

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

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

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FRIENDS HISTORICAL  
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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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120 Richmond Park Road, Bournemouth, Hants.

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### Our Quotation—22

*"To our numerous predecessors who chronicled (scientific) happenings, births, marriages, deaths, and contemporary events, and who saved papers, letters, manuscripts, and books, and to whose industry and foresight we are indebted for the fun of rediscovering their records and putting them together."*

Dedication in the Life of THOMAS SAY, EARLY AMERICAN NATURALIST,  
published in 1931.

### Editor's Hints

**S**TUDENTS of Quaker literature will find the article on the Library of George Fox (p. 3) a study after their own hearts. The readers to whom it makes no appeal may pass on to read of early tea-making on Nantucket Island (p. 23) and of the doings and sayings of Irish Friends in Limerick (p. 59). There is a sad story connected with the article on "Our Recording Clerks" (p. 36), also an amusing reference to Mercy Bell, who eluded the doorkeepers and preached to men Friends from the side-gallery of their meeting house (p. 42), and also secured a hearing in the House of Lords. Meeting librarians should look through the pages on "Current Literature" (p. 69). Attention is drawn to the beautiful piece by George Fox, "A Summer Religion" (p. 50).

THE 859  
**English Physitian**  
 ENLARGED:

With Three Hundred, Sixty, and Nine  
*Medicines* made of *English Herbs* that  
 were not in any *Impression* until this:  
 The *Epistle* wil Inform you how to  
 know *This Impression* from any other.

*Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar  
 Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat Method  
 of Physick, whereby a man may preserve his Body in  
 Health; or Cure himself, being Sick, for three pence  
 Charge, with such things only as grow in England,  
 they being most fit for English Bodies.*

Herein is also shewed these Seven Things, viz. 1 The Way of making Plaisters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultisses, Syrups, Decoctions, Julips, or Waters, of al sorts of Physical Herbs, That you may have them ready for your use at al times of the year. 2 What Planer Governeth every Herb or Tree (used in Physick) that groweth in England. 3 The Time of gathering al Herbs, both Vulgarly, and Astologically. 4 The Way of Drying and Keeping the Herbs al the year. 5 The Way of Keeping their Juyces ready for use at al times. 6 The Way of Making and Keeping al kind of useful Compounds made of Herbs. 7 The Way of mixing *Medicines* according to *Cause* and *Mixture* of the *Disease*, and *Part* of the *Body Afflicted*.

---

By NICH. CULPEPER, Gent. Student in *Physick*  
 and *Astrologie*: Living in *Spittle Fields*.

---

*London*, Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to be sold  
 at his Shop at the sign of the *Printing-press* in *Cornhill*,

Aug. 29 near the *Royal Exchange*. 1653.

## George Fox's Library

---

**J**N 1928, during a visit to London, Dr. Theodor Sippell, of Marburg, drew attention to a document contained in a thick folio volume of seventeenth century MSS. in the Library at Friends House, entitled on the binding, which is modern, *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*. The volume contains thirteen separate items amounting in all to 458 leaves. The greater part of it is occupied by two very detailed inventories of the MSS. which George Fox left at the time of his death ; one is arranged alphabetically by subject matter, the other chronologically. Most of the items in the volume are of a tabular character and have not yet been fully investigated.

The present article deals with a list of some of the printed books in George Fox's own library. Dr. Sippell identified and annotated many of the items, and further identifications and notes have been added since. The literal transcript of the list, printed below, is followed by notes briefly describing most of the books referred to. There are one hundred and twelve items, consisting of one MS. and ninety-nine different printed works, the remainder being duplicate copies. There are sixty-four known works by Friends, and five unidentified works, some of them certainly Friends' books. The Quaker works are identified here by the reference to Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. All of these except Nos. 106 and 107 are represented in the Library at Friends House.

Of the thirty non-Quaker works identified the full title-page is given in most cases. Identification has been effected chiefly by reference to the Catalogue of Printed Books at the British Museum. The titles in the inventory represent in many cases apparently only the first of a number of small works bound together to make a volume. The tantalising note at the end shows that George Fox had at least another two hundred and twenty-seven volumes,

about which further information is entirely lacking. Judging from the average contents of seventeenth century bound volumes of Friends' books in the Library at Friends House, there must have been several thousand works in the collection. One important fact now established is that George Fox possessed books by mystical writers ante-dating Quakerism, viz. Henry Nicholas (No. 6a), Sebastian Frank (No. 99) and the unknown author of *Divinity and Philosophy Dissected* (No. 45).

George Fox's instructions regarding the disposal of his books and papers at William Meade's and elsewhere are printed in *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 349-351.

#### G.ff's BOOKS AT W.M's.

1695.8.15

a. The volums begin with these books.

Volum [*Folio*]

- 1a. Saml. Fishers works. two. [Smith : *Cata.* i. 617.]
- 2a. Wm. Smith's works. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 611.]
- 3a. Isa. Penington's works ubi G.ff's. Testimony. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 355.]
- 4a. G.ff's. Battledoor. where several broadsides. [Smith : *Cata.* i. 663.]
- 5a. Christian Quaker. WP. GW. [W. Penn and G. Whitehead. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 291.]
- 6a. HN's folio. Spiegel dr. gerechtigt.
- 7a. Spt. of ye Martyrs. [Ellis Hookes. Smith : *Cata.* i. 971.]
- 8a. Battledoor with Broad sides, &c. [Duplicate of 4a.]
- 9a. Battledoor, gilt fillet. [do. do.]

*Quarto*

- 10a. W. Dells Trial of Spts. wth others.
- 11a. Steph. Melish visions ;—&c.
- 12a. Ja Parnels Collecçõn. first sheet wants. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 272.]
- 13a. Rusticus ad Academ. [Samuel Fisher. Smith : *Cata.* i. 614.]
- 14a. The Serious peop : Reasoning &c. [George Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 658.]

- 15a. J. Norton's Orthodox Evangel. 1654.
- 16a. R.W. agt G.ff. diggd out. 1676.
- 17a. A little Treatise &c. [George Bishop. Smith :  
*Cata.* i. 281.]
- 18a. News coming up out of ye N. &c. [George Fox.  
Smith : *Cata.* i. 648.]
- 19a. Several petiçõns Ansrđ, &c. [George Fox, James  
Nayler. Smith : *Cata.* i. 646.]
- 20a. The Cry of ye Innocent for Justice, &c. [John  
Crook. Smith : *Cata.* i. 486.]
- 21a. A Declaraõn conc. fasting & prayer, &c. [George  
Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 652.]
- 22a. Sa Clarks 2d part of ye Marrow of Ecclat History  
(50).
- 23a. The Saints Testimony finishing &c. [Smith : *Cata.*  
ii. 647.]
- 24a. A true Discovery &c. I C. &c. [Smith : *Cata.*  
i. 376.]
- 25a. Certain paprs giv. fo. frõ ye Spt. of truth. Tho.  
Stubbs. 1659. &c. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 642.]
26. Wm Dewsbery's Collecçõn. [Smith : *Cata.* i. 527.]
27. Bermudas preacher conc. G.ff. [Francis Estlacke.  
Smith : *Cata.* i. 577.]
28. Hump. Smiths Collect. G.ff's Testim. [Smith :  
*Cata.* ii. 594.]
29. A N. E. firebrđ. quenched. [George Fox ; John  
Burnyeat. Smith : *Cata.* i. 678.]
30. Love to ye captives. [George Rofe. Smith :  
*Cata.* ii. 508.]
31. Several petiçõns Ansrđ. Westmorld. [Duplicate  
of 19a.]
32. The consideraõn of a position. [Isaac Penington.  
Smith : *Cata.* ii. 343.]
33. The fruits of a ffast appointed. [James Parnel.  
Smith : *Cata.* ii. 270.]
34. The Children of Abrah's faith. [Francis Gawler.  
Smith : *Cata.* i. 834.]
35. This is written in plainness. [Humphry Woolrich.  
Smith : *Cata.* ii. 951.]

36. Rd. Hubberthorns Collecçõn. [Smith : *Cata.* i. 1017.]
37. A Trial of faith. [James Parnel. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 268.]
- 37, 2. The obedience of a Xian man.
38. A General Ep. to Fr̃s. [Unidentified. ? Smith : *Cata.* i. 527, 669, 671, 688.]
39. The life of Enoch. [William Bayly. Smith : *Cata.* i. 216.]
40. Three genl. Epistles to be read. [G. Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 668.]
41. The Christian disputat. Viret.
42. A warning to all sorts of peo. [Unidentified.]
43. The Seaman's Calendr. Hen. Philips.
44. To all ye Naõns under ye whole heav. [G. Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 660.]
45. Divinity & Philosophy dissected.
46. To all yt want peace wth God. [Humphry Smith. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 590.]
47. Hebrew Bible. print. Amsterd.
48. The Welsh Bible.
49. The morning watch. [William Smith. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 602.]
50. W. Bailey's Collecçõn. [Smith : *Cata.* i. 220.]
51. A Salutaçõn from ye breathings. [Joseph Helling. Smith : *Cata.* i. 930.]
52. The cruelty of some fighting pr[iests. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 657.]
53. The morning watch. [Duplicate of 49.]
54. The pearl found in Engld. [George Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 656.]
55. Some of ye misteries. [Isaac Penington. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 347.]
56. A true discovery of faith. [James Nayler. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 220.]
57. The Chrãn Qr. (in 5 pts.) wth paprs in it. [William Rogers. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 509.]
58. That all might see (Tithes). [George Fox. Smith : *Cata.* i. 653.]

59. The Cry of blood. [George Bishop. Smith :  
*Cata.* i. 277.]
60. A necessity of separaõn.
61. Episcopos Aposcopos. S. ffishr. [Smith : *Cata.* i.  
617.]
62. The same, stitcd.
63. Imediate Revelaõn. G.K. [George Keith. Smith :  
*Cata.* ii. 18.]

*Octavo*

64. Of ye principles & duties. [Unidentified.]
65. The New Testamt. Engl.
66. A french bible.
67. The Accuser of or. brën. [George Whitehead.  
Smith : *Cata.* i. 41.]
68. The same.
69. Apocalypsis, dutch. I S. [Unidentified.]
70. The Invalidity of J. Faldo. W.P. [William Penn.  
Smith : *Cata.* ii. 289.]
71. Nicodemus his Gospel.
72. Steph. Smith's Collecçõn. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 600.]
73. The same.
74. A little Treatise conc. Suffrgs. Geo. Bishop.  
[Smith : *Cata.* i. 281.]
75. English physitian Culpepr.
76. English Testamt. black lettr.
77. English bible.
78. No Cross no Crown. W.P. [William Penn.  
Smith : *Cata.* ii. 299.]
79. Judgmt fixed. G.W. [Geo. Whitehead. Smith :  
*Cata.* ii. 896.]
80. Hebrew Lexicon. Wm. Robertsõ.
81. Election & Reprob. Geo. Bishop. [Smith : *Cata.*  
i. 281.]
82. Magna Charta.
83. G.ff. so called of ye world. G.ff. [Unidentified.]
84. Something of truth. W. Smith. [Smith : *Cata.* ii.  
607.]
85. A Demonstration. G. Rofe. [Smith : *Cata.* ii. 509.]

86. Universal Love. W. Smith. [Smith: *Cata.* ii. 606.]
87. The Glory of ye true Chu[rch]. ffr Howgil. [Smith: *Cata.* i. 994.]
88. A Treatise conc. Elect. & R. G. Bishop. [Duplicate of 81.]
89. The body of ye Coṃon Law. E.W.
90. The Glory of ye true Chu. Fr. Howgil. [Duplicate of 87.]
91. Battering Rams. Jno. Perrot. [Smith: *Cata.* ii. 402.]
92. Universal Love. W. Smith. [Duplicate of 86.]
93. A new Primmer. W. Smith. [Smith: *Cata.* ii. 607.]
94. A Genl. Ep. to ye Un Chu. T. Collier.
95. A Catechism for Children. G.ff. [George Fox. Smith: *Cata.* i. 655.]  
Catechismus pro parvulis. Idem. [do. do.]
96. A Door opened to ye Impr.S. Ja. Naylor. [Smith: *Cata.* ii. 229.]
97. The Invisible things of G. Fr. Howgil. [Smith: *Cata.* i. 990.]
98. Truth defendg ye Qrs. & yr prn̄ples. G.W. G.ff. junr. [George Whitehead, George Fox jr. Smith: *Cata.* i. 699.]
99. The forbidden fruit. Augustine Elutheris.
100. [1] A more Excellent way. — —  
[2] A Catechism for Children. G.ff. [Duplicate of 95.]  
[3] The Tithetakers Cart ovrth. D. Lupton.
101. The principles of truth. E.B. J.C. W.D. [Edward Burrough, John Crook, William Dewsbury. Smith: *Cata.* i. 487.]
102. The Invisible things of G.ffr. Howgil. [Duplicate of 97.]
103. The Dutch Schoolmr.
104. A pocketbook wt parts in ships. G.ff.
105. The Confession of faith—Chu Engld.
106. Tystiolaeth o Gariad [Cariad]. Jno Songhurst.



107. A primer for Children. J. Perrot. [Smith :  
Cata. ii. 400.]
108. A Dutch Testamt. with Clasps. — —  
Stitchd printed books in 6. parcels. from no. 109.  
to no. 355.
- a. see ye minutes taken at W.M's. house put at ye  
end of this book. (they are since put with b.)

NOTES

*Folio*

6a. Den Spiegel der Gerechtigheit, dorch den Geist der  
Liefden, unde den vorgodeden Mensch H[enrick] N[iclaes]  
uth de Hemmelische Warheit betüget :

Tho ene warachtige Vorklaringe Höuetsommen der  
uprechter Gerechtigheit, offte Könincklicker Kronen des  
evigen Levens.

Hört dit, Oghy alle Völckeren, anmercket alle die in  
dessem Tyde feuen beyde Rycke unde Erme thosamen :

Mynen Mundt sal Wysheit spreken, unde myn Herte  
Vorstandt vorthbrennen. Psal. 48.

De Mundt des Gerechten geit mith Wysheit umme,  
unde syn Tunge sal spreken dat Gericht. De Wet synes  
Godes is in synem Herte, unde syne Gangen slipperen nicht.  
Psal. 36.

[Antwerp : Christopher Plantin, c.1580.] 584 pp.  
Black Letter.

George Fox's possession of this book by Henry Nicholas, the founder  
of the Family of Love or Familists, is of great interest. So far as is known  
he cannot have read the volume himself, but if he used it must have made  
use of a translator. Nicholas (fl. 1502-1580) made many converts in the  
Netherlands and in France and, by the later part of the sixteenth century,  
in England also. In their insistence on righteousness of life and their  
views on outward sacraments and silent waiting, Fox and Nicholas had  
much in common. Most of H.N's twenty-three or more works were  
translated into English but the only known English translation of *The  
Looking Glass of Righteousness* is a fragmentary MS. in the Bodleian Library.  
The only copies of the book now known to exist are two in the Library of  
the University of Leyden and one in the Guildhall Library in London.  
The particulars above are taken from the latter copy.

R. M. Jones : *Studies in Mystical Religion* ; R. Barclay : *Inner Life  
of Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* ; D.N.B. ; A. C. Thomas :  
*The Family of Love* (Haverford College Studies).

*Quarto*

10a. The Tryal of Spirits both in Teachers and Hearers, wherein is held forth the Clear Discovery and certain Downfal of the Carnal and Antichristian Clergie of these Nations. . . . By William Dell. . . . 1653 ?

William Dell (*d.* 1664) graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1627. He became well known as a preacher in the Parliamentary army and from 1649 to 1656 was Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Concurrently he held the living of Yelden, Beds, till his ejection in 1662. His views on baptism, tithes, ministry and on universities as places of preparation for the ministry, agreed with those of Friends, by whom his works were much read, but he remained a cleric to the end of his life.

*D.N.B.*; E. Calamy: *Nonconformist Memorial*; R. M. Jones: *Studies in Mystical Religion*; Smith: *Cata.* i. 521.

11a. One or both of the following :—

XII Visions of Stephen Melish a Germane . . . London, 1663.

England's Warning . . . three remarkable visions of Stephen Melish . . . London, 1664.

The first and probably both of these books were translated into English by Albertus Otto Faber, a German physician, who was associating with Friends in London and elsewhere about the time of their publication. They are written in the manner of the Book of Revelation. A copy of the first is in *D.* Smith: *Cata.* i. 582; and *Supp.* 118.

15a. The Orthodox Evangelist or a Treatise wherein many Great Evangelical Truths . . . are briefly Discussed, cleared and confirmed: As a further help, for the Begeting, and Establishing of the Faith which is in Jesus. As also the State of the Blessed, Where; Of the condition of their Souls from the instant of their Dissolution: and of their Persons after their Resurrection. By John Norton, Teacher of the Church at Ipswich in New England. London, 1654. 384 pp. Another ed. 1657.

John Norton (1606–1663), born at Bishop's Stortford, Herts, educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, was a zealous preacher and was silenced for nonconformity in England. He emigrated to New England in 1635, where, in 1656, he was installed teacher in the church at Boston. He took a leading part in the persecution of Friends under Governor Endicott. Among several theological treatises he published one against Friends.

*D.N.B.*; Cotton Mather: *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 1702; Smith: *Bibliotheca Antiquakeriana*, 1873, 341.

16a. George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes, Or an Offer of Disputation on fourteen Proposals made . . . 1672 . . . unto George Fox then present on Rode Island . . . by R[oger] W[illiams] . . . Boston, 1676.

Roger Williams (1604?-1683), educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, emigrated and became minister in Boston, 1631. He was a vigorous defender of religious liberty, and founded Providence, R.I. Fox gives an account of their controversy in his *Journal*. The book noted here was answered by Fox and Burnyeat in *A New England Firebrand Quenched*, 1678 and 1679.

G. Fox: *Journal* (Camb. ed.); *D.N.B.*; Smith: *Bibl. Antiquaker*. 45<sup>1</sup>.

22a. The Second Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical History: containing the lives of many Eminent Christians, which have lived since the primitive times to this present age, Divided in two books: whereof the first contains the lives of Christian Emperors, Kings, and Sovereign Princes: the second contains the lives of Christians of an inferior rank. 2 pt. By Samuel Clarke, Minister of St. Bennet Fink.

London: 1650.

Samuel Clarke (1599-1683), educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was ordained in 1622. He held a number of lectureships and curacies, caused some offence by his puritan tendencies, and was a friend of Richard Baxter. He protested against the execution of Charles I and was chosen by London ministers to welcome Charles II. But in 1662 he was ejected from St. Bennet Fink. A learned and industrious man, he spent the rest of his days in writing histories and biographies, mainly of classical characters, of which there is a long list to his name. Many of these are works of value.

*D.N.B.*

37, 2. The Obedyence of a Christen Man and how Christen rulers ought to governe, . . . By William Tyndale.

First issued at Marburg in 1528, various London editions, 1540-1561, reprinted in "Christian Classics Series," ed. Richard Lovett, 1888.

This is the most important original work of William Tyndale (c.1490-1536), the translator of the first printed English New Testament. "The work is a defence of the reformers against charges of encouraging disobedience to the civil power. It lays down the duty of absolute submission to the temporal sovereign, and retorts the charge of insubordination against the ecclesiastical authorities. It also insists on the paramount authority of

scripture in matters of doctrine. 'The Obedience' for the first time stated clearly the two great principles of the English reformation—the supreme authority of scripture in the church, and the supreme authority of the king in the state."

*D.N.B.*

41. The Christian Disputations, by Master Peter Viret. Divided into three partes, Dialogue wise: Set out with such grace, that it cannot be, but that a man shall take greate pleasure in the reading thereof. Translated out of French into England by John Brooke of Ashe. London: Thomas East. 1579.

Black Letter.

Three hundred pages of theological discussion in six dialogues, dedicated by the translator to the Archbishop of Canterbury and with a foreword by John Calvin.

43. The Sea-Man's Kalendar, or, an Ephemerides of the Sun, Moon, and certain of the most notable Fixed Stars. Also, Rules for finding the Prime, Epact, Moon's Age, time of High Water, with Tables for the same; and the Courses, Distances, and Soundings of the Coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, &c. and A table of Latitude and Longitude, of the Principal Ports, Head Lands, and Islands in the World; first Calculated by John Tap: Now rectified and enlarged with many Additions. Viz. A New exact Table of the North-Star, and New Tables of 65 of the Principal Fixed-Stars, their coming upon the Meridian every day; with their Right Ascension and Declination, &c. With a Discovery of the long Hidden Secret of Longitude, by Henry Bond, Teacher of the Mathematics. And many other Rules and Tables Added, very useful in the art of Navigation. By Henry Philippes, Philo Nauticus. London: Richard Mount. 1696.

This is the earliest edition in the British Museum of this work bearing the name of Henry Philippes. It was many times reprinted between its first issue by John Tap in 1648 and 1691 and Fox must have had an earlier edition. This little book is additional evidence of his practical interest in the sea and ships.

Besides the tables mentioned in the title the book describes the salient features of coast lines and the directions of ocean courses covering most of the world then known, from Greenland to the East Indies and South America.

Brayshaw: *Personality of George Fox*. See also No. 104, below.

45. Divinity and Philosophy Dissected and set forth, by a mad Man. The first Booke, divided into three Chapters.

Chap. I. The description of the World in man's heart : with the Articles of the Christian Faith.

Chap. II. A description of one spirit acting in all, which some affirme is God.

Chap. III. A description of the Scripture according to the history and mystery thereof.

Amsterdam, Printed in the yeare, 1644.

A copy of this is in **D**. It is supposed to have been translated by Giles Randall. For an account of his ideas and work see R. M. Jones : *Spiritual Reformers*.

47. Biblia Hebraica elegantissimi caractere impressa. Editio nova. Ex accuratissima recensione doctissimi ac celeberrimi Hebræci Menasseh Ben Israel. Amstelodami, Sumptibus Henrici Laurentii, 1635.

The dates of his quotations of Hebrew show that George Fox was studying his Hebrew Bible a little before and after 1660. Several factors contribute to the conclusion that his was the edition here described. At that date there was no other Amsterdam 4to edition.

