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1933

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Friends House.

Our Quotation—24

Lord Crawford emphasised two main points, the advantages bestowed on the student of to-day by ever-improving facilities for study and the importance of associating research-work with the tasks of communicating and assimilating what is already known.

Opening of the Selly Oak Colleges Library,

The Friend, 1932, April 29th, p. 357.

AT their meeting on 1. xi. mo. the Committee recorded their sense of loss at the death of Norman Penney, the Editor of this *Journal* from its foundation, and their appreciation for his long and devoted service to the Historical Society. John Nickalls, the present librarian, was asked to complete the preparation of this volume of the *Journal* for publication and to act as editor for the ensuing year.

The Consultative Committee on the *Journal* consists of A. Neave Brayshaw, Samuel Graveson and T. Edmund Harvey.

M. Ethel Morland (*née* Crawshaw), who contributes the account of Norman Penney which follows, was for eighteen years his assistant in the Library at Devonshire House.

Norman Penney

Born at Darlington 26 v. 1858. Died at Bournemouth
7 x. 1933.

Members of the Friends Historical Society on both sides of the Atlantic will have heard with deep regret of the passing of Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., Hon. LL.D. Haverford. To most of us the Friends Historical Society and Norman Penney have been almost synonymous. It is no mean record that he should have edited a magazine such as *The Journal* for thirty years, always maintaining its high standard of accuracy and style.

Norman Penney was the son of Harrison and Maria Penney of Darlington. Harrison Penney, who was a Recorded Minister, had the principal bookselling and stationery business in the town with a printing office attached.

Norman Penney, with his massive head, black hair and eyes, has always been a striking figure among his fellows. One of his contemporaries at Ackworth School writes: "I remember him as the only boy in the school who had a quite noticeable beard and as the only scholar who spoke in Meeting." From Ackworth he went in 1875 to Minden, living in the home of a family of German Friends. Later he studied in France at Nismes. (Although he avoided conversing with foreign students he was never at a loss with our foreign books.)

On returning to England he entered his father's business where he acquired a very thorough knowledge of everything connected with printing, which proved so valuable when he became Librarian. The long hours which he worked at this period made him impatient of the shorter hours of a London office, with free Saturday afternoons.

He was twice married, first to Mary Elizabeth Bean who died within a year and secondly to Mary Alice Collinson; two sons of this marriage survive him. When recovering from the shock of his first wife's death in 1888, he visited Palestine as travelling companion to George Satterthwaite. Dressed in native costume Norman Penney was more than

once taken for an Arab. On his return he lectured in costume in many parts of England.

Always serious minded he felt a definite call to religious work and for sixteen years under the Home Mission Committee lived in various places—at Hawes, a little village in Wensleydale, Yorks, at Gloucester, Melksham and finally at Tottenham in North London. Mary Alice Penney with her happy, loving nature and charm as hostess drew young people especially to their home. One such writes, "We felt that Norman Penney and his wife understood us, took a real interest in our welfare. It was natural to respond to this by uniting with them in the activities of Adult School and Meeting." Family and Quaker history had been his hobby all through these years. He had worked out his family pedigree and noted all information regarding his connections in what he called his "Family Record", this formed the basis of *My Ancestors*, published in 1920.

While working at Tottenham he had done valuable work for the Friends Tract Association, notably by providing bibliographies and indexes to the Bi-centenary edition of *The Journal of George Fox* (1891), and the New Century edition of *John Woolman's Journal* (1900). This necessitated the collation of editions in the Library at Devonshire House and gave him an insight into the value of the records there.

Up to this time the Recording Clerk had the charge of the historical documents. Isaac Sharp with his literary taste and intense interest in all matters relating to Quaker history, was the first to realize the value of the books and MSS. which had been accumulating for over 200 years—*always safely stored*, but an undiscovered mine of treasure. Owing to his enthusiasm and insistence the Meeting for Sufferings decided to appoint a Librarian in 1900. The right man was not far to seek, and, from his appointment, to within a few days of his death, the absorbing interest in Norman Penney's life has been his work for Quaker history.

Very closely connected with the appointment of a Librarian was the formation of the Friends Historical Society. Both Isaac Sharp and Norman Penney had envisaged such a society and at the time of its inauguration in 1903 over 200 Friends had promised their support. A provisional Council was formed with Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

as President and Isaac Sharp and Norman Penney as Secretaries. The original circular is worth quoting :

The want of a Friends Historical Society has long been felt. Probably no section of the community, relatively to its numerical strength, is in possession of more material available for historical research than the Society of Friends, both in the British Isles and in America. Nor is antiquarian interest lacking among Friends, but an association appears to be needed which shall bring to a focus the disjointed efforts of scattered students, and supply a medium of communication between individual workers.

