, 2nd, and Sarah, was a silversmith of London. He married, in 1782, Hannah, daughter of Owen and Mary Weston, of London. His daughter Anne writes of persecution embittering his life through a series of years and of trouble in connection with his daughter Mary. He died at Folkestone.

Anne Stephenson concludes: "Since writing all the foregoing I have printed the genealogies of the Weston and Stephenson families." She was born in 1796 and died at Exmouth in 1886. The latest date in the book is 1878.

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THE SEPARATE MEETING AT MANCHESTER.—Richard Cockin to Mary Fox, Doncaster, 10 iv. 1842:

"The last account of the separate Meeting at Manchester was that several of the Friends who united with Isaac Crewdson in the separation have joined different denominations, and that as no fresh additions had lately been made to their number, it appears most probable if anything should prevent Isaac from the support thereof, the Meeting would be discontinued."

## Josiah Coale and his Fiancée

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Letter from John Rous to Sarah Fell, 15 xi. 1668 :

“ I thinke I formerly mentioned a sore fit of sickness w<sup>ch</sup> Josiah Coale had, wherin he was troubled with a greivious griping paine in his belly of w<sup>ch</sup> he was pretty well again, & went abroad & was at y<sup>e</sup> generall meeting this day fortnight, soon after w<sup>ch</sup> he had a very great weaknes fell into his armes & legs, y<sup>t</sup> had noe vse of y<sup>m</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> hath continued for severall daies, he growing weaker & weaker & this afternoon he was taken out of the body to the sorrow of many freinds, but especially of one Sarah Matthews, who, it was thought, if he had amended he would have married, I hear she laments his death greivously.”

Swarthmore MSS. Transcript, iii, 271.

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## The Family of Ellis

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By the kindness of Marian Ellis, of West Walk, Leicester, we have been able to examine two volumes dealing with the family of Ellis—(1) *Sketches of one Branch of the Ellis Family, of Yorkshire and Leicestershire, with Genealogical Tables*, written by Charlotte Ellis (1836-1917), printed in Leicester in 1870 ; and (2) a supplement to the above, appendix and pedigree, compiled by Edgar Powell, at the request of John Edward Ellis, M.P., and printed in 1905.

The first volume presents the Ellis family from Francis Ellis (d. 1715), of Dinnington, Yorkshire, who married, as a Friend, in 1676, Martha Allen, and follows the line of James (1685-1744), whose son James (1731-1790), of Beighton, Derbyshire, by his marriage, in 1753, with Ann Shipley (d. 1779), of Uttoxeter, brought in the Burgess and Shipley connection and caused the move into Leicestershire, about 1782.

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ACKWORTH AND BOOTHAM BOYS.—Several photographs of groups have reached the Reference Library at Friends House, London. Date about 1867. Identification is desired.

# George Fox and James Nayler

*Continued from vol. xxvi. p. 15*

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We print further references to the attitude of George Fox towards James Nayler. The following has been received from Henry J. Cadbury, Ph.D., of Haverford, Pa., among a series of notes and queries suggested by a study of the life of James Nayler, written by Mabel R. Brailsford<sup>1</sup>:

“ To the evidence of interest in Nayler’s episode quoted from Dutch, German and Italian sources,<sup>2</sup> one may mention a little (12 pages, quarto) French tract with a portrait of Nayler, published by Alexander Lesselin in Paris, without date or author’s name. Its title is *Le Véritable Portrait et L’Histoire de Jacques Naylor, Chef des Trembleurs & prétendu Messie, Avec son Arrest de condamnation, prononcé par le Parlement d’Angleterre*. This rare item apparently is not to be found in London either in Friends Reference Library or in the British Museum. A copy of it is included in the Jenks Collection at Haverford College. The title is listed in W. C. Abbott’s recent *Cromwell Bibliography*, No. 491, page 62. The date given—1650—is, of course, a mistake.

“ The latest work on Nayler is also continental and may be named here for the sake of completeness:—Emilia Fogelklou, *Kväkaren James Nayler: en Sällsam Gestalt i Religionens Historia*. Stockholm, 1929.<sup>3</sup>

“ Miss Brailsford gives (p. 112f) an account of the dealings of Fox with Nayler which reflects unfavourably on Fox. This episode is important not merely because of its historical effect in exempting the Society as a whole from complicity in the extravagances of Nayler’s admirers but as throwing light on the character of the two individuals.

“ It is perhaps worth while to mention some unpublished material concerning this relation in the hope that it may soon

<sup>1</sup> *A Quaker from Cromwell’s Army: James Nayler*, London, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Brailsford, *op. cit.*, page 186.

<sup>3</sup> In *D*. For a review, see *Friend* (Lond.), 16 Aug., 1929.

be made accessible. There is, for example, in **D** a long letter written by Fox to Nayler in September 1656,<sup>4</sup> 'neere when he was freed from Exon prison.' Miss E. Brockbank has also found in connection with her study of Richard Hubberthorne a long account of the interview between Fox and Nayler written by Hubberthorne to Margaret Fell in the following month (Gibson MSS. v. 98).<sup>5</sup> From the latter of these sources it is possible to ascribe a much more favourable attitude to Fox, even when he offered Nayler his foot to kiss."

Here is a portion of the letter referred to above :

" Ah James

" A Copy of a Leter sent to James Naylor neere ye time hee was freed out of ye prison in Exon. September, 1656.

" I forebore Judging thee openly till I Came to Exeter, though, y<sup>r</sup> Actions weare Judged. and when I Came thether I sent for thee. and thou wouldest not Come to mee. though thou hadest not ben wth mee outwardly since I left thee att London, wheareby prejudice & Jealousie might have ben stoped in thee, but thou appeared before mee before I saw thy face, as aman Come out of a Clay pitt, whose garments weare dirty, and thou being stoubrne would not owne mee, when I was moved to pray, but stoode, in ye high nature Rebelious, and I sawe there at Exeter a Cloude of darknes would arise up agaynst mee, wch was entred into thee, and wicked nes as I told thee was groweing unto a mountain wch would have betrayed ye Lambe, ye Just ; And thou the same thy selfe after would have done in ye streets, though since thou saw some thing of it.

" And now James ye darknes is entred into thy disciples vesells out of thee, & is powred abroad ; and is droufen home agayne by ye life & power of truth, And as Martha<sup>6</sup> Cried agaynst ye truth, and Hannah,<sup>6</sup> soe now doe thy disciples, and such as have had relation to ye Ranters, wch are gotten up, & Comes & Cryes agaynst ye truth wth Empudence & boldnesse, & such bee you and they have

<sup>4</sup> Printed in part, below.

<sup>5</sup> Printed in volume xxvi.

<sup>6</sup> Martha Simmonds and Hannah Stringer were actively associated with Nayler in his sad doings in Bristol.

Caused ye truth, ye right way, to bee evill spoaken of ;  
 . . . . And thou when first thou wast tryed at Exeter,  
 thou wast out of ye power of god, for thy sacrifice is not  
 excepted. Now it is manyfast, them that bee of thy flocke,  
 begoten disciples . . . they have Joyned themselves  
 wth ye Edemights & Called thee Lord. Therefore oh  
 James bee awakned & Consider aright & shake of, &  
 Come from under ye Cloude of earth & darknes, hadest  
 thou ben obedient to ye voice of ye Sonne of god, ye lamb  
 of god, Innocency should have Cleared thee, the power  
 of darknes should not have touched thee, but James thou  
 & thy disciples being out of ye power, ye power is over you :  
 & all yo<sup>r</sup> poyson & rayling speaches doth not touch mee,  
 though they Come and rayle agaynst ye truth, as ye world  
 doth. . . .

“ James thou seperates thy selfe from friends and draw  
 a Company after thee, & seprated from ye power of ye  
 Lord god, yett truth folowed thee, & bowed downe to thee,  
 under thee to recover thee. And you Kicke agaynst it.  
 . . . Though you may rune and Compase awhile & bost  
 of Joy & peace, up in ye ayre from ye truth, but truth hathe  
 Comprehended them & thee.

“ This is the word of ye Lord god to thee & ye rest of  
 thy disciples, and Come downe to ye witnessse of god in you.

“ ffrom him who is of ye world Called

“ GEORGE ffox.”

Endorsed: “ Georg ffoxs Leter to James Naylor at Exeter.”

Written on behalf of George Fox in a clear educated hand  
 on one side of a folio sheet (D. Port. 24. 36).

Also a letter of Fox to Nayler and others :

“ To the Prisoners at Exon.

“ Friends, mind that which keepeth you all meek and  
 low to be guided with it. And all consider that which  
 keepeth you in the way of peace, that none of you may be  
 pudling in your own carnal wisdom which is to be con-  
 founded, which is shut out of the Kingdom of God : All  
 wait to have dominion over that, that ye may know peace  
 and unity, and the love of God that doth not change.  
 And do not strive one with another, lest ye do hurt one

another ; for it is not the hasty spirit that doth get the victory but the Lamb, who must reign over the world, and was before it was. And the mind which is forward judge and dwell in the peaceable way ; and that ye may be patterns in your imprisonments to them which be out of the image of the Son of God.

" To the Prisoners in Exon, written whilst J.N. was there with many more in prison. G.F."

From the printed volume of George Fox's Epistles, 1698, no. 110.

*To be continued*

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### "Business Changed by a Picture"

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" This month sees the 200th anniversary of a famous London firm, that of Beaufoy and Company, vinegar brewers. A remarkable story lies behind the title. The founder, Mark Beaufoy, started a gin distillery in 1730. He was a Quaker, and a painting by Gainsborough in Beaufoy House, attached to the factory in South Lambeth, represents him in Quaker costume.

" But another painting was decisive in changing his career. This was Hogarth's ' Gin Lane,' in which is represented the sordid misery produced by over indulgence in alcohol. Beaufoy was so impressed by the picture that he gave up his gin business, and went to Holland to learn vinegar brewing. The business he founded on his return is flourishing to-day."

Mark Beaufoy, Senr. (1718-1782), was a prominent London Friend. In 1743 he married Elizabeth Hanbury. (The reference in *The Hanbury Family*, ii. 289, confuses father and son of the same name.) For Mark Beaufoy, the younger (1764-1827), F.R.S., see *D.N.B.* He lived at Bushey Heath in Hertfordshire.

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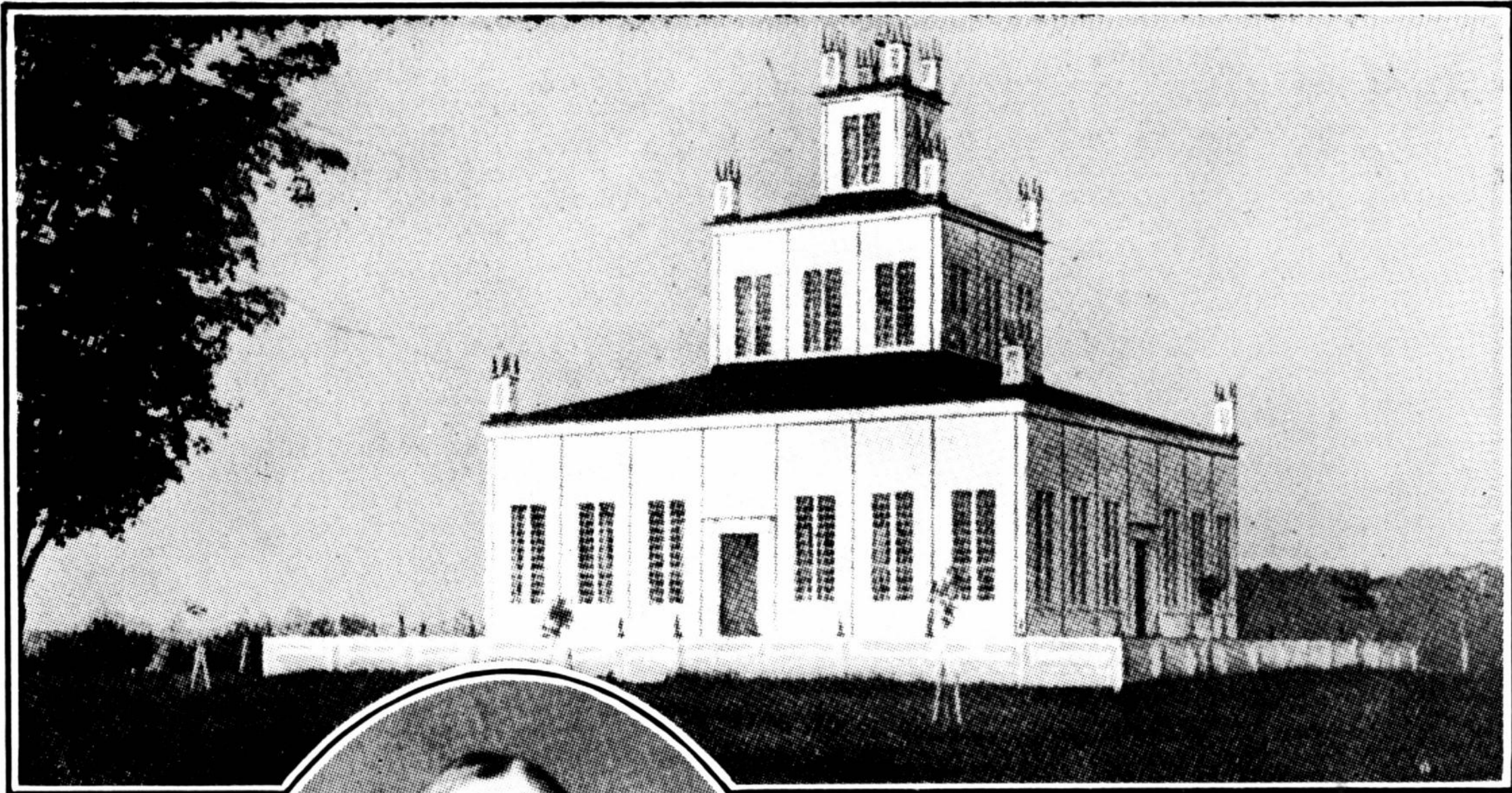


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" During a solemn Quarterly Meeting dinner, when Friends from a distance were entertained during the intervals of their meetings, David [Clement Young Sturge, Barrister-at-law, 1860-1911] provoked much amusement by asking in a loud voice : ' Mamma, was that fish killed with a sword or a gun ? ' The following day, some of the ' baked meats ' being gracefully ' resurrected ' under cover of creamy sauces, and some of the guests being still present, he asked in stentorian tones : ' Mamma, is that the *old* pudden '."

From *Some Little Quakers in their Nursery*, by M. Carta Sturge, M.A., new edit., 1929.