Menasseh ben Israel (1604-1657) of Amsterdam, its editor, was the leading Rabbi of Western Europe at the time and this was his second and most important edition. He was the chief advocate of the re-admission of Jews to free residence in England, on the ground that their complete dispersion must precede restoration to Zion. His *Spes Israeli*, 1650, was published in Latin, Spanish and English and won him much theological support in Puritan England. In the autumn of 1655 he came to England with a petition to the Protector and the subject was thoroughly discussed in the pamphlet press. As a result of the petition Jews began to settle freely in England in 1656. Was it these events that turned Fox's attention to the Jews and to their language? In February, 1656 (see Catalogue of the Thomason Collection of Tracts), when he was in London Margaret Fell published *For Manasseh ben Israel, a call to the Jews out of Babylon*. In July (Thomason) Fox issued his *Visitation to the Jewes*. He quotes no Hebrew in it. Would he have done so had he known any? Apart from his Hebrew "exercises" in MS., Hebrew words occur in *The Great Mistery*, 1659; *The Battledoor*, 1660; A MS. letter to the Pope, 1662, in **D**; *Epistles*, No. 232 (1664); *Journal* (1664). In *The Great Mistery* near the end under "Some Scriptures corrupted by the Translators," the Hebrew occurs after a number of quotations from the New Testament in Greek. The 4to Hebrew Old Testament of 1635 was often bound up for the use of Christian scholars with a Greek New Testament of Geneva, 1619. Did Fox also give some attention to Greek? A copy

so bound has been added recently to the Library at Friends House. See also No. 80 and note No. 94.

*D.N.B.* ; Braithwaite : *Beginnings* ; *J.F.H.S.* vi. xv ; British and Foreign Bible Society : *Historical Catalogue*, 1911, no. 5124.

48. Y Bibl Cyssegr-lan, Sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd.  
2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. . . . Llundain : James Flesher.  
1654. 8vo.

Though placed among 4tos in the list, no 4to edition of the Bible in Welsh had been published. But if we date George Fox's interest in Welsh from the time of his first visit to Wales, in 1657, this is the Bible he would most likely have bought. It is a reprint, omitting the Apocrypha, Prayer Book and Metrical Psalms, of the first popular edition of the Bible in Welsh which was issued in 1630 and sold for five shillings. The text was the first Welsh translation of the whole Bible from the Hebrew and Greek, published in folio in 1588 and again in 1620 after revision. This has been the standard Welsh Bible ever since and its first cheap edition in 1630 was hailed by a Welsh poet in a verse of which the following is a translation :

" The little Bible is now commonly  
In thy mother's tongue to be had for a crown ;  
Sell thy shirt ere thou lackest that :  
'Tis better than thy father's home to preserve thee."

Brit. and For. Bible Soc., *H.C.* no. 9590.

Fox's knowledge of Welsh was probably slight. *Camb. Jnl.* i. 281, 282 ; ii. 106.

### *Octavo*

#### 65. The New Testmt. Engl.

No. 76 below is also an English Testament, and is noted as being in Black Letter. Neither of these, nor No. 77, an English Bible, can be exactly identified from the scanty information available. In *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxi. 1-8, Henry J. Cadbury shows by quotations from Fox's works that he must have had the use of a copy of the often reprinted Geneva version of 1560, though he was most familiar with the Authorised version.

#### 66. A french bible.

The commonest French edition of the Bible in Fox's day was the Geneva version of 1560 which was reprinted eighteen times before 1690. There were 8vo editions issued from Geneva in 1567, 1588, 1605 and one from Amsterdam in 1635.

Brit. and For. Bible Soc., *H.C.*

71. Nichodemus his Gospel. By John Cousturier.  
Translated into English and prefaced by John Warrin,  
Priest. n.d.

An apocryphal account of the trial, death and resurrection of Jesus, purporting to have been written in Hebrew by Nicodemus.

75. The English Physitian Enlarged: With Three Hundred, Sixty, and Nine Medicines made of English Herbs that were not in any Impression until this: The Epistle wil Inform you how to know This Impression from any other. Being an Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation: Containing a Compleat Method of Physick, whereby a man may preserve his Body in Health; or Cure himself, being Sick, for three pence Charge, with such things only as grow in England, they being most fit for English Bodies.

Herein is also shewed these Seven things, viz. 1 The Way of making Plaisters, Oyntments, Oyls, Pultisses, Syrups, Decoctions, Julips, or Waters of al sorts of Physical Herbs, That you may have them ready for your use at al times of the yeer. 2 What Planet Governeth every Herb or Tree (used in Physick) that groweth in England. 3 The Time of gathering al Herbs both Vulgarly, and Ast[r]ologically. 4 The Way of Drying and Keeping the Herbs al the yeer. 5 The Way of Keeping their Juyces ready for use at al times. 6 The Way of Making and Keeping al kind of useful Compounds made of Herbs. 7 The Way of mixing Medicines according to Cause and Mixture of the Disease, and Part of the Body Afflicted.

By Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in Physick and Astrologie: Living in Spittle Fields. London: Peter Cole, 1653.

The first book under this title was published in 1652 but it was repudiated by the author in subsequent issues as incorrect and unauthorised. It was reprinted several times in Fox's lifetime and continued in use with revisions and enlargements for nearly two centuries.

In his journal under date 1648 Fox says: "The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given to them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of things were so opened to me by the Lord." In 1672 his quick perception and skilful manipulation saved the life of John Jay, who fell from his horse and appeared to have broken his neck. An account of other remarkable cures wrought by Fox is in Brayshaw: *Personality of George Fox*.

*Jnl.* Bicent. i. 28 and Camb. ii. 226-7. See page 2.

## 76. English Testmt. black lettr.

English New Testaments continued to be printed in Black Letter until the early eighteenth century. See also note No. 65.

## 77. English bible.

See note No. 65.

80. The Second Gate or the inner door to the Holy Tongue. Being a compendious Hebrew Lexicon or Dictionary in which all the Roots & Primitive words in the Bible, both Hebrew and Chaldee are orderly set down and numbered, and their significations expressed, in each several conjugation, wherein they are found extant in the Bible; with all the derivative Nouns and their significations taken from the Roots; Together with so much praxis, or so many places of the Hebrew Text so easily resolved into English, and with such easie directions for learning the Language, as that any knowing Christian, Man or Woman, of ordinary capacity, making use of the former Grammar, and this Dictionary, with the praxis joined to both, may learn to read and understand the Hebrew Bible; and that without a teacher. See what is in the book more fully in the following page. By William Robertson M.A. University of Edinburgh now residing at London.

London. Evan Tyler [1654].

William Robertson (*d.* 1686?), lexicographer and grammarian, lived in London and taught Hebrew from 1653 to 1680. He was also an authority on Greek and Latin and wrote several controversial theological pamphlets. His Hebrew lexicon was revised and re-issued as late as 1814.

*D.N.B.* See also No. 47 above.

## 82. Magna Charta.

There were many editions of Magna Charta printed, usually followed by a selection of other statutes and sometimes accompanied by commentaries intended for the use of the plain man.

89. The Bodie of the Common-Law of England: As it stood in force before it was altered by Statute, or Acts of Parliament, or State. Together with an exact Collection of such Statutes as have altered, or do otherwise concern the same. Whereunto is also annexed certain Tables containing a Summary of the whole Law for the help and delight of such Students as affect Method. By Edmund Wingate of Grayes-Inne Esq; Third edition corrected and amended. London: Daniel Pakeman, 1662.

This is a little pocket 8vo of evident value to a man who often needed to defend his rights in court before overweening justices.



THE <sup>15/17/60</sup>  
**BODIE**

*J.* OF THE *Hargrave*  
**COMMON-LAW**

OF  
**ENGLAND:**

As it stood in force before it  
 was altered by Statute, or Acts of  
*PARLIAMENT, or STATE.*

Together with an exact Collection of  
 such Statutes, as have altered, or do otherwise  
 concern the same.

Whereunto is also annexed certain *Tables* con-  
 taining a *Summary* of the whole Law, for the help and  
 delight of such Students as affect *Method*

---

By *Edmund Wingate* of *Graves-Inne* Esq;

*The third Edition corrected and amended.* *W*

---

*London,* Printed for *Daniel Pakeman* and  
*Gabriel Bedell,* in *Fleetstreet.* 1662. *16*

TITLE PAGE OF No. 89 IN GEORGE FOX'S LIBRARY.

From a copy in the British Museum.

94. A General Epistle to the Universal Church of the First Born. By Thomas Collier. London: 1648.

No copy of this book has yet been found. The author, whose exact dates are not known, was a simple countryman without educational advantages and was a zealous Baptist preacher for many years, travelling extensively and baptising, especially in the south and west of England. In 1634 he refused to pay tithes on an estate near Godalming. He published twenty-one theological and controversial pamphlets, the last appeared in 1691. He wrote *A Looking-glasse for the Quakers* against James Nayler, 1656, and in the same year took part in the pamphlet warfare about the readmission of Jews to England. See note No. 47.

Smith: *Bibl. Antiquaker*. 132.

99. The forbidden Fruit: or a treatise of the tree of Knowledge of Good & Evil which Adam at the first, & as yet all Mankind doe eate death. Moreover, how at this day it is forbidden to every one as well as to Adam; and how this tree, that is the wisdome of the Serpent planted in Adam, is that great Image, and that many headed Beast, mentioned in Daniel and the Apocalyps, whom the whole world doth worship.

Lastly, here is shewed what is the Tree of Life, contrary to the wisdome, righteousnesse, and knowledge of all mankind: With a description of the Majestie and nature of Gods Word. By August: Elutherius [pseud. i.e. Sebastian Franck]. Translated out of Latine into English. [London?] 1640.

Sebastian Franck (1499-1542) was a German mystic. The central point in his faith was the belief in man's capacity to hear the voice of God within. He wrote a number of books and the work here mentioned exerted a great influence. It was translated by John Everard (c. 1575-c. 1650) the Cambridge mystic and it is of great interest that Fox possessed a copy. For a discussion of Everard's and Franck's ideas showing their great similarity to those of Fox, see R. M. Jones: *Spiritual Reformers*.

100 [1]. The More Excellent Way: Or, a brief Discourse of that Noble Principle in which All Worthy actions are wrought. London: Giles Calvert, 1650.

A little book addressed to the seeker for the Light. It sets forth Christ as Love and as the Light within. The following are extracts from the text: "This Spirit of all Love, is God in Life, Light, and Strength in the Soule. This is Christ Jesus the New-man (p. 9). [Love] is a rule and guide to itself . . . it rules and governs by its own Scepter. . . . It makes no use of the Law at all for teaching and discipline, as a School-

master ; 'tis no longer so under it (p. 11). Love cloathes itself with no action but what is seemly, and of good report ; but what is honest in the sight of all men" (p. 23).

On the verso of the last page this verse is printed :—

" THEREFORE,  
 " If live eternally thou wilt, in Love thou must  
 Then live : 'tis bliss : without it all's accurst.  
 This is the power of Christ ; 'tis God's right hand,  
 In Saints, enabling them all to withstand,  
 Without, within. To it shall all knees bow ;  
 All Powers in heaven and earth to it shall vow,  
 And yeeld subjection : Kings their Crowns shall throw  
 At Zion's feet, when this God once they know."

No author is known to connect this book with Friends, but its matter and style are much in harmony with other early Quaker writings. Giles Calvert printed many Friends' books.

100 [3]. The Tythe-Takers Cart Overthrown, or, the Downfall of Tythes. Proved that they are not to be payd now, either to the Appropriate or Improprate Parsons or Persons. Pend for the General Satisfaction and Easement of all the People of England. By D. Lupton, Servant of Christ Jesus in the Work of the Gospel. London: R. Harford. 1652.

Donald Lupton (*d.* 1676) served in early life as a chaplain to English forces on the Continent. From about 1632 he lived for many years as a hack author of miscellaneous books, supporting all parties in turn. In 1655 he published *The Quacking Mountebanck or the Jesuite turn'd Quaker*. In 1663 he was appointed vicar of Sunbury, Middlesex.

*D.N.B.* ; Smith : *Bibl. Antiquaker*. 9.

103. The English } {French  
 Latin } {Dutch Scholemaster or, an introduction to teach young Gentlemen and Merchants to travell or trade. Being the only helpe to attaine to those languages. London : 1637.

This is a conversation and phrase book on much the same lines as modern short-cuts to foreign languages compiled for travellers.

104. A pocket book wt parts in ships G.ff.

This is evidently a MS. book recording the shares, or parts, which Fox held in various trading ships. It is known from a number of sources that he invested money in adventures at sea. His testamentary papers mention

two, one of which was "one 32 part of John Cockerells Ship of Scarborough Named ye Pashant Triall which cometh to £38 : 7 : 8." *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 354. Neave Brayshaw, in *Personality of George Fox*, collects a number of references to this interest. See also No. 43 above.

### 105. The Confession of faith—Chu Engld.

Three books have been found to which this abbreviated entry might apply. The title of the first below corresponds most nearly with the words of the MS. It was issued by one of the early dissenting congregations of exiles for their faith and is addressed from Amsterdam in "The yeare of the last patience of the saints, 1598."

The second, the Westminster Confession of 1648, Fox would be likely to get as soon as issued and the third was the subject of his *Something in Answer to that Book, Called the Church-Faith*, 1660.

(1) The Confession of faith of certayn English people, living in exile, in the Low countryes. Together with a brief note of the special heads of those things wherein we differ frō the Church of Englād. . . . Reprinted in the yeare 1607. 72 pp.

(2) The Confession of Faith and Catechisms, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster: [to be a part of Uniformity in Religion between the Churches of Christ in the three kingdomes.] Together with their Humble Advice Concerning Church Government and Ordination of Ministers.

London: R. Bostock. 1648.

(3) A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England: Agreed upon and Consented unto by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, October 12th, 1658. Smith: *Cata.* i. 661; *Camb. Jnl.* i. 328, 457.

106. Tystiolaeth o Gariad. Jno. Songhurst. London: 1683.

This is a Welsh translation of John Songhurst: *A Testimony of Love*, 1680. There is a copy in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Smith: *Cata.* ii. 615, mentions only the English edition.

### 108. A Dutch Testmt. with Clasps.

This is the only book in the list known to survive today.

A small 12mo. Dutch Testament traditionally known as George Fox's and inscribed *G: ffs Book* is in the possession of Friends' Historical

Association, Philadelphia. The title page is missing, but the preface, whose first page is reproduced ante, shows that it is one of the many issues of the States-General version. This issue is not recorded by the British and Foreign Bible Society, but it is very similar to their copy of *H.C.* 3316, title page undated, but probably published about 1657.

The translation, which was initiated by the Synod of Dort, 1618, was carried out at the expense of the States-General of the United Netherlands by a band of scholars, between 1628 and 1635. The States-General preface is dated 29 July, 1637. The whole Bible in this version was first published in 1637 and it became and remains the standard Dutch Bible. An English translation of the whole work, complete with its notes, was published in London, 1657.

The volume under notice belonged at one time to Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, at whose death in 1905 it was purchased by Joshua L. Baily and after his death was presented to the F.H.A. When in J. B. Braithwaite's possession the book was rebound by William Crump, a London Friend, who preserved the old cover with the brass clasps. This cover was in 1914 sent to America and is now with the book. Notes on the book, its possible use by George Fox and its history are in *Bulletin F.H.A.* iii. 156 ; xiv. 68.

Brit. and For. Bible Soc., *H.C.* 518, 3307, 3316.

JOHN L. NICKALLS.

## On Bible-burning

Henry More to Lady Conway. Aug. and Sept. 1670 :

" A Quaker whyle I was in London brought out severall parcells of choice books amongst which was also the bible, and began to burne them in Cheap side or the Exchange."

" The Quaker that would have burnt the bible is one Penniman, who published a papyr after for his excuse, which, as I am told by a judicious person, does but continue the report as to his intention, supposing being moved from the Lord, but before any mortall man should force him to burne any profitable part of the bible he would loose I know not how many lives.

" But he doth not disavowe but that a motion from the Lord (which are very cheap amongst them) might make him. This is the summe of his Apologie. Neither do I think that it is so far from the spiritt of a reall Quaker to burn the bible when as the letter of it is so little believed by them. For that unbelief takes away the very sense of the bible, the Fire consumes only the paper."

NICOLSON, *Conway Letters*, 1930, pp. 303, 306.



# Tea at Nantucket

With Introduction by FLORA THOMAS, author of *The Builders of Milford*, etc.

**W**HILE diligently delving among the ashes of the past for certain dry historical data, it was lately my good fortune to come upon a very live fragment, entirely free from the grey dustiness of its surroundings. This was the letter of a young girl belonging to a past generation of the family among whose records I was searching. A delightful letter, simple and sweet, exceedingly well written, breathing the spirit of the quiet Quaker folk and giving a vivid picture of American home life at that time. The year 1745 was a disturbed one in England, for the Jacobites were being very unpleasantly active, but the affairs of Bonny Prince Charlie seem to have left Nantucket cold, and its Quaker inhabitants pursued the even tenor of their way, unvexed by Stuart troubles.

There are in certain families, strong characteristics, which crop up in generation after generation as distinguishing marks. Such a feature was the Bourbon lip, faithfully rendered by Velasquez as possessed by occupiers of the Spanish throne. The owner of a not altogether attractive feature can therefore, if it be true to type, take comfort in the fact that at least he bears about with him the insignia of a good old line, showing him to be of no mushroom growth.

The Starbuck family had for their special characteristic a spirit of enterprise and pioneering, more marked than any physical feature, though in a footnote to Ruth Wentworth's letter some commentator has briefly recorded "they are a handsome race." Ruth Wentworth's mother was a Starbuck, and when the call of the wild drew this true child of the race to pioneer northward with her husband and children, Ruth was left at the Starbuck Plantation on Nantucket Island with her grandparents, her uncle Nathaniel, and her aunts Content and Esther.

It was in 1641 that Edward Starbuck had set sail from England to seek a new home in the new country, America. The Pilgrim Fathers had the start of him by twenty years, but he went his own way and with his own friends and his own peculiar faith, and made his own clearing on the shores of a strange river in the new land.

One such effort would be enough for most men in a lifetime, but given a spur of troublous circumstances, the company of a trusty friend or two, a good ship on the shore and the wide expanse of the unknown world

before him, and Edward Starbuck was up and off again for fresh discoveries. So it was that in 1659 he and his little party of friends came upon the island of Nantucket and its Indian inhabitants, and proceeded to purchase and settle it. The success of this enterprise is clearly to be seen in the internal evidence of the Quaker girl's letter written nearly a hundred years later.

It is another writer, one Judge Sullivan, of Boston, who some forty years later makes complimentary mention of the courage and dexterity of this Society of Friends in whale fishing. In this industry they did largely and well, supplying to the old country enough oil for the "luxurious lighting of London." But pretty Ruth Wentworth is not concerned with pioneering struggles or prowess on the high seas. Her lot is cast in pleasant places, already prepared, and she tells very charmingly of the people and doings on the island, weaving into the web of the story the shining thread of her own life's romance.

Thus she sets it down :

Starbuck Plantation,  
Nantucket.

September, 1745

My own dear Mother,

It seems a long time since you and my honoured father and my ever dear brothers and sisters started for your new home ; but I suppose you have not yet reached your destination, and I think of you every day and all day long as marching and marching, following the lonely trail through the forests, and sometimes I am tempted to repine in that my father thought it best to remove to that far away settlement. But my grandfather tells me that the entertaining of this sentiment would be unworthy the daughter of a pioneer, and since it was thought best for me to remain on the island for a season, I must improve my time to the best advantage, and this I try to do with cheerfulness and Aunt Content is so kind as to say that I am of service to her in our household duties and in spinning and weaving.

Peradventure my letter shall be a puzzle to you, so I hasten to say that I indite a paragraph or two upon leisure, and whenever anything comes into my mind I desire you to know I straightway go to my uncle's desk and set it down. I do this, dear Mother, that you may share in my pleasant thoughts, and may know of my daily life ; also that my brothers and sisters may in a measure partake of my enjoyment.

The principal news I have to tell you is that my cousin Nathaniel Starbuck, junr., has returned to Boston from his



late long voyage to China, and is now hourly looked for here where there are divers preparations made for his welcoming. My grandfather walks restlessly up and down with his stout stick, peering anxiously up the roadway by which our traveller must come. Uncle Nathaniel says with pride: "The boy will have many stories to tell." Aunt Content flits about with a smile on her face and anon with tears in her eyes, concocting the dishes of which her son used to be so fond; while dear old Grandmother knits and knits, because she says: "'Than'el never yet wore any stockings but of my make, and I must have a supply for him to take on his next voyage;" while I am to have a new blue gown made from Aunt's last web, which is the finest and softest piece of flannel ever made on the island.

\* \* \* \*

My cousin has come. He is tall and lithe, with handsome hair and eyes, and his complexion is bronzed by the ocean winds and Eastern suns. He says it seems to him like a fairy tale that I am the same little dumpling of a Cousin he used to toss in the air when he was last home. He is much grieved to find you are all gone, and is planning a hunting expedition whose objective point shall be your far-away settlement.

The neighbours all congregated around our kitchen fire to hear his wonderful stories and adventures, which he was relating all day long and far into the night; and for all he has travelled almost over the whole world, he is as pleased as a boy to be at home on the dear old Nantucket plantation again. We are all as happy as we can be with our divided hearts, and all have a frequent thought and wish for our wanderers, while grandfather remembers you each morning and evening at the Throne of Grace.

My Cousin has brought a great many curiosities and presents for us all. One is a silken creamy shawl for me, woven and embroidered with beautiful flowers. Another is a gown of foamy Canton crepe as white as snow, and they are so pretty I am sure I shall never dare to wear them. Grandma says they shall be kept for my wedding. Aunt Esther says it is not seemly for such thoughts to be put into a maiden's head, but Aunt Content gave me the other day a whole piece of linen from the Fall bleach to be kept, she said for a day of need.

At all events, my finery is packed away in gums and spices in a foreign box and is not likely to turn any silly maiden's head at present.

\* \* \* \*

Cousin has returned to Boston, and yesterday he sent by a trusty messenger, another sea chest. It is a large box of tea, the first that was ever seen on the island, real Chinese, which Nat himself procured in China. It is of a greenish colour with little shrivelled leaves and when eaten dry has a pleasant spicy taste. Perhaps when I send this letter I can enclose some that you may see what it is like. He also sent a letter saying that when he returns to Nantucket, the owner of the ship in which he voyaged, Captain Morris, will come with him from Boston to pay us a visit.

We are again making master preparations for visitors ; and if you will believe it, the great parlour which has not been used since Aunt Mehitable's wedding is to be opened. The floor has been newly waxed and polished, and we have spread down here and there beautiful mats which Cousin Nat brought, with many curious and handsome things which are hung on the walls and spread on the table and mantel-piece ; and the huge fire of logs the sharp weather now renders needful in the chimney sends out such a glow that you can have no conception how finely the room appears. I was admiring it this morning, when Aunt Esther rebuked me gravely, saying : " The bright things of this world are of short duration," but dear, gentle grandma said, with a smile, that it was natural and right for the young to admire beauty, at which Aunt Esther seemed much displeased. I sometimes think she does not like me because I am young, but that cannot be. Yet I cannot quite understand how, being my own sweet mother's sister, she can be so unlike her.