The recognition by the Meeting for Sufferings of the value of the Reference Library under its care by the appointing of a Librarian, has given a stimulus to examination of Friends' records, and it is felt that the present time is favourable to the establishment of a Society which shall keep historical students in touch with one another.

American Friends were enthusiastic supporters, George Vaux, Allen C. Thomas, Albert Cook Myers and Rufus M. Jones being on the original committee in a consultative capacity. It is not necessary for me to stress the importance of the material made available through the thirty volumes of the *Journal* completed with this issue.

It is surprising how much Norman Penney initiated and accomplished. His editorial and bibliographical work, are lasting monuments to his knowledge and industry, but above all is the Library which he built up, so that, as *The Manchester Guardian* of October 10th, 1933, says, "Today as a result of the system of cataloguing and indexing he started, there is hardly a question regarding Quakers, their history, experiences, or beliefs, that cannot be turned up with a minimum of delay at the fine new Library . . . at Friends House."

His work received due recognition from learned societies. In 1911, shortly after the publication of the Cambridge edition of the *Journal of George Fox*, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and he was for many years a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He had always been a little sarcastic about the importance placed on degrees, but I remember how very elated he was when elected F.S.A. In 1924 Haverford College conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

We had always had considerable correspondence with American Friends. In 1911 Norman Penney was invited to visit the United States and give lectures. He was really excited over this prospect and took much trouble in the

preparation of his addresses. Very warm personal attachments were established during this visit, especially was this true in the case of Allen C. Thomas, then editor of the *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia*. Later when both men were going through a time of ill-health and grave family anxiety, the bond of sympathy and friendship was a great strength and comfort to Norman Penney. He paid another short visit to America in 1913 and gave lectures in Ireland in the same year. All of these journeys helped to make the Library better known and established and strengthened links with those who had historical and antiquarian interests.

No one knows better than the writer the infinite pains and unstinted help which Norman Penney gave to writers on Quakerism. Accuracy of fact and text were almost an obsession with him. To make him really scornful and angry, publish a book with incorrect facts, shoddy quotations and above all *no index*. I can see him now throwing such a book the length of the Library table in his exasperation. But the writer and student who approached his subject seriously could depend on the Librarian as his adviser and staunch ally.

In the early days of his librarianship students were very dependent on our guidance. All books had to be produced by the staff and to a large extent suggested by them as the card catalogue was in its infancy. As we worried out the material, entries were made on the cards for future enquirers. Norman Penney always held that students were our first charge. We construed this in no limited sense and in the case of foreigners gave much of the personal help now rendered by the Service Council. The kindly interest and attention given by the present staff, so often warmly acknowledged by students, is in loyal succession to the standard set by the first librarian.

I have been turning over the pages of the old visitors book and what memories it revives! I recount but one and that to exemplify the unexpected reward obtained by a trained searcher saturated in his subject. In 1908 Professor Wm. I. Hull was on the Continent investigating Dutch Quakerism. He wrote that he was coming to London for a week and would like to see if there was any material at Devonshire House. We soon came under his spell and produced

everything we could think of in a likely language—amongst other things four minute books, dated 1677-1698. Picture the thrill of excitement when our learned visitor pronounced them as the very books for which he had been searching Europe. During that short visit we thought and dreamt of little else but Holland and the Library was never closed before 9 p.m.

The following quotation from a letter from Mabel Brailsford expresses what many another will be feeling :

I owe more than I can say to his interest and encouragement, as well as his unstinted practical help. I would never have dared to undertake a life of Penn if he had not told me it was the work I ought to do. He read it in typescript and I remember particularly what trouble he took to see that my facts were correct. He made the index for Penn, as well as for Nayler, a most troublesome job, involving endless patience and care . . . I look back on those four or five weeks when I was studying for *Quaker Women* as some of the happiest I ever knew—there was such a feeling of helpfulness and comradeship—and both you and he were always leading me on to new discoveries and opening new vistas. I shall always think of N.P. as we used to see him of late years, in his sunny corner of the new library, and the affectionate welcome he always gave when one turned up unexpectedly. He has left a gap in my life out of all proportion with the number of times I saw him.