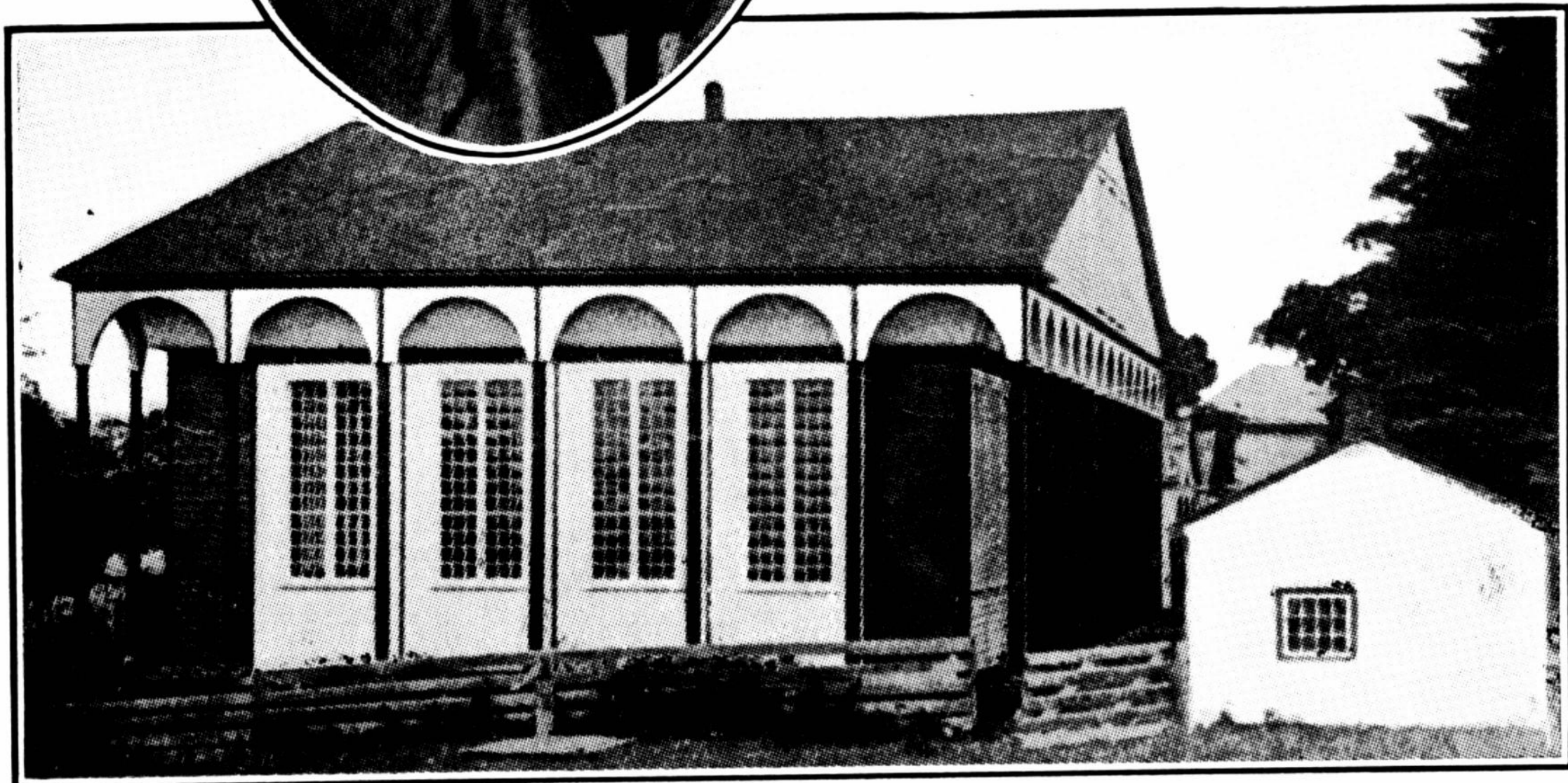




THE TEMPLE OF PEACE, SHARON,  
ONTARIO, CANADA.



DAVID WILLSON,  
Founder of the sect known as the  
"Children of Peace."



THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE "CHILDREN OF PEACE," SHARON, YORK COUNTY,  
ONTARIO,

which was torn down after the Society had ceased to exist. The small house was used in preparing the three great feasts, on the first Saturday in June, the first Saturday in September, and Christmas Day.

Block lent by A. G. Dorland from his *History of Friends in Canada*.

[ facing p. 37.



## The Children of Peace

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Almost anyone who knows anything about Quakerism in America knows something about the Great Separation of 1828 and the later one of 1881. But few, even among Friends, know little, if anything, about the first separation within the Society in Canada, namely, that of the "Children of Peace" or "Davidites," which occurred in 1812.

Thus writes Dr. Arthur G. Dorland, of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada, in introducing the reader of his *History of the Society of Friends in Canada*<sup>1</sup> to Chapter vii.

The man behind the movement was David Willson (c. 1777-1866). He was brought up as a Presbyterian and went to Canada about the year 1801. It is thought that he joined Friends soon after arrival—his name appears on the minutes of Yonge Street M.M. in 1806. "He was one of the leading Friends in Queen Street Preparative Meeting and gave the property on which the meeting house was situated." The last appearance of his name as that of a Friend in unity was early in 1811, soon after which he parted company with Friends, probably feeling that the Society was too negative in its attitude towards the affairs of the world. He wrote:<sup>2</sup>

My soul was not only separated from all flesh as to my inward feelings, but from all religious records, even the Bible, and I was constrained to live by my own knowledge of the word of God operating upon my mind.

Dr. Dorland writes :

At most, his religious ideas were a confused hodgepodge of Quaker mysticism and Jewish ceremonialism, of which the ancient Temple worship was made the central figure.

Numerous Friends, some of prominence in the Queen Street Meeting, joined the movement and were disowned by

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada*, published by the Macmillan Co., Toronto, Canada, in 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *A Collection of Items of the Life of David Willson from the Year 1801 to 1852, by my own Hand*, printed in 1852 at Newmarket, Ont.

the Society. In 1825 so reduced in numbers were the Friends that the meetinghouse, standing on property once belonging to Willson, was handed over to him and his followers. In this same year was begun the building at Sharon of the Temple of Peace, a lofty wooden structure, painted white on the outside, fully described in the *History*, which was opened twice a year only and then illuminated by hundreds of candles for an elaborate ceremonial worship. In their town meeting house there was a fine organ, a silver band, and large choir of white-robed females. Willson's sermons were usually on "Public Affairs and their Total Depravity." He had pronounced political and religious views and he and his two sons spent a short time in prison.

He lived in great worldly prosperity at Sharon, revered by his adherents as a sort of oracle, flattered by the attentions from successive political leaders on account of the influence which he might be supposed locally to possess, down to the year 1866, when he died in peace, aged 89 years, 7 months.<sup>3</sup>

The number of the Children of Peace never exceeded about four hundred, and the movement died down and expired in the last quarter of the century.

The Temple still stands and has been turned into a museum.

The references above are all taken from the *History*. In the *Journal of Hannah C. Backhouse*, an English Friend, on a religious visit to Canada, we read :

1833. 9th mo. 8th. A morning of trial : my heart is sore : some little refreshment in the meeting with Friends. Afterwards we went to David's Town to visit a people that had separated from Friends under David Wilson, whose principles and practices appear to be of the worst kind. Several hundreds came to the meeting.

11th. Made more visits, one on David Wilson. Thought what Paul said to Elymas and partly repeated it.

In 1912 Henry Brady Priestman, of Bradford, England, was at Sharon and called upon "a woman, the surviving member of the seceding body" (*Recollections*, by Alice Priestman, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, 1873.

# Historians Criticised

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The following letters were copied in 1921 from the originals then in the possession of Edward B. Ffennell, M.D., of Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants.

## DAVID HUME TO ELIZABETH SHACKLETON

DAVID HUME (1711-1776), philosopher and historian. The first portion of his *History of England during Reigns of James I and Charles I*, appeared in 1754. He worked backward in subsequent volumes and also forward to the Revolution in 1688.

ELIZABETH SHACKLETON (1726-1804) was the second wife of Richard Shackleton, of Ballitore, Ireland.

Madam

I am very much oblig'd to you for the honour you have done me, in taking notice of any of my writings : and I own, that I have a great desire of justifying to you my Intentions at least, in those passages, which you seem to think exceptionable. When I said, that the Quakers may in some respects be regarded as Deists, I thought that I was doing them the greatest honour, by putting them on the same footing with Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca and the wisest Men in all Ages.

As that sect has shaken off the Dominion of Priests, who are the great Corrupters of religion, and neglect all positive Institutions, they are led almost necessarily to confine themselves to natural Theology, at least where they are not irritated by Persecution : Morality and a Reverence for the supreme Being become the Basis of their Principles and scarcely admit of any superstructure.

As to my historical Account of the Origin of the Quakers, I drew it chiefly from Sewel, who was of the Sect. I have indeed a great Regard for that Body of Men, especially for the present Members : and I acknowledge that, even in the last Century, when all the different Sects were worrying one another, and throwing the State into Convulsions, they were always peaceable, charitable, and exemplary, and have in every Shape deservd well of the Public.

After returning you again my acknowledgements for the obliging Terms employd in your letter, I remain

Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble servant  
Edinburgh.

DAVID HUME.

5 of July 1770.

[Addressed] To Mrs. Shackelton at  
Richard Shackeltons  
Ballitore.

### “ THOMAS LELAND ” TO RICHARD SHACKLETON

THOMAS LELAND (1722-1785) published in 1773 his *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II, with a preliminary Discourse on the ancient State of that Kingdom*.

RICHARD SHACKLETON (1726-1792) was the founder of the celebrated Quaker school at Ballitore, Co. Kildare, Ireland. The passage, to which exception was taken appears in volume three at page 504: “ But those called Protestant were chosen from Quakers or other Enthusiasts, from the poor, the profligate and contemptible.”

This letter was proved to be a spurious production.

Dear Sir

Your Character in the literary world being well known & your Judgment much admired, I must beg your opinion of my History of Ireland. Candidly point out what passages you may think are too obscurely or rather poorly expressed: in short, your thoughts upon the whole will be pleasing: perhaps you'll think the request rather out of the way, but it is from one who shall esteem an acquaintance with you as the highest Honour, even a correspondence

I remain, Dear Sir, with great esteem  
& true respect,

Your very humble servant

THOMAS LELAND

T. College, 24th June 1773.

[Addressed] Mr. Shackleton,  
Ballitore.

### THOMAS LELAND TO RICHARD SHACKLETON

Sir

July 2. 1773

My absence from Dublin prevented me from receiving your favour till this day. Who ever he was that took the liberty of addressing a Letter to you in my name, & whatever

were his intentions, I account myself obliged to him. He has indeed been guilty of an unprovoked incivility to us both: but he has been the means of introducing me (in some sort) to one, of whom our common friends have often spoken with the utmost affection & respect, & with whom I exceedingly wished to be acquainted.

I know not in what terms the request was made, that you would give your Opinion of my Book: but I beg you will allow me to repeat it, with sincere esteem, and a very just sense of the value of your opinion. I shall return to Dublin in the course of next week, & my first care shall be to send a set of the History of Ireland to Mr Jackson's. If you do me the honour to peruse it, I must entreat you will not send it back, but accept of it as a small mark of my sincere regard

The Book has been read in England, & received with more favour than I hoped for. Here it has a few attentive readers. But as to the Publick in general, I was ever persuaded that in this Kingdom at least their voice would be determined precisely in the manner you mention. I am sorry to say that you will find it very incorrectly printed.

Believe me, with very sincere Respect & Regard

Sir

Your faithful and most Obedient Servant,

THO LELAND

#### RICHARD SHACKLETON TO THOMAS LELAND

Doctor Leland

I had the favour of writing to thee some time ago, & handed thee the Original Mock-Letter which gave rise to our correspondence. I have not had the pleasure of hearing from thee since, but perused thy history with the best attention which I was capable of. I am much obliged to thee for the book, & for the entertainment & instruction which it has afforded me. Good History casts such a light on all sides & upon such a multitude of objects, & is so nearly concerned with Religion & Morality that he certainly deserves very well of the Publick who contributes in so great a degree to their pleasure & profit by presenting them with a work of this kind.

Thy History, without doubt, has cost thee much painful labour: there must have been much pioneering, much fable & falsehood to clear away, & when this has been done, but scanty & base materials left to erect a comely edifice. However, the Cement is so good, & the several parts so aptly joined together, that we see a complete, well-finished (though not a magnificent) Structure, a Structure, which, in my opinion, will last, although a flood of calumny & false Criticism should assault it.

I only speak my own unbias'd sentiments, I have neither opportunity, nor leisure to ransack & examine the Stores from which the great leading historical Events have been drawn, but I have all along particularly remarked such a diligent, wary Investigation of the reality of facts & characters, that I attend to the Narrative with the satisfaction which a man feels, who is persuaded from the cautious Veracity of his author that what he hears is true.

An History of our own Country is in some respects like an history of our own times: it necessarily, by some means or other, touches so nearly particular families, that it is no wonder if Individuals are piqued in some cases where family-pride or interest is concerned, & taking offence at a part decry the whole work. Self-love sits close to us, & we do not like to see an Aspersion lie even on our family-names. Different sentiments also in religious matters cannot fail of operating variously in those who read such a History: these Sentiments being interwoven among our earliest prejudices, & fast rooted and riveted by our Judgments, or our feelings, are not indeed easily shaken, but very sensible of any rude attack. On this account I am also of the number who think some part of thy history exceptionable.

I know very well that the people called Quakers have their frame & organs, & are subject to like passions with other men, & that through the deceivableness of Unrighteousness & delusions of a subtile Enemy (who is transformed into an Angel of light) they may be mistaken & led astray in their religious exercises, unless according to the Apostle's advice, they watch & be sober: Unless they patiently wait & watch for the appearance of Christ (by his Spirit) in their hearts, who told his then present followers, "Without me ye can do nothing," & who encouraged his future followers

to expect the same aid by the Promise of, “Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world:” Unless they thus wait they may run before they are sent, & offer the sacrifice of Fools: and unless they be sober, and steady, keeping to the feeling sense of Divine Truths & under the Guidance of Divine Wisdom, they may, as well as others, follow the Imaginations of their own brain instead of Immediate Revelation, be deceived themselves, & deceive others.

These dangers, my Friend, I frankly confess attend us: but as I also hope & believe we are in general happily preserved from them, I do not think that we deserve to be caricatured in the lump with the denomination of Enthusiasts. However this does not cause but that I hold both the Author & his History in great respect & estimation, & when David Hume calls us Deists & Doctor Leland Enthusiasts, I can still think those men the ornaments of their age & country, as I admire the celebrated Writers of the Augustan Age, who yet looked on the primitive Christians in *their* time as a contemptible, insignificant sect, and thereby proved the Truth of the Apostle’s observation, that the world by wisdom knew not God.

I hope thou wilt excuse the liberty which I take in thus expressing myself: I assure thee it is not without sentiments of real regard & esteem. I am persuaded that Doctor Leland has pondered deeply on the most interesting subjects, & knows that a Religion which does not enter into a man’s feelings & influence his life can be of no service to him: it is unanimated, dry & formal. Yet as a man’s Feelings can only be rightly known by himself, can often with difficulty be explained to others, and often cannot at all be comprehended by them, it may be necessary that a people dissenting from a National Religion & Way of Worship established by law should give some reason for their dissent, & a Rational Account of their Faith. I therefore hand thee herewith a Treatise on our Religious Principles, which I beg leave to recommend to thy solid perusal; & whether thou wilt approve of it or not, I request that thou wilt accept of it from me, as a Token of my sincere Regard, who am

respectfully thine

RICHARD SHACKLETON

Ballitore: 17 October 1773.

## THOMAS LELAND TO RICHARD SHACKLETON

Dear Sir

It is not without sincere regret that I have been so long diverted from my purpose of acknowledging the favour of your last letter, & the obliging present that attended it. A variety of cares & occupations on my appointment to an extensive parish in Dublin & some intervals of languor and depression occasioned by the remains of those Nervous affections which I contracted by making more use of my pen than my horse, are the only excuses I can make for so long a silence. Let me at length entreat you to accept my cordial thanks for a Letter so flattering to me; & which confirms me in the respectful sentiments I had entertained of the writer.