We have just had tidings that Cousin Nat and his friend Captain Morris intend to arrive on the 31st of December. Uncle Nathaniel says he will have a tea-party, and invite Lieutenant Macy's family and Uncle Edward Starbuck's family, and a few others, to meet our guests, and to " sit the old year out and the new year in."

We cooked a beautiful dinner, and our guests all came. I wore my new blue gown with some lace grandma gave me in the neck, and my own dear mother's gold necklace. I tied back my curls that Cousin Nat will not allow me to braid with

a blue ribbon which he bought in London. Aunt Esther said men dislike to see girls look so brave but grandpa kissed me and called me "a bonnie blue-bell."

Aunt Content has been much pestered in her mind because she knew not how to serve the tea or to cook it, and after our neighbours were assembled she confided to them her perplexity. They all gathered round the chest, smelling and tasting the fragrant herb. Mrs. Macey said she had heard it ought to be well cooked to make it palatable. Aunt Edward Starbuck said a lady in Boston who had drunk tea told her it needed a good quantity for a steeping, which was the reason it was so expensive, so Aunt Content hung the bright five gallon bell metal kettle on the crane and putting a two quart bowlful of tea in it with plenty of water, swung it over the fire, and Aunt Esther stayed in the kitchen to keep it boiling.

While I was laying the table I heard Lydia Ann Macey say: "I have heard that when tea is drank it gives a brilliancy to the eyes and a youthful freshness to the complexion. I am afraid thy sister-in-law failed to put in enough of the leaves." So Aunt Esther put in another bowlful. When the tea had boiled an hour my Cousin and Captain Morris arrived. Then the tea which had boiled down to about a gallon was poured into grandma's great silver tankard and carried to the table, and each guest was provided with one of her silver porringers; also with cream and lumps of sugar.

The Captain talked to me before dinner, and I told him before I knew I was getting confidential how you were all off in the wilds. He said that enterprise was what the new Country needed, and that it was not best to have Nantucket peopled entirely with Starbucks. That I was one of the old stock it was plain to be seen, he said, if my name was Wentworth, and then he looked pleasantly around the circle of the Starbucks. I suppose I do not resemble them at all. I saw Aunt Esther looking at me so sharply that I remembered she had often told me it was not seemly to talk with men, so presently I became discreetly silent. But when dinner was announced, the Captain took me out and made me sit by him.

After grandpa had asked a blessing on the food, Aunt Content said to her son and his friend: "I have made a dish of tea for you, but I am fearful it is not rightly made, and would like to have your opinion;" whereupon my cousin and

the captain looked and sniffed at the tea, and my cousin made answer : " As my loved mother desires my opinion, I must needs tell her that a spoonful of this beverage, which she has with such hospitable intent prepared for us, would go nigh to kill anyone at this table ; " and the captain said, laughingly, that my aunt could keep the concoction to dye the woollens. He further said he would instruct us how to draw the tea, " and this young lady," he said, turning to me, " shall make the first dish of tea ever made on Nantucket." So the tea was made by his direction and poured into the tankard Aunt Content had got ready, and the captain carried it to the table for me and helped to pour it into the porringers for the guests. He was so kind also as to say it was the best dish of tea he had ever tasted.

We had a wholesome dinner and enjoyable withal. Cousin Nat told stories and sang songs, in which Captain Morris joined him, and then the happy new year's greetings took the place of the good-byes when our neighbours left for their homes.

My Cousin's friend still stays for the shooting, and there is not much spinning and weaving done, for it takes so much time for the cooking and the eating and the visiting. He is very agreeable and calls grandfather " the Miles Standish of Nantucket." I heard him tell Uncle Nathaniel that we had good blood, and ever since he became acquainted with Cousin Nat he had conceived a great admiration for the Nathaniel Starbucks ; and he said something about a wife. Perhaps he remains here on Aunt Esther's account ; but dear me, she is so prim (I write with all respect, dear Mother) and he is such a jovial gentleman, I do not understand how such a wedding could be harmonious. If he has a regard for her it must be on account of the Starbuck blood.

Oh, my Mother, how can I tell you ! It is not for love of Aunt Esther that Captain Morris remains, but your own little daughter ; and all the Starbucks, saving Aunt Esther, who declares I ought to be put back into pinafores, have given their consent that I shall be married and sail away with my husband in his ship to foreign parts, to see for myself all the wonders of which I have heard so much of late. But I will not give my consent until I first have that of my father and mother ; so there is a company being made up to go with Cousin Nat and the Captain through the snows to your far-away home.

And so after all it will be this new friend of whom I have written so much who will take this long letter to you. I am sure, dear Mother, that you who know my heart so well will not think it unseemly for me (to pray) that the Lord will guide your heart and that of my father to feel kindly toward this gentleman ; for indeed he is of good repute and is so kind as to be very fond of me ; and (if) I feel that I have your consent, and that of my honoured father, together with your blessing I shall be very happy and take an honest pride in being his honoured wife.

The Captain declares laughingly that I am sending him on a quest like a knight of old to prove his love. I cannot help thinking it strange his wanting to marry me and when I said so one day he replied gravely that it was all on account of the tea which got into his head. And indeed it may be so, for I was flighty and hardly shut my eyes to sleep at all the night after partaking of it ; and even my dear grandmother says she would not answer for the consequences of what she might be led to do were she to make use of it every day.

I send you, with other articles, some of this famous tea and a bit of the white crape that I shall, if so it seemeth best in the judgment of my honoured father and dear mother, wear as a wedding-gown.

The household all join me in sending loving greeting to you all (and) I remain now and ever,

Your dutiful and loving daughter,

RUTH STARBUCK WENTWORTH.

The above letter was printed in the *Leeds Mercury* many years ago, and it appeared in *The Evening Bulletin*, of Philadelphia, January 1st, 1922.

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REMINGTON HOBBIE (*Jnl.* xvii. 73). John Comly writes, under date of 1818 :

“ Met with Remington Hobby, a Friend from Vassalborough, who gave an account of his convincement by means of a conversation with David Sands. He was then a Justice of the Peace. Being convinced of our principles, he joined Friends, and became an eminent minister, a man of talents and usefulness ; but, at length, being much esteemed by Friends, he let in spiritual pride, and exalting himself, he gave way to temptation, so as to lose his standing and usefulness in society. Alas ! how is he fallen, and yet there remains a love to Friends.” (*Journal*, 1853, p. 238.)

## Quakers visit Henry More

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"G. Keith the Quaker about ten dayes agoe was with me. I understand he had a minde to give me a visitt by one R. Barclay a great friend of his, and of the same sect, who visited me first, and acquainted me with G. Keith's designe. I would have made this R. Barclay sup with me, but he seem'd sometimes inclinable and sometimes off againe. I told him he was affrayd I should pervert him and turne him off from his Quakerisme, But I persuaded G. Keith when he came, both to sup with me and dine with me next day, and had I believe 9 or 12 hours discourse with him ; and setting aside his Schismaticallnesse, which I roundly told him off, and the ridiculous rusticity of that sect, I found him a man very considerably learned, of a good witt and quick apprehension, and which is best of all, heartily breathing after the attainment of the new life of a Christian."

HENRY MORE to Lady Conway, from Christ's College, Cambridge, August 11th, 1674, in *Conway Letters*, by M. H. Nicolson, 1930, p. 391.

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"There were differences which at first obscured the similarities to More, as to the Quakers ; not only differences of education and training, for many of the Friends were men of gentle birth, trained in the universities ; but differences of emphasis and method. Except in George Keith, one finds in the early Quakers no such pondering on philosophies and historical similarities as in More and his school ; and George Keith's profound interest in such problems, much of which he gained through More and Van Helmont, was the beginning of his apostacy."

MARJORIE H. NICOLSON, *Conway Letters*, 1930, p. 380.

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"Quarter-Meeting 5 day 2 mo. 1694 :

"Upon enquiry how friends stand faithful against carrying of Guns in Ships &c. And also that friends stand clear from being Posts or Poles for being or finding a soldier in ye Train-band, &c.—its ye advice of this Meeting that Friends in their several Mo. Meetings do enquire into these things and advise against them."

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"Quarter-Meeting, 1 day 11 mo. 1690 :

"A Query being made whether Frds at the Burials of their dead may give and receive from one another or from their Neighbours, Ribons, Gloves, Scarfs, Rings, or Money as the custom of the World hath been—the result of this Meeting is, that Friends stands clear from all such things and neither to give nor receive as aforesaid."

Copied from a Minute Book on deposit from Marsden Preparative Meeting, 1696-1733, referring to Lancashire Quarterly Meeting.

# Our Recording Clerks

*Continued from vol. xxvii. p. 9*

## No. 6. JACOB POST, 1757-1757

JACOB POST was born in London, in 1700/01, in Red Lion Court, son of Benjamin Post, timberseller, and of Elizabeth, his wife. He was brought up to his father's trade, and in 1730 he married Mary Blenman, of London. One Jacob and two Johns died in infancy. Their mother died in 1737, aged forty-two, at Tottenham, a few months after her son Edward was born. The father married again, in 1741, Mary Row, of London and was father of another John, born 1745, apparently the only surviving son; he was grandfather of Frederick James Post, of whom a memorial volume was printed in 1838. Jacob Post died in 1757 of fever and was buried at Whitechapel.

About 1755, at about the age of fifty, Jacob Post joined the Office staff, possibly in succession to John Fudge, who appears to have been in the Society's employ, and who was paid £1 5s. for one Quarter's Salary in 1753.

The Meeting for Sufferings recorded, 4 iv. 1755 :

“ This Meeting having under consideration the Making of Jacob Post Satisfaction for his Attendance as Assistant Clerk to this Meeting by reason of the Indisposition of Benj. Bourne, appoints . . . to consider the affair, and confer with Jacob Post thereon.” Next month Post “ brought in his bill for his salary to the 25th of Third Month last, amounting to Thirty-eight Pounds 17/9.”

In Tenth Month, 1757, the Meeting decided

“ to consider what may be reasonable to allow Jacob Post [now clerk] for his extra service at the last Y.M. in making sundry extracts, etc., over and above the Common Business of said Meeting—y<sup>e</sup> committee reports that they can find but one instance of any such Charge in the time of Benja Bourne for business of the like nature. They are therefore of opinion that the sum of £2 10s. od. be now allowed to Jacob Post, but that it may not be any precedent upon Future occasions.”

Jacob Post wrote the heading for the Meeting to be held 28 x. 1757, but was deceased before many days had passed and the minutes of the said Meeting were entered in another hand. A bill for one month's salary, £4 3s. 4d., was made out to the executrix of Jacob Post.

#### No. 7. ROBERT BELL, 1757-1759

Of the seventh holder of the clerkship, Robert Bell, little appears apart from his official position. In 1753 he signed a document emanating from Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, he being then about forty-five years of age. The minute caused by the death of Jacob Post, 11 xi. 1757, required the Meeting for Sufferings to consider at its next meeting

“ the choice of a proper person to succeed him as clerk of the Meeting. In the mean time Robert Bell is desired to do the necessary business of this meeting ” ;

and a week later :

“ The Meeting taking into their consideration the choice of a clerk to succeed Jacob Post, deceased, and Robert Bell offering himself for that service, he was chosen accordingly. John Fothergill or Jacob Hagen, Jr., is desired to carry a copy of the above minute to the next Quarterly Meeting.”

The position carried a salary of £50 per ann.

Next year, in Eighth Month, the clerk applied for assistance. This was considered by a committee which also had before it a letter from William Weston, who applied for the post of assistant clerk.

“ It seems proper to us that William Weston be paid for his service out of the Salarys allow'd by this and the 6 Weeks Meeting, and the Meeting of 12, fifty Pounds p annum and that the remaining Fourty Pounds p an. Salary and all the perquisites shall belong to Robert Bell. . . . Friends confer together and agree how to devide between them in the best and most convenient manner the work which is to be done.”

But ten months after this arrangement was minuted, the Meeting for Sufferings, held 22 vi. 1759, was informed that

“ it did not suit Robert Bell to continue in our business and that he proposes to lay it down at the End of next Quarter.”



Thus, after only some six years of service, two of them in the principal office, R. Bell resigns the clerkship, but is called in later to assist. He died from consumption at the age of sixty-eight, 15 iv. 1776 and was buried at Bunhill Fields.

[In Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books* there are recorded several works, issued anonymously, but stated on the authority of our great bibliographer to have been written by a certain R. Bell. In a note to these Smith writes: "There was a Robert Bell who was Clerk (I believe) of the Meeting for Sufferings about the period this author lived, whether he is the same as the writer of these tracts I have yet to learn" (and so have we). Copies of the four writings referred to are in **D**. The dates of issue are 1746, 1747, 1749.]

#### No. 8. WILLIAM WESTON, 1759-1773

We have now to record the life of a Friend who was a prominent Minister as well as the Society's clerk. In the Testimony issued by Gracechurch Street Monthly Meeting, London, we read:

"He came into the Society after the middle stage of life. After seeking amongst divers Professions and being dissatisfied in his Mind, he came to an Evening Meeting at Gracechurch Street, where, thro' the Ministry of some Friends, his State was opened and he was convinced." He joined Friends, became a Minister, and visited Meetings in Kent and Sussex, saluting "the Little Flock at Rochester" with a letter in 1760. There is a letter in **D**, written to Mary Jackson, of The Old Vine Vaults, Lothbury, London, without date, referring to family visits in company with Sophia Hume and "Molly" Pryor.

The resignation of Robert Bell caused the following minute to be recorded by the Meeting for Sufferings, on a report from a committee:

"This Committee being of opinion that William Weston is by this time so well acquainted with the nature of the Business . . . as to be worthy of a tryal, & therefore agree to recommend him to the Meeting."

William Weston, having been in a subordinate position for about a year, is now, 1759, approaching the age of sixty, installed as principal officer, and he held the office for

fourteen years, "which trust he discharged with Fidelity and Care."

Four years later the Yearly Meeting authorised the Meeting for Sufferings "to provide a proper person as an assistant to William Weston, to be paid out of the Clerk's salary thus increased," viz. an increase paid by the Quarterly Meeting of £10 and by the Meeting for Sufferings of £20. This resulted in the appointment in 1763 of Thomas Gould, Junior, "a young man from Skipton," as assistant clerk at £30 per ann., which lasted for ten years, when William Weston informed the Meeting for Sufferings that, being rendered unable to transact the business thereof through want of health, therefore requested leave to resign,

"To which this Meeting consents, and, in consideration of his long and diligent services, desires the following Friends to consider what Allowance may be proper to make him. And the said Friends are also desired to enquire for a person to be joined with Thomas Gould in the room of William Weston as clerk to this and the other Meetings in the City." An annual retiring allowance of £40 was granted W. Weston and he retired to Rochester, in Kent, where he died on the 14th of April, 1774, aged about seventy. His wife Mary died in 1776, aged sixty-four.

Prior to his retirement William Weston was absent at times owing to ill-health and Joseph Storrs was engaged in May, 1772, to assist the assistant, for a payment of eight guineas.

#### No. 9. THOMAS GOULD, 1773-1783

In 1773, at the age of thirty-three, Thomas Gould, after serving ten years as assistant, was appointed clerk to the Yearly and other Meetings in London, at a salary of £70, "together with the usual perquisites at marriages; and when any additional help may be wanted of writing to keep the business of the Society constantly and regularly transacted, Thos. Gould to be at the Expence of an assistant as the occasions may make it needful. And in order that the whole business of the Society may be duly and methodically done, we propose that Robert Bell, being well acquainted with the Discipline of the Society, may be desired to attend the Meetings for Business to assist the Clerk, Thos. Gould, in

forming of minutes, and also to superintend the whole business of the Society, that every branch of it may be regularly executed, and for his care therein to be allowed per an £30,"

which would make it appear that T. Gould, after ten years' experience, was not sufficiently capable to execute the duties of the office, but a subsequent statement contradicts this. The next month it was agreed to erase the words: "together with the usual perquisites at marriages."

In Sixth Month, 1776, the Meeting for Sufferings approved the opinion of a committee that

"Thomas Gould, having for a considerable time past had the whole burden of the Business . . . his salary should be increased from £70 to £100, he finding at his own expence all needful assistance, that every thing belonging to his office may be kept in proper order and that the assistant which he may employ should be a reputable Friend. Agreed to, with addition that the assistant should be approved by this Meeting."

Thomas Gould departed this life in 1783, at the early age of forty-three, "of a decline." No connection has yet appeared between our clerk and others of the name Gould, who appear in the London Registers.

#### No. 10. JOHN ADY, 1783-1811

John Ady, of Cannon Street, London, haberdasher of hats, and Citizen and Long Bow String Maker, son of John and Elizabeth Ady, married Martha Crabb, in 1769 and had issue. Martha Ady died in 1794 aged fifty-three years, and at the end of the following year John Ady married Ann Hill. Two children only of the first marriage reached manhood—Joseph, and John Crabb, and two sons of the second marriage—Charles, an accountant, and Robert Hill, a truss-maker.

On the death of Thomas Gould a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings considered the question of a successor and its recommendation was approved, 24 x. 1783, that John Ady be appointed to the "vacant office of Clerk on condition that he relinquish his Trade and reside in the house in Nagshead Court."

In 1801, Ady applied for an assistant and James Pace was appointed at a salary of £30 per annum.

Apparently the proviso that the clerk should not engage in any business had not been complied with, for we read, 6 iii. 1807 :

“ This Meeting being of the judgment that it is incompatible with the duties of the clerk to the Office on these premises to be engaged in trade, directs that the person holding that situation shall not in future be allowed to do so.”

The Clerk expressed his unwillingness to abide by the decision and “ a proposal was made to him either to forego any other businesses or [? and] to receive an addition to his salary of £13 per an., or to retire from the offices he now fills for the Society with an annuity of £50 for life. He now makes choice of the latter.”

But Ady soon altered his mind and expressed himself willing to comply with the terms, and hence was retained in the office.

James Pace was succeeded by John Allcard as assistant to the clerk.

And now comes the darkest feature in the history of the Society's principal officers.

In an account of Yearly Meeting, 1811, written anonymously by William Hargreaves, preserved in **D**, we read :

“ 11th Sitting. Rec<sup>d</sup> the report of the Committee for auditing the accounts. The balance in hand is upwards of £700. It appeared by the report that J.A. had defrauded this fund of upwards of £164, which was considered to have arisen from friends of seven Q. Meetings remitting to him in lieu of their respective Correspondents. Report says he has also intruded upon the money belonging Ackworth and that in the whole he is upwards of £500 deficient in his account.

“ How unfavourably this conduct corresponds with his intentions of publishing a tract explanatory of some of our religious Principles, it being generally understood he has something prepared for inspection, tending as he conceives to elucidate some of the sentiments adopted by our Religious Society. He is at present upon record by Devonshire house Mo. Meeting, and is like to be set without the camp at their next meeting.”

A special sitting of the Meeting for Sufferings was held 12 ii. 1811, and there is a long minute on the subject of the defalcations, concluding thus :

" This Meeting, considering that after such a breach of confidence he cannot with propriety be retained in its service, concludes to dismiss him."

A notification of this action was prepared by three Friends constituting a sub-committee for Ackworth School, and printed and circulated, with a renewal of the advice to remit money to the treasurer, Wilson Birkbeck.

For some years prior to his fall, Ady was engaged in the preparation of a book, which, when published in 1807, bore the title : *The Harmony of the Divine Will and the Heavenly Doctrines of the Old and New Testaments . . . compiled from the Sacred Writings, by John Ady.* The work runs to 350 pages and consists of extracts from the life of Christ with harmonious references from the Old Testament in the margins.

One copy in **D** contains critical comments by its owner, Morris Birkbeck, about 1808.

John Ady was disowned by Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in 1811. He took up the business of a stationer in Houndsditch. He died 17 xi. 1812. In the record of his death in the Friends' book of burials there is no "N.M." against his name.

*To be continued*

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### Extract from the "Life and Letters of Elizabeth L. Comstock," 1895

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" We hear of many young Friends taking up arms for the North. One day three young soldiers were conversing together in Maryland when one of them used the plain language accidentally. ' It seems to me you are a Quaker,' said another. ' Yes,' he said, ' I am a son of Dr. Tobey.' (Dr. T. is the clerk of New England Yearly Meeting.) ' Well,' said the second, ' you have heard of Sybil Jones, I guess, she is my mother.' Their surprise had scarcely subsided, when the third announced himself as the son of William Henry Chase, an eminent minister at Union Springs, and a leading man on the committee of our Yearly Meeting School " (p. 109, quoted in Cox, *Quakerism in New York City*, 1930).

# The Course of Love

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New York, 12mo 20, 1763.

SAMUEL RHOADES & WIFE,

Dear Friends as our Son Thomas has for Some time past acquainted us of his Love and Good Esteem for your Daughter Mary and we conceiving a Good opinion of her & Family was well Pleased with his Choice but hearing it was a Strait with you to part with her to Come to this Place we Could but Sympathize with you in the affair so ware Silent in the Case on that account.

However he informs us you have Left her to her Liberty and she has Turned the Scale for Comeing we desire it will be made easy to you and hope we Shall allways have a Parental Care for her and Conclude you are Sensible there is that attracting Power of Love in all Parts that Can make one in the best part if Adhered to. If this should be the happy case then it will be a matter of Great Comfort to us all.

Tho we have thus far exprest our minds we know not what may happen between the Cup and the Lip as the Saying is but shall Contentedly Submit all to that Director of all Good—and subscribe with Love unfeigned to you all & to your Dear Daughter Mary in Particular.

THOMAS FRANKLIN.

MARY FRANKLIN.

Printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, xv (1891), 241.

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RICE JOHN.—Lady Conway to Henry More. Ragley, 29 November, 1675 :

“ What a Quaker told you of G. Fox being acquainted with Rice John is true, and that he hath been sometimes to hear at his congregation (as he has been at most other congregations), but they certainly affirme that he never was of his congregation nor agreed in opinion with him, and I hope we may believe the account they give of themselves that they never were infect'd with what you call Familisme, though perhaps some simple people amongst them may have expressed themselves in suspected terms out of ignorance.”

NICOLSON, *Conway Letters*, 1930, p. 408.

## London Yearly Meeting, 1753

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*1st-day 6 mo.* 3 Meetings at Gracious Street and Devonshire House, present Mary Peisley, Susanna Morrice and Phebe Dodge.

*6mo. 6.* At Gracious Street, Mercy Bell, Mary Ellington and Susanna Morrice preached.