In some matters Norman Penney was very conservative, but in anything affecting the well being of the Library and the practical care of the records he was extraordinarily alert. Neither was his interest limited to the documents under his care. He had a great concern for local minute books which were known in some cases to be kept in unsafe places. He drew up a questionnaire which was sent to all Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Clerks, with the result that many very valuable books were sent up for safe custody and catalogues supplied of the contents of local safes.

The working hours of the Library were not enough for Norman Penney, he generally came early, often stayed late and then departed with his case full of proofs. It was surprising how he contrived to read all the important new books connected with our subject, always noting on slips references which were to be added to the Catalogue. Another of his favourite amusements was to make indexes to books lacking them. A valuable set of these MS. indexes is available in the Library.

He was essentially a worker rather than an organizer and while he was engaged on important editorial work it was often necessary to stand between him and constant callers. He usually sat with his back to the door and a somewhat unapproachable back it was to many people. His sight without glasses was very poor, but in spite of constant strain his eyes did not appear to give him real trouble. His skill in comparing minute differences in type and his exactitude in proof correcting showed how little escaped him. His industry was such that he found it hard to spare more than half an hour at mid-day for lunch. At times he seemed almost too engrossed to speak or notice what was going on around him, and then a word of praise or a humorous twinkle in his fine kindly eyes showed that he was very human after all.

M. ETHEL MORLAND.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO M. ETHEL MORLAND FROM
RAYNER W. KELSEY, DATED 15TH NOVEMBER, 1933.

Haverford College, which has been very sparing of its honorary degrees, bestowed one on Norman Penney, because we felt that his work for Quaker history was so fundamental. His editorial work was so painstaking in its details and was so great in bulk that scholars will be in his debt for generations to come. Just back of my desk in our Quakeriana vault, I have more than forty typed indexes of un-indexed Quaker books. These indexes have been made by Norman Penney from time to time in recent years and sent over to us in holograph. We have made copies of them for our library, and sent carbon copies to Friends' Library, London. Such work does not get into current headlines, but it counts heavily for all future time.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE TO
M. ETHEL MORLAND. 18.XI.1933.

Dr. Norman Penney represented the conscientious Quaker historian of the past. On this side the ocean, his friend, Prof. Allen C. Thomas of Haverford College was a similar type and the work of the two men was unique. The historian of to-day has a wider view of the field, and covers his subject with a more philosophic grasp, but the meticulous research of Norman Penney and the wonderful results he obtained furnish a wealth of material for the future historian for which we cannot be too grateful.

PUBLICATIONS OF WHICH NORMAN PENNEY WAS THE AUTHOR
OR EDITOR :

1883. A SHORT SKETCH OF THE FRIENDS MISSION AT HAWES, YORKSHIRE.
1886. HOME RELIGION. ADDRESSED TO PARENTS IN PARTS OF WENSLEY-DALE.
1888. A GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE PENNEY FAMILY OF DARLINGTON.
n.d. THE PSALMS OF DAVID—HISTORICAL CONNECTION ASSIGNED THEM BY VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.
n.d. PRIEST LARKHAM AND THE EARLY FRIENDS.
1903-1933. JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 30 vols.
1907. THE FIRST PUBLISHERS OF TRUTH, BEING EARLY RECORDS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF QUAKERISM INTO THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. *F.H.S. Journal Supplements*, 1-5.
1911. THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX. Cambridge Univ. Press. 2 vols. EXPERIENCES IN THE LIFE OF MARY PENINGTON, written by herself.
1913. EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS RELATING TO FRIENDS, 1654-1672. *F.H.S. Journal Supplements*, 8-11.
1919. LONDON YEARLY MEETING DURING 250 YEARS (Editor and Contributor).
1920. MY ANCESTORS. Printed for private circulation. THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT BOOK OF SARAH FELL OF SWARTHMOOR HALL. Cambridge Univ. Press.
1924. THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX. Abridged Tercentenary edition for Everyman's Library.
1925. THE SHORT JOURNAL AND ITINERARY JOURNALS OF GEORGE FOX. Cambridge Univ. Press. For the Friends Historical Association, Phila.
1927. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES LOGAN AND THOMAS STORY. Friends Historical Association, Phila.
1928. RECORD OF THE SUFFERINGS OF QUAKERS IN CORNWALL, 1655-1686. *F.H.S. Journal Supplement*, 14.
1929. PEN PICTURES OF LONDON YEARLY MEETING, 1789-1833. *F.H.S. Journal Supplements*, 16 and 17.