I am particularly gratified by the candour & kindness of your remarks on the difficulties I encountered both in collecting & selecting the materials of my History, and the appearance of veracity that it bears. My task was indeed laborious, & whatever violence I might do to prejudices & prepossessions, I considered myself as an Evidence before the Tribunal of the public, & as solemnly bound to declare the truth, to the best of my Knowledge, as we should have been, had I *sworn* & you *affirmed*. The consequence has been in this Kingdom, as I supposed; my Representations have not given entire satisfaction to any party. I have been already attacked from different quarters, but with so much impotence, so much frivolous & captious folly, & so shameful an ignorance of the subject, as are perfectly mortifying. For I confess I should have liked to have been called out by an ingenious and plausible Critic. Forgive a little ebullition of vanity, when I declare I felt somewhat of the ardor of a much younger and cleverer fellow.

Optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem

And now, none but the most ignoble beasts of the field have deigned to take any notice of me. But I am abundantly consoled by a number of such testimonies as your's. And in a country where Irish Parties are little regarded, I have received a great deal more than Justice.

But I cannot sufficiently thank you for the truly polite, ingenuous & candid manner in which you have urged your objection to one particular expression that escaped me.



If it be Quakerism to enforce the momentous distinction between the vital influencing spirit of Christianity and the nominal & formal profession of Religion, I have ever been preaching Quakerism, & God grant I may live & die a Quaker!

But instead of entering into certain discussions, in which I might not express a difference of sentiment with the same politeness, or to give it a more honourable name, with the same spirit of meekness, that you have done, I at once plead guilty, & acknowledge that no Religious Sect should ever be generally included in any one invidious appellation. Had I received your favour before the Octavo Edition was printed off, the Expression should not have continued in it. I must take the first opportunity in my power of correcting it.

Farewel, my Dear Sir, & believe me very gratefully & respectfully

Your obliged & affectionate Servant,

THO LELAND

Nov<sup>r</sup> 23. 1773

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## The Value of a Cook Stove

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“ While the Collins party were spending the few days in Denver on the way to the mines, they became acquainted with a man by the name of Brown. This man owned a forty-acre plot of ground taking in the new camp and extending beyond, and had built a cabin on the bank of Cherry Creek. Mahlon and his wife had brought a cook stove all the way from Iowa. Such stoves were evidently scarce in the camp for Brown offered to trade the forty acres for the cook stove.

“ Mahlon gave the man a withering look, and said, ‘ Do you see any green in my eye ? ’ Then he continued, ‘ I guess not.’ ‘ Trade you a perfectly good cook stove for your forty worthless acres of sand hills.’ He left Brown with indignation.

“ Forty years after this incident, Mahlon Collins spent some days in the city of Denver. Looking about, he finally came to the conclusion that the forty acres which had been offered him for a cook stove lay in the heart of the city and that the cabin site had been approximately where the Lorimer Street viaduct now spans the bed of Cherry Creek.”

From the life of Mahlon Day Collins, a Friend, printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Jan., 1930. Iowa City, Iowa.

# Notices Relating to Friends in "The Gentleman's Magazine"

*Continued from vol. xvi, p. 120*

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Extracted by the late Joseph J. Green, but with contractions

\* Implies that the notice has not been found in the Friends' Registers in London

## 1790

MARRIED, 2 February, at Bristol, Charles Fox, Esq., banker, of Plymouth, to Miss Sarah Chapman, of Bristol.

DIED, 27 January, at the Union Brewhouse in Wapping, Mr. George Healy, brewer, and one of the people called Quakers, aged 45.

MARRIED, 17 March, Mr. Charles Hanbury, of Great Tower Street, to Miss Priscilla Bland, only daughter of John Bland, Esq., an eminent banker in Lombard Street.

DIED, at Mossdale in the parish of Caldbeck in Cumberland, in her 102d year, Mrs. Agnes Bristo, one of the people called Quakers.

DIED, at Faringdon, Berks, Mr. John Snelling, cheese factor, and one of the people called Quakers.

DIED, aged 91, John Tustian, one of the oldest Quakers in London. His death was occasioned by his being shoved down by a carriage in Cheapside, about nine days before. He never kept his bed through sickness one day before this happened.

DIED, 13 March, at Harwich, in his 80th year, Samuel King, cordwainer, one of the people called Quakers and the last of that persuasion there.

\*DIED, at Cork, John Murphy, M.D.

MARRIED, 15 May, Joseph Fletcher, Esq., of Caroline Street, Bedford Square, to Miss E. [? Frances] Champain, of Edmonton.

\*DIED, 7 May, at Wilmington, Delaware, in his 62d year, Joseph West, a member of the Society of Quakers, and of the family of West, the celebrated painter in England.

DIED, 4 August, in his 70th year, Joseph Docwra, of Feering Hill, Essex.

MARRIED, 19 August, at "Colnbrook-dale," co. Salop, Robert Fowler, of Melksham, to Rachel Barnard, of Colnbrook-dale.

\*DIED, at St. Croix, Major John Coakley, a relative of Dr. J. Coakley Lettsom, of London. Besides sugar estates and negroes, he is said to have died worth 200,000 pieces of eight.

DIED, 29 August, at Liverpool, Joseph Rathbone, a proprietor of the Colnbrook-dale ironworks.

\*MARRIED, 19 October, at Wandsworth, George Tritton to Louisa Howard.

MARRIED, at the Quakers' meeting at Crook, near Kendal, Joseph Goad to Hannah Morland.

MARRIED, in St. John's Street, Richard Phillips, of Lincoln's Inn to Sarah Corbyn, daughter of Thomas Corbyn, of Bartholomew Close, West Smithfield.

DIED, 25 October, aged 46, William White, M.D., F.A.S., and member of the Medical Society at Edinburgh, author of "Observations on the Use of Dr. James's Powders," "Emetic Tartar," and other Antimonial Preparations in Fevers and other ingenious pieces.

DIED, 6 November, at Undercliffe, near Bradford, co. York, aged 75, John Hustler, an eminent woolstapler. Very early in life he distinguished himself as a man of great public spirit. Wise, benevolent, indefatigable, he was ever ready zealously to promote the interests of mankind. The public hall in Bradford for the sale of worsted stuffs will remain a lasting monument to his attention to the staple manufacture of his neighbourhood, which hath, since its creation, uniformly flourished in a manner unknown to former periods. To the greatness of his mind is the nation indebted for the design of uniting the East and West by means of a canal navigation from Leeds to Liverpool. [A long account of his many virtues.]

MARRIED, 15 December, at the Quakers' meeting house at Winchmore Hill, Daniel Mildred, banker, Lombard Street, to Miss Elizabeth Harman, daughter of John and Elizabeth Harman, of Clapton.

DIED, 22 November, aged 71, Larcum Kendall, watchmaker, in Furnivals Inn Court, Holborn. [Long and interesting account of this clever horologer and mathematician

who was at one time employed by George Graham.] Mr. Kendall was brought up a Quaker and bound apprentice to a repeating-motion maker. Left the Quakers but never quitted that simplicity of manners for which that sect is so generally admired, and was inflexibly upright in person, word and deed.

DIED, 30 December, in Southampton Row, Bloomsbury, aged near 70 [82], Nathaniel Newbury.

*To be continued*

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## Quakerism and Industry

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To scan the list of "Books of Reference" is to demonstrate the care with which Isabel Grubb, M.A., has prepared her book, *Quakerism and Industry Before 1800* (London: Williams & Norgate, 8½ by 5½, pp. 192, 8s. 6d.). There are ten chapters which open up various phases of Quaker industrial life—first "The Background," and then "George Fox and Business Ethics," followed by "Corporate Action," "Moderation," "Restrictive Effects" and "Philanthropy," concluding with chapters on "The Positive Contribution of Individual Quakers," and "The Character of the Quaker Business Man." "The Jnl. F.H.S." and the card-catalogue in **D** have been laid under considerable contribution. There are a few slips—the identification of "B. L." referred to in Smith's *Cata.*, with Benjamin Lindley, on page 36, is unlikely; did William Rotch<sup>1</sup> join his whaling friends at Milford Haven? (He writes in his "Memorandum": "We are now [1793] settled in London until the summer of 1794 and returned to Boston, 23 ix. 1794), page 144; "J. Sewell" should be W. Sewel<sup>2</sup>, pages 116, 184; "High" should be Hugh (page 192). There is a review of this book in "The Friend" (Lond.), 1930, 245.

Other important works on this subject are:

Philip S. Belasco, "Authority in Church and State," London, 1928, devoted mainly to the political ideas of the Quakers in the seventeenth century—one of the chapters is on the foundations of social conscience.

Eduard Bernstein, "Cromwell and Communism," translated by H. J. Stenning, London, 1930, a study of the radical social ideas of Levelers and Puritan communists, many of whom became Quakers. The principal figure is John Lilburne. John Bellers and seventeenth century Quakers are also dealt with. Originally appeared as Section V of "Die Vorläufer des Neueren Sozialismus," Stuttgart, 1895, 4th ed., 1922.

<sup>1</sup> Rotch, pronounce as Roach.

<sup>2</sup> Original pronunciation would be Sayvel.

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From a recent letter: "The old Woman said: 'There were a lot of old books with f's and s's, but they are no manner o' good so I puts 'em on't fire.'"

## “Finch versus Batger”—Do Religious Acts Constitute Worship?

JAMES JENKINS in his *Records and Recollections* has much to tell us respecting his “intimate and much respected friend, Henry Finch” (1737-1805), of Kate’s Grove, near Reading. “He was the son of a black-smith and small farmer of Chartham, near Canterbury. He served an apprenticeship to a tin-plate worker in Pudding-lane, London, but he later followed the trade of a draper and salesman in Reading. Almost from his youth upwards he was considered as ‘a vexer of the brethren and troubler of Israel’ by that part of our Society which lorded it over the other orders of what ought to have been our little commonwealth. He once asked me (after the late Dr. Joseph Rickman had poured upon us one of his red-hot effusions), if, in all my life, I had ever heard such *religious scolding*.”

In 1797, with three other Reading Friends, Finch was disowned “for opposing the Rules of Discipline.”

Although deprived of membership Finch frequently attended meetings for worship, but in December, 1803, his presence was noted at a Quarterly Meeting for business at Devonshire House and caused such confusion in the meeting that it was adjourned to the 16th of the next month. On that day Finch endeavoured to enter the building, causing noise and disturbance, but was forcibly prevented entering and detained for several hours while the meeting was held.

Finch evoked the law, claiming that the devotional commencement of the meeting for discipline constituted it a meeting for worship which he had a right to attend.

The trial, as hereafter outlined, caused considerable attention and there is a very full record of the transactions in “the Book of Cases” at Friends House, London.

There is a written statement of the case in **D**, presented by Theodore Compton in 1903, endorsed: “Godfrey Sykes’ statement of the Trial between Henry Finch, plaintiff and John Batger and others defendants,” the manuscript

having been found amongst the papers of George Harrison. This document consists of thirteen folio pages and is to be found in Portfolio 14.74. It is headed as follows :

" In the Court of Exchequer at Guildhall on Saturday the 23rd day of February in the year of our Lord 1805 before Sir Archibald Macdonald Knt Lord Chief Baron of his Majestys Court of Exchequer Between Henry Finch Plt and John Batger Thomas Sturge Thomas Cox Thomas Pace James Chalk and William Christy Dfts "

We take an account of the pleadings, witnesses' evidence, etc., from a letter written by Dr. Joseph Rickman, recently received in **D**, from among papers of the late Walter Sturge of Bristol :

" Extract of a Letter from Joseph Rickman containing an account of the Trial between Henry Finch and the Quakers :

" The agreeable Termination of the interesting and long expected Question between Henry Finch and the Society, which has this morning taken place, has caused such general satisfaction among all classes of Friends, the young, old, rich, poor, plain and gay, and knowing thy acquaintance with the Parties, I do not doubt some little account thereof will be acceptable to thee, and lead thee to excuse my writing on purpose.

" It was heard in the Court of Exchequer, as a court of equity in which Questions of right only are tried : in Guildhall before the Lord Chief Baron Macdonald, whose character on the Bench, and in private Life is of the highest Stamp, and above all is a religious, good man ; he is a very strict supporter of the Establishment and is remarkable not only for religious exercises in his own Family, but, what is but too rare in our great men now a days, is very constant in his attendance of public Worship.

" The Society were defended by Plummer (who generally pleads at the Bar of the House of Commons) and Dauncey. Henry's Counsel were Sergeant Williams and Abbott : it was adjusted in the simple merits of the case, and the equitable decision of the Judge without proceeding to the Jury.

" The Ground taken on Henry's side was simply this, that the Meeting house was re-registered as a place of public

worship therefore open for every body ; that in Meetings for Discipline ministering Friends frequently appeared both in Testimony and sometimes in Supplication, and in both cases with their Hats off, and that the whole of the Subjects discussed there had a religious tendency, therefore were religious meetings or meetings for Worship ; that they, like meetings for worship, are preceded by a pause or silence, that an indifferent person would not distinguish the difference between these pauses, and the silence in meetings for worship ; therefore it is a religious silent worship as much as the other, and with the preaching and prayer constituted them religious meetings, to which Henry Finch had a common right to enter.

“ Very weak ground this ; and when endeavoured to be supported by evidence, the Judge remarked : ‘ You might as well call the House of Commons a religious meeting because prayers are read, before they proceed to business, requesting Providence to adjust their Deliberations, and guide them to the best Judgment.’

“ WILLIAM MARSH of Gracechurch Street was the first Person called for H. Finch—his evidence whether as a Friend to H. Finch, or a member of Society, was very consistent ; his cross examination tended however much more to favour the Society than his evidence had served H. Finch.

“ THOMAS FOSTER was next called on the same side to prove Thomas Shillitoe was preaching at the time H. F. wished to enter. The Judge asked if he thought preaching an act of Worship ; he said that there, perhaps, pervaded a difference of Opinion in the Society on this Subject ; if asked his own, it was that it did not constitute an act of Worship. ‘ Was silence an act of religious Worship ? ’ ‘ It is so considered as supposing the mind to be engaged in religious meditation or mental Prayer.’ ‘ You are quite right,’ said the Judge. ‘ Sir, in our Church we use vocal Prayer, but we consider mental prayer a religious act, and one far more acceptable than the other.’

“ The whole of his Evidence was decidedly against H. Finch, and the cross examination and remarks of the Judge were very satisfactory to a crowded Court.