*6mo. 8.* At meeting John Churchman, Samuel Fothergill, Uncle Darby, Mary Peisley, &c. Later at a sitting of the Meeting for Sufferings, informed by Thomas Whitehead of Mercy Bell's getting admittance by Lord Anson's means (solicited by Sophia Hume) to the Bar of the House of Lords, while the King and Commons were there, and that after the business was done and the King and Commons and some of the Lords were departed that she had an opportunity of speaking some words—that they behaved civilly; also a Committee was appointed to consider Mercy Bell's proposal to get an opportunity with the King's.

*6mo. 10.* First-day was at Gracious St. Meeting both forenoon and afternoon, was a great number of People, especially the forenoon when there was almost as many as the room and gallery would hold, sitting and standing very hot. Alexander Hoskins, Saml. Fothergill, John Bell, Mercy Bell, etc., preached and Kitty Paton prayed.

*6mo. 11.* In the afternoon at 4 began the first meeting for business, which proceeded as follows—first by reading the preamble; then the Meeting was acquainted that it fell to the northern District to choose a Clerk, which counties was called over and their representatives names put down. Then these County Representatives were ordered into the Chamber to pitch upon a Clerk. While we were doing so the old Clerk went on in calling the remainder of the Counties over. We returned William Dilworth for Clerk, who was accepted. Then the Committee of Appeals was appointed and ordered that no appeals be received after the finishing of the meeting tomorrow afternoon. The Committee for auditing the Yearly Meeting's Accounts was appointed. Then the Sufferings was called for, and it was proposed to print a number of A. Pearson's "Great Case of Tythes," with the

Appendix ; and some Friends appointed to consider the number and charge. A Committee was appointed to draw the Yearly Meeting Epistle and consider the Sufferings and inspect them.

*6mo.* 12. Meeting for worship at Gracious Street—Edmund Peckover and Isaac Sharpless preached. At 3 the Meeting for Business began ; the state of the Country was called for and read, also some testimonies for public friends.

Two closed packets were offered and referred to some friends who brought an account they were not proper to be laid before the Meeting. Afterwards Samuel Fothergill made a pathetic exhortation arising from the considerations of the public friends deceased, and William Pitt prayed. Meeting arose between 7 and 8, adjourned till tomorrow at 4.

*6mo.* 13. Was at the meeting for worship at Gracious Street, begun at 9, ended past 12. Alexander Hoskins preached excellently. Mercy Bell also preached and prayed. In the afternoon the foreign epistles were read—one from Ireland, 2 from Scotland, one from Amesterdam, Several from America. William Brown informed the meeting that a large parcel of frds' Books was lying unbound in the Chamber at Amsterdam, and proposing that this Meeting should be at the charge of binding some of them in order for their distribution ; it was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings to get an Account and act accordingly. The Committee on account of Ant. Pearson's " Case of Tythe " bring an account that they think 5,000 should be printed at 6d. each. Agreed to. The Committee for auditing the Accounts bring word they have done it and find them right (the balance remaining, am informed, is upwards of £600). The Meeting called over to see what business : proposed from Yorkshire to have a Meeting yearly for Women established at London ; proposed by Saml. Fothergill to have a Select Meeting for Ministers and Elders established, and referred to next adjournment. Two proposals from Bristol and Lincoln in regard to settlements and arbitrations referred to the Committee for the Epistle, &c.

*6mo.* 12. The Meeting went on the Yorkshire proposal, which was seconded by Lancashire—occasioned a good deal of debate—but nothing concluded. Afternoon William Brown, John Churchman, &c., spoke for it, a proposal to the same effect from the Women's Meeting in London and signed



by several was introduced by Susannah Morris, Sophia Hume, Kitty Payton, Phebe Dodge, Molly Peasley, and Molly Weston, and one more, which proposal with another recommendary of the same subject was referred to some friends to consider whether proper to be laid before the Meeting, the Women friends in the meantime remaining in our Meeting. In the interim of report of the Committee in the Lincoln, Bristol and Norwich affairs, the first on Arbitrations and the two last on settlements was received and agreed to ; also the report of some friends appointed by last Yearly Meeting to inspect the state of Colchester two weeks Meeting. The friends appointed to examine the Women friends papers returned and reported that they had agreed that one of them be laid before the Meeting, but had not agreed unanimously with regard to the other, accordingly one of them was read (those two papers were presented by Sophia Hume accompanied by the rest). Susannah Morris and Kitty Payton spoke in support of the proposition. The Women retired and the Meeting on the Yorkshire proposition, after some little debate, agreed and a minute made expressing that it had been considered and that it might remain on friends minds, &c., to next year. I should have observed that in the intervals part of the Correspondent Book was called over.

*6mo.* 15. The Meeting met at ten. The Correspondence book finished. The proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings laid before the meeting, with an account they had proceeded on the solicitation to Parliament, that the Quarterly Meeting of York had taken upon them to advise against it, which the Meeting rather censured. Broke up between 12 and 1. Samuel Fothergills proposal is referred to the Committee for the Yearly Meeting Epistle for them to prepare it to be laid before this Meeting. Met at 4. A minute brought in by the friends in regard to the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings and rather censuring the interference of Yorkshire friends, &c., which after some debate and alteration passed the house. Ordered that no further proceedings in the solicitation go on at present. The Friends appointed to consider Samuel Fothergill's proposition brought in their report expressing their concurrence with the establishing a Yearly Meeting of Ministers and others to begin on the Seventh day at 10 preceding the Yearly Meeting and to adjourn during that Meeting occasionally, to have power to

appoint Inspectors during the Yearly Meeting to attend the meetings for worship and to report to the new Meeting—debated between 7 and 8. The Meeting adjourned till tomorrow at 9 o'clock.

6mo. 16. Proceeded on Samuel Fothergill's proposition which, after a long debate, is referred to the consideration of the next Yearly Meeting. The Committee for the Yearly Meeting and Sufferings brought in their report, being several remarks on the Sufferings brought in, which are left to the Meeting for Sufferings to make use of and send down to the Counties concerned and give suitable advice on. Ordered that the surplus of the "Sufferings" in 2 Vols. be left to the Meeting for Sufferings to dispose of: ordered that the Representatives for the future give in their names to Benj. Bourne as soon as possible in order to enter and forward the business. A new Query ordered to be added for the next year, viz. "How are the advices from the Meeting recommended, and how are they coming in?" The remainder of the minute of last year read: proposed by Dr. Fothergill that after the close of the afternoon meeting of business, the meeting retire, directly, instead of a formal parting meeting. Agreed to, broke up between 12 and 1. Adjourned till 4, then the Yearly Meeting Epistle and select Epistles read, debated and agreed on, 7,000 of the former ordered to be printed, left to friends to publish the written one as they see occasion. It being proposed in the forenoon that there should be no formal parting meeting, but that in the afternoon after the business was over, the Meeting should retire—accordingly when all was done, they did so without going out, when Samuel Fothergill preached and lashed the opposers pretty smartly. Wm. Pitt, John Scott, Jno. Churchman also preached; and Mercy Bell who had got into the Gallery nigh the conclusion of the meeting also preached.

From a copy, written by William G. Norris, c. 1903, contained in Norris MSS., vol. xiii, in D.

There is not any intimation of the writer, but we have particulars of clothing taken up with him.

"For London in *Box*: 10 shirts, 6 Neck-Cloths, 8 Stocks, 2 Night-Caps, 4 Silk Handkerchiefs, 4 pr. of stockings.

"In *Baggs*: 4 shirts and 1 on, 1 Neckcloth, 2 Nightcaps, 2 pair Stockings, 2 pair Snuggs, 6 Handkerchiefs, 3 pair gloves, Belt, Straps, Hatt band."

## Notes on a "Compendious View of Genuine Christianity," 1799

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Those who have read *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*<sup>1</sup> will remember that the revered author of *The Serious Call* was first brought into touch with Friends (in 1736) through a correspondence with a certain young Anglican, Fanny Henshaw by name, in which he vainly sought to dissuade her from joining the Society. Fanny Henshaw was recognised in 1737, soon after her admittance, as a Minister and, marrying twice, became later on, first as Frances Paxton and then as Frances Dodshon, well-known through her ministry in many parts of England during the course of a long life, which closed in 1793.

We have no direct evidence of what Frances Dodshon thought of William Law and his writings, after that author's conversion to a mystical standpoint had led him to teach for the last twenty years of his life a form of Christianity very closely akin to Quakerism. But the fact that she gave the title of *A Serious Call . . . to Sinners in Zion* to a little eight-page tract, her only publication, which she caused to be printed in 1744 seems to indicate her esteem for him.

And now there has come to light a little volume of some fifty odd pages that has lain for many years in the library of the late Sir Edward Fry at Failand, near Bristol, which suggests further evidence of this esteem. It is entitled *A Compendious View of Genuine Christianity, chiefly extracted from an author of the last Century, and a much esteemed writer of the present; shewing the difference between the Primitive and Modern Christians, and the Causes thereof.*

The book was published in 1799, being "printed and sold" by J. Mills of Bristol and Darton and Harvey, London, the same two booksellers whose names appear in 1803 on a little memoir of Frances Dodshon's conversion and life. The extracts from the anonymous seventeenth century author (whom I am unable to identify) aim at exhorting Christians to bring their whole life into submission to the Spirit of Christ rather than merely to conform to some creed or sect. The "much esteemed writer of the present Century," though his name also is not given, is clearly William Law. The two long extracts included are much abbreviated versions of the fifth and sixth of Law's letters to enquirers, as they appear in the *Collection of Letters*, which was published by two of his disciples shortly before his death in 1761. They are followed by a short passage from Law's beautiful *Spirit of Prayer* (Part I), and the whole contains the essence of his teaching to work and wait for the birth of the Divine Christ in our hearts and to do everything in obedience to His inward guidance.

<sup>1</sup> By Stephen Hobhouse (1927).

On the flyleaf of the booklet is written : " Wm. Storrs Fry's, the Gift of Saml. Dyer, 1805." Now we know (from the extracts from his diary given on p. 84 of vol. 26 (1929) of the Friends Historical Society *Journal*) that Samuel Dyer was an intimate friend of Frances Dodshon, *alias* Fanny Henshaw. For some time the latter was living in Bristol, and Samuel Dyer notes her presence and ministry there on various occasions between the years 1766 and 1773. And in 1793 he records that he " heard of the decease of my old friend and valuable acquaintance, Frances Dodshon, whose memory is sweet."

It is therefore an attractive and not unlikely supposition, that in her old age William Law's refractory correspondent drew spiritual nourishment from his mystical writings, and that from her her friend Samuel Dyer learnt to love them also, and to introduce them to his friends.

A contributory cause was doubtless the fact that Thomas Mills, the well-known Bristol bookseller (and publisher), whose son and successor, J. Mills, published and sold the little book bought by Samuel Dyer, was a lover of the writings of the great German mystic, Jacob Boehme (*anglicè* Behmen), whose disciple and interpreter William Law was. Thomas Mills was a remarkable man, who was admitted to the Society of Friends in 1778, and disowned in 1789 (apparently for some slight financial irregularities). But he continued thereafter to attend meeting and to use the Quaker language and dress. He was widely known among West Country evangelicals and Quakers and published extracts from " quietist " writers such as Fénelon and Madame Guyon. His daughter, Selina, married the anti-slavery pioneer, Zachary Macaulay, in 1799, and so became the mother of the historian, Thomas Babington Macaulay. In Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, we are informed that " his grandchildren remembered him as an old man of imposing appearance, with long white hair, talking incessantly of Jacob Behmen." It would be of interest to discover if any portions of the correspondence or manuscripts of this Thomas Mills still survive.

It may be added that William Storrs Fry, to whom the book now in question was given, resided in Whitechapel and lived from 1736 to 1808, being a younger brother of Joseph Fry of Bristol, who was great-grandfather of the late Sir Edward Fry, to whom it descended.<sup>2</sup> W. S. Fry was also the father of Joseph Fry, who married Elizabeth Gurney, the prison reformer.

Frances Dodshon (Henshaw) had evidently been in some relationship with the Fry family, for there exists a MS. appeal, dated 1766, from the Bristol Women's Meeting, and signed by her, Lydia Pocock and Hannah Fry, in which these three Friends plead for more diligence in attending the periodic gatherings of the Society, " as you tender [i.e. hold dear] the welfare of the Society in general and the poor in particular."

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

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" Nature forces on our hearts a Creator ; history, a Providence."  
JEAN PAUL.

<sup>2</sup> The book is now in D.

# Extracts from the Journal of Joseph Fry, 1833—1857

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We have recently had before us, by kind permission of the owner, a volume in manuscript of about one hundred pages in folio, of which sixty-three are occupied with a journal, headed: "Private Journal, 1833."

There is not any name of writer but there is clear evidence that the Journal was written by Joseph Fry (1777—1861), husband of Elizabeth Fry of Newgate Prison fame.

As in the published memoirs of the wife there is comparatively little reference to the husband, this volume of personal history and self-revelation is especially valuable.

The Journal begins:

Under a humbling sense of manifold infirmities and of unworthiness past all utterance, but with a deep feeling of the goodness of the Lord to me as an individual, I venture to record some of his gracious dealings. Grant, Oh, Lord, I beseech thee, to *fix* my often wandering footsteps in thy way, and to make of me one more monument of thy faithfulness and of thy mercy.

The entries begin "Aug' 1833" and close early in 1857. At the opening the family was in temporary residence in the Island of Jersey.

So great was the interest aroused in this Island in the visit of Elizabeth Fry that she had to decline to hold public meetings on certain occasions, and the public had to be prevented from crowding the meeting house at times of worship. Of this exclusion E. Fry wrote:

"Without invitation the people flocked to me and were obliged not to sit in our meeting house. This I steadily resisted one first-day by not going out of it. I felt much peace in *not doing* as well as doing."

The journals of Elizabeth Fry reveal a considerable difference of outlook between husband and wife—a difference which appears to have lessened as time went on, by the approach of each to the other. In 1822 E. Fry wrote:

"My much-loved husband is, I fully believe, much less in the world—has given up many worldly pleasures and knows an establishment in a far greater degree in the ever-blessed Truth."

Apparently, a few months prior to the opening date of the Journal—on May 10, 1833—Joseph Fry had been the subject of some special Divine visitation; to this his Journal makes almost yearly reference on the anniversary dates.

I was favoured with the powerful visitation of Judgment, mingled with mercy, which led me to what I humbly trust was repentance not to be repented of. . . . I humbly pray that, during the remaining time allotted for us to pass together, I may be a true and spiritual helpmate, in addition to contributing to the best of my power to aid and support her bodily powers and to cheer her under her frequent cares and anxieties.

In 1842, E. Fry wrote: "I have much valued my dear husband's company and feel it sweet that in our declining days we can so thoroughly enjoy being together, and that we unite so much in our principles and tastes."

After his wife's death he wrote:

My soul mourns that it did not more value, more appreciate, the rare work and excellence of her who is gone for ever from my earthly view.

But it may be that the religious outlook of Joseph Fry was somewhat too intense at times. His wife wrote in 1843:

"I had a good deal to try me in my dear husband's reproving me for being so much afflicted and made poorly by our dear Hannah's state. He thought it was a want of resignation and trust."

There are references to business journeys—some on behalf of the business engaged in by his sons:

Wolverhampton. 29th Dec. 1833, 11. o'cl p.m. In coming along in the coach from Birmingham this evening, I was favoured to feel the precious and heart-tendering influence of Heavenly Goodness.

Nottingham. March 24, 1834. In my conversations with our customers on business I have felt a good deal of care to keep near to Truth and faithfulness in my promises and assurances.

An impression obtained by reading the journals of E. Fry that the principal care for the family rested upon the wife is in part removed when we read:

Worcester. 1st day March 30 1834. I have been enabled to breathe a prayer for my beloved children, more especially John and Gurney.

Oct. 19, 1847. I feel as one utterly desolate and nearly hopeless as to temporal things in my family, having let in a painful fear of being disabled from helping (even a little) those of my beloved Children who are fallen into comparative poverty. [Elizabeth Fry was then deceased.]

On account of his connection with the Fry bank-failure, Joseph Fry was disunited from the Society of Friends in 1829. His wife wrote in her journal :

" Mildreds Court, 3mo. 18. 1829 :

" Now it comes to near the point. I feel the prospect of my husband's disownment very much. It is so striking a *cut down* to our family in so many ways. I really have discouragements all around me in no common degree."

" To-day the case of my beloved husband will be brought before our monthly meeting, I believe. How earnestly I desire that my beloved friends may be enabled to do right in it, to act impartially and with that real christian kindness that neither my beloved husband nor family may be hurt with."

Ten years later J. Fry wrote :

Our Monthly Meeting which had disowned me (not I think on sound or at all just grounds) at the time of our failure in 1828, my Honour or uprightness never having been called in question or ground given, has during the past year re-instated me in Membership. I had apprehended it my Duty to apply for it, although I have never yet believed myself required to conform in outward appearance or speech to the costume of the Society or its peculiarities.

But in all these changing things the most remarkable change I have experienced has been relative to my great love, joined to some taste, for music, with a correct ear and some Cultivation in singing, which love seems to have passed away like a summer Cloud or died off like the leaves in autumn.

J. Fry's wife wrote in her book :

" My husband was re-instated in membership in the Society last M.M. I feel peace in it, and thankful for the humble state of mind that induced his asking for it.

" I see some bondage attached to membership to any outward body, but there are also advantages."

As regards the change of dress, E. Fry wrote from Upton in 1830 :

" My dearest husband has been at home and his company I have enjoyed ; and if it were not that I deeply lament his intention of *entirely* casting off the appearance of a Friend, which he means to do, and, I fear, a good deal of his esteem for the Society and its principles, I should think in other respects I have cause to trust that he is in a happier and even more peaceful state than sometimes."

In 1834 Joseph Fry wrote, under date of June 1 :

I have been for some time endeavouring, and in the face of many difficulties and discouragements, to get a Provident

District Society established for so much of our Parish as should embrace West Ham and Plaistow. Tomorrow I have at length the expectation of having a pretty considerable meeting in the National Schoolroom to give it consideration. I don't think my nature would lead me into any sort of Public service, but I have so strong an opinion of the very immoral and depraved state of our Parish and neighbourhood, and so high an opinion of the beneficial results of a good and well-arranged institution of the kind proposed, that I have thought it my duty to make the endeavour.

For some time Joseph Fry had been interested in the writings of George Monro, Vicar of Letterkenny, and in making extracts from these writings. These he offered for publication to William Darton & Son, of High Holborn; and in 1836 there appeared: "Extracts, Doctrinal, Practical and Devotional. From the writings of George Monro, M.A., Vicar of Letterkenny, in the Kingdom of Ireland, by Joseph Fry, from the second edition, published in London, in 1711."<sup>1</sup> In the Preface we read:

Having found the perusal of these works peculiarly blessed to my own mind, I am induced to publish the following selection, with a humble yet fervent desire to contribute, in however small a measure, to the eternal well-being of others, into whose hands they may fall; and although it has been with me, like the call renewed at the eleventh hour of a long and more than unprofitable day, yet I rejoice in being enabled thus to offer my sincere though unworthy testimony to the riches of the free grace and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus, who came "to save that which was lost," and who "came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

J. Fry wrote:

Easter Sunday, April 3, 1836: O, may it please my heavenly father abundantly to bless the work to the good of many.

With the following record of an incursion into dreamland, we close these extracts, having received a revised and enhanced opinion of Joseph Fry.

July 29, 1855. I have many times thought of Committing to writing the following very remarkable occurrence which took place in my own house at Plashet, but knowing

<sup>1</sup> There are two copies in D—a small 8vo and a large paper issue, of 420 pages.



my own usual disregard of Dreams in general, I have put it off from Time to Time, being reluctant to be open to the Charge of being Imaginative or Enthusiastic.

Two years or rather more have passed away since I was favored in the night with a very remarkable Dream. I am aware of nothing that had previously occurred to turn my thoughts into that particular direction, and as my dear wife had been deceased about 8 years, during all which time I have no impression on my mind of having once dreamed of or *about* her in any way, it becomes the more remarkable from her not having been particularly in my mind or contemplation, and therefore the Dream more unlikely to have proceeded from any outward predisposing cause.

I appeared in my dream to be sitting quietly in a Room plainly fitted up, resembling a small meeting house, in which were gathered and gathering a pretty considerable number of persons, sitting solemnly, and apparently as if a meeting for worship was about commencing, but with no person recognisable by me or with distinct countenances, when, from what seemed the Entrance Door, I saw approaching me where I sat what *I felt conscious beyond all possibility of doubt* to be the spiritual presence of my late precious partner in life, who drew near me and spoke to me in her own Clear voice and accompanied by a penetrating power, and addressed to me these words: "This God is our God even unto Death," and immediately added: "This God is our God for Ever and Ever"—not a word more or less—when I awoke.

Although 2 years or more have Elapsed, never whilst memory lasts can I forget the powerful and precious savour of Life with which it was accompanied, and which up to the present day often accompanied the remembrance of it strong, fresh and lively.

#### NOTE.

At his marriage with Elizabeth Gurney in 1800, Joseph Fry was described as "Tea Dealer." Mrs. Fry wrote in 1829:

"Our tea business goes on very poorly, and it is now thought that our present income must be much limited. May we uprightly conform to our circumstances however humbling."

But the business improved under the care of one or more of the sons; and the old firm is still in existence at 38 Duke Street, St. James's, London, under the name of W. Fry & Co.

# A Summer Religion, by George Fox<sup>1</sup>

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## Friends

There is a summer religion that is up and flourisheth while the sun shineth, and while they have the Clubb and Staffe, and bag but when the winter and the storme and tempest cometh, they fly under the hils and mountains, and trees, to cover and shelter themselves (but this is not the nature of the sheep of Christ) in their bestial religion ; whose flight is in the winter, whom the powers doth seperate from their religion, worship and church as they call it, and their doctrine : But the nature of the sheep is not so, but the sheep wil get atop of the highest hil, and mountain, and set their backs and tails against the storme and tempests, and bleat for one another ; and when the dogs are abroad amongst the sheep, they wil run altogether, but they that are not the sheep wil scatter and be scattered when anything feareth them : But part the sheep asunder, and they wil run al on heaps again, and wil keep together, and neither storme, tempest, nor winter, nor powers, nor principallities can seperate them from the love of God, which they have in Christ Jesus their shepheard : and so Christs sheep beareth fruite in the winter stormes, and Tempests, and hath neither bag, staffe nor Club, but is in the vine bearing fruite, sitting atop on the highest hil and mountain, with their backs against the weather.

G. ff.

Copied from a manuscript volume in the hand-writing of Thomas Thompson (1631-1704), of Skipsea, Yorkshire.

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Samuel Willets, with his brother Robert R., established a hardware business in New York in 1815. Samuel's shrewdness in business was noted. Once an irate customer called Robert "the meanest man he ever saw." Robert turned the other cheek by remarking: "Thee doesn't know my brother Samuel."