He contributed also to *The Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, *The Friends Quarterly Examiner*, *Notes and Queries*, *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, and other periodicals and compiled the indexes and bibliographies for a large number of books on Quaker historical subjects. In addition there are in the Library his MS. indexes to some scores of books that were printed without them.

George Fox's Library Again

THE identification both of titles and of actual copies of the books formerly belonging to George Fox as listed in 1695 (see vol. xxviii. 2ff., xxix. 63ff.) is here continued.

The opportunity to pursue the matter further than was possible in America came to the writer during some months spent in Holland and England. The results may be set down as briefly as possible.

Titles Identified

Few of the titles likely to be identified at all remained to be found. But of the following some additional information is offered.

6. H. N's folio. Spiegel dr gerechtigt.

The full title of this is given in vol. xxviii. 9 but not quite with the exact spelling. A facsimile of the title page is given in Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1913. This folio edition is without date, and the extant copies are even fewer than mentioned (*loc. cit.*) viz. two instead of three, since the second copy at Leiden is the quarto¹ which must be distinguished from the earlier folio. The quarto edition is of very large size and it is not impossible that the catalogue of Fox's books refers to it, mistaking it because of its size for a folio.

¹ The quarto is definitely dated 1580, which means that the folio was issued well before that date. Its title prefixes the words *Speculum Iustitiae*, and spells the German differently. The Leiden copy I have seen. It is the only one of this edition that I know of, but at least four other copies are mentioned in ancient book catalogues, viz. two in *Bibliotheca Furliana*, Rotterdam, 1714 (the books owned by Benjamin Furly, the Quaker, and sold in 1714 at prices and to purchasers given in MS. in the copy of the catalogue in the British Museum).

Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana, Frankfurt am M., 1735, p. 294 (the books owned by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach).

J. Vogt, *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum variorum*, 4th ed., 1753, p. 487, refers to Heinrici Nicolai, "Eius Speculum Justitiae, Spigel der Gerechtighet 1580 in 4. extant in Bibliotheca Geringiana Mindensi & recensetur in Bibliotheca Hamburg. mixta T.III. p. 400."

Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de I., J., et Dr. J. Enschedé (an old family collection of rare books to be sold at Haarlem, 1867) includes, p. 67f, one copy of each edition; these two came to the Library of the University of Leiden the same year.

38. A General Ep. to Fřs.

This item previously unidentified can now be determined definitely since the actual book which began with this tract has been found (see p. 14 below). It is none of those suggested before, but *A General Epistle to Friends, by way of Caution, to take heed to the Light*. By George Keith, 1671 (Smith : *Cata.* ii. 19).

42. A warning to all sorts of peo.

This initial item in a quarto collection baffled all search until the suggestion occurred to me that it might be the sub-title of a defective copy of some other work. In most of the nine editions between 1655 and 1675 of the pamphlet by George Fox entitled *To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom* (Smith : *Cata.* i. 645) the first page of text proper, numbered (1) and following the title page, has the heading "A warning to all sorts of people who live in sin and uncleanness, etc." It so happens that a quarto tract volume in the Bevan Naish Library at Birmingham (No. 2251) begins exactly with this tract from which the title page is missing (in this edition the third page is numbered 3) so that the MS. index of the volume actually begins with an entry, "No. 1 Fox Geo : *A warning to all sorts of People.*" Another volume of tracts, No. 51 in the Hawkins collection mentioned below, begins with this tract, and the modern index again lists it by the sub-title, "A warning to all sorts of people." Though it carries now no evidence of Fox's ownership, it may be the actual copy similarly indexed in the list of his Library.

69. Apocalypsis, dutch. I.S.

This unidentified item, after vain conjectures (vol. xxix. 65) and long search, I have at last identified, and have examined it in the Mennonite Library (Bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente) at Amsterdam. A second copy is to be found in the University Library directly opposite across the canal. I do not know of any other copies.

The full title may be read from the accompanying plate. The book is octavo and contains altogether over 600 pages.

It is a discussion, chapter by chapter, of the Book of Revelation, and includes various apocalyptic calculations. That concerning 1,260 years reminds me of Steven Crisp on the same period of time. It is significant that Fox had such a book in his possession and in Dutch. It is possible that he met the author, for Fox was in Holland two years after the book was published.