“ GEORGE HARRISON was then called, and the Judge (being already nearly satisfied in his own mind, that more time

should not be consumed over so weak a Plea) examined him pretty much wholly himself. He asked if T. Shillitoe was preaching. G. H. said: 'Something in answering the Queries appeared to him a suitable Opportunity to advise friends against expensive furniture and profusion at their Tables that he certainly was preaching, and spoke with his Hat off, that sometimes something (in replying to the Queries, which answers contain the state of the Society) occasions thankfulness or regret; and that hence some Friends were engaged to return thanks or supplicate the Divine Being in those meetings, and that this certainly is a religious act; but neither of these converted a meeting of Business into a meeting of Worship.' George spoke with great propriety and clearness; some little interruption ensued, the Judge immediately said: 'I beg Mr. Harrison may not be interrupted, I sit with both pleasure and profit to hear him speak.' The countenance of all around him bore a similar testimony. Counsel: 'Do you not consider prayer and preaching both acts of religious Worship?' G. H.: 'I would define Prayer an act between Man and his Creator, preaching an act between Man and Man.' Judge: 'A clearer distinction I never remember to have heard.' To H. F.'s Counsel: 'Brothers, it is childish your pursuing this cause on such puerile distinctions; Grace before meat is or ought to be a religious act of the Mind, it does not therefore make the Assembly a religious Meeting, or a meeting for worship, though an act of worshipping the Deity is there performed.—So this worthy Quaker tells you their private domestic meetings are frequently improved by Exhortation or prayer. They are not the more meetings expressly for public worship, but good Opportunities well improved. These quarterly and monthly meetings have been clearly proved to you Meetings for Church Government, and tho' money matters are included, and subjects concerning the religious Welfare of the Church and the harmony and good conduct of the body, are there considered, and the general State of the Society estimated, or tho' that general State or any part of the Detail, may give rise to Exhortation on the part of the Ministers, or even Supplication or thanksgiving which are both clearly acts of Worship, and are it appears among these good People accompanied with all those marks of Solemnity which they use in their



meetings expressly for Worship, and also altho' these Meetings may be preceded, as we are told, by a quarter of an hour of that same silence (religious mental meditation or prayer it is supposed) that those on the Sabbath day are, yet they are not the more meetings for Worship (into which as you hear, and the Law of the Land further says, every man has a right to enter and these People allow every one to come) they are no more than Parish or district Vestries, and you will hardly maintain, that every man has a right to act or sit in a Vestry. Besides you hear there is a regular mode of appeal among this well regulated People, which this person has not used, and every Society naturally professes power to expel those who act contrary to its rules. And Gentlemen of the Jury, I will not trouble you with the further notice of this matter, nor can I suffer a further examination of evidence; I must on my Conscience nonsuit the Plaintiff. Mr. Harrison, I return you my best thanks for what I have learnt from you this Day.' ”

JOSEPH RICKMAN (1749-1810), the writer of the letter, was a native of Lewes, Sussex. In 1772 he married Sarah Neave, of Staines, he being then “ of Maidenhead, Surgeon and Apothecary ” and had a numerous family.

James Jenkins thus describes Joseph Rickman, in his *Records and Recollections* :

“ My old friend Jos<sup>h</sup> Rickman (above mentioned) was of a character strange, and eccentric,—When an *authorised* preacher of our Society, he too frequently indulged in severe declamation, and it sometimes approached to personality.—He practised as an Apothecary, and Midwife, during many years at Maidenhead, but, not Attending to that salutary maxim of ‘ *Ne sutor ultra crepidam,* ’ he added to his other business, that of Grocery and Cheesemongery, failed, and being disowned by Friends, his function as a Minister amongst us (of course) ceased. Yet, he *could not* be silent, and was sometimes stopped, whilst at others, he was suffered to go on, to the end of his harangue,—but this sufferance and non-sufferance being disagreeable to him, he entered upon the new career of being an itinerant preacher from the pulpits of the Wesleyan Methodists, and which I have understood were granted to him, with a liberality deserving praise. In one of his visits to the Wesleyan

Churches I met him at Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, and we conversed a little on the subject of his new vocation—I could not approve of his clerical wanderings; he made something like excuse for it ‘that however in the cross, and however strange it might seem, that he should be so *led*’ &c.—but this is the usual cant of such occasions.—The fact was, he had got *an habit* of preaching, and could not be happy without exercising his mental powers in that way.”

THOMAS FOSTER (c. 1759-1834), of Bromley, Middlesex, wrote several controversial and anti-orthodox pamphlets. See *Pen Pictures*.

GEORGE HARRISON (c. 1747-1827), of Wandsworth, Co. Surrey, was a barrister by profession, and a man of very independent judgment. See *Pen Pictures*.

[Knowing this case, and perhaps others similar, when clerk of London and Middlesex Q.M. I read the opening minute *before* the devotional pause.—EDITOR.]

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### Extracts from the Parish Register of Aldborough near Boroughbridge, Yorkshire

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1664. Rachel d. of Richard Blackburne of Aldburgh, Quaker bap:  
11 June.
1665. Ellen d. of Richard Robinson of Roccliffe Quaker bapt. 12 November.
1667. Margaret d. of Rich: Robinson of Roccliffe, a quaker bapt. 10 May.
1662. Marie d. Rich: Blackburne, a Quaker of Aldb: bapt. 9 Nov:  
Isaac son of Rich: Blackburne of Aldb: a Quaker bap. 9 Nov:  
Abigail d. of Rich: Blackburne of Aldb: a Quaker, bap. 9 Nov:
1672. Emmet d. of Rich: Blackburne of Aldb: bap: 5 Mar:
1678. Richard s. of Rich. Blackburne of Aldb: bap: 28 May. (bur, 1678  
17 July).
1679. Peter s. of Rich: Blackburne of Aldb: bap. 13 Jan.
1680. Richard Blackburne of Aldb. bur. 16 Dec.
1663. These persons were denounced excommunicate by D<sup>tor</sup> Burwel's  
order Jan: 17. 1663 . . . . Rich: Blackburne,  
Dorothie his wife.
1644. Richard Blackeburne & Dorothie Neele marr: 29 November.
1675. Richard Blackburne & Dorothy Poole marr. 25 November.

Contributed by Walter J. Kaye, M.A., F.S.A., 15, Gower Street,  
W.C.1.

## Some Forty-Miners

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The purchase by the Committee of the Friends Reference Library in London of *A Quaker Forty-Niner* (see page 70 of this issue) reminded us of references to the Californian gold-diggers of 1849-50 in the manuscript of John Candler's travels in the West Indies and U.S.A., presented to D by Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, some years ago.

John Candler and his wife were passing from Jamaica to the mainland of North America.

Here is a selection of the references :

“ 1850. 6mo. 18ff. Had much conversation with some of our fellow passengers from California and the isthmus of Panama. Several on board are returning from California with plenty of gold in their trunks, which they have acquired by hard labor and under many severe privations, at the gold mines ; others with gold acquired by trading and speculation ; and not a few weary, disgusted, sick, and almost destitute. ‘ The grave yards grow faster in California than the towns,’ said one of the returning wanderers to me. I asked him what induced him to go there, and, having gone, why he returned so soon. He went, he said, hoping, like many others, to get money and do himself good, but he did not succeed as he expected, and seeing how badly the people conducted themselves he thought if he staid there, he should lose all moral principle and become like the rest. It was wonderful, he said, how soon the moral perceptions became deadened in such a society of adventurers. He was himself a ‘ Friend,’ a member of the Hicksite persuasion ; he had been brought up to hate all war and aggression, but he thought that he could now shoot a man dead without remorse, if he attempted to rob him of gold, or do him an irreparable injury. ‘ On the First Day,’ I use his words, ‘ the people abandoned themselves to gambling and cock-fighting.’

“ Another of our fellow passengers tells me that he went from New York to Panama, and was so frightened at what he saw, and feared of sickness if he went further, that he resolved at once to get back to his own home as quick as possible : he therefore engaged himself as a servant to three

fellow Americans who had fallen sick and wished to return, and was now engaged in taking care of them on board. One of them who left New York to make money at the mines was worth, he said, \$20,000, and was now a lunatic! Many of our Californian Cabin passengers dress in a shirt and trousers, smoke cigars and spit freely. One of them said to me, 'I am a North Ohio man: we do every thing for ourselves in that country; we produce a great deal by hard labor, and we bid defiance to all the world.'

"Had much conversation with some of our Californian passengers, another of whom I find to have been a member of our Society at Lynn, Mass. He left Boston sixteen months ago, with a band of forty-seven fellow adventurers to go across the North West territory, from the head of the Missouri navigation to the Sacramento river in California. The estimated distance of travel from Boston to Missouri was 2300 miles and from Missouri to the plains where gold is found 2700 miles more, in all, more than 5000 miles. They performed the journey through many great hardships, and with excessive toil, in six months, having had to open a road of 150 miles through the Rocky Mountains. Many of his fellow-travellers died by the way, or from fatigue and sickness when they reached the diggings, amongst whom were his two friends. On leaving California to return home, he could trace only eight out of the original number of forty-seven who were engaged in the work of gold-digging: the remainder were either dead or dispersed. He himself fell sick, and out of the gold he had found he had paid \$1500 to a physician for advice; this physician, he said, was kind and considerate compared with others, as he only charged him \$8 a visit, instead of a doubloon (£3 6 8), which was the usual fee. He wished he had never gone, but had been content to take the advice of Samuel Boyce, a minister of Lynn Meeting: he was a young man, he said, and young men refused counsel, but if he got safe home, he would never venture on such an expedition again.

"Another of these gold hunters found his way from New York to California by Vera Cruz and through Mexico in 46 days; he was from Providence, R.I., and he had been fairly successful in his mining operations; in one week he had made \$600. He had deposited his earnings in the bank of St. Francisco to be repaid him in New York with an

abatement of 7 per cent. He was now returning to Rhode Island to see his wife and to persuade her to go back and settle with him in California as an adopted home. He had avoided drinking and lived under a tent, and had not been sick. Some of these return passengers are sick on board our steamer, and may perhaps never reach their native land. I asked one of them whether, if he got well at home, he should be willing to make a second attempt to reach the gold region. 'Never again,' he said; 'I have seen enough. In my own country we saw only the bright side of the picture: all was gold, gold; agents from California, wanting immigrants, allured us with wonderful tales—merchants trading with that country encouraged the delusion—steam boat proprietors and a crowd of interested people promoted it. I shall stay at home and never attempt to go again.' A poor youth of seventeen left Ohio with his uncle, the lunatic, in order, as he said, 'to see the world and to find a chance,' but was struck with fever at Chagres. They set out from home ten in company, one had died in Panama, five had gone forward by sea to Saint Francisco, and he and three others were returning—himself sick of fever, his uncle a lunatic, a third unwell, and the fourth selected to take care of them, because he was discouraged and heart sick and longed to get back again.

"We have two brothers on board, who took out machinery to the mines and quicksilver; they gave employment to 70 and sometimes 80 men at the diggings, at wages varying from £30 to £40 sterling each man per month, with board at a common table under a long tent. 'Although our outlay was often \$17000 a month our income from the operations was greater. We mean to return to California with new machinery, and make it our adopted country.' The largest quantity of gold raised by the two brothers and cleansed by one machine in one day was 70 ounces, worth in sterling money £225: this was prepared by the labor of seven miners. The largest lump of gold they had heard of as being found in the country weighed 27 lbs., of which seven pounds weight was estimated as quartz, leaving of pure unalloyed gold 20 lbs., worth in English money £1000."

# Sir Walter Scott to Mary Leadbeater, 1811

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SIR WALTER SCOTT (1771-1832), novelist and poet, was a descendant of Friends. There was a Walter Scott, of Lessudwyn, near Kelso, Scotland, a prominent Friend in the seventeenth century.

MARY LEADBEATER (1758-1826), née Shackleton of Ballitore, Ireland, was a writer of repute on Quaker and other subjects.

Madam

I am honourd by your beautiful verses and by your acceptance of my most respectful thanks. You do me great honour in supposing me able to celebrate a nation in which I am so much interested as Ireland. Whether I shall ever strike the harp again my graver occupations render very doubtful, but should it so happen I will not fail to consider carefully the hint you have favourd me with, especially should it ever be in my power to visit Ireland.

From the mode of dating your letter I conclude I am addressing a Lady of a religious profession for whose simplicity of manners and purity of morals I have had from infancy the most deep respect & which adds to the sense of obligation with which I subscribe myself your honourd

& very humble servant

WALTER SCOTT

Edinburgh

12 March, 1811.

[Addressed]

Miss Mary Leadbetter

Ballitore

Ireland

*Copied from the original in the possession of Edward B. Fennell, M.D., Southbourne-on-Sea, Hants, 1921.*

## Discipline Beyond Sea, 1668

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The following document is one of the collection of miscellaneous papers belonging to Southwark Monthly Meeting. The style shews the paper to be almost certainly the work of George Fox himself and its matter bears a close resemblance in parts to Letter No. 258, dated 1668, in his printed *Epistles*.<sup>1</sup> The instructions were evidently intended to be used in the first building up of the system of discipline to which Fox was at that time devoting himself. His better known document on discipline, sometimes found in Monthly Meeting records,<sup>2</sup> though similar in purpose and much more detailed, does not contain the interesting proposal for dealing with seafarers guilty of disorderly conduct beyond seas, with its formidable *ad hoc* committee of twenty-nine men and twenty-five women, drawn from various parts of London. The term "general meeting" is used in both these documents, the distinction being not yet clearly drawn between the work of monthly and quarterly meetings. Unfortunately the only London minutes early enough to help, those of Horslydown M.M., do not throw any light on its working, though there is a brief reference, apparently to this matter, in x mo. 1668.

1. Truth is y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is pure & is y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> serpent is out of, for ther is no serpent in Truth and admitts of no impurity and soe there is no serpent in y<sup>e</sup> way, to bite & hurt any for y<sup>e</sup> way being the Truth & is y<sup>e</sup> same as it was in y<sup>e</sup> beginning though many things hath risen ag<sup>t</sup> it yett it remaines the same the pure truth & y<sup>e</sup> holy way: soe if any have gon from it they are for condemnaçon and their workes

And when any thing is once condemned and judged, lett it not be raised up againe but keepe it in the grave, & raise not up the dead out of y<sup>e</sup> grave any more, they living in y<sup>e</sup> life & the light w<sup>ch</sup> doth condemne & judge it. & all to live in y<sup>e</sup> Love of God w<sup>ch</sup> gives dominion over all & unites & ediffies all that abide in it.

2. If among freinds any reports or surmises be about any or any backbiteings or whisperings all such things must be stopt & searched out for thus saith y<sup>e</sup> Lord thou shalt not raise a false Report among my People. And that some of the sober & faithfull freinds of every meeting whose sincerity is for the glory of God & his honour & his holy name into w<sup>ch</sup> they are called may be chosen to search out such things & followe it till they find out ye Author of it, that it may not lye upon any nor in any, but that all may be cleered & taken

out of every mind : & all the Reporters stopt & the things that are for judgement Lett y<sup>m</sup> be Judged & Condemned.

And furthermore that the same psons below written are to take notice of all such as goes to sea·seamen Marcht<sup>s</sup> Mastr<sup>s</sup> of shipp<sup>s</sup> & passengers out & home y<sup>t</sup> profes y<sup>e</sup> truth that if they have any wayes dishonoured the Lord God & brought an evill report either in their tradeing or lives or conversations upon the Truth & good Land & dishonoured the Lord God & his name & truth & people that they may send for y<sup>m</sup> & search into the bottom y<sup>t</sup> soe if they have donne any thing worthy of Condemnation & Judgm<sup>t</sup> lett it be past upon them without respect of psons & if y<sup>e</sup> report be false lett their Innocency be manifest and the reporter be reprov<sup>d</sup> & soe that all that professe truth may walk in the truth & the light of y<sup>e</sup> Lord who are children of light who has their name after y<sup>e</sup> liveing God.

And soe all to be scircumspect dilligent & carefull in all these things y<sup>t</sup> in no wise god may be dishonored but in al things their lives & words may preach y<sup>t</sup> p<sup>f</sup>fess the Truth

Their names are as follows [the men and women are in separate columns].