*(Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 1931, 29n.)*

<sup>1</sup> This is interesting in view of the writer's early life as a shepherd.

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

Continued from vol. xxvii. p. 24

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."

## XIV

ELIZABETH HOOTON TO GEORGE FOX. "from  
*Yorke Castle, June 11, 1653.*

"divers freinds as the[y] were goeing to a meeting at Crake y<sup>e</sup> last first day y<sup>e</sup> Preest haveing intellegence, raised y<sup>e</sup> towne with staves & clubs & resisted them. . . . one Capt Weddall had his horse stricken downe under him."

(Endorsed by George Fox)

A facsimile of the letter appears in *Elizabeth Hooton*, by Emily Manners, 1914.

Weddell becomes Siddall in Letter xvii., the latter being probably the correct name, see Besse's *Sufferings*, Index under Yorkshire.

## XV

THOMAS ALDAM TO CAPTAIN STODDARD from *York Castle, 19 Feb. 1652.*

"Deare ffrend Captaine Stothards"—The writer rejoices that several of the military profession have become convinced, and continues: "deare ffrend I doe not Looke at thee nor any as to put my Confidence in the Arme of flesh,

but my reioyceinge is in that Christ hath made himselfe manifest in flesh in you.

“ I desire thee to send mee the discoverie of the false Temple and the true Temple, if it be printed w<sup>th</sup> the other of the Priests of the world. Samuell Buttivant did write to my brother Benjamin [Nicholson] that they would bee printed the 3: day of ffebruarie & I desire thee to send them imediately as thou Canst. Send me 200 of them or 300 as Samuell Buttivant doth declare would bee printed. Send mee word in thy Letter what thou didst pay for the Printeing of them & I shall use some meanes to send the money. Doe not fail me. Fellow prisoners salute you.”

In 1653 appeared *A Brief Discovery of a threefold Estate of Antichrist now extant in the World*:—*Viz., a Description of (1) The True and False Temple, etc.* This was written by Thomas Aldam, Benjamin Nicholson, John Harwood and Thomas Lawson, and to it Buttivant wrote a preface “ To the Reader.”

## XVI

THOMAS ALDAM AND ELIZABETH HOOTON TO  
GEORGE FOX. *From Prison in York.* ? 1654.

*T.A.'s portion :*

“ There was two of Judge ffell daughters came to vs to prison & did stay w<sup>th</sup> us a prettie while w<sup>th</sup> us They was verye solidd & loveinge; wee was moved to speake some words to them to w<sup>ch</sup> there was noe gaine sayeing.” On a previous First-day Friends were present from “ Balby, Selby & Mauton [? Mawton, that is Malton].” Some of his “ Carnall frends ” urged him to confess that he disturbed the peace of the people, a statement which would satisfy the magistrates and obtain his release, but he refused. “ I did speake nothinge but the truth.” He refers to his wife who is “ kept mightie ffree to give mee up to my inward freedome.”

*E.H.'s portion :*

Jane Vallance supplied their necessities. “ Timothie Westobie Brunt wife was this 7<sup>th</sup> of July with us ” and sends love. She cannot write much as “ a rume is come into my eyes.” “ My husband seeks to have my outward libertie w<sup>ch</sup> is my bondage.”

(Endorsed by George Fox)

## XVII

THOMAS ALDAM TO CAPTAIN STODDARD. *From York Castle, 21 June, 1653.*

The arrival of Friends to hold a meeting at Krake, eight miles from York, was announced by the tolling of the church-bell; priest and people "met ffriends at the townend with great clubbs." Captain Webb's horse was felled and his wife and himself thrown off. Captain Siddal (? Weddall, see Letter xiv] and his wife were among the injured. Friends withdrew and went elsewhere.

In York John Coale preached in the streets. The mob broke open the doors of Cornet Denham's house where Coale lodged and threatened "to poole his wife in peeces for harbouringe such A fellow there." Coale, who had come from London, was taken out of the house and ill-used.

"Here is A letter w<sup>ch</sup> came from my deare Brother George ffox w<sup>ch</sup> hee did desire mee to sent it to thee & to deliver it to the Generall & Heades of the people to Let them have copies of it. There was one other w<sup>ch</sup> he sent Before. If thou had freedome to have got them printed together: & that of mine w<sup>ch</sup> came to thee to bee sent to General Crombwell w<sup>th</sup> that of Richard ffarnesworths to get them All printed in Booke; or gett these Two of Georges Printed together & let mee Receive some of them shortly." Love sent to John Hodgson, Richard Hatten and wife.

[addressed]

ffor Captaine Stoddard in Long Alley in Moreffieldes in London this w<sup>th</sup> Care.

Hatten appears as Hatter in a letter from Elizabeth Hooton to Amor Stoddard (D. Portfolio 35. 4; life of Hooton by Emily Manners.)

## XVIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX. *From Appleby (1652).*

James Nayler is with him. "James Naylers wife is come over to apelby with two Brethrenne but the Jayler would not sufer them to come in the house but his wife is kind to us and tender and was made to fetch them in to the house and growes

in love & truth. We sent thee a Copy of the Examination & also of all the pasesges of the prest as neare as we could."

(Endorsed by George Fox)

The "Examination" was probably a copy of the document now preserved among Spence MSS. and printed in *Camb. Jnl.* i. 63. The priest was probably Dr. William Marshall, of Lancaster.

## XIX

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX. "*apelby I know nether day nor moneth.*"

"My dear Brother James is bould in our god and the Cause of his Impresonment is that he denied two words of god and witnessed Christ in him undevided I am acused for witnessing agayn all the prest of England that taught for hire . . . & for thouing a Justis of peace & for Keping my hat on. Col Benson came this day to Apelby & would have taken us away with an other Justis to be at liberty to the sesions but nether James nor I was fre till all the prests and country might be brought in."

## XX

JOHN CAMM AND FRANCIS HOWGILL TO MARGARET FELL. *March the 27, 1654.*

". . . Affter longe waitinge in greatt ffeare lest we should not have spokken vnto the great man O: P: yet the 12 day affter we Cam in to London the Lord maid way that we Cam into him into his Chamber when ther wasse none but him sself & his 2 men. it was about six a Clocke at night we had most parte of an hower time with him wher we delivered thy Letter unto his own hand & he seemed to Receive it thanckfully he is plaussable in his words & said thou wear a good womman he had hard much good of the but he is to wise in Comprehension & to highe in notion to Receive truth in plainnes & demonstration of the spiritt he gathered the substance of all words we spack vnto him & Judged them in his Reasson & what he Could Comprehend out of them so he toke them & he went about to question whether they weare the word of the Lord, or not by his

Carnall Reassoon but he argues strongly for the preists & for the popeish law to vp hould them & pleads for every mans Liberty & none to disterbe an other & soe he would keep vp him selfe by getting or keepeing fflaue with all & soe sin must be vphoulden by a Law he is ffull of subtility & Can stand on every one It wase tould vs he vused to weare Rich aparrell but he had a grey Rugh Cotte on wass not worth three shilings a yeard when we Cam to him he had hard we weare plain men & he Condesended vnto vs he offered vs money or any thinge we needed but we denyed to tak any thinge ffrom him soe he desired vs to leave him he wase tyered with bussynes & we should Com to him within a day or tow again soe we shall discharge our Consseinces to him in the sight of God & leav it vpon his Consseince whether he will heare or fforbeare.

“ After we had waited about ffive dayes we wear moved to write a Letter vnto him & maid vse of Captain Howward to gett it to him or else we should not have gatten admittance to him, but Really he is in great danger to be lost ffor he hath gott the fform of truth but ffeights against the power of truth ffor he houlds that all the worships of this nation is the worship of God but the blind Cannot Judge of truth. I shall say noe more.”

*To be continued*

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## The Family of Thomas and Margaret Fell

Reading through the recent life of George Fox, written by Rufus M. Jones, we met the statement that Margaret Fell “ became the mother of nine children, of whom seven daughters and one son were living at the time of Judge Fell’s death in 1658.”

Search among the several pedigrees of the family—*British Friend*, iii; Barber, *Furness and Cartmel Notes*; Crosfield, *Margaret Fox*; etc., revealed no intimation of a family of more than eight children.

But the mother herself is the authority for the statement that there were *nine* children :

“ We liv’d together twenty-six Years, in which time we had *nine* Children ” (auto. Relation in *Works*, 1710, p. 2).

The succession of the seven daughters seems to have been established (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vi. 162). There are various spaces between the births of several of them which might have been occupied by a child that died young. The son George may have been the third or fourth in the family—born *c.* 1639.

## Extracts from the Diaries of William Dyer

William Dyer, b. in 1730, of Bristol, kept diaries for about fifty years. Extracts are in the possession of Edward Gregory, of North Weston, Somerset. He was by religion a Methodist. He was a brother of Samuel Dyer (1747-1809), the Friend, whose eleven hundred pages of diary are on loan in D.

### THOMAS RUTTER, OF BRISTOL

March 23, 1778. In the night died in Castle Street, Mrs. Rutter, wife of Thomas Rutter.

Feb. 8, 1780. Thomas Rutter was married at the Friars Meeting to Miss Hester Farley, daughter of Felix Farley, late printer in Castle Green. [Her parents were both deceased.]

July 22, 1793. Thos. Rutter returned from 4 months Journey thro' Ireland on religious visits, during which he travelled 1700 miles, which probably laid the foundation for shortening his mortal life, tho' I have no doubt in exchange for a higher and better life.

Dec. 7, 1797. Electrised Thos. Rutter the 3rd time, and many times after for reducing a swelling on his finger, but without effect. It was an excrescence occasioned by reins of a bridle in his journey thro' Ireland. He was electrised in all 22 times ending 30 Jan. 1798.

Sept. 2, 1800. Died this evening about 10 o'clock, my much esteemed Friend Thomas Rutter. The 6th Sept. Bonner, at my request, inserted in his Bristol Journal the following paragraph :

"Died Tuesday evening of a long and painful illness, borne with resignation, Mr. Thomas Rutter, of Castle Street, an eminent speaker among the people called Quakers, in whom were united the Christian and the man of public utility, of whom it may truly be said : 'A great man is fallen this day in our Israel,' about 59 years of age."

Sunday morning the 7th Sept. I attended by invitation at the Widow Rutters, where from 80 to 100 persons assembled. But the numbers that joined in procession were amazing, probably about 300 men and women, to the Fryers burial ground, where the corpse were interred, prior to assembling in the meeting house. Parson Haynes walked by my side. He was in haste to get away in order to do duty at Mangotsfield, of which parish he is the Minister.

[Thomas Rutter (c. 1741-1800) is also frequently referred to in the diaries of Samuel Dyer. His first wife was Ruth Waring of Alton and his second was Hester Farley. See *Pen Pictures*.]

### ABRAHAM RICHARD HAWKESWORTH, OF BRISTOL

Oct. 29, 1768. Died Mr. Abraham Richard Hawkesworth, a very worthy man and a man of learning, I think understood seven languages and was much admired for his eloquence and learning, and during many



years lived like other natural men ; but at length, was awakened to a deep sense of the vanity of all human knowledge and became an exemplary Christian, endowed with a universal love for men of all persuasions though he continued in the profession of a Quaker, in which he was brought up ; and was remarkably charitable to the poor.

[See *Jnl F.H.S.* xvi.]

GEORGE EATON, OF BRISTOL

Jan. 8, 1760. My friend George Eaton appointed School Master at the Quakers Fryers, a place supposed to be worth £150 a year, but did not turn out as expected.

March 19, 1773. Died my old friend Geo. Eaton, a most worthy man, and I trust is gone to Eternal Rest. His complaint was a wound in one of his hands, which broke out of itself and probably of the Scrophulous kind.

March 19, 1789. Died in St Thomas St., Mrs. Eaton, widow of my late friend, George Eaton. She died of an asthma, aged about 73 years.

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### William Sewel on George Fox

Sewel, the historian, writes of George Fox from personal knowledge in the following terms :

“ It was his life and joy to declare the gospel and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability, and [when] he spoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance and his words were like a hammer and a sharp sword.

“ But, though he was a son of thunder, yet his agreeable speech flowed from his mouth like a pleasant stream, to the consolation and comfort of pious souls.

“ Oh ! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as transported and ravished, humbly beseeched God that it might please Him to reach to the hard-hearted, to support the godly, and to preserve them steadfast ; nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he sound forth the praises of the Most High in his public prayers ! But his work was now done ; he had finished his course, and a time of rest from his labors was come.”

SEWEL, *History*. New York ed. 1844, ii. 162, quoted in Janney, *History*, ii. 226.

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From Phillimore's Cornwall Parish Registers, Vol. IV., *St. Minver* (pp. 119-154), pub. 1903 :

“ John, son of George Croker, & Ann, dau. of John Peters, did solemnize their marriage ye 14th day of ye month called July at ye Meeting House.” 14th July 1696.

## Thomas Shillitoe's Interview with William the Fourth and his Queen

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10th month 4th, 1832.

Last 5th day week our valued Friend Thomas Shillitoe, accompanied by Peter Bedford, had an interview with the King and his royal consort. The dear old Friend's chief concern was to present an address, which he had just had printed, to the King and his Ministers, calling upon them to do their part towards averting a great national calamity, by turning their energies towards establishing, if possible, greater morality, greater attention to serious subjects than has been the case. It is a very plainly written work and dear Thomas told the Friends to whom he submitted it for inspection: "There must be no lowering it as with water, that it must be all pure brandy." The interview with the King was private; all left the apartment but these three individuals, the King, T. Shillitoe and P. Bedford. After a short time the King sat silent, evidently waiting for what T. S. might have to impart, and after this had been accomplished, they entered into pleasant familiar conversation for twenty minutes, all kingly state appearing set aside. They then visited the Queen who received them also very pleasantly, only Herbert Taylor and the lady in waiting being present. This appears to have been a highly interesting interview, and on parting, T. S. remarked: "The Queen is aware that we do not pass compliments, but when we are desirous of expressing our kindly feelings we do so by a shake of the hand." The Queen instantly drew off her glove, and exclaimed with much energy: "You shall have mine"; and T. S. afterwards remarked: "It was no genteel shake of the hand, but a good old-fashioned squeeze." He was highly gratified with his visit, and says that he could not wish one event to have occurred otherwise than it did, and that he had found much greater readiness in the Palace to receive what he had to offer, than he had in many Friends' families.

## Extracts from "Reminiscences of Limerick Friends"

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**T**HOUGH Limerick Meeting was described by the Clerk of [Dublin] Y.M. in 1930 as "the smallest of our Meetings," for many generations it was a large and active body, both in the Society and in public life. Its records go back to 1653. Limerick Meeting is the most westerly Meeting in the British Isles—Quakerism made no headway across the Shannon.

[Notes on the following families follow :]

**ALEXANDER.** The first record is that Edward Alexander, of Moate, married Elizabeth Davis, of Limerick, about 1754. Alexanders opened a grocer's shop and ships-chandlery in a field at the edge of the City. These premises, corner of William Street, were in the family for about 120 years, and are now the very centre of modern Limerick. Business flourished with them and attracted another well-known family of Limerick Friends,

**HILL,** to open a shop opposite them. This was Joshua Hill, who, from his autocratic manner, won for himself the nickname of "The Great Commander." A bill-poster posted a bill on his premises which displeased him mightily, and resulted in the following lines :

Post no bills on Joshua Hills  
For he's the great commander,  
But post them on the opposite side,  
On snuffy Alexander.

Thus early Friends shewed their love to each other !

Besides building up a prosperous business the Alexanders found time to promote and develop useful public institutions.

The best known of this family was Edward Alexander (1788-1836), who travelled largely in the ministry. He

“ apprehended it to be his duty to publish a solemn warning to the people of this nation [Ireland] in reference to that awful visitation, calling them to repentance ; which, being united with by his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, was, in accordance with his concern, posted up in most cities and towns through out this Kingdom, [Ireland] 1831.” The plague of cholera was ravaging the country in 1831 and 1832.

Another well-known member of this family was Samuel Alexander (1818-1905). He opened a carpet warehouse, 121 George Street, and, to distinguish him from the numerous other Alexanders, he was known as “ Sam Carpet.” He married Isabella, daughter of Benjamin Clark Fisher of Limerick, and some years after removed to London where for forty or fifty years he was an acknowledged Minister. He was father of Edward and William Henry [Fisher] Alexander, well-known for all their activities in connection with London Y.M.

Anna Alexander (1799-1892) and her niece, Deborah Martin (a relative by marriage of “ Billy Martin,” of Cork, who influenced Father Mathew to take up temperance work), small in stature, wearing grey silk dresses and Quaker bonnets, lived at the Alexander home, called “ Evergreen,” the peculiarity of which was that it was built upside down, that is, that it was built in a hollow, the hall-door was level with the ground and the bedrooms and other apartments were downstairs.

There is now not left in Limerick a single Alexander of that once great Quaker clan, for generations a power for good, for progress and enterprise.

[Then follow several paragraphs relating to the famine in 1848.]

**BENNIS.** Mitchell and Eliza Bennis had a son, William, who married Mary Fisher, daughter of Reuben and Jenepher Fisher, of Youghal, 1825. He had a country flour mill in a lovely glen at the foot of the Broadford Mountains, called Ballycorney, about fourteen miles from Limerick, and every Sunday he and his wife used to drive into meeting with their children. These children were greatly amused at two old maiden aunts, who every Sunday had

the same greeting for each other when they met in the Meeting House :

“ And how is thee, sister Mary ? ”

“ But poorly, sister Jane, but poorly.”

“ And how is thee, sister Jane ? ”

“ But poorly, sister Mary, but poorly.”

Every Friday William Bennis drove in to Limerick for money to pay his workmen, and one Friday night in 1839 the house was raided by “ whiteboys ” (robbers who went about in white nightshirts to terrify decent people), and William Bennis was wounded and died from the effects three years afterwards. Six men were tried and Mary Bennis was principal witness, but she knew that if she identified any one of them as the man that wounded her husband he would be hanged, and as Friends objected to the taking of life, she only stated that they all helped in the robbery. The result was they were all transported to Botany Bay. Five out of their eight children died young. Their sixth, Anna, married Joshua Jacob. The two youngest were Edward Bennis, settled in England and was an inventive genius<sup>1</sup>, and Joseph Bennis, who married Emilie Frances, daughter of James Carroll, of Cork and a neice of Edward Carroll.<sup>2</sup> Joseph was an ardent astronomer and a look through his telescope was appreciated by rich and poor. During the guerilla warfare in 1921, when bullets were flying and houses being burnt down, one evening about 11 p.m. he placed his telescope out of the window of his house in George Street to view some planet. Very soon there was a thundering at the hall door, and a demand to know what that Lewis gun was doing at the window. He offered to show them the planet he was studying, but Black and Tans took no interest in planets, and they told him that if he did not take it in at once the house would be burned down. Some time in the 1870's Joseph went to London and brought back, as the latest novelty, a few bananas, which he expatiated on to the wonder and admiration of Limerick citizens.

Ernest H. Bennis [the author of these Reminiscences], son of Joseph F. Bennis, has been clerk of Limerick Monthly Meeting for many years.

<sup>1</sup> See, for some of his inventions, *Jnl. F.H.S.* xviii., xix.

<sup>2</sup> For Edward Carroll, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiv., *et seqq.*

[Reference to graveyards] the very old graveyard in Pump Lane off Nicholas Street and the new one at Ballinacurra.

FISHER. The first of the Fishers to come to Limerick were James and Sarah, who removed from Cork in 1788. Benjamin Clark Fisher was the first man to introduce an umbrella into Limerick. It was sent to him by steamer from London, and so anxious was he to get it that he went down the river in a boat to meet the steamer.<sup>3</sup>

FAYLE. Susannah Fayle<sup>4</sup> removed from Clonmel to reside in Limerick in 1883. She was a recorded Minister. In 1896 she visited U.S.A., but not long after arrival she sickened and died.

GRUBB. Thomas Grubb had a tailor's shop in George Street, opposite the County Club. He had the reputation of being possessed of a most unruffled temper. One day his temper was the subject of discussion at lunch at the County Club, and one gentleman made a bet with another that he would succeed in causing T.G. to lose his temper. Accordingly one busy day when T.G. had already been delayed from getting to his dinner, this gentleman walked in and asked to see some cloth. Very genially T.G. took down a roll; but, no, it would not do, so roll after roll was exhibited and looked over again and again, and still without pleasing the would-be customer. At last the gentleman decided on one and asked T.G. to cut off as much as would fit on a penny. This he did, wrapped it up and with a smile handed it to the purchaser, saying: "Thank thee, friend, and next time thee calls I hope thy order will be for a larger amount." So the gent. lost his bet and T.G. enhanced his reputation. Thomas Grubb married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Clark Fisher, and had a large family. His son George was clerk of Dublin Y.M. for many years.

HARVEY. Very prominent Friends were the Harveys, who, besides taking an active part in everything connected

<sup>3</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.* xi.

<sup>4</sup> Susannah Fayle (1828-1896) was a daughter of Samuel and Eleanor Fayle, of Clonmel. Her first visit to U.S.A. was in 1888 and her second in 1896.—*Annual Monitor*, 1897; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 80.

with Friends, were, in public life, some of the most enterprising and progressive of citizens. Joseph Massey Harvey, of Cork, married Rebecca Mark, of Limerick, and came to reside here in 1786. They built and lived in a fine house called Summerville. J.M.H. was a pioneer in importing baulks of timber and sawing them into planks. The vessels discharged the timber into the river, and by means of horses the baulks were drawn up an inclined platform into his yard. His youngest son, William Henry Harvey, M.D., F.R.S. (1811-1866), was a professor in Trinity College, Dublin, also author, traveller, and botanist "of world-wide fame in his own lines."

JACOB. Joshua Jacob, one of the "White Quakers," opened a shop in Dublin and made a fortune by selling tea and sugar in farthings-worths. His nephew, Joshua Jacob, son of Joseph Jacob, of Mountmellick, imbued with the same desire, came to Limerick and served his time at Mary Bennis's. He married her daughter, Anna Bennis, in 1862. He opened a grocery shop himself in High Street, which, in spite of his eccentric ultra-conscientiousness, soon became the leading grocery business in Limerick. Anna Jacob died in 1874, after the birth of her eighth child; in 1875 Joshua married Catherine Reynolds, of Bessbrook. About 1870 he transferred his business to 41 George Street, a shop with a fine plate-glass window, but as plate-glass was "worldly vanity" he had it taken out and small panes of common glass put in instead.