Little is known of the author, Jan Stevensz, except what can be gathered from his writings. Of these, four others are listed in M. Schagen's *Naamlyst der Doopsgezinde Schryver en Schriften, 1539-1745*, Amsterdam, 1745, p. 99f. There is a copy of each in the Mennonite Library in that city.

The author's interests would be congenial to Friends. In the *Apocalypsis* he translates a short work of Sebastian Franck, and in another book,

APOCALYPSIS

Ofte

Het geopende Boeck met seven segelen.

Dat is:

Een grondelijke verklaringe over de Openbaringe
des H. Euangelist JOANNES.

Daer in klaer ende omstandelijck verstoont worden / be-
de het Rijkhe ofte Gemeente Christi / ende het Rijkhe
des Antechrist : met des selfs opganck ende neder-
ganck : beyde / uyt de H. Schrift ende Historien / na
order ende verbolgh des tijds / een pegelijck tot proebe
ende nadencken booz-gesteld.

Door J. S. een Liefhebber der waerheyt.

Het breeder inhoudt siet achter dit bladt.

Ende ick sagh in de rechterhant des genen, die op den throon
sat, een boeck geschreven van binnen ende van buyten :
versegelt met seven segelen. Apoc. 5 : vers 1.



Sluyt dese woorden toe, ende versegelt dit boeck tot de laet-
ste tijt : vele sullen 't [dan] naspeuren, ende groot verstant
daer in vinden. Dan. 12 : vers 4. of 14.

A M S T E R D A M,

Gedrukt booz den Auctheur / en zijn te bekomen by Jan
Rieuwertsz. Boekverkoper in Dijk van
Assen-steegh. 1675.

a short work of Jacob Böhme. What is more interesting is that in his list of twenty-nine martyr stories published in 1686 he includes instances where Dutch Friends were persecuted by others, or were themselves persecutors!²

It is probably absurd to try to suggest the circumstances which led to Fox's having this Dutch book on the Apocalypse in his possession but I cannot resist the temptation to make one suggestion. A striking evidence of his interest in the interpretation of the book of Revelation is found in a paper included in his *Journal* (*Cambridge Journal*, ii. 170). In this he reports a calculation made by himself and Richard Richardson and John Stubbs when they were travelling together, apparently in 1671, by which the measure of the city of New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 16) is found to be 216,000 miles.

That the same calculation had been sent to Holland and had been corrected by Dutch Friends is evidenced by a letter of George Fox to Peter Hendricks in Holland, dated Swarthmore, 1st 5mo. 1679. A copy of part of this in the possession of T. Edmund Harvey reads as follows:—

“ Now concerning the number of the miles of the heavenly City—I doe Confess that your number is y^e Right, and Rich Richardson, & John Stubbs did cast upp y^e other and since Rich. Richardson hath corrected his in English, & so may you doe yours & Robinson y^e Scotchman also, in his hebrew Testament, And so if you will you may put it in according to your owne, as you have done itt, and correct others that are in English.”

Now Robertson's³ New Testament in Hebrew, to which Fox must be referring (Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, Part II, 1911, p. 715, No. 5132), gives the number of furlongs in the passage in Revelation as 12,012 instead of 1,728,000 as in Fox's *Journal*. Jan Stevensz, also on that passage, in the book under consideration (p. 9, 3rd page with that number), gives the number of furlongs as 12,000 which he calls the equivalent of 500 *uuren gaens*, or 500 hours' journey. This amounts to only 1,500 miles. My suggestion is that this Dutch book, like the Dutch Testament (108; see below), was supplied to Fox by Peter Hendricks and was intended to confirm the latter's argument about the disputed passage in Revelation. The calculation of the measure of the city had been committed to print by Fox in his *Testimony of what we Believe of Christ*, 1677 (reprinted in *G.T.D.*, p. 456). It is doubtless this which had come to the attention of Dutch Friends.

² The contents of these instances I have published in translation or summary in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 266 (Fourth Month, 1933), pp. 146ff. Since publication Wm. I. Hull has kindly informed me that at least one of them had already been given in print in J. R. Markou, *Een vriendelijcke Samenspraack tusschen een Huysman en een hedendaagshe Quaaker*, Amsterdam, 1684.

³ He was the author of Fox's Hebrew Lexicon (No. 80). See vol. xxviii. 16. For the confusion of Robertson into