Gerrard Roberts	John Oakly	Amy Gauntlett
John Bolton	John Rous	Jane Woodcocke
Amor Stoddart	John Grover	Mary Staunton
Sam. Newton <sup>3</sup>	Richard Cannon	Mary Strutt
Tho. Dry	Thomas Hudson	Francis Limbrey
Tho. Coveny	Henry Hazlam	Agnes Poole
W <sup>m</sup> Shewen	Robert Bridges	Anne Merrick
Tho. Paddle	Henry Salter	Marg <sup>t</sup> ffullove
[Padley]	Edw. Mann	Patience Camfeild
Ezekiell Woolley	William Crouch	Mary ffoster
Gilbert Latie	Joseph Freeman	Susan Yoakly
W <sup>m</sup> Harwood	Rebecca Travers	Mary Woolley
Percivall Towle	Anne Greenewell	Marg <sup>t</sup> Rouse
Thomas Yoakly	Mary Elson	Mary Newton
Cotton Oades	Anne Travers	Sarah Cannon
John Elson	Sarah Shewen	Margett Cooke
James Braines	Anne Hudson	Elizabeth Etridge
Arthur Cooke	Eliz. Peacock	Martha Boyce
Gilbert Hutton		

21st 8th Mo. 1668.



These freinds to meet the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the ninth Month 1668  
at Devonshire house at y<sup>e</sup> 10th houre

And all y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> has gon from England & dishonored God beyonnd sea that the p<sup>ersons</sup> above said to write over sea to search out & know y<sup>e</sup> ground of y<sup>e</sup> matter y<sup>t</sup> all obstructions y<sup>t</sup> has hindred y<sup>e</sup> glory of God & y<sup>e</sup> spreading his truth y<sup>t</sup> all may bee taken away that the Lords name may not be dishonoured nor his way & truth evill spoken of & so all reports being searcht into in all the Plantations concerning freinds there that if any one hath donne any thing to dishonor truth beyonnd sea lett y<sup>m</sup> come to Judgment & Condemnation & give forth pap<sup>ers</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> same, that the papers may be sent to y<sup>e</sup> world if y<sup>e</sup> world know it so y<sup>t</sup> their transgressions may be fetcht out of the mouthes & teeth of y<sup>m</sup> & answer the wittnes of God in y<sup>m</sup> throu their Repentance & soe y<sup>e</sup> wittnes of God in all answered, & if they will not write their owne condemnations then freinds must write & deny them & take it out of y<sup>e</sup> Mouthes of y<sup>e</sup> World

[A fresh handwriting here]

And alsoe all them that have dishonored god & his truth and people, and ffriends have been to admonish them 4 or 5 times and they still goe on in their wickednes and not repent, ffriends may draw up a paper, if they bee clear of them against them and their disorderly walkeing and unruly spiritts and loosenes in generall words, not mentioning y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>articul</sup>ers, except they bee notoriously known to y<sup>e</sup> world, and ffriends to doe this w<sup>th</sup> speed, and to bring it to y<sup>e</sup> generall meeting, And if a man bee knowne to bee an open offender to y<sup>e</sup> world, That then their may bee an open Testimony against him in y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>articul</sup>er, how y<sup>t</sup> wee have not unity nor ffellowshipp w<sup>th</sup> such workes of darkenes, and how y<sup>t</sup> they cast out themselves ffrom amongst us, beeing gon ffrom y<sup>e</sup> life and power of god in w<sup>ch</sup> our fellowship is

And y<sup>e</sup> coppies of y<sup>e</sup> papers may bee read in y<sup>e</sup> co<sup>m</sup>on meetings, And allso a cobby therof sent to y<sup>e</sup> mens meetings in the country wher he lives

Let these bee read in your meeting entered into your (standing) booke and care taken accordingly

[Endorsed] 21.8mo.1668. Persons Apoynted to take care of Disorderly Walking of Ship Masters & Seamen & Merchants beyond Sea

Concering reports ect to bee entered Southwark

<sup>1</sup> In support of this A. Neave Brayshaw writes that "out of" as used in the first sentence is typical of Fox and occurs frequently in his Epistles, e.g. : pp. 73, 87, 126, 141, 151, 153 bis, 200, 204, 213, 224, 248, 269, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Printed, W. Beck : *London Friends Meetings*, 47-52, and quoted, W. C. Braithwaite : *Second Period of Qu.*, 257-258. Sometimes termed : "Canons and Institutions," beginning : "Friends Fellowship" (*Camb. Jnl.*, ii. 416).

<sup>3</sup> John Pennyman in his *Life*, p. 56, states that Samuel Newton "cheated many of several hundred pounds and then fled beyond Sea," and we know that in 1685 there was one of the name who had to be dealt with (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, v) in Virginia. The editor of Fox's *Journal* omits the name (compare *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 167 with the bi-cent. ed. ii. 132), and the name was struck out in several places in the Haistwell Diary (*Jnl. Supp.* 370). It appears to be a case of the biter bitten.

The need for discipline beyond seas appears in vol. v. pp. 97ff, vol. xi. 28ff.

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## Marriage and Ministry

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"John and Sarah Grubb are, I expect, by this time either at or near their home. I heard the meeting was large. Sally, like a notable woman, went into the gallery after the ceremony, and was largely engaged to the people, many not Friends being present; she then took her seat beside John again, and was afterwards engaged in supplication. In a sitting at the house she was again exercised, I think more than once. Is not this 'marrying as though she married not'?"

*Memoirs of Elizabeth Dudley*, letter to Lucy Alexander, aft. Maw, 21 ix. 1803, when twenty-four years old. Jonathan Grubb, of happy memory, was a child of J. and S. Grubb—there are interesting reminiscences of and comments on the religious labours of Jonathan Grubb, in *F.Q.E.* lxii. 1928.

In Sherman's *Memoir of William Allen, F.R.S.*, 1851, we read :

"I gave Jonathan Middleton and Thomas Smith (two of the young men at Plough-court) leave to go to the marriage of John Grubb and Sarah Lynes at Brentford. They were returning by Kew and Richmond, and at the latter place poor Jonathan was drowned" (p. 40).

## Mannerisms of Ministers

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James Jenkins, writing in his book of *Records and Recollections*, respecting his "excellent friend and frequent companion," Joseph Rand, of Newbury, Berks, who died in 1813, aged upwards of eighty years, narrates the following which was told him by his friend :

"He remembered SAMUELL BOWNAS,<sup>1</sup> and told me that once at the time of the Yearly Meeting BENJAMINA PADLEY<sup>2</sup> (I think) of Swansea, had preached a long time, to the great satisfaction of a crowded meeting at Grace-church Street, after whom Samuel stood up, and proceeded in his usual slow manner at the commencement of his sermons, when a smart little gentleman, dressed in black, walked from the door, to nearly the top of the meeting and there stopping short said aloud to Samuel : ' Sir, you make very poorly out, I advise you by all means to sit down, and let the Lady who spoke before you, take your place, for, she preached much better than you do.' Sam<sup>l</sup> Bownas made a short pause, and then replied : ' Have patience, friend, and things will mend ' and then went on. The little man *had* patience, and after standing still some time, said : ' Well, I think things do mend,' and then, walking back, resumed his former station near the door, where he afterwards listened with silent, and reverential attention to what Sam<sup>l</sup> Bownas delivered.

"I think it was Benjamina Padley too, that (he told me) always began slow, and without energy or that life which makes an audience feel, that he once heard an impatient auditor say to one who had brought him to hear her : ' Come, let us go,—this is poor dry stuff.' ' No, no,' said the other, ' stop until she pulls her hand out of her pocket.' He did so, and his perseverance was rewarded with pious delight. ' This was the case (continued Jos<sup>h</sup> Rand) with SAMUEL FOTHERGILL who never got into his *gears* until after he had for a short time put his hand under his wig.'"

<sup>1</sup> SAMUEL BOWNAS (1676-1753), one of the last of the first generation of Friends. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* i. xviii, etc.

<sup>2</sup> BENJAMINA PADLEY (1687-1753) was the posthumous daughter of Benjamin Padley, of Yorkshire. She became a noted Minister; married Richard Partridge, of London, in 1742. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* v, vii, x

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Monthly Meeting at Stourbridge, Worcestershire, 21 xii. 1714 :  
"William Bissell, of Dudley, laid before this Meeting his intention of going to Pensilvania and taking his family with him, and desired a Certificate, which Friends did consent unto."

## Friends and Current Literature

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*Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at :*

*Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.*

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

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

*Friends' Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Friends' Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Ind.*

*Many of the books in D may be borrowed by Friends, and other applicants if recommended by a Friend. Apply to the Librarian, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.*

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Samuel E. Hilles, of 911 Marion Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, has constructed a fine volume of family history—*Memorials of the Hilles Family, More Particularly of Samuel and Margaret Hill Hilles, of Wilmington, Delaware* (Author: 9½ by 6½, pp. 239, numerous portraits and illustrations). Copy presented by the author.

Samuel Hilles (1788-1873) married Margaret Hill Smith, of Burlington, N.J. (1786-1882), a descendant of Smith, of Bramham, Yorkshire. The chapters of special interest to Friends contain sketches of the Smiley Brothers, J. G. Whittier, Westtown School, Haverford College, John Jay Smith, Eli Hilles, a "forty niner," John Smith, of Burlington, James Logan, Thomas Lloyd, Anthony Morris 2nd, John Dickinson, and others. There are many pages of genealogical information and a very good Index.

There is a considerable review of this book, by Amelia M. Gummere, in "Bulletin F.H.A." vol. 18 (1929), p. 110.

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There is considerable reference to Friends as a body, also to John Bellers and John Lilburne, in *Cromwell and Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution*, by Eduard Bernstein, translated by H. J. Stenning (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 8½ by 5½, pp. 287, 10s. 6d.).

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"May Drummond," the presidential address of Mabel R. Brailsford before the annual meeting of the Friends Historical Society last May, has appeared in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Seventh and Tenth Months, 1930.

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\*From *Ne Obliviscaris (Dinna Forget)*. By Lady Frances Balfour, 2 vols. 1930:

"To return to our visitors at Inveraray, JOHN BRIGHT was amongst them. My father's [Duke of Argyll] admiration for him was very great, but I do not think at first there was great intimacy. Mr. Bright at once

\* Not in D.

amused his hosts by remarking as he entered the Saloon on the Aubusson carpet of a beautiful design which was spread before him. The eye of the manufacturer was caught by it. The two men had a mutual respect for each other and the sturdy simplicity and straightforward honesty of John Bright appealed much to the Duke. They were both outstanding orators, men who had swayed and would again sway audiences with the magic of words. Bright, when asked, would say that the Duke was the greatest speaker of his day, and my father, when asked late in his life who he would put first, always said that John Bright was the greatest lay speaker that he had ever heard. No doubt, as he belonged to the brotherhood of fishermen, my father met him with his rod on the banks of the Aray."

" Stafford House

" To Lady Emma Campbell

July 13, 1844.

" We were a great part of yesterday at Upton, where we went to see Mrs. ELIZABETH FRY, who is one of the best and happiest of people. Her life has been one of continuous blessing to others. She has been very ill for a year, better now than she was, but still in a state of much suffering. It was very striking to see the countenance (one of the most beautiful I know) so unchanged. Such angelic patience, such thankful happiness under suffering. She has always been very kind to us, and was much interested in my happiness. She expressed a great wish to see Lorne.

" Your affate.

" E. Leveson-Gower."

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The fourth of the Peace Lectures founded by Frederick Merttens, of Rugby, has been written by John W. Graham, M.A., D.Litt., *Britain & America* (London: Hogarth Press, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ , pp. 134, 2s. 6d.). The sections of the book deal with History 1776-1914, The Great War, The League of Nations, The Kellogg Pact, Naval Reduction, The Freedom of the Seas, War Debts, Protection, The Present Day.

The previous Merttens Peace Lectures were: " Justice among Nations " by Horace G. Alexander, " War and Human Values " by F. E. Pollard, and " Danger Zones of Europe " by John S. Stephens.

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Twelve of Dr. Rendel Harris's *Caravan Essays* have been bound together and placed in D.

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We have received a copy of the *Year Book, 1929, of The New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania* (1420 Pine Street, Phila., Pa.), which contains various notices of early Quaker Jerseyans in an article on " New Stockholm, the Swedish Settlement," by Samuel H. Richards, of Camden.

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Herbert Standing, D.Sc., Research Fellow and Lecturer in Biology at Woodbrooke, is the author of *Spirit in Evolution from Amæba to Saint* (London: Allen & Unwin, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 312, 10s. 6d.).

" The central thesis of this book is that the whole evolutionary process is fundamentally a manifestation of Divine purpose and activity " (extract from Preface).

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In the series " The Treasure House of Eastern Story," Chapman & Hall, Ltd., have published *The History of Hayy Ibn Jaqzan*, written by

Abu Bakr Ibn Tufail, translated from the Arabic into English by Simon Ockley and revised, with an Introduction by Alexander Strathern Fulton, of the British Museum (8 $\frac{7}{8}$  by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. 179, 21s.).

Following quickly on Mr. Fulton's book on "The History of Hayy Ibn Jaqzan," but without knowledge of it till the text was in print, comes *The Idea of Robinson Crusoe*, by Antonio Pastor, Cervantes Reader in the University of London (Watford, Herts., The Gongora Press, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xii. + 391, 18s. 6d.). This volume deals with the Arabic story of Hayy Ibn Jaqzan, its author and translators. There is a chapter on George Keith, "Quaker and Anti-Quaker, 1639-1716," "the first and, by far, the most distinguished translator of the Hayy-romance into English."<sup>1</sup> There are a few slips in names in this volume. There is a note on page 202, which states: "The Friends could not resist a pun, cf. 'Mr Keith no Presbyterian,' " respecting Turners meeting in Turners Hall, but, unfortunately, the author of the tract was not a Friend!

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In *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, July, 1930, there is an illuminating article on Samuel Keimer; also an article on the "Early Relations of Delaware and Pennsylvania."

For Keimer, see also "Jnl. F.H.S." xi. xvi. xxii. xxvi.

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*Maryland Historical Magazine*, for June, 1930 (vol. xxv.) has an article on "Lord Baltimore's Settlement on Delaware Bay," in which we read: "The chief disturber was William Penn, who lost no opportunity to try to have the southern boundary of Pennsylvania established far enough south as to give him a harbor or landing on the Chesapeake Bay."

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Our friend Sarah Pennock Sellers, of 60 South State Road, Upper Darby, Pa., prepared, in 1916, a biography of her parents, David Sellers (1816-1887) and Mary Pennock Sellers (1814-1905), and in 1928 it appeared in print with some additions.<sup>2</sup> This record, by the last surviving member of the family of D. and M. P. Sellers, contains much of personal and family interest, but as the Sellers and Pennock families were both in touch with events of their day, there are also references of general interest to be found in the book. The anti-slavery cause is introduced, and we find the names of many American workers—Whittier, Mott, Lundy, Kelly, Grimké, and also of George Thompson from England. Mary Sellers's father was Abraham Liddon Pennock (1786-1868), a well-known Friend of the orthodox branch, whom, it is said, "Whittier had in mind when

<sup>1</sup> The translations from the Latin of Pocock (1671) into Dutch in 1674, and into English by George Keith, 1674, Ashwell, 1686, and Ockley, 1708, are in **D**. There are also in **D** extracts translated direct from the Arabic by Dr. Paul Brönnle, in the series "The Wisdom of the East," under the title: "The Awakening of the Soul," 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *David Sellers—Mary Pennock Sellers*, by their daughter, Sarah Pennock Sellers, printed by Innes & Sons, Philadelphia, 1. 8vo, pp. 156, portraits and other illustrations.

he wrote his poem 'The Quaker of the Olden Time.' There is a brief notice of the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London in 1840, when the women delegates from the States—Lucretia Mott and Sarah Pugh—were refused permission to take seats among the other delegates but were relegated to the gallery as spectators, this course of action being supported by some English Friends!