He belonged to the "Grey Quakers," so he painted his premises a drab grey, the same colour as his clothes and other belongings. He dressed in knickers and untanned leather shoes, a broad-brimmed hat and collarless coat, and dressed his daughters as little Quakeresses. He always used the plain language and always addressed people by their Christian names. The public looked on this as extreme conscientiousness, and flocked to his establishment. His manner of attending customers was extremely attractive and courteous, and his clientèle included many titled persons. Lady Clarina, an aristocratic old lady, mother of Major-general Lord Clarina, commander of the British forces in India, would come in and give him her order, at the conclusion of which J.J. would courteously say: "Thank thee, Mary Massey."

"Lady Clarina, please," was the equally courteous reply. One day a strange clergyman from the West of Ireland, choleric and self-important, called and gave a good order, and asked to have his parcel sent, and addressed to "The Venerable Archdeacon Jones." "Did thee Say Thomas Jones?" asked J.J. "No," was the emphatic reply, "I said the Venerable Archdeacon Jones." However the parcel was sent addressed to "Thomas Jones," and the clergyman, furious, said he would never enter that shop again to be insulted.

But Jacob catered also for the poor and was a pioneer in the cheap restaurant business. He opened a restaurant in William Street, which continued to be carried on for many years after his death. Perhaps he is best remembered by his conscientious objection to vaccination, and as he had thirteen children he was continually in trouble with the authorities. When summoned, he would appear in Court with his hat on, and when requested to take it off, he would say: "I uncover my head to Almighty God only," at the same time lifting his hat but promptly replacing it. As he was a leading citizen and a courteous gentleman, to overcome any unpleasantness when he was to appear in Court the officials arranged to have a policemen at each side of the entrance staircase, gently to remove his hat and keep it till he came out again. He was a good judge of horseflesh and was fond of driving, preferring a fast-going horse. His peculiarities were not a help to Limerick Meeting; though he often spoke, his messages were not always helpful.

J. Jacob and his family removed to Philadelphia in 1880, and he died there shortly after arrival.

**TAVERNER.** Edward Taverner (1623-1685) and Susannah, his wife, came to Ireland in Third Month, 1653. They had twelve children—one was born in Cork, others in County Limerick, County Tipperary and in Kings County. Taverners were members of Limerick Meeting for nearly two hundred years. The last of them, Fanny Taverner, was not a member but frequently came to meeting, died about 1894.

**UNTHANK.** The Unthinks were numerous and active Friends from 1712 to 1895. In the old and dilapidated part of Limerick called Mungret Street there is a plot of ground



still known as "Unthank's Garden" and a lane as "Joss's Lane." These took their names from Joss Unthank, who had his business and property there. The same Joss caused the Meeting a good deal of trouble as from time to time he would disappear for days on drinking bouts. The penance the Meeting imposed upon him was that he should stand at the door of the Meeting House as Friends were going in and each one passing by would look at him and say: "Fie on thee, Joss." One penance day when several Friends had thus admonished him, a sprightly young Quakeress did so too, but at this his patience reached its limit, and, turning to her, he said: "Fie on thee theeself, I'll not stay here any longer," and walked off. The last of the Unthinks was Gabriel Fisher (1814-1895), always known as "Gabe."

[The family names in the Reminiscences not mentioned above are Davis, Barnes, Baylee, Abell, Evans, Fitt, Journeaux, Malcolmson, Newsom, Pease, Pike, Scarr, Sikes.]

ERNEST H. BENNIS.

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## The Penalty of Greatness

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"How did the righteous compass me about from the Sovereign, the princes, and the princesses, down to the poorest, the lowest and the most destitute!

"How did the poor sinner of almost every description seek after me and cleave to me!

"What was not said of me! What was not thought of me, may I not say, in public and in private in innumerable publications, &c.!"

ELIZABETH FRY, under date of 25 iv. 1819.

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"Henry Callaway lived at 34 Finsbury Circus. He left Friends and became Bishop of Kaffraria. The Bishop was calling on my great-aunt, Sarah Sterry, previous to returning to South Africa. Her parting words are said to have been: 'Fare thee well, Henry Callaway. I don't expect to see thee again in this world, and I am sure I don't hope to see thee in the next.'"

*Contributed by Arthur Shillitoe, Salcombe, Devon.*

# John Woolman to Catherine Payton, 1755

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Belovd Friend } I thought I wanted Some more Conversa-  
C. Payton } tion with thee than I had Opertunity for—

Haveing been at Sundry Meetings with thee I perceive that he who waits to be gracious to Us has given thee among others a distinct Sight of the State of the Churches—To him only I am thankfull for it—And from a warm desire that thy Clearness of understanding may be Continued—Mising other means take this, to remind thee of what thou well knowest—That where the Divine hand Bestows Liberally Deep Reverence is more abundantly Necess'y.

And if thou keepest Near Enough the Centre of Humility, I think I see y<sup>t</sup> a blessing to Us will Ensue.—

In much haste & True Love,

I am thy frd, JOHN WOOLMAN.

25.2mo. 55.

Age only dont give firmness yet Youth in general is most unsteady.—J.W.

Catherine Payton became Catherine Phillips (1727-1794), and a very prominent Minister. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* v.y., esp. 1919; Jenkins, *Records*.

From the autograph letter in **D** (Portfolio 42.18), presented by Olivia and Stella Lloyd Fox, of Rosehill, Falmouth.

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“ When visiting at the house of a Philadelphia Elder, Samuel Bettle [1774-1861], a young man took occasion to advise him of the worldliness noticed in the use of silver forks in place of the old-fashioned, two-tined implement which had been generally used for many years, and was considered sufficient by many even then. The young man remarked that John Woolman would not have used silver forks. His host quickly replied: ‘ There are many imitators of John Woolman, there was but one original.’ ”

Taken from *Recollections of Lydia S. (Mitchell) Hinchman*, 1929, p. 30.

## Marginalia : James Nayler

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While engaged in writing a popular review (*Friends' Intelligencer*, 2nd month 4th, 1928) of Mabel R. Brailsford's delightful book, *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army: James Nayler*, I came upon a variety of interesting historical notes and queries which may be worth offering in a more learned journal.

I. Like many others, Miss Brailsford (p. 11) regards the date of the King James Version of the Bible as significant for the character of its language and for the beginning of its religious influence. But the Bible in English was, of course, already widely known, and even its language belongs as much to a period two or three generations earlier, when most of its wording was determined by the earlier translations. As far as the early Friends are concerned there is little evidence of their knowledge or use of earlier versions but the Authorized Version itself has roots long before their own time.

II. In her interesting introductory chapter, Mabel R. Brailsford reprints much of an article on "Cromwell's Quaker Soldiers", first published in 1915 in *The Contemporary Review*. In dealing with the date of Fox's letter "To the Council of Officers," etc., a self-contradiction is repeated. She first (p. 23) suggests 1657, but later (p. 28) speaks of it as seven years before 1660, i.e. 1653. The former is the date usually given, but as I think I have demonstrated elsewhere (*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, xiii, 78 ff), the document must be dated as late as 1659. Miss Margaret Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, 1923, p. 120, had also given the correct date of the tract. Miss Hirst, however, questions Fox's authorship. This too Miss Brailsford ignores, perhaps quite wisely. The internal evidence is certainly in favour of Fox, as I have argued in the article mentioned, and I have also published (*ibid.* xiv. 67 f) evidence of its attribution to Fox as early as 1680. I may here add that Charles Leslie, in his *Snake in the Grass*,

published in 1696, quotes as the words of George Fox all the most militaristic parts of the pamphlet as evidence against the Friends (third edition, 1698, pp. 210 f, 238 f), and that none of the answers by Whitehead or Wyeth or other Friends attempted to deny that Fox was the author. Indeed Joseph Wyeth in *Anguis Flagellatus*, 1699, p. 335, quotes the writing as belonging to Fox.

III. On p. 14 she uses the story of the offer of a captaincy in the Puritan army to Fox as evidence of the high moral standards in that organization. We may grant the fact, but when Fox says that the offer was made "because of my virtue," it is more likely that "virtue" has the old signification of "valor" rather than the modern meaning of "righteousness." See *New English Dictionary*, s. v. "Virtue, 1. 7."

HENRY J. CADBURY.

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### Editor's Forecast

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Among articles to appear in next year's volume of *The Journal* are :  
Biography of George Fell (c. 1639-1670), son of Margaret (Fell) Fox.

Extracts from the pocket book of Mary Weston, 1750-51, when in America, revealing her interest in things apart from her work in the ministry. Illustrated.

Experiences of ministering Friends crossing the Atlantic.

Another literary venture—William Sewel's "History of the People Called Quakers."

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### Letter of Hockanootamen to James Logan, 1730

"James Logan is my brother and friend and he shall have my Land on Sakung Creek, and the Dutch folks & other People settled on it without his Leave or my Leave shall not have it. Old William Penn was my Brother, I have seen him often, and his Children are as my Children, so says

"HOCKANOOTAMEN.

"his X mark.

"7th of July, 1730."

Printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, xiv. 95.

## 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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*The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, by Dr. Auguste Jorns, translated from the German by Thomas K. Brown, Jr. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 8 by 5½, pp. 269, \$2.00, or 10s.)

Dr. Jorns' book, "Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker," appeared in 1912. As far as we can judge the translator has successfully represented the original, and he has supplied some valuable up-to-date notes. There is a Foreword by Amelia M. Gummere. After the chapter: "Brief Outline of the Quaker Movement," we have six chapters dealing with "Poor Relief," "Education," "Alcoholism," "Health and the Insane," "Prison Reform" and "Slavery." We agree with the statement in the review by Henry J. Cadbury, in "Friends' Intelligencer," 3 mo. 28: "The subjects in the volume have received, some of them, special treatment in English monographs, and most of them are dealt with fully in chapters in the Rowntree series of Quaker history," and a reproduction after nineteen years has certain disadvantages, as, for instance, the use made of the English "Discipline" of 1883, long out of date. The "Brief Outline" is, on the whole, good, but it suffers somewhat from several errors which should have been corrected by the committee in charge of the publication. It is not certain where George Fox's shoe-maker-master resided, but it was *not* in Nottingham (p. 22). Is it correct to state that a "second period of the Quaker movement" began with the Restoration, and that there was then a "withdrawal" from active propaganda (p. 39)? Penn was *not* in America before the founding of Pennsylvania (p. 45); and Friends did *not* remain in the Pennsylvania Assembly until the Revolutionary War (p. 46)—the correct date is given in the 'Foreword' (p. 13). It is news to us that the London Yearly Meeting's Meeting for Sufferings was established in connection with fire-briefs (p. 72)—this is corrected as to date and function on p. 11.

The Bibliographical and General Indexes are a joy and well worthy of imitation. The book is attractively produced. It is one of the Pennsbury Series, but does not say so.

The sixth edition of Thomas's *History of Friends in America* has appeared (Philadelphia: Winston, pp. 287, 8s. 6d.). There is a 24-page Bibliography.

The "Diary of Grace Growden Galloway" occupies 63 pages in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1931. Grace Growden was the daughter of Laurence Growden (1694-1770), and grand-daughter of Judge Joseph Growden, of Pennsylvania. In 1753 she married Joseph Galloway, "a brilliant young man of a wealthy Maryland family." The Revolutionary War found Galloway on the side of the English with the result that he had to seek refuge within the British lines with his only surviving daughter, while his wife remained behind in the endeavour to preserve their property. The father and daughter sailed for England in 1778. The property was largely lost and Mrs. Galloway died in 1789.

The Diary extends from June 17th, 1778, to July 1st, 1779. The names of many Friends appear, some as helpers, especially Warner Miffiin, who "was very kind. I have a great love for him." The diarist was greatly comforted by a religious visit from Thomas and Susanna Lightfoot. At the opening she "was not well pleased to see them," but after the interview, "her discourse made me feel a new heart. I think myself quite calm and happy, I feel a joy not to be described."

A painting of the diarist is reproduced. The Diary is edited by Raymond C. Werner, of the University of Illinois.

With the present issue the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* completes its fourth volume (London: Lindsey Press, pp. 475). Among contributors we notice our old friends Alexander Gordon and George Eyre Evans. A request for further information respecting "Progressive Friends" mentioned in our volume 26 will be answered.

Albert G. Linney, author of "Peepshow of the Port of London," has produced *A Pocket Guide to the Docks of London* (London: Newton, pp. 60, 1s., well illustrated).

*The Diaries of John Bright*, edited by R. A. J. Walling, with Foreword by Philip Bright (London: Cassell, 9½ by 6½, pp. xii + 591, 25s.). The very many subjects which appear in this volume are well introduced in the voluminous Index. "The memoir of Bright's youth, with which the book opens, written in his old age, contains a remarkable picture of the life of a Quaker family at the beginning of the nineteenth century." His strong views on disownment for "marrying out" appear on page 94. Lindley Murray on page 143 should be Lindley Murray Hoag. The note to Maria Webb's "Penns and Peningtons" is incorrect (page 434). Francis T. King (page 468). It is difficult to find one's way about owing to the absence of dates on the page-headings.

The movements of ministering Friends are recorded in extracts from the minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1754-1757, printed in the

*Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, March, 1930—  
Joshua Dixon, Samuel Fothergill, William Brown, Thomas Soundy,  
Mary Peisley, Comfort Hoag, Catherine Payton, Thomas Gawthrop, Jonah  
Thompson, Christopher Wilson, John Hunt.

Other entries of interest include :

“ 4 mo. 1756. The Overseers informed the Meeting they have dealt  
with John Mifflin and Joseph Fox for being concerned in promoting and  
advising to the late Declaration against the Indians, and offering  
Rewards, for scalping them. . . . disowned.”

“ 3 mo. 1757. James Logan was treated with in respect to his  
purchase of a Slave.”

“ It was reported that William Logan and his wife had lately  
purchased a Negro.”

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*The History of Peace*, by A. C. F. Beales (London : Bell, 9 by 5½,  
pp. viii + 355. ). This volume is described as “ A Short Account of  
the Organised Movements for International Peace.” There is a fine  
Bibliography and an Index.

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*The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, by George Everett Hastings  
(Chicago : University Press, pp. xii + 517, \$4.00). This fine volume,  
well printed and illustrated, is a worthy tribute to a noted American  
(1738-1791), one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. There  
are a few notices of Friends and Friendly persons. Among his Revolu-  
tionary ballads was one, published in 1780, “ A Tory Medley ” :

“ Three Tories in very foul Weather,  
Assembled in great Consternation,  
To lay their wise Noddles together  
And settle th' Affairs of the Nation.

“ The third was a Quaker demure,  
Whose Religion was keeping his Hat on ;  
He sigh'd and he groan'd, to be sure,  
But his heart was as wicked as Satan.”

The Quaker is said to represent Samuel Rhodes Fisher, of Phila-  
delphia, who suffered much for his peace principles by imprisonment and  
banishment.

Copy presented by Edward Hopkinson, of Philadelphia.

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The Professor of History at Haverford College, Pa., writes respecting  
*The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-64*, by Christopher Ward  
(Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press ; London : Humphrey  
Milford, Oxford University Press, 6¼ by 8½, pp. xii + 393, English price  
21s.) :

“ It is well esteemed. I know it has several very good reviews in  
our magazines. It is not of the most scholarly type, but the author has  
great facilities in writing and tells an interesting tale.”

We are liable to forget that when Penn established his colony the land was already largely peopled by settlers from Holland and Sweden. The following are the main features of the story :

" France took land between the 40th and 46th parallels (from Philadelphia to Montreal) in 1604." (p. 51.)

" Dutch possessions from 1623 for over forty years." (p. 353.)

" Swedes sailed up the Delaware mid-March, 1638." (p. 86.)

" The presence of the Swedes in New Netherland was annoying to the Dutch," 1640. (p. 95.)

" Finns from Sweden arrived in 1641—noted for destroying the forests." (p. 104.)

" English of the New Haven colony encroaching on New Sweden." 1641. (p. 99.)

" English took possession of 'indubitably Swedish territory,'" 1641. (p. 100.)

" The air was full of protests in this scramble for possession by the Dutch, Swedes and English," 1641. (p. 100.)

" Fifth Swedish expedition arrived in Feb. 1643—ten years of expansive activity." (pp. 107ff.)

" Johan Printz arrived from Sweden," 1643 (died 1663). (pp. 107ff.)

" Pieter Stuyvesant, the Hollander, arrived." (p. 132.)

(Printz and Stuyvesant, the two great men of the period.)

" Delaware 100 p.c. Swedish river," 1654. (p. 176.)

" Trouble to the Dutch from the English from Maryland under Nathaniel Utie. The Dutch were ordered off the River," 1659. (p. 278.)

" Johan Classon Rising, the last of the governors of New Sweden." (p. 202.)

" Dissatisfaction, strife, hunger and pestilence in the years 1658 and 1659 brought the Dutch Colony to the edge of ruin." (p. 268.)

" Holland passed out of control of the River," 1663. (p. 324.)

" On September 6th, 1664, Fort Amsterdam became Fort James, the city became New York. It was an altogether irregular proceeding, justifiable only on the ground that the Dutchmen in America were intruders and trespassers on territory rightfully belonging to England, a mere specious excuse at best." (pp. 363, 365.)

" In 1664, the year of the Dutch downfall, there were 10,000 people in all New Netherland, but in New England there were 50,000 and in Maryland and Virginia another 50,000." (p. 377.)

" The Swedes were a peaceable people, just and fair-minded. They treated the Indians well. They never attacked them. They were never guilty of such massacres as the Dutch inflicted or as the English perpetrated." (p. 23.)

" It is pleasant to celebrate the magnanimity displayed by our forefathers in buying the Indians' land instead of stealing it. William Penn, as depicted by Benjamin West, portly and philanthropic, quieting his title to forty-eight thousand square miles of Indian Territory by a generous donation of certain 'parcels of goods,' is a benevolent figure, pleasant to contemplate." (p. 39.)

We heartily commend the book, which deals with a little known period of the colonisation of North America.



Elizabeth Sturge, of 2 Durdham Down, Bristol, has presented a copy of *The Sturges and Early Quakerism*, printed for private circulation, 1930. The paper was read at a gathering of the Sturge family, and consists of a short review of the lives of the Quaker Sturges from the seventeenth century.

There has just appeared, written by Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say, Early American Naturalist* (Springfield, Ills. : Thomas, 9½ by 6, pp. xiv + 260, \$5.00, well illustrated). Thomas Say (1787-1834) sprang from Quaker stock and was educated in Friends' schools. There is a sketch of the father, Benjamin Say (1756-1813) and of the grandfather, Thomas Say (1709-1796). Of the latter information was given in our volume xv (1918). We can now supply some notes respecting Benjamin. He was educated at Friends' schools and appeared to have joined the Free (or Fighting) Quakers. In 1776 he married Ann Bonsall, a grand-daughter of John Bartram, naturalist, and in 1795 he married Miriam Moore. "He was a State Senator; he was chairman of many important movements; he was for several terms a Member of Congress." He was much esteemed as a physician, and was supposed to be one of the wealthiest men in Philadelphia at the time of his death.

The Say volume is of much general interest; chapter eight deals with "Robert Owen's Communistic Experiments," at New Harmony in Indiana, the abode of Thomas Say, the younger.

*Nailer Tom's Diary, Otherwise The Journal of Thomas B. Hazard, of Kingstown, Rhode Island, 1778 to 1840*, "which includes observations on the weather, records of births, marriages and deaths, transactions by barter and money of varying value, preaching Friends and neighborhood gossip."

Printed as written, and introduced by Caroline Hazard, *The Scallop Shell, Peace Dale, Rhode Island*. (Boston : Merrymount Press, 11 by 8½, pp. xxiv. + 808, in double column.) To prepare the Diary for the printer took four years and the printing two years.

Thomas B. Hazard (1756-1845) was son of Benjamin and Mehitabel (Redwood) Hazard. In 1783 he married Hannah Knowles (d. 1818) and there were five children, of whom Benjamin and Thomas ("Pistol-Head Tom") appear frequently in the Diary. Parents and sons were good meeting-goers—when absent Nailor Tom records reasons, as, for instance: "too cold, chores to doo, writing to doo, badly poisoned, gott wett." The remainder of the day was occupied by a variety of occupations.

Here is a specimen entry :

7th day 20th of 1st month, 1816: "C.W.w. [clear, wind west]. I workt in the shop. Carried Dockter Hasard's a p' tongs and he paid me in Borax and Tin for mending the same. Sold Hezekiah Babscock Sheep Pelts Eight in Number for three tand sheep Skins. Settled accounts with Stephen Albro and Gave him an order on William Peckham Jun<sup>r</sup>. for \$3.85<sup>cs.</sup>, the ballance of acc<sup>ts</sup> and we signed the Book. Paid Benj<sup>a</sup> T. Peckham my state Tax and took his Recipe. Settled several acc<sup>ts</sup> with him he had to Colect. He supt here."

We have noted the names of about sixty visiting Ministers, among them David Sands, John Townsend, Job Scott, Mary Hampton, Anna Braithwaite, John Wilbur, George Withy, Christopher Healy, Deborah Darby, (J. J.) Gurney.

There is a valuable introduction, with a conspectus of the Diary. Copy presented to Friends' Historical Society by the introducer and placed in the Reference Library.

John Lane The Bodley Head has published a book of considerable interest—*Elizabeth Fry's Journeys on the Continent, 1840, 1841, from a Diary kept by her Niece, Elizabeth Gurney*, edited, with an Introduction by R. Brimley Johnson, and a Foreword by the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G., illustrated from the Diarist's original sketches and from portraits (London: 9 by 5½, pp. xxxii + 208, 12s. 6d.). The diary consisted mainly of letters to her family at Ham House, Essex. The party comprising the tour of 1840 were Samuel Gurney and his daughter Elizabeth, the diarist, and his sister Elizabeth Fry, also Josiah Forster (for part of the journey), William Allen and his niece Lucy Bradshaw. The second journey was undertaken by Elizabeth Fry, her brother Joseph John Gurney, and his daughter Anna, and the diarist as before. Elizabeth Fry was the centre of a triumphal procession—"great curiosity to see our noted Aunt is the first cause, I dare say, of this mob infesting her, but those who came first from curiosity continue in her train, as tho' bound by some spell, and aid her in every thing" (page 78). Her addresses on philanthropic subjects were deeply religious, and she was therefore able to instruct her auditory although told that she "must have no preaching" (page 15). Even when not speaking she "stands by, *looking* sermons" (page 141). She had frequent attacks of illness—"we are constantly applying to Uncle Buxtons Bottles. I tell Aunt that with them as carnal and her Bible as spiritual food, she might travel over Arabian deserts" (page 137).