Some fifty references to persons and subjects have been added to the Card Catalogue in D. Copy presented by the compiler.

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A life of *Morgan Llwyd*, written in Welsh by E. Lewis Evans, M.A., has recently been published in Liverpool. Morgan Lloyd (c. 1619-1659) appears in "The Journal of George Fox." Copy presented by the author.

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In *The Ninety-sixth Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society*, 1929, there appears an article on "Miscellaneous Scraps of Cornish," in which several pages are given to the examples of the Cornish language which appear in "The Battledoor," prepared by Fox, Stubbs and Furly and published in 1660.

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Dilworth Abbatt, of Preston, Lancs., has contributed to *The Preston Guardian* two valuable articles on "A Freckleton Worthy of 200 Years Ago." The "worthy" was William Brown, of Foulside Farm, a house still standing and now known as Fold Side, of which a picture is given. The second article, based on old manuscripts, describes the funeral of the "worthy" Friend in the burial ground then known as "Twill Furlong," now sometimes called "Quaker Wood," one and a half miles from the ancient town of Kirkham, which took place in 1724, and tabulates a list of funeral expenses, the principal items being for "sugar and fruit" £2.7.7 and for "ale at Kirkham" £2.12.5. There are views of the burial ground and of the single headstone, that of Joseph and Sarah Jesper, he an esteemed Preston tradesman, who rebuilt the Freckleton meetinghouse (now known as the Institute) in 1870 and deceased in 1890.

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The first article in the *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* (vol. x. no. 3, March, 1929) supplies "Notes on the Scull Family of New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia." Quakerism appears to have entered the family about the close of the seventeenth century, in the United States. John Scull (1666-1748) is mentioned in the Journals of John Fothergill and Thomas Chalkley, who held meetings at his house between Great Egg Harbour and Cape May, New Jersey. His wife was Mary Somers, akin to another prominent planter, John Somers (1640-1723). Their son, Gideon (1722-1776) became one of the leading citizens of the community and was a good Friend. He married into the Bellangee family. His son, Gideon (1756-1825), settled at the place which became known as Sculltown and later as Auburn. His wife,

Sarah James, became a Minister. Their son, David (1799-1884), of Philadelphia, by his wife Lydia Lippincott, became the father of David Scull (1836-1907), the well-known Friend—"a conscientious and devoted member of the Society of Friends with which his ancestors had been identified for nearly three centuries." Of his brother, Edward Laurence Scull (1846-1884) a memoir was written by Allen C. Thomas, and published in 1891. David Scull's only child, William Ellis Scull (1862-), the contributor of this record, left Friends.

In the above issue there is an appreciation of our late friend, Gilbert Cope (1840-1928), with portrait, from the pen of A. C. Myers. An offer is made to copy the names on the gravestones in the burial ground of Friends at Yarmouth Township, Ontario, Canada. The frontispiece of this part represents the Woodstown, N.J., meeting house.

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Alfred Rudolph Justice, of 1452 N. 53rd Street, Philadelphia, Pa., has sent over a copy of his new book, *Wilson and Allied Families—Billew, Britton, Du Bois, Longshore, Polhemus, Stillwell, Suebering*, pp. 179, portraits. The Friendly interest centres in the families of Britton and Longshore. Cananuel Britton (p. 101) is mentioned in Besse's "Sufferings," i. 51. He was of a Bristol Quaker family, portions of which settled early in New Amsterdam (New York), but do not appear there as Quakers. Of the Longshore family Euclydus Longshaw (c. 1692-1764), of Middletown, Pa., married Alice Stackhouse. Their son, Robert, married out of Meeting and other members of the family followed him.

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In the *Sussex County Magazine*, February, 1930, there appears an article by David McLean on "Sussex and William Penn," with references to Worminghurst, Coolham, and the home of the Springetts at Broyle Place, with illustrations.

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*The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Society*, vol. x (Oct., 1929), no. 4, Albany, N.Y., has a one and a half page record of the life of Emily Howland (1827-1929) of Sherwood, N.Y., who was an active supporter of good causes for many years. (See "Jnl. F.H.S." xxiv. 61.)

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Robert Muschamp, Heap Bank, Bury, Lancs., is continuing his valuable work of opening up Quaker history and principles in the County Palatine of Lancaster. The latest are *Quaker Literature in the Lancaster Public Library*, reprinted from the "Lancaster Observer" of June 13th and 20th, and *The Society of Friends in the Bolton District*, taken from the "Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society," vol. xlv.

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Helen Hopkins Thom has written a very interesting account of her great-uncle, under the title: *Johns Hopkins, A Silhouette* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Milford, 9¼ by 6, pp. 125, British



price 12s. 6d., numerous illustrations). Johns Hopkins (1795-1873) was born on a tobacco plantation in Maryland, son of Samuel Hopkins and his wife Hannah Janney. The question of freedom for the slave entered the consideration of the family during his youth and there is an informing view of the result of granting freedom in a family hitherto dependent upon slave labour. Johns was introduced into business life at his uncle's home in Baltimore: Gerard Hopkins was a prominent Minister. The forbidden love-episode with his cousin Elizabeth is narrated in chapter three, each remaining single for life. Johns Hopkins became a prominent and wealthy Baltimorean and the founder of the John Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins University. He was named in memory of his Johns ancestry—Gerard Hopkins, of The Cliffs in Maryland, his great grandfather, convinced of Quakerism during the visit of George Fox, married Margaret, daughter of Richard Johns, a prominent Friend, of Calvert County, Md. A chapter—"Anecdotes"—gives a pleasing picture of a man, "little known and so richly deserving of admiration and esteem."

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The London Friends' Tract Association has re-issued *William Penn*, in the penny series of Friends Ancient and Modern (total circulation to date 27,000). Also *George Fox* in the same series (total circulation to date 30,000).

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\*In the life of *Paul Robeson, Negro*, the famous singer and actor, written by Eslanda Goode Robeson (London: Gollancz, 10s. 6d.) we read that Robeson comes of an old Indian-Quaker-Negro family, of Pennsylvania. His father, Rev. William D. Robeson, married, in 1878, Maria Louisa Bustill (1853-1904), great grand-daughter of Cyrus Bustill, born in Burlington, N.J., 17th March, 1732. Cyrus Bustill traced his ancestry to a powerful Indian tribe. He assisted in 1787 to found the Free African Society, mentioned in Benjamin Franklin's autobiography. It would be interesting to know if any members of the Bustill family professed with Friends.

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In *Episodes and Reflections*, by Major-General Sir Wyndham Childs (London: Cassell, 9½ by 6, pp. xii+287, 18s.), there is an interesting chapter on the Conscientious Objector.

"In all the hundreds of interviews I had with the supporters of Conscientious Objectors I never had cause to doubt their sincerity nor complain of their scrupulous fairness towards myself."—"Great assistance was rendered to us by the Friends' Ambulance Unit. My belief is that close on 100 per cent. of the members were quite prepared to lose their own lives, but were not prepared to assist in taking that of others" (chapter xvi).

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\**Hetty Green. A Woman Who Loved Money*, by Boyden Sparkes and Samuel Taylor Moore (London: Heinemann, 9½ by 6½, pp. 338, illustrations, 10s. 6d.). There is a chapter on the "Rich Quaker

Whalers," of New Bedford. The following appeared in the "Friends' Intelligencer," 3 mo. 22. 1930 :

A clipping sent us entitled "The Witch of Wall Street" tells the story of Hetty Green, who, at the time of her death, was reported to be the richest woman in the world. She was the daughter of Edward Mott Robinson and Abby Slocum Howland, both representatives of Quaker families, and was named Hetty Howland Robinson [c. 1835-1916]. At eight years of age, on her own initiative, she opened a savings account in a bank. The article states :

"In the grim, relentless Hetty Green of mature life there was no suggestive remnant of the merry, handsome girl of those New Bedford years. At first she had a governess. Later she was sent to Eliza Wing's boarding school in Sandwich, where the prosperous Quakers sent their daughters. After that she went to Miss Lowell's select school in Boston. She loved singing and dancing and while in Boston lived as gaily as any girls in that period. But at home under the severe eye of her pious Quaker aunt she wore her plain gray frock and her leaden-coloured bonnet. Her grandfather Gideon was not so strait-laced, however. He yielded to Hetty's pleas for a piano. He went out secretly and purchased one. But before it arrived his temerity forsook him. So he had it delivered while his daughter Sylvia Ann was out and then had it carried up to the attic of the house, where Hetty was enjoined to use it with discretion. A few days later Hetty had a group of girl friends in the attic playing and singing. Suddenly the door burst open. There stood the frail but grim figure of her Quaker aunt. One of the girls was singing :

'The monkey married the baboon's sister,  
Smacked his lips and then he kissed her ;  
Kissed so hard he raised a blister—'

" 'Mary,' cried the outraged Quakeress, bringing the song to an abrupt end and filling the attic with an ominous silence, 'Mary, thee can take thy music and thy parasol and thy furbelows and begone and when we next want music we will send for thee.' "

It was because of the severity of this devout home that Hetty loved to go to New York.

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*A Quaker Forty-Niner. The Adventures of Charles Edward Pancoast on the American Frontier* (Phila. and London, 9½ by 6, pp. xvi. + 402, illustrated, 15s.). Pancoast (1818-1906) was a New Jerseyan ; set off in search of gold in California in 1840 and was in the West for fourteen years ; returned to Philadelphia "richer in experience but not in pocket" —an autobiographical record of absorbing interest.

(There is a notice of an article by George Lippard—"The Gold Devil, or California Now and a Hundred Years Ago," dated Jan. 6th, 1849, in "Pa. Magazine," liv. (1930), 382.)

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Ezra Kempton Maxfield, of the Department of English in Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., has sent us a reprint of his article which appeared in the "Publications of the Modern Language Association of America," March, 1930—*The Quakers in English Stage*

*Plays Before 1800.* This informing brochure, the result of much research, introduces the reader to numerous plays in which the Quaker appears, but states that such plays before 1680 are relatively few, with suggested reasons. "The attitude of playwrights towards Quakers varies all the way from the simple humorous to the downright malicious." Friends are represented as strict bargainers, as haters of parrots, as "gloomy as any kill-joy," using hat honor and plain speech, objection to the play-house, the wearers of green aprons, their inner light and preaching, objections to oaths and national defence. In some plays the originals of the characters may be suggested with a fair amount of certitude, as, for instance, in the "Devil Upon Two Sticks," Dr. Melchisedeck Broadbrim may represent Dr. John Fordyce, "a well-known and somewhat eccentric Quaker physician."

There is much in this treatise to work into the card-catalogue in Friends' Library, London, but this is made difficult by the too many inaccuracies in the references in the notes. Note 16—George Fox is *not* recorded as "speaking of a Quaker butler"; and the reference: "Harvey, *George Fox*, p. 312n." will puzzle students, till they discover that the Cambridge edition to which T. E. Harvey wrote an Introduction is intended, and that "312n" refers to volume one, page 455, which contains a note referring to page 312 where there is not any note. In Note 21 1698 should be 1658, F.H.A. should read F.H.S., p. 22 should be 29 and £50,000 should be reduced to £5,000. Note 11 "Chap. XV" should precede "Sec. 6."

The author regrets these and other slips, but pleads absence from sources and shortness of time as in part responsible for them.

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An extract from Elisabeth Brockbank's life of Richard Hubberthorne, published in 1929, has been printed in pamphlet form with the title: *The Message of Fox* (London: Friends Book Centre, 1d). The title strikes us as bald, why not "George Fox, the Quaker" or something more explicit?

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In *The Philosophical Review* of January, 1930 (New York: Longmans), there is an article by Marjorie Nicolson on "George Keith and the Cambridge Platonists." This article is anticipatory of her work on "Henry More and his Association with Anne, Viscountess Conway, and the Group that gathered at Ragley, Warwickshire," to which we are looking forward with expectant interest and profit. Henry More, F. M. van Helmont, and Anne Conway appear, and there is an illuminating statement that G. Keith became a Friend as a result of reading More's "Great Mystery of Godliness"; upon which More remarks: "A signe to me he did not drinke deepe enough of what was there offered to him."

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The trustees of Samuel Brewster's bequest of 1750 have caused to be produced another edition of *No Cross, No Crown*, by William Penn (London: Friends Book Centre, 7½ by 4½, pp. xxiv. +469, 2s. 6d. net, post paid). The text of the previous fifty-two editions, issued between 1682

and 1896, has been followed, although parts are now out of date, but the Scripture references in the text have been carefully revised, and the notes in Part Two have been made more explicit, though not checked with the quotations in the text. There is a useful Introduction by Norman Penney, which contains the somewhat startling statement that "*No Cross, No Crown*" as now known was not written in the Tower of London. Two facsimile title pages appear and an improved Index to the Testimonies in Part Two.

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Early Quaker Days in Iowa are recorded in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, vol. 28 (Jan., 1930), no. 1. The first article recounts "Beginnings in Iowa," and then we have 76 pages of "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins," largely autobiographical, edited by his son, Hubert E. Collins, of Utica, New York. M. D. Collins (1838-1904) was a birthright Friend. From New York City the family went west through Ohio and Indiana into Iowa, Iowa Territory being reached in 1842. In 1857 Collins married Keturah A. Williams, of a family connected, in England, with Dearman and Backhouse. He and his wife attached themselves to the Wesleyan Church about 1862 and he became a preacher and important office-bearer.

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In the issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* for October, 1930, in an article on "The Founding of Christ Church, Philadelphia," it is stated that Bishop Compton of London "deserves honor for having advised William Penn to buy the Indians' land instead of grabbing it." The same article mentions "the Keithian Quakers" and their founder, also Samuel Carpenter "from whom our present Rector is descended." There is also considerable reference to the "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer" by John Dickinson, pp. 356ff.

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*The Friend* (Phila.), 10 mo. 2. 1930, has an interesting sketch of "Early Days in Iowa," written by Abbie Mott Benedict (1844- ), née Mott; also an article on the Friends' Boarding School, Barnesville, Ohio (Olney) with historical retrospect.

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Students in search of the "atmosphere" in which Quakerism arose should study *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution*, by Margaret James (London: Routledge, 9½ by 6, pp. viii + 430, one guinea). There is a valuable list in one of the three indexes of the London Companies and Gilds—forty-two in number.

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In Joseph Smith's "Catalogue of Friends' Books," i. 321, there is entry of two books by William Bromfield, of London, who apparently left Friends, by the use of \* before his name. Little has been known in D respecting him until there appeared in *Notes and Queries*, January 18, 1930, an illuminating article—"The Galway Prisoners and Doctor William Bromfield." We learn that he was born near Chester about 1650, where "under the influence of Daniel Maddock, a blind Quaker,

he became a member of that faith contrary to the wishes of his wife and relatives." His later homes were Warrington and Hitchin. He spent some time in Ireland on terms of intimacy with King James. It is said that "the Quakers denied him to be of their sect," but he was buried in the Quaker Bunhill Fields in 1729. Towards the end of life he wrote: "The Faith of the True Christian and the Primitive Quaker's Faith . . ." (total title-page contains about eighty words). Henton Brown wrote a reply and Bromfield replied to the reply.

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Dr. Howard H. Brinton, of Mills College, California, has written a study of the Philosophy of Jacob Boehme, under the title, *The Mystic Will* (New York: Macmillan, pp. 16 + 269, \$2.25). Dr. R. M. Jones introduces the volume.