The journeys must have been very costly :

"We lived in the lap of luxury at our hotel. No expense or pains spared to make us comfortable. Uncle was shocked at the bill, but I asked him what else he could expect considering the style we had lived in, and having so many to take meals with us sums up the bills" (page 153). "Nothing can exceed Uncle's *extravagance*" (page 127).<sup>1</sup> One contretemps caused some consternation. It occurred at the beginning of the journey of 1841. "Aunt's bonnet could not be found, everybody was set to hunt. The steward was in affliction. 'If it is lost, Mrs. Fry, you can't get another made like it all over Holland. What will you do?' We gave up the search and settled it was lost when we heard Aunt calling us that she had found it crushed. She held it up squashed as flat as a pancake! 'My bonnet! My bonnet!—Uncle has sat upon it, upon it!' The ladies put it straight for her and every one congratulated her. Uncle had been quietly studying German sitting on it" (page 109).

We can heartily recommend the book. There is a curious error in one of the Tables, which gives the birth of a father as 1852 and the death of his daughter as 1825!

<sup>1</sup> E. Fry's own means were very limited.

An attractive centenary volume has appeared—*The Mount School, York, 1785 to 1814, 1831 to 1931*, prepared by H. Winifred Sturge and Theodora Clark (London and Toronto: Dent, 9 by 6, pp. xii + 271, 7s. 6d.). An interesting book to read, well illustrated, but its use greatly lessened by lack of index.

A sketch of the life and work of *Antonius Manasseh* (1866-1929) has been written by Christofer G. Naish and is published at one shilling.

Edward Needles Wright has now completed his work: *Conscientious Objectors<sup>2</sup> in the Civil War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 9½ by 6, pp. viii + 274, 12s. 6d.). After a general Introduction there is a chapter on Noncombatant Religious Sects—the Society of Friends, Mennonites, Dunkers, Shakers, Amana Society, Schwenkfelders, Christadelphians and Rogerines. Chapters follow on Political Recognition, Attitude of Civil and Military Authorities, Official Attitude of the Noncombatant Sects, and the last deals with an interesting comparison between the Civil War and the World War. There is a fifteen-page Bibliography and an Index.

Messrs. Constable and Co., have published an attractive volume: *The Firm of Cadbury, 1831-1931*, written by Iolo A. Williams in view of the centenary celebration (London: 8½ by 5½, pp. 295, with many illustrations 10s. 6d.)

*The Story of Religions in America*, by William Warren Sweet, of the University of Chicago, takes the reader in an attractive manner from Creative Forces, and First Experiences and Benevolent Enterprises, to the period of Reconstruction and Big Business. There is a frontispiece of "A Quaker Exhorter in New England," and an illustration representing "Mary Dyer Led to Execution," with the erroneous statement that she was "the only Quaker to suffer the death penalty in the Colonies." (New York and London: Harper, 9 by 5½, pp. 571.)

*The History of Scarborough*, long anticipated, is now published, edited by Arthur Rowntree (London: Dent, 10 by 6½, pp. xx + 456, 21s.). It is well worthy to rank with the histories of Hitchin and Luton—abounds in illustrations. The Editor wrote the chapter on the Nonconformists and deals with Friends satisfactorily.

Not the least interesting portion of the latest life of Benjamin Franklin—*Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times*, by Bernard Faÿ. (London: Sampson Low, pp. xvi + 547, 15s.) is the series of Cartoons, illustrating incidents in the life of the great American.

Robert Muschamp has had reprinted from *The Warrington Examiner*, February, 1931, his article on early Quakerism, entitled: "The Story of the Quakers. Early Happenings in Warrington and District."

<sup>2</sup> This term is said to have been originated by General Smuts.

*Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688*, by C. E. Whiting, D.D., B.C.L., Reader in History in the University of Durham and Vice-Principal of St. Chad's College, Durham (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 8½ by 5½, pp. xvi + 584, illustrations, 21s.). This is a "great" book, the result of intense study of the multitudinous literature of the period. After a chapter on "The Act of Uniformity," there are thirty-eight pages on "The Presbyterians and Independents," fifty on "The Baptists," and one hundred on "The Quakers," followed by a chapter on "The Minor Sects" numbering about fifty. Chapter xii deals with "Some By-paths of Puritan Literature." Unfortunately the author did not study here in addition to the British Museum—some slips in the Quaker portion might have been avoided<sup>3</sup>—491 names, not 471, p. 163; note 1 to p. 167, must have puzzled the writer, the correct date was "7th mo.," not August; George Fox's step-daughter would be Isabel Yeamans not Mrs. Keith, p. 229; Elizabeth Hooton can hardly have been correctly styled: "A sixteenth Century Elizabeth Fry," p. 228. Alas! the fiction that Margaret (Askew) Fell was a descendant of Anne Askew, the martyr, has been revived (p. 232).

References to Friends abound—we have noted over seventy in addition to those given in the Index, which are confined to the Quaker chapters.

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*Quakerism in the City of New York, 1657-1930*, by John Cox, Junr. (New York: Privately printed, 1930, 7½ by 5½, pp. viii + 244. Foreword by Rayner W. Kelsey, illustrations and detailed Index). The author has produced his record of New York Quakerism in subject-wise method, in twenty-six sections, e.g., The Genesis 1657, The Meeting for Worship, Philanthropy and Charity, Marriage, Quakers in Civil and Public Life, as Doctors and in other Professions, Education, and he draws valuable information, as "one who has long been familiar with the basic manuscript records of New York Quakerism" (Foreword). We are glad to have data respecting many Friends living in the chief city of the Empire State to add to the already 400,000 entries in the card catalogue in D.

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The reference to Mary Leadbeater in Jnl. F.H.S. xxvii. 58 reminds me that the volume of her poems, published in Dublin in 1808, is prefixed by a verse translation of the Thirteenth Book of the *Æneid* (pp. 2-85), written by Maphæus Vegius in the fifteenth century, and that in 1930, over a century later, at the time of the Virgil Bimellenium, another Quakeress, Professor Anna Cox Brinton, of Mills College, California, and temporarily of Woodbrooke, pays tribute to the same Italian humanist in modern fashion. That tribute is a scholarly monograph, well illustrated and annotated, giving an account of the continuators of Virgil and their illustrators, of Maphæus Vegius, his life and writings, and reproducing the text of sixteenth century English and Scotch verse translations of the Thirteenth Book. Other translations are not numerous. She mentions Mary Leadbeater's version on page 39, but not that she was a Friend.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

<sup>3</sup> We would have advised caution in the use of Croese's "History."

*John William Hoyland of Kingsmead*, by H. G. Wood of Woodbrooke, is an important contribution to Quaker history and biography. J. W. H.'s great grandmother was Barbara Hoyland, the sister of Daniel Wheeler. In her fiftieth year she commenced to write an account of her childhood and religious experiences for the benefit of her children.<sup>4</sup> From this most interesting MS. H. G. Wood freely quotes for the background of his study. It gives a vivid picture of the home life of Barbara Wheeler as a member of a family firmly attached to the Anglican faith and of the influences that brought her into the Society of Friends. Then we have in a later generation a glimpse of a Quaker household that was constrained by the fervour of the Evangelical movement under D. L. Moody. The subject of this biography never lost this evangelical faith; it penetrated his life and thought, it fitted him for the post of Warden of Kingsmead, the offer of which came to him after an active, uphill business career. That John William Hoyland was in the right place at Kingsmead and as Chairman of the Selly Oak Colleges' Council, there can be no doubt. Incidentally H. G. Wood tells us much about the history of the Colleges that have made Selly Oak known all over the world. This is what makes the biography such an interesting and valuable contribution to Quaker history. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, pp. 256, 7s. 6d.)

S. GRAVESON.

Messrs. Longmans have recently published a life of *William Charles Braithwaite* (London, pp. 178, 5s.), written by his sisters Thomas and Emmott, which will be a reminder if such is needed, of a man of mental and spiritual stature who served his generation in various lines of service. In addition to the memoir there is a valuable selection of his writings. His contributions to Quaker history will long survive as leading expositions. How often we would consult him on historical questions!

The first illustration to the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, Spring Number, 1931, represents the new meeting-house in Washington, D.C., the work of Walter F. Price who has recently been at Friends House studying the architecture of Friends' meeting houses, and the other shows the new building of the Historical Society of Frankford, Pa. Of all the good things in this issue it is difficult to make a selection. The Journal of the visit of Joseph Foulke among Friends of Long Island in 1837 is very attractive. We are glad to have a list of Quakerly biography in "Dictionary of American Biography," as alas! the volumes are absent from Friends House Library.

The date of the death of Sir William Penn was of course 1670 and not 1770 (p. 48). We are glad to see the editor lashing out against an indexless publication!

*James Nayler, Rebel Saint*. The translation into English of Emilia Fogelklou's life of James Nayler, published in Stockholm in 1929, is now completed, and is published in London by Ernest Benn, Limited, under the title *James Nayler, the Rebel Saint, 1618-1660*—"an attempt to

<sup>4</sup> See *Jnl. F.H.S.* iii.

reconstruct the chequered life history of a singular personality from the age of the Commonwealth." We venture to state that no Quaker biography of modern times has been presented to the British public in such literary form as this volume. The translator and editor, our Friend Lajla Yapp, of Birmingham, has done her work in masterly fashion. There are 323 pages (including thirty-five pages of Notes, Appendix, Bibliography and Index) and seven illustrations. The price is 15s.

Mrs. Gwendolyn Beaufoy, of Headington, Oxford, has compiled a history of the Beaufoy family—*Leaves from a Beech Tree* (the name Beaufoy means "beautiful beech")—from the time of William the Conqueror to the present day (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 291, nineteen illustrations, 21s.). The family is traced into Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and South London, the chapter concerning us specially being "The Beaufoys of Meriden and Evesham."

Griffin Beaufoy, was the first of the family to become a Friend—between 1666 and 1672. His wife Joan and several of their children also became Friends. Francis (1663-1731) was a butcher in Evesham; his son John (1688-1722) was a maltster and "a sincere Quaker." Mark Beaufoy (1718-1782), the son of John, married in 1743 Elizabeth, daughter of Capel Hanbury. Mark, Junior (1764-1827) and his brother Henry "made runaway marriages on account of their Quaker faith, choosing partners belonging to the Church of England." Mark Beaufoy, Senr., became a prominent Friend, and Mrs. Beaufoy has introduced valuable information respecting him, to which we may refer in our next volume. See vol. xxvii. 36, 78.

Dr. Leslie Hotson, professor of English at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, has made an important discovery about Shakespeare in the collections at the Public Record Office in London. In *Shakespeare versus Shallow*, Nonesuch Press, 12s. 6d., he shows, with very full documentation, the identity of Shallow in "Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Henry IV, part Two" with a Justice Gardiner, who was Shakespeare's personal enemy, and who would be well known to his London audiences.

From *The King of the Beggars, Bampfylde*—Moore Carew (Oxford: Clarendon Press):

"*Bampfylde* casting his Eye on the publick News-Papers, finds an Account of a Vessel bound to *Philadelphia*, laden with Cloths and Serges, that was lost in a Storm on the Northern Coast of *Ireland*, belonging to that neighbourly Sect of People call'd Quakers, several Families of whom were aboard, embarking with an Intention to settle in that Country; *Bampfylde* therefore getting a large broad-brimm'd Hat, a plain unadorn'd Dress, and a natural Wig, passes for one of these cast-away Passengers, and proceeds to *Thorncombe*, on the Skirts of *Devonshire*, where was at that Time a Meeting of People of that Profession; into whose Company he insinuated himself, and by many a demure Look, and zealous *Thee* and *Thou*, he persuaded his friendly Brethren very considerably to assist him, which, it is well known, Quakers will do to People of their own Stamp and Faith."

See *D.N.B.* (1693-1770?)

## Recent Accessions to D

James Edmund Clark, of Street, Somerset, has sent a copy, which he has specially prepared, of the *Diary of William Stephens*, dated from 1788 to 1835. William Stephens (1756-1837) was born at Feoch, on the Fal, below Truro, in Cornwall, a descendant of Nicholas Jose, the "honest fisherman" of "The Journal of George Fox," and lived in later life at Bridport in Dorset. The copyist of the *Diary* has added a valuable summary of the life of William Stephens, his ancestor. The *Diary* contains a list of travelling Ministers who visited Bridport Meeting, some 150 in all, and the copyist has supplied an index to these Friends. Among the visiting Ministers was Samuel Smith, of Philadelphia, 10 iii. 1790, attended with John Hipsley, of Claverham, Somerset and [? Thomas] Melhuish of Taunton.

William Stephens wrote: "It was on a week-day, and some customers unexpectedly prevented my attending the meeting, which, on reflection, afforded me much uneasiness, as on such an occasion I should have dismissed my customers and shut the shop. This Friend left his native land, his connections and probably his business, exposed himself to the perils of the sea and other dangers, in order to visit the Churches in this land, and to promote the noble cause of Truth, and it appeared to me in a criminal light that any member of Society should suffer business that might be put by to prevent his attendance at those religious opportunities. The painful feeling these considerations occasioned me will, I trust, be a warning to me in the future; and should these remarks fall into the hands of any descended from me, I earnestly entreat them to give them due attention."

A valuable manuscript which has descended from the early Quaker day has been presented by Arthur Pearse Jenkins, of Redruth: *The Journal of Thomas Gwyn*. There are about fifteen sections of fifty pages each. The first section consists of an address to his children, also of a record of events in the years 1703-1717 of the writer's life as an active Minister. He was born at Falmouth in 1656 and died in 1720. Some extracts from the *Journal* appeared in "The Friend" (Lond.), vol. 3 (1845), concluding with the words:

"His family consisted of three sons and seven daughters, but he had a succession of trials, in losing most of them when very young, and on his wife's decease in 1716, he was left with only one daughter, who survived her father."

*History of the Jacob Family of Bridgwater, Tiverton, and Southern Ireland*, compiled by Henry W. Jacob (1865-1928), M.D., of Malvern, 1929, 130 pp., with illustrations, map of the Somerset district, and tables. Printed for private circulation by the Wessex Press, Taunton. There are records of Jacob in Somerset from 1279. Richard Jacob IV., baptized 1642, died about 1685, became a Friend in his early years, "came from Exeter, in Devonshire [into Somerset], was early convinced of the Blessed Truth, suffered imprisonment and harsh usage, having irons put on him, for testimony thereof." About 1675 Richard and Joan Jacob, with their six children, quitted their home at Halberton, Somerset, for Southern

Ireland and settled at Waterford and Cork. One of the sons, Caleb (born 1676), left Ireland and settled in Pennsylvania about 1710. His daughter Mary married Samuel Lightfoot, son of Thomas Lightfoot.

Richard, son of Richard and Joan, married in 1699, Elizabeth Head (c. 1674-1739). Elizabeth Jacob travelled widely in the ministry in the British Isles and Holland. "There are pathetic allusions in the letters of Richard Jacob to the fact that she felt it her duty to leave him to look after little Isaac while she travelled far and wide in fulfilment of what she regarded as her special mission, but Richard did his part well."

Isaac Jacob (1703-1761). His first wife was Rebecca Penrose, and his second, Susanna Watson. By his second marriage he had seven children within fourteen years of whom only one survived, viz., Joseph Jacob, "who married at twenty, had fifteen children, and died at the age of forty-four." His wife was Hannah Strangman.

From Isaac Jacob (only child of his parents) descend the Quaker family still represented in Ireland, with connections with Watson, Strangman, Penrose, Green, Taylor, etc.

There are portraits of the compiler, Dr. Jacob, of Richard Jacob (1666-1725) and of William Beale Jacob (1825-1902). The copy in D was presented by George Newsom Jacob of Dublin.

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Arthur J. and Harold G. Sharp have presented, among a number of items, sixteen autograph letters of John Bright to their father, Isaac Sharp, dated 1879-1882. They have also presented several volumes of *The Woodlands Journal*, written at the school of Isaac Sharp at Hitchin.

Robert A. Penney has also contributed several volumes of *The Woodland Journal*. MS. Box i. 6.

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A manuscript narrative (6 pp.) by Simeon Warner, of interviews with Count Zinzendorf in London in 1736, has been presented by M. Josephine Fardon. The copy was made about 1855. The founder of the Herrenhutters appears to have discovered a considerable measure of agreement with the Friends he met, discussing religious views with Simeon Warner, Jacob Hagen, Josiah Martin and Samuel Scott.

MS. Box i. 10.

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Miss Halse, of Bedford, has presented a type-written memoir (7 pp.) relating to John Barton Hack, one of the founders of South Australia. He was the son of Stephen Hack, of Chichester, and his wife, Maria Barton, the sister of Bernard Barton. Almost devoid of dates, the paper deals with the difficulties of the leading colonists, circa 1835-1845.

MS. Box i. 9.

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*George Fox in Carlisle Jail*, a water-colour by E. H. Wehnert has been presented by J. Edward Hodgkin. The painting, "23" x 20", depicts Fox as a young man with very long hair and an almost girlish face, singing in the dungeon while the fiddler tries to drown his voice, and the evil-looking jailer in the background looks on. (Another painting by E. H. Wehnert of George Fox preaching in a tavern is in the South Kensington Museum—reproduced in Whitten's "Quaker Pictures," 1897).



Manuscript record of the *Journal of a Travel to Portugal in 1852* by John Candler, 3 mo. to 5 mo., 1852. The writer was accompanied with Robert Were Fox and his daughter Anna Maria, and the object of the journey was "to present to Her Most Faithful Majesty, and to those in authority in Portugal, an address from the Society of Friends on the subject of Slave-trading and Slavery" (Lord Malmesbury to Sir R. Pakenham, British Ambassador).

The above volume contains also excerpts from "Friends' Review" of the visit to Norway of John L. Eddy and John Candler, 1862.

Presented by Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, great niece of John Candler.

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An enlarged portrait of Mercy Green (1776-1855) has been presented by Mary Crosfield, of Croydon.

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*The London Spy—The Vanities and Vices of the Town exposed to View*, by Ned Ward, edited with notes by Arthur L. Hayward (London, Cassell. 9½ by 6½, pp. 309). "*The London Spy*, is now, for the first time, published in a form suitable for general reading. It appeared in monthly parts beginning in November, 1698, and was published in volume form in 1703." There are a few references to Friends, especially a discussion between a country parson and a town Quaker in a tavern.

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*No Cross, No Crown*, Philadelphia edd. 1870, 1882, per favour of Henry J. Cadbury.

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William A. Cadbury has presented a scarce broadside (20½ inches by 15½ inches) *The Last Will of George Fox*, "the Quakers Great Apostle; as it was all written by his own hand, and is now lying in the Prerogative Office by Doctors-Commons, London: attested by three Eminent Quakers, whose names are underwritten:† with a Copy of the Administration in Latin, taken out of the said office, signed by Thomas Wellham, Deputy Registrar. Containing two columes: that on the Left-hand being the Original, in his false English and Spelling: the other on the Right hand, put into true English, the original being unintelligible," dated the 8th month, 1688.

London: Printed for and sold by W. Haws, at the Rose in Ludgate Street. MDCCI. Price 2d.

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*Brief Account of the Malcomson Family and their Association with Limerick*, by Alexander Malcomson, Dublin, and Ernest H. Bennis, Limerick. Type-written copy presented by E. H. Bennis.

† The attestators were "S. Mead, wife of W. Mead, of the Parish of St. Dyonis Backchurch, London, Citizen and Marchant Taylor, of London. W. Ingram of the Parish of St. Margaret New Fish Street, London, aged about fifty-seven years, he knew George Fox about forty years. G. Whitehead of the Parish of St. Botolph, without Bishopsgate, London, Gent., aged about sixty years knew George Fox about forty years . . . being acquainted with his Handwriting."

Several books written by Joseph S. Sewell, and William Johnson, and Henry E. Clark in Malagasy, and printed by Abraham Kingdon, 1874, 1880.

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An index to the four volumes of *The History of Friends*, by Samuel M. Janney, published in Philadelphia in 1868.

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There is a brief biography of Morris Birkbeck (1763-1825), son of the bibliophile of the same name, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July, 1930, in connection with an address at the dedication of a memorial at Albion, Edwards County, on October 27th, 1929. As a widower with sons and daughters, he left his native land and founded the English colony of Wanborough, named in honour of his farm in Surrey (later named Albion). It was largely his efforts that Illinois was saved from the blight of slavery. His death came by drowning, when returning from a visit to Robert Owen at New Harmony in Indiana.

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In *The Land of Free Speech*, "Record of a Campaign on Behalf of Peace in England and Scotland in 1900," by S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner (London: New Age Press, 1906, 490 pages), there are numerous references to Friends with portraits. Copy presented by Alexander C. Wilson.

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Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, has presented a manuscript volume: *The Book of Job*, "Altered from the Translated Text, of John Mason Good, F.A.S., with a Preface and Preliminary Dissertation by John Candler, 1821"; also a collection of the letters of Bernard Barton to John W. Candler, 1846-8.

The dissertation on Job is prefaced: "The following version of the Book of Job has been diligently compared with the Authorised Version of the English Bible; and with the several versions of Heath, Boothroyd and Elizabeth Smith.

The version of Bishop Stock has also been occasionally examined on the occurrence of "difficult texts." There are about 200 pages of writing.

Job xix. 25, 26. "For I know that my Redeemer liveth and that he will hereafter rise above the dust. And after this my skin is consumed, even out of my flesh, I shall see God."

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Mrs. Hinchman, of 3635 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., has presented two volumes of family reminiscences printed for private circulation.

(1) *Recollections of Lydia S. (Mitchell) Hinchman*, written at the request of her children, 1930, and

(2) *Biographical Sketch of Charles S. Hinchman*, 1930.

Lydia Swain Mitchell was born on the Island of Nantucket, off the eastern seaboard of North America, and there are many glimpses into Quaker life on the Island, beginning in 1698 and closing in 1902, by the death of the last Friend on the Island, Mary S. Mitchell, mother of Lydia.

Lydia Mitchell, married Charles S. Hinchman (1842-1916) in 1872. There is an account of his business life and military experience in the second volume.

The volumes are attractively printed and well illustrated.

Mrs. Hinchman was the compiler of the substantial volume—"Early Settlers of Nantucket." The second edition is in D, and was the first volume dealt with for the card-catalogue, by the Librarian about thirty years ago.

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*Parochial History of Ackworth*, by Saywell, 1894, 265 pp.

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## In Preparation

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A new and standard edition of *The Journal of George Fox* is in preparation, based on the Cambridge Text modernised, with additions from the Ellwood Text of *The Journal*, the "Short Journal," and other original matter. To be published, in one volume by Headley Brothers, of London and Ashford.

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*Quaker Annals of Preston and the Fylde, 1653 to 1900*, is the title of a new book of xii + 164 pages which, with a Foreword by Dr. John W. Graham, is shortly to be published by Headley Brothers of London. The book, which has been written by Dilworth Abbatt, of Preston, deals with the first coming of Quakerism into some parts of North Lancashire, including the districts known as the Fylde and The Forest of Bowland. The book is to be illustrated with a map of the district and about fifteen pictures.