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We have just received from Caroline Hazard, of The Scallop Shell, Peace Dale, Rhode Island, a copy of her handsome book—*Nailer Tom's Diary, otherwise The Journal of Thomas B. Hazard, of Kingstown, Rhode Island, 1778 to 1840*. . . . Printed as written and Introduced by Caroline Hazard, author of "College Tom," etc. (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 11½ by 8½, pp. 808). Preface, dated June 10, 1930, states the Diary took four years to copy and was in the press two years. We hope to return to the book in our next volume.

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*The Making of William Penn*, by Mabel Richmond Brailsford (London: Longmans, pp. xxiv + 368, 12s. 6d. net). This is not another life of the great Quaker, but, as the title implies, a study of the concomitants which united in making the man known as William Penn. Chief among these elements was association with the father, Sir William Penn, and hence we have a valuable recital of the Admiral's life and work in connection with his son. Miss Brailsford, having succeeded in clearing the character of Sir William from the aspersions of his descendant, Granville Penn, proceeds, in admirable language, to trace the course of the life of the son to the time of his father's death, in 1670. There are many authorities from which the author has drawn her material, among them the Calendars of State Papers, but the references to these are confusing from the absence of the dates of the volumes.

Is it correct to state that the Conventicle Act of 1664 was renewed at the end of the three years and again in 1670 (p. 307)? There are eight illustrations, a useful bibliography, and a considerable index in which the principal entries are drawn together under the captions of "Penn, Sir William" and "Penn, William."

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The work of Marjorie H. Nicolson, professor of English in Smith College, Northampton, Mass., several times noted in "The Journal," has now appeared in a portly volume—*Conway Letters. The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642-1684*, collected from Manuscript Sources, and edited with a biographical account, by Marjorie Hope Nicolson (London: Oxford University Press,

Humphrey Milford, 10 by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. xxvii + 517, British price 25s.). Chapter seven, headed "Quakerism," runs to seventy-three pages. A glance (all that can at present be given) reveals a most illuminating series of letters written by Lady Conway, Henry More, George Keith, William Penn and others.

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Edith Philips, of Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, has an article in *The American Historical Review*, October, 1930,—“Pensylvanie: L'Age d'Or.” It begins:

“In ‘The Revolutionary Spirit in France and the United States at the End of the Eighteenth Century,’ M. Bernard Faÿ has called attention to the glorification of the Quakers in France during the French Revolution. . . . The enthusiasm for Quakerism was at its height in the ten years preceding the French Revolution, quoting from the ‘Feuille Villageoise,’ ‘The Quakers are distinguished to-day [1791, 1792] for their incomparable humanity.’”

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*George Fox, Seeker and Friend*, by Rufus M. Jones, is now published in this country by George Allen & Unwin (7 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 221, with frontispiece and good index, 5s. net). The book has been “written for general modern readers who are only remotely acquainted with Fox, the forerunner and champion of much that is vital in the religious thought of today.” (Preface.)

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## Recent Acquisitions to D

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A valuable gift has been received from Philadelphia Friends, per Henry J. Cadbury, of a copy of Sewel's *History of Friends*, printed and sold by Samuel Keimer in Second Street, Philadelphia, 1728, a folio volume of 694 pages and Index, bound in whole calf. The volume has special interest in that Benjamin Franklin assisted Samuel Keimer in its production. Towards the cost of printing Richard Hill gave £121 and James Logan gave £60. (See “Jnl. F.H.S.” xxii. 7.)

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*Innocency and Truth Justified*, by John Lilburne, London, 1646, sent out “From the Fleet, the place of the sweetest spirituall rejoycings, soul refreshings, inward gloryings, hearty consolations, and heavenly comforts, that ever my inward man was possessor of, or I thinke ever shall so long as I am in this earthly tabernacle, and house of clay, this 11 Moneth called November, Anno MDCXXXVIIJ. *Etatis suae* 22. *John Lilburne.*”

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“A COLLECTION of Several Sermons and Testimonies, Spoke or Deliver'd by *G. Fox*, the *Quaker's* Great Apostle; the famous Soldier, *Leonard Fell*, known by the Name of *Priest Killer*; and that Learned Cobler, *Phillip Hermon*; with divers more, which are now Published

for the Good of all." London: printed by B. Beardwell, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1701.

The frontispiece is a rough woodcut representing Philip Hermon, three-quarter length, in hat, in a preaching gallery, other figures about him, saying: "Oh, the Blessed Man *Joseph*; Friends. I believe he had not the Law as We have; oh Friends, I think *Joseph* had not the Law; to the best of my Memory the Law was not Writ in *Joseph's* time; oh, Infallibility." There are four pages "To the Reader," and sixteen pages of "Sermons" and "Prayers."

"An old Womans Sermon at Ratcliff. Ah, Friends, once I was in the Dark, Ah; but now I am in the Light, Ah; Ah, Friends, hold fast together in the Light, Ah," which ejaculation would seem to be the antecedent of the "er" in the Quaker sermon of the past century.

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Charles Ernest Naish has presented a valuable set of lesson-sheets, consisting of highly coloured pictures with printed accompaniment, sold by Edmund Fry, 73, Houndsditch, and also by Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch Street, 1822—*Picture Lessons, prepared for Elementary Schools in Mission Stations and for Infant Schools* is one of the headings.

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Supplement to the Ellis Family, prepared at the request of John Edward Ellis, M.P., 1905. Presented by Edith M. Ellis of Scalby, Yorkshire.

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Thomas Reed Dyne, of Grays, Essex, has presented a manuscript account of the Women's Yearly Meeting, 1814, said to be in the handwriting of Rachel Reed (see "Jnl. F.H.S." xxiii.). The narrator must have taken very full notes, as addresses by various women Friends are given very fully. These Friends include Mary Stacey, Sarah Fox, Elizabeth Wheeler, Anna Buxton *aft.* Forster, Mary Proud, Susanna Horne *aft.* Bigg, Elizabeth Coggeshall, Barbara Hoyland, Sarah Grubb, Rebecca Byrd, Mary Dudley.

At the end of the manuscript there is a record of the visit of the Duchess of Oldenburg and suite to a meeting for worship at Devonshire House, 5 mo. 25, 1814, with the addresses of John Wilkinson and Stephen Grellet on that occasion, and the prayer of the former.

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Hiram Hadley (1833-1922) came of Quaker stock and was a life-long Friend. He was born at Wilmington, Ohio, and became a recognised Minister in 1886. He was for many years clerk of Western Yearly Meeting. In 1856 he married Hannah Fulghum, of Richmond, Indiana, where he was then engaged in educational work, and in 1880 he married Katharine E. Coffin, of Indianapolis. For thirty-five years he lived in the State of New Mexico and became known as "the Father of Education" in that State. Las Cruces College was established and Hadley became vice-president of the University of New Mexico. He was also a leader in the cause of National Prohibition, Women's Suffrage, and Peace, and against the use of tobacco. His last home was Mesilla Park, New Mexico.

A copy of the life of *Hiram Hadley* has been presented by two daughters and a son-in-law, 88, Mountview Street, West Roxbury, Mass.

The following anecdote is worth repetition :

“ There is a story told of a father who took his little boy one morning into the city where he transacted his business. When noon came he took his boy to a restaurant where he often had lunch. The waiter, on receiving the order, knowing that it was the father’s custom to have a bottle of wine, asked the boy what he would have to drink. The boy replied : ‘ I’ll take what Father takes.’ The father, realizing the seriousness of the situation, quietly beckoned the waiter and countermanded the order.

“ During the afternoon, when he went to his office, the words of his boy—‘ I’ll take what Father takes ’—were constantly in his ears. He went to the home rather troubled, and after dinner retired to his study, but he could not work, for he could not forget the words of his boy. He knelt down and prayed to God for guidance, and from that night he resolved he would never touch the drink again or anything that might be a source of danger to others.”

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Marriage certificate—Thompson—Horsfall, Brighouse, Yorkshire, 27 xi. 1793, presented by Charles Walker, of Lee.

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An original letter from William Caton to Friends in England, dated, from “ Cressinge [Griesheim] neare Wormes in Germany, y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> month 1661,” containing much brotherly salutation and acknowledgement of help in tribulation. Records interviews with “ the Prince” (the Prince was Charles Louis, Elector of the Palatinate, brother of the Princess Elisabeth, of Herford). Presented by Arthur Shillitoe, of Salcombe, Devon.

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Walter J. Kaye, of 15, Gower Street, W.C.1 (late of Harrogate), has presented a prospectus of Newton School, Newton in Bolland, Yorkshire, dated 1 ix. 1825, and conducted by Francis Wills, and of which W. J. Kaye, Senr., was master, c. 1869. The terms were “ Board, Tuition, Washing, &c., for Boys under 10 years of age 22 Gs., and above that age 26 Gs., and Vacation one month in the year.”

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*Penology in the United States*, by Louis N. Robinson, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pa., 1923, 344 pp. There is a considerable reference to capital punishment. The Dedication is: “ To those early Friends of Philadelphia whose deep concern for prisoners brought prison reform to the attention of this nation and to the nations of Europe.”

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*Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Juillet-Septembre, 1929, containing an article by Edith Philips, “ Le personnage du Quaker sur la scène française ” (“ The Rôle of the Quaker on the French Stage ”). Mention is made of “ La Jeune Indienne,” 1764, when Chamfort “ a mis un quaker pour la première fois au premier plan dans une œuvre dramatique ”;



“ Le Quaker et la Danseuse,” 1831, “ une intrigue aussi compliquée que peu intéressante ” ; and others.

“ En Angleterre, le quaker est toujours représenté sous la forme d’une caricature. En France, par une suite de circonstances, les traits du quaker sont également exagérés, mais idéalisés plutôt que ridiculisés.”

Diodin should be *Dibdin*, p. 433n.

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The collection of pictures of historical interest at Friends House has recently been enriched by several gifts. The oil painting “ *None shall make them afraid,*” by J. Doyle Penrose, was presented by the late E. Josephine Penrose and now hangs as a companion picture to *The Presence in The Midst* by the same artist, presented in 1916. J. Doyle Penrose has also presented a miniature bronze statue of *John Bright* by Hamo Thorneycroft. *Elizabeth Fry and Mary Sanderson entering Newgate*, by Henrietta M. A. Ward, was purchased by special subscriptions. This is a variant of her earlier and better known painting of the same subject which was in 1924 in the possession of George Vaux, Jr., of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, and is described in The Bulletin of Friends’ Historical Association, Phila., XIII (1924), 84, and in Wilfred Whitten’s Quaker Pictures. The variant painted in 1895 is smaller than the original picture and contains no figures except E. Fry and her companion. The following have also been received : A water colour of *Grove House School*, Tottenham, from John Henry Lloyd and J. Edward Hodgkin ; a water colour of the *Blue Idol Meeting House*, Thakeham, Sussex, from William and Emmeline Wharton ; a portfolio of *Engravings by William Miller*, Quaker engraver (1796-1882), from Mary M. Miller ; two *Water Colours by Samuel Lucas*, Quaker painter (1805-1870), from John B. Braithwaite ; *A Meeting at Earith*, 1839, in oils, by the same artist, from the late Lawson Thompson ; two *Pencil Studies by J. Walter West* for *The Message*, his painting in Birmingham Art Gallery, from William A. Cadbury ; portrait in oils of *John Bright*, by an unknown artist, from Francis Ransom.

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## In Preparation

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The Friends’ Tract Association, London, has in preparation, in the series of Friends Ancient and Modern, a life of *Edward Burrough*, written by Ernest E. Taylor.

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The Book Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street) has in hand a translation of *Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker*, by Dr. Auguste Jorns, published in 1912. Amelia M. Gummere supplies an Introduction.

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H. Winifred Sturge and Theodora Clark are preparing a history of The Mount School, York, to be ready for the centenary of the School in 1931. It will also contain an account of the earlier school founded by Esther Tuke in 1785.

*Elizabeth Fry's Journeys on the Continent, 1840-1841*, edited by R. B. Johnson.

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*Diaries of John Bright*, edited by R. A. J. Walling.

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Juliet Reeve, of Friends' University, Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A., writes from "Caradon," Winscombe, Som. :

"I have started on what will necessarily be a long and painstaking search for instances in history of efforts to settle disputes by goodwill rather than by force. I wanted for my own satisfaction to answer the question, 'Is it possible to overcome evil with good, or is that an impracticable ideal that won't work in this world as it is?' I don't know where the search may lead or what may be the outcome in the way of publication; just now I see no indication of anything to be written in the immediate future. I hope some day an *Outlines of History* will be written from this point of view. As fast as the way opens for me to continue my study I shall do so; if some one else publishes such a book in the meantime I shall be delighted, for it is really creative work based on this history rather than the history itself that I am interested in. Most of the past winter I have spent on Gregory of Tours and other men of his time, studying in particular St. Martin of Tours; but I have reached no conclusion as yet concerning their place in these *Outlines*."

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In connection with the reference to Mark Beaufoy on page 36, we learn that a history of the Beaufoy family from 1066, written by (Mrs.) Gwendolyn Beaufoy, Bury Knowl, Headington, Oxford, will shortly be published by Basil Blackwell and Mott, of Oxford. There will be considerable notice of the Quaker branch of the family, including letters by Friends to Mark Beaufoy on the war with America and a report by him of an interview with George III.

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WILLIAM JACKSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA (*Jnl.* xv. xviii. xix. xxiii). John Comly writes, respecting attendance at Philadelphia Y. M. 1827 :

"Dear old William Jackson, whom I had hoped would never attend another Yearly Meeting because of the deceptive influences that have blinded his mind, and filled it with prejudices in his old age, greatly to his unhappiness and the destruction of his comfort and peace, arose and proposed the appointment of a committee on the subject of unsound ministry. This was embraced by the orthodox on all sides, though opposed by Friends. The English Friends, G. and A. Jones and E. Robson, were there and active. The subject drew out the English Friends, who laid hold of it with severity and by unfair inferences applied it to the whole Yearly Meeting."

*Journal of John Comly*, 1853, p. 317. Comly belonged to the Hicksite body of Friends.

## History of "The Quiet Hour"

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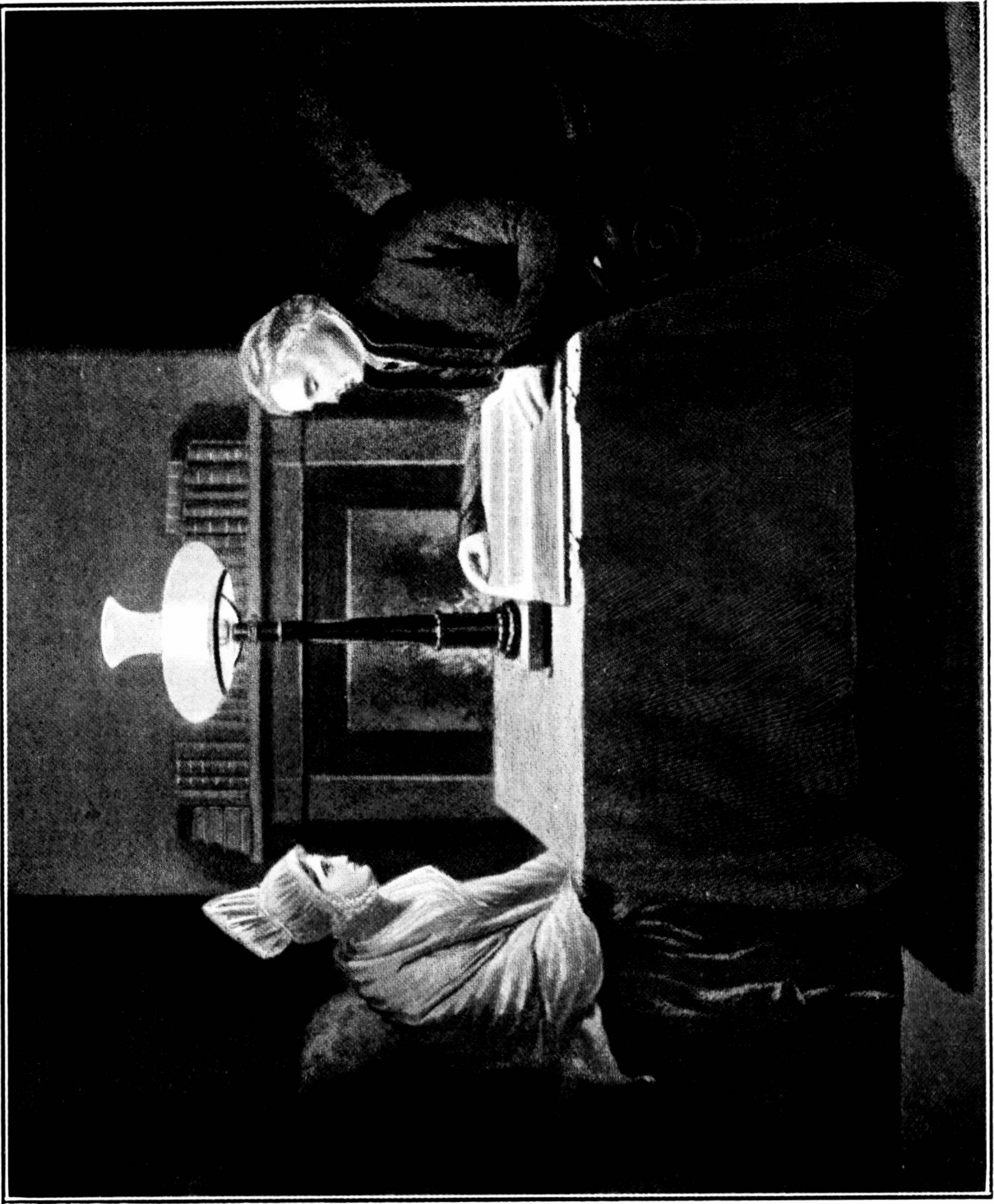
ESTHER M. PICKARD has kindly placed on loan at Friends House the oil painting by Benjamin Robert Haydon (1796-1846) called *The Quiet Hour*, or sometimes, *Reading the Scriptures*, which is well known by engravings to several generations of Friends. The painting depicts the lender's grand-parents, Edward and Eliza Smith (née Gundry), at their home at 29, The Haymarket, London.

There is some uncertainty as to whether Haydon painted two pictures of this kind. The following notes taken from MSS. now belonging to Gertrude Beck, of Streatham, suggest that two pictures were painted and that they differed considerably.

A rough pen and ink sketch signed "B.R.H. 1832" in the same ownership as the notes, contains eight figures gathered about the book and the lamp on the table, four of them children. A MS. note by William Beck written in 1893 states that the picture, for which this sketch was made, was the result of a commission obtained for Haydon by the writer's father, Richard Low Beck (1792-1854), in the following way. Edward Smith (1787-1834) in early life devoted his leisure time to literary and artistic interests and was well acquainted with the artist, who introduced his portrait into a number of his paintings. Haydon in one of his periods of financial difficulty wrote to Edward Smith asking him for an introduction to someone who would give him a commission for any subject agreed upon, in return for the advance of a sum of money. Through the good offices of Richard L. Beck (who had formerly been apprenticed to Edward Smith's father), Frederic Janson, of Stoke Newington (1803-1832), out of compassion, agreed to advance the money in return for a picture of a family reading the scriptures. The condition was laid down that the family was not to be painted in Quaker costume. The sketch referred to was handed in as the basis for the picture. When



SKETCH SIGNED "B.R.H. 1832."



"THE QUIET HOUR," BY BENJAMIN R. HAYDON

[facing p. 80



completed, said Richard L. Beck, the picture did not agree with the sketch.

It was sold instead of being delivered to Frederic Janson, who refused the discourteous offer of a replica. Whether a replica was painted or not is not known, but James Foster, of Stamford Hill, possessed a painting of this kind by Haydon.

A letter dated Leeds, 1907, to William Beck from Lucy Anne Pickard (1830-1910), daughter of Edward and Eliza Smith, relates that Haydon painted the picture which at present hangs at Friends House for her father in lieu of repayment of a loan of money. The picture was to portray her parents sitting in their own back parlour, but they would not agree to sit for the portraits, which had to be painted from memory. The writer described them as very good likenesses both as to face and dress.

The following remarks by Haydon's biographer, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, show that, besides the faults which marred his career as a painter, he had qualities which would endear him to the simple and saintly Edward Smith, and account for the real intimacy which appears to have existed between them :

He was pure in thought and act, generous, lofty in aim, a good husband, father, and friend. His mind was wide in its grasp and well cultivated, his judgment sound in matters unconnected with himself and his art. His life, like his art, was heroic at least in scale and intention. If his vanity and his unscrupulousness in money-matters transcended all ordinary standards, so also did his energy and his power of endurance. Unfortunately his dreams for the glory of his art and the glory of his country were so bound up with the glory of Haydon as to taint his whole career with egotism. . . . The year before his death he wrote, "The moment I touch a great canvas I think I see my Creator smiling on my efforts—the moment I do mean things for subsistence I feel as if he had turned his back, and what's more, I believe it."

Lucy Anne Pickard, in the letter referred to above, says :

I know my dear father was much concerned about him and was anxious to influence him. . . . I believe they used to have many talks in that same little parlour.

In a world full of enemies Haydon must have valued the friendship of the Quaker chemist, terminated by the latter's death in 1834. Overwhelmed by adversities, the artist put an end to his own life in 1846.

JOHN L. NICKALLS.

## Notes and Queries

### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D**—Reference Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
- Camb. Jnl.**—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 2 vols., 1911; *Supplement*, 1925.
- D.A.B.**—*Dictionary of American Biography*, New York.
- D.N.B.**—*The Dictionary of National Biography*, London.
- F.P.T.**—“*The First Publishers of Truth*,” original documents relating the establishment of Quakerism in England and Wales, 1907.
- F.Q.E.**—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.
- Pen Pictures.**—Supplements 16 and 17 to “*The Journal*”—being extracts from notes of London Y.M., 1789-1833.
- Smith, Cata.**—*A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, compiled by Joseph Smith, 2 vols., 1867.

**BOOKS WANTED.**—In connection with the re-publication of William Penn's work, *No Cross, No Crown*, a bibliography is in preparation. The Friends' Library in London is wishful to obtain copies of the following editions:

Boston 1747; Philadelphia 1784, 1789, 1796, 1797, 1865, 1870, 1879, 1882; New York 1845; also London 15th edition, 1806.

*Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. xii. no. 4 and vol. xx. nos. 1. 2.

Information to the Librarian, Friends House, N.W.1.

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**RICHARD THOMAS HOW** (1765-1835).—By the courtesy of Dr. E. How White, of Bournemouth, a volume of three hundred pages, produced in lithographic facsimile, has been on loan in **D**—*Memorial of Richard Thomas How, addressed to those who knew him not*, by

Benjamin Barron Wiffen, 1840. The author was a pious and learned Friend (1794-1867), of Woburn Sands, Bedfordshire. He first brings into review the ancestry of the subject of his *Memorial* through several generations in Bedfordshire, and then, in a quite unusual manner for a Quaker biography, he sketches the life-history of R. T. How—who was sent as apprentice to Benjamin Day, draper, of Bishop Stortford, Essex, “thus gently was he committed to the tide of life, to try his own powers, to spread a gentle sail and ply a timid oar. He ventured not long, for after a few months' trial, he returned to the sheltered haven of his birth; and after making a few more slight efforts, it may be figuratively said he unrigged his little bark and laid it up for life.”

Typed extracts from the *Memorial* are in **D**.



MARY BROOK.—Writing of the Friends' Burial Ground at Hogstyend, Bedfordshire, c. 1840, B. B. Wiffen in his *Memorials of Richard Thomas How*, records:

"Here too lies Mary Brook, a woman whose living eye seemed to read the inmost purposes of the heart, whose ministerial labor is yet witnessed by the aged converts of her faithful service. Under her preaching the stout sea-captain, Captain Bradshaw, sometime, in his old age, reading master of Ackworth School, trembled, and laid down his sword, and after joining the Society of Friends, rejected in poverty the wages of war. A stern reprover was she to the unsubdued in heart, yet she was as a nursing mother to the broken in spirit."

Mary Brook (c. 1726-1782) née Brotherton, was the wife of Joseph Brook, of Leighton Buzzard. She is noted for her one piece of writing—*Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting*, 1774, of which at least twenty-three editions appeared to 1870, including translations into French and German.

*Jnl. F.H.S.* x. xviii.

Thomas Bradshaw (1734-1809), ex-sea-captain, was reading master at Ackworth School, 1791-1804—"a little, stiff man—hat three-cocked—clothes dark brown—gaiters black."

*Jnl. F.H.S.* iii. xv.

SAMUEL SHATTOCK, "the Kings Messenger."—A direct descendant of Samuel Shattock, Lemoyne D. Allen, of Granville, N.Y., has recently visited Friends House on an enquiry respecting pictures of her noted ancestor.

SARAH (LYNES) GRUBB (1773-1842).—She first spoke in a meeting for worship on 12th Dec., 1789, while in the employ of Sarah Grubb of Anner Mills, Ireland, in the seventeenth year of her age. She was recorded a Minister by Co. Tipperary M.M. in 1794. On more than one occasion she travelled in the ministry in Ireland; the first time, so far as can be ascertained, was with Mary Dudley in 1795. She left her mistress's employ in 1797 and became a member of Gracechurch Street Meeting, London. Between 1797 and 1803 (the date of her marriage with John Grubb) she spent a good deal of time travelling in the ministry.

*Information from Isabel Grubb.*  
See also *Pen Pictures*.

LAURA SECORD.—"It may be news to many of our readers that the national heroine of Canada, Laura Secord, was a Quaker Maiden. In the war of 1812, she made her way across country alone in the night to warn a detachment of the British army that the Yanks were on their way to make a surprise attack; the warning was timely given" (*Bulletin F.H.A.*, 18. 93; *American Friend*, 1929, 621).

Above reminds us of the action of Lydia Darrach, the heroine of the American Revolution, who had messages conveyed to General Washington respecting the disposition of the British Army (see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv. xvi.).

PASSENGERS ON THE "WELCOME."—"Our father spoke to me of our ancestor, Samuel Sellers, coming over on the ship *Welcome*,

'How does thee know that? Where is the evidence?' I asked. 'Every body knows it,' he answered. When I asked Lloyd Smith, who came over in the ship *Welcome*, he laughed and said, 'If everybody who has been said to have come over in the *Welcome* had actually done so, the ship would have been sunk long ago.'"

Extracted from the Sellers family book, p. 136.

[Lloyd Smith was for many years chief librarian at the Philadelphia Library: his father and grandfather before him had filled that office.]

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**FEEDING ENEMIES:** It is written of Andrew Sowle (1628-1695) that when "his adversaries came to take away his printing presses and type, he was so resigned and easy in giving up all to his persecutors that when they had done their work, and seized upon all, he (as he often did in like cases) set meat and drink before them, according to the command (Rom. xii. 19, 29) 'to feed even his very enemies.'" (Kite, *Antiquarian Researches among Early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books*, Manchester, 1844, reprinted from *The Friend* (Phila.), vols. xvi. xvii.)

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"The night the mob ruled Philadelphia, Lucretia Mott, in her home on Arch Street below Twelfth, realized her house was in danger of attack. She set a tea table in the parlor, intending to ask the mob in if they came," but they missed the meal (*David Sellers*, under date 1838, p. 56).

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**WHITTIER'S "QUAKER OF THE OLDEN TIME."**—"It is said that

Whittier had Abraham L. Pennock [1786-1868] in mind when he wrote this poem" (*David Sellers*, 1928, 62).

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**CHARLES LESLIE, "THE SNAKE IN THE GRASS."**—This anti-Quaker book was published in 1696. "David Sellers would relate how when a boy he took from the library of the Library Company of Philadelphia a book with the attractive title of 'A Snake in the Grass,' and on reaching home found it a dry theological work" (*David Sellers*, 1928, p. 12).

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**POSTURES IN PRAYER.**—London Yearly Meeting, 1798. William Savery, of America, reports:

"Elizabeth Ussher, from Ireland was engaged in prayer. The meeting kept their seats a considerable time, not knowing her, for which I was sorry. I stood up and Friends followed me."

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**Y.M. 1807.** Richard Cockin reports:

"A subject was introduced respecting the practice of a Friend sitting during their being engaged in Supplication when sitting at Table before or after a Meal, it being the judgment of the Friend that remaining in that position was not paying that reverence to the Supreme Being which on such occasions was due—after some discussion it did not appear to meet the general approbation of the Meeting so, as the practice to be recommended."

From "Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting, 1789-1833." Supplements to "The Journal of the Friends Historical Society," 1930.

CORRECTION.—In *The Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story*, Phila. 1927, page 8, the date of the death of Ann (Shippen) Story is incorrectly given. Ann Story was born 17 iv. (June) 1684, married Thomas Story in Philadelphia 10 v. (July) 1706, died 6 x. (Dec.) 1712, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground, 4th and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. There were no descendants. (See Records of Phila. M.M. and Keith, *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, p. 49.)

*Information from Amelia M. Gummere, Haverford, Pa.*

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HAMMER FAMILY, OF TENNESSEE, AND IOWA.—Benjamin Seeborn visited the Hammer settlement in Iowa early in 1850. He writes: "Rachel Hammer's — Eighteen up-grown persons, and about a dozen children, assembled at the widow Hammer's and we sat round a large fire; but in a house that let in the external air, both through the roof and the sides it was not easy to keep warm. By noon the thermometer was about four degrees above zero. All the Friends in this settlement are from Tennessee and consist of three families, nearly related."

Isaac Hammer (1769-1835) was of Tennessee, in which State he

died before the migration. Was Rachel his widow?

*Jnl. F.H.S.* xvii. xxi.; *Pen Pictures*; etc.

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PETER GRELLET (xxvi. 83).—In Leach's *Old Philadelphia Families* we are informed that "the daughter of Jonathan Ingersoll (1747-1823), married Pierre Grellet, treasurer of France under Napoleon I."

In Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, of July 28, 1806, it is announced that "Peter Grellet and Grace Ingersoll, daughter of Jonathan Ingersoll, were married on July 20, 1806."

*Information from Ernest Spofford, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pa., 1930.*

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GEORGE KEITH AND HAI EBN YOKHDAN.—It has generally been stated but without certainty that Keith was the translator of the little book, printed in 1674, on *Oriental Philosophy*. We now have this made certain in a letter from Henry More, who wrote to Lady Conway, August 11, 1674:

"Keith gave me a little book which he had told into English, of the Orientall Philosophy and particularly of the profound wisdom of Hai Ebn Yokdan" (Nicolson, *Conway Letters*, 1930, p. 392). The ? may now be removed from Smith, *Cata.*, ii. 20.

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M.M. AT STOURBRIDGE, 17 iv. 1717. Two Friends "are desired to furnish James Lloyd and his wife with twelve pounds to pay their passage to Pensylvania and necessarys attending the voyage."

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