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Mrs. Chester Kirby, 152 Elingrove Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A., is making a study of the life of George Keith. She is especially anxious to locate letters written by or to George Keith, also other manuscript material. She has been in communication with the Librarian at Friends House in London.

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The Editor is preparing a life of George Fell, son of Judge Fell and Margaret Fell-Fox.

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A VERY BAD GIRL.—"Robert Harwood's daughter being returned from Thomas Houlden's service where she was to be prentice (but proving a very bad girl he would keep her no longer), and her father being weary of her would transport her to Virginia, if any of the Bristoll fleete now bound thither would take her, he saying also the girl is willing. Soe Henry Wheddon, Rich. Pike and Christopher Devensher are desired to speak with Ralph Burges, a friend, one of the fleete, to endeavour for her accomodation that way."

From Cork minutes, 25.xi.1702.

# Henry More<sup>1</sup> to Lady Conway, 1675

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By special permission of the Editorial Secretary of the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., we have extracted several valuable references to early Friends from letters printed in *Conway Letters*, edited by Marjorie H. Nicolson (Yale: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press).

“George Whitehead and John Whitehead gave me a visit, the later of which brought me a book of his own writing, which I read over in my passage from London to Cambridge.

“That John Whitehead looked like a more sensible tender person, and indeed his book seemed to have a good spirit in it. But George Whitehead had an aspect more smug and plump, and more expert, but the ayre of his countenance was more hard and opaque, and I could not hitt it so well in my converse with him, as I could with the other, but asking him some questions, in which I meant him no ill, touching the soul of Christ, he found himself so ill at ease that he told me (which I must confesse I marvell’d at) that he came not thither to be catechised; but the other Quaker easily agreed with me in those questions, which only amounted to this, that Christ besides his body had also a soul, and a soul like ours in all things, sin onely excepted.

“George Keith some dayes before brought in a few little bookes of the Quakers, and amongst them two of Isaak Penington. There’s none reades more like a down right good man then he. So that I do not wonder your Ladiship expressed yourself so well pleased with him at Ragley.”

Nicolson, *Conway Letters*, 1930, 404.

<sup>1</sup> Henry More (1614-1687), the Cambridge Platonist, held a very low opinion of Quakerism in early life, owing to reports of some of their “odnesses,” but in later days, when better acquainted with person and principle, he entertained a more favourable view, although he never became reconciled to Lady Conway’s adherence to Quakerism. Of “William Penn and Isaac Penington he had never anything but good to say, and his letters are the best proof of his sympathetic interest in George Keith, George Fox, and the Whiteheads. . . . The meeting of Henry More and George Keith at Cambridge, and at Ragley, remains one of the significant episodes in the history of seventeenth-century religion.” (*Conway Letters*, p. 413.)

## Elizabeth Fry in Newgate

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In connection with the well-known picture painted by Jerry Barrett, in which we see a number of prominent persons present at one of E. Fry's visits, the following extracts from the journals of Elizabeth Fry are illuminating :

" 1828. 2mo. 2. Went to town, & to Newgate where I went under a feeling of rather deep concern, and found unexpectedly *numbers* there—a magistrate who I feared not a religious man, I doubt a Christian, numbers of others—foreigners, a Jew, a clergyman, many ladies, friends, brother Sam., who, strange to say, I stand in awe of naturally in such services, kind, dear & sympathising as he is to me. Sister E. [Elizabeth Fry, spinster] said something, but there has been of late so much felt & said by those in power about our doing too much in these things with the prisoners & so going out of our province, that it makes me fearful, & believe that as far as the spirit is *rightly* subject to the prophets so far we ought to curtail at this critical time in these things."

" Upton, 9mo. 22. 1830. I have felt much comfort in my Newgate visits, & having had but little company, I have been able more than common to attend to the prisoners."

Apparently, at times, a different class of persons attended the prison services.

In the journals there is a long and striking account of a visit to a person who had been greatly impressed in the meetings in Newgate, of which the following is an extract :

" I then proceeded to Clapham to visit a poor dying converted Jew, who had sent a letter to beg me to go to see him. My visit was highly interesting. (I often wish for the pen of a ready writer & the pencil of an artist to picture many of the scenes I am brought into.) He has been in the practice of frequently attending my readings at Newgate & apparently with great attention."

## THE STORY OF THE PICTURE

Jerry Barrett (c. 1824-1906) was a birthright Friend, but did not remain a Friend. In a letter to John Thompson, of Hitchin, in 1867, he wrote :

" I painted the picture by means of the kind assistance of Miss Fry [Katharine Fry, eldest daughter of Elizabeth Fry] ; and the Governors of Newgate allowed me to make a careful sketch of the room in which Mrs. Fry used to meet. The room was pulled down a few weeks afterwards. The prisoners are painted from some poor women who were staying in the Field Lane Refuge, and the lady in the foreground of the picture is a likeness of Mrs. Ryding, daughter of the late Edward James.

" Others who appear represent Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester ; behind him Joseph John Gurney ; Dorcas Coventry, the lady at Mrs. Fry's right ; Sir T. F. Buxton, the gentleman with spectacles, and behind him Samuel Gurney." The date is given as 1816.

The picture was purchased by Joseph Robinson and was hung at the Friends' Institute in London from 1878 to about 1883. Soon after this last-named date the picture was presented by Joseph Robinson to Henry Edmund Gurney, of Nutwood, Reigate. It was removed to Norwich and became the property of H. E. Gurney's daughter, the wife of John Henry Gurney, of Keswick Hall, near Norwich. For several weeks it was on view on the Friends' Adult School premises in Norwich, where it was inspected by a large number of people. Dean Lefroy visited the exhibition twice and preached a sermon on the picture, which was reported in the *Eastern Daily Press*. The picture is now the property of Gerard Gurney, of Keswick Hall, Norwich. Critics point out an anatomical inexactitude.

## NOTE BY HENRY J. CADBURY

The letter giving Thomas Carlyle's opinion of George Fox as a subject for his biographical study compared with Lilburne his contemporary (*Jnl.* xxvii. 25) reminds me that, beside his famous references to George Fox in *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle's opinion of another Quaker is reported.

Charles Boner, who visited Carlyle in 1862, reported among other parts of his conversation some reference to hearing Elizabeth Fry reading aloud (*Memoirs and Letters of Charles Boner*, by R. M. Kettle, quoted by David Alex Wilson in his *Carlyle to Threescore-and-Ten*, 1929, p. 454).

" No, he did not care to hear anyone read aloud. He did not like it. He had only heard one person read to please him, that was Mrs. Fry in Newgate. He was a boy then. There were the poor unfortunate outcasts opposite to her, looking and laughing as though they were the world and all the rest nothing ; and there she, the wonderful creature, calmly and quietly took out the Bible, and began reading to

them the history of Martha ; and she read in a way that showed she understood it, had thought it over, and knew perfectly well all about it. She made you understand it *all*—all the meanings and all the bearings. She had a good voice, but it was not that so much as the earnestness of the creature, and her sincerity.

“ And it had its effect, for the women were quiet and listened. There Mrs. Fry stood among them in her Quaker dress, clean and neat, and calm and strong in her own persuasion of the righteousness of the work. And there were some other cleanly-dressed creatures about her—Quakers they were too, I believe ; and altogether it was a wonderful sight. I have never seen the like of it.”

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### John Candler to his Wife, 1853

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The following is extracted from a letter of John Candler, written at sea, 9 mo. 13.<sup>1</sup> William and Josiah Forster, William Holmes and the writer formed a deputation to visit U.S.A. :

“ Among our men folks we have an English clergyman and two American doctors of divinity. The Englishman went across the Atlantic about 30 years ago with Isaac and Anna Braithwaite, of whom he speaks very respectfully. ‘ Mrs. Braithwaite,’ he supposes, ‘ went over to help in resisting the Hicksites.’ One of the American clergymen was brought up in or rather lived in a family of the Hicksites, but was led to see the sad tendency of their doctrines, and to escape the poison. He loved Joseph John Gurney and attended one or two of his meetings. ‘ Mr. Gurney,’ he said, ‘ had an unction from the Holy One ; all he said bespoke this.’

“ Another of our passengers is Chief Justice Shaw, of Boston, who, as Chancery Judge, delivered judgment against John Wilbur and his fellow-seceders on the claim they set up, as the true orthodox Friends, to possess certain property belonging to the Society. I am also much pleased with Henry Tuke Parker, a Bostonian, who tells me his father named him Henry Tuke because he was pleased with his writings on the principles of Friends.”

<sup>1</sup> This letter forms No. 1 of a series of letters written to Maria Candler, presented in 1931 by Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, great-niece. Among them is a vivid account of the last days of William Forster, who died in Tennessee. The letters are now in Friends' Library, Haverford College, Pa.

## 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 on London Y.M. 1789-1833.
- Smith, Cata.**—*A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, compiled by Joseph Smith, 2 vols., 1867.

BOOKS WANTED.—“John Wood, of Attercliffe, Yorkshire, England, and . . . Descendants,” by Arnold Wood, 1903. Refers to the Wood family of New York City.

“In the Olden Time,” by Sarah S. Murray.

(Both books cited by John Cox, Jr., in his “Quakerism in New York City.”)

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IS IT FOUR OR FIVE (xvii. 100 ; xix. 137).—The provisions of the Quaker Act, 1662, and the Conventicle Acts, 1664 and 1670, declare that if “any persons sixteen years old should be present at any assembly not allowed by the Liturgy, at which there should be *five or more* persons beyond the household,” that meeting was held to be illegal.

On the question of the number present, Benjamin Nightingale writes in his *Early Stages of the*

*Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, 1921 :

“Whilst, however, the law would seem to be perfectly clear that it was an infringement of the Act when *five* persons other than members of the household were present at a Conventicle, the popular idea appears to have been that *more than five* were needed to constitute a breach of the law. In all cases [noted in the book on pages 128, 129, 132, 153] those who gave evidence against the offenders said that *more than five* were present.”

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The following will exhibit the varying reading or execution of the law :

Justices at Hicks's Hall, 1664, to the jurymen : “The only thing they were to look upon was that they did assemble together *above the number of five* in company” (Sewel, *History*, 6th ed. ii. 108).



A Quaker prisoner in Bristol : " We were but *four* above the age of sixteen years and the Act says it must be *above four* (idem, *ibid.*, ii. 158).

King Charles II. to Mary Fell, 1664 : " Cannot your mother keep within her own family, as she may have *five* [persons present], but she must have such tumultuous meetings ? " (*Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, p. 130).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1668-9, p. 342 : " There being *noe more but 4* besides the speaker."

The Lord Mayor of London in 1670 : " The King and Parliament are graciously pleased to *allow of four* to meet together " (*Camb. Jnl.*, ii. 158).

George Fox, in a short paper on the Conventicle Act, 1670 : " Oh Friends, consider this act which *limits us to five* " (*Jnl.*, bicent. ii. 122).

Thomas Thompson (1692), in his manuscript volume of copies of letters, quotes the Act of 1670 : " *above the number of four* " (p. 92) but later construes the act " *above the number of five* " (p. 293).

Oliver Heywood preached several times in the week at home " admitting only the number of *four* (Whiting, *Puritanism*, 1931, p. 65).

Rufus M. Jones : " By this Act it became a crime for *more than five* persons to hold a meeting (*Story of George Fox*, p. 107).

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THE VOICE IN MINISTRY.—A request, which appeared recently in *Notes and Queries*, London, headed : " The Human Voice," for information respecting the voice of noted persons, caused a reply

detailing the references to the voice of George Fox as recorded, at least, twice in his *Journal*, once when his voice drowned the fiddler (*Camb. ed. i. 126*), and again when, haranguing the Court, the Judge remarked : " Thou speakest soe loud thy voyce drownes mine and y<sup>e</sup> Courts ; I must call for 3 or 4 Cryers to drownd thy voyce, thou hast good lungs," to which Fox replied : " If my voyce ware five times louder yet should I sound it out and lift it up for Christ sake " (*ibid.*, ii. 58).

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In the account, written by Elizabeth Fry, of a meeting at Westminster Meeting House in 1838 for foreigners of rank and for our own nobility, called at the request of Hannah Chapman Backhouse, we read :

" Near unity as I have with dear H.B. and her gift, yet her utterance is so imperfect that she is not generally understood."

This statement surprises us concerning one who travelled in the ministry in both the old and the new world and was vastly appreciated and most helpful.

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The Editor will be glad to receive other references to the voice in Quaker ministry.

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AUTHOR WANTED. (xxii. 95, xxiii. 62, xxv. 87.)—The second portion of the sentence : " Fruitful in the field of offering and joyful in the house of prayer " is to be found in Isaiah lvi. 7.

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PRESTON MEETING.—We have had on loan from Dilworth Abbatt, Fulwood, Preston, Lancs., a volume entitled : " A List of Public Friends who have visited

Preston Meeting, commencing 2mo. 20th, 1751, down to the year 1794, who lodged at Robert Abbatt's when not named to the contrary." The record was continued by Ralph Alderson to the year 1845 and by Charles Holmes to 1862.

SARAH LYNES, afterwards Grubb (xxvii. 83).—In a letter of 1800, 5 mo. 10, Samuel Birchall of Leeds, wrote: "We have lately had Sarah Lynes here, she paid a family visit to Friends here, and had several large Meetings, the last was held in the Military Riding School at which nearly 3,000 people were assembled, a larger number than Sarah ever remembered to have faced."

Quoted in *Atkinson of Roxby and Dearman of Braithwaite*, by Harold W. Atkinson, of Northwood, Middx.

GODLINESS AND GAIN.—"The paper was read relating to such poor friends who remove themselves from one M.M. to another without a Certificate, also another relating to the Printer of Friends' Books, who seems to complain for want of greater encouragement in his employment. As for the friends belonging to Wansworth M.M. they are for the most part Handycrafts, who with Labour and Industry administers to the necessities of themselves & families & when trading in general is bad, as now it is, they are willing to live more meaner & sparing, not counting Gain to be Godliness but Godliness to be great gain; & having food and raiment to be therewith content, desiring our friend the Printer will be of the same mind with us thereon, until it

shall please God (if he sees meet) to make way for us all to enjoy a more plentiful Trade."

From the minutes of Wansworth Monthly Meeting, 1 xi. 1711.

QUAKERESSES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (xxvii. 83).—"We noticed in the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association several examples of those minor commemorations which seem to be multiplying on all sides, and should have no little effect in increasing the general sense for history in the mass of the population everywhere. One of these was the dedication of a tree in the garden of Gracie Mansion, New York City, to the memory of Deborah Morris Freeman. She was a Quaker—banished by Clinton for having given aid to American soldiers, prisoners in the neighborhood of the Battery and City Hall. She endured thereby hardships which permanently impaired her health. The tree was dedicated by three of her descendants who also unveiled what is called in America a 'marker,' a memorial upon which were placed four links of mooring-chain from British prison-hulks."

From *Notes and Queries* (London), July 21st, 1928.

"A Quaker woman who rendered the utmost service to the American States at the time of the Revolutionary War by entertaining a party of British officers, and thus delaying their movements at a critical moment, is to be honoured, it is proposed, by the erection of a memorial statue not far from the centre of New York. The woman was Mary Murray, the wife of a

Quaker merchant, and the site of the suggested memorial (in which patriotic and civic bodies in New York are interested) is the junction of the Park Avenue tunnel with Thirty-fourth Street.

"On September 15th, 1776, British troops landed at the foot of what is now East Thirty-fourth Street, intending to deploy at once and cut off from the main body of Washington's troops entrenched at Harlem Heights 4,000 American soldiers under General Putnam who were in retreat from the lower end of Manhattan. But for Mary Murray's strategy and wit, and the potent assistance of wine from her husband's cellar, the invaders might have accomplished their purpose and 'the history of the United States might easily have been different.'

"Mrs. Murray's home, The Grange, was near what is now Park Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street. She invited the British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, and his officers to luncheon, and by dint of her charm and lavish entertainment contrived to delay them for two valuable hours, time enough for General Putnam and his men to get to safety."

From *Sunday Times* (London), 6 Oct., 1929.

**EARLY QUAKER COLOURS.**—Mary, the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, who married Isaac Norris, the elder, in 1694, wore blue and crimson. Sarah Logan Norris, wife of Isaac Norris, of Fairhill, Pa., married 1739, wore a gown of deep blue. Mary Norris, who married John Dickinson in 1770, wore deep red. Maria, daughter of John and Mary Dickinson, wife of Albanus Charles Logan, married

1808, was far more plain than her mother, or her grandmother, thus exhibiting a growing tendency to plainness and uniformity.

See Gummere, *Study in Costume*, 1901; Sarah Fell's *Account Book*, pp. xix *et al*, 1920; Webb, *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1896, p. 231.

**THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX, 1765.**—The third edition of *The Journal of George Fox* is described by its editor, Joseph Phipps, as "The Third Edition corrected." The following will let some light into his meaning of "corrected":  
"Joseph Phipps, London, 1st 3 mo. 1764, to James Pemberton, of Philadelphia:

"I expect G. Fox's Journal will be put into the press soon after our next Yearly Meeting. I have it under correction at present, and find a necessity for the sake of clearness and propriety to expunge many thousands of useless words, as well as to correct the periods and pointing, many of which are false and injurious to the apostolic author and his work.

"I am astonished to think so noble a piece should ever be suffered to issue from the press in such a slovenly manner. Nothing but the excellency of the matter and spirit of it could have supported it with reputation. I shall endeavour to render this impression less liable to objection and easier to the reader, if the Yearly Meeting approve my labour."

Taken from an article by Joseph Smith, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. vi (1882), p. 495.

For particulars of the various editions of *The Journal*, see Appendix to the bi-centenary edition of 1891, reprint of 1901.

## FRIENDS AND EARLY RAILWAYS.

—In an obituary notice which appeared in the Darlington newspapers of W. Anderson, retired engine-driver, who died recently at the age of ninety-three, it is stated: "When at Shildon he had frequently to run to Bishop Auckland to take Quakers to service." I well remember, as a boy, accompanying Isaac Sharp, Senr., on some religious visit and riding on an engine of a goods train specially halted to convey him home again. That was in the days of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, known as "the Quaker line."

Isaac Sharp asserted that he was the first railway "pass"-holder in the world.—EDITOR.

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From *Read's Weekly Journal*, or *British-Gazetteer*. Saturday, May 29, 1731.

"Last Week died Mr. William Aubrey, an eminent Quaker (who

was Son-in-law to William Penn, Esq;) a Person universally esteemed by all who had the Pleasure of being acquainted with him: And on Sunday Night last he was interr'd with great Solemnity at the Burying-Place of the Family at Jordans near Uxbridge."

From *Notes and Queries* (London), May 30, 1931.

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 POSTURES IN PRAYER (xxvii. 84).

—"The practice of wearing the hat in meeting, and of removing it, rising, and turning about during prayer, survived in certain country meetings as late as 1875" (Cox, *Quakerism in New York City*, 1930, 24).

I remember, in my early days, noticing an ancient Friend rise and turn round during prayer, in a meeting in Darlington. The custom must have long ago died out.—EDITOR.

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QUERY.—In the Catalogue of the Library of Benjamin Furly—*Bibliotheca Furliana*, Rotterdam, 1714, p. 136, appears the following entry: "Theod. Rhay der Quakern verwirte Glaubens Bekantnus." Is this adverse piece known?

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OBITUARY.—On the 21st of February, at the age of ninety, died Alexander Gordon, M.A., of Belfast, Unitarian and historian. He was well acquainted with the literature of Quakerism and wrote the articles on George Fox and James Nayler in *D.N.B.*—two of the 759 separate biographies, which, it is stated, he contributed to that work. We were always pleased to welcome Mr. Gordon to Devonshire House, and we were in frequent correspondence with him. "He was sent by his father at the age of ten to read from a book of Unitarian sermons to one of the almswomen in the Coventry almshouse. She is reported to have said she didn't reckon much of the sermons but liked the lad." (*Trans. Unitarian Historical Society*, V, 103.)

## The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xxvi. p. 51

117.—Vol. II. pp. 434, 443, 444. The meeting-house at West River, Maryland. There is a note to an article by George Vaux on "Settlers in Merion," which appeared in "The Pennsylvania Magazine," xiii. (1889), which states: "The site of this building still remains, being used as a burial-ground, though much overgrown with weeds. The building has long since disappeared, but the place is still known as 'The Friends' Meeting.'"

118.—Vol. I. p. 400. The "Justice Hotham" (p. 18) who befriended George Fox, has been identified as Durand Hotham, of Winthorpe. See *Jnl. Supp.* 277; R. M. Jones, *George Fox, Seeker and Friend*, 1930, 60, referring to the same writer's *Spiritual Reformers*, 209-212

119.—Vol. I. p. 440. Much further light has been thrown upon Loveday Hambly by L. V. Hodgkin's *A Quaker Saint of Cornwall*, 1927.

120.—Vol. I. p. 438. During the twenty years since the Cambridge *Journal* appeared much research into past history has added greatly to our knowledge. A case in point is the following:

On the authority of *The Friend* (Lond.), 1844, 73, the note on Humphrey Lower gives his date of death about 1672 and states that he was probably the only Friend in his family and that there was no known relationship with Thomas Lower. The studies of the author of *Loveday Hambly*, however, have added greatly to our knowledge of this Friend. It is stated by Maclean, *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*, iii. 383, that Thomas Lower, M.D., of London, baptized at St. Tudy, 11 Aug. 1633, was the fourth son of Humphrey Lower, baptized 1597, buried 1683, and Margaret Billing, his wife, and this is confirmed in Vivian's *Visitations of Cornwall*, 1887, p. 302, with the addition of 1720 as the year of Thomas Lower's death. Margery Lower was a sister of Loveday (Billing) Hambly, the Margaret Fox of the West Country.

121.—Vol. II. pp. 489, 490. "George Fox died in London without child. The next heir was his brother John's son, George Fox, nephew. He was bred a tailor and resided at Polesworth in Warwickshire, died there, and left one son and three daughters. The son's name was Joseph, bred a baker at Polesworth and died there, and left two sons, George the elder, bred a baker, and now living at Polesworth. The younger brother's name was Joseph who died 26 of July, 1756, aboard the Prince Frederick in Admiral Boscawen's fleet and left neither wife nor child. Therefore the said George, now living [1768] at Polesworth is the lawful male heir of the aforesaid George Fox." (*Pa. Mag.*, xiv. (1890), 80.)

122.—Vol. I. pp. 328, 330, 457. The full text of this "Declaration of Faith and Order," agreed upon at the Savoy, 1658, is printed in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. xi. (1931), no. 3. There is a copy of the original publication in D.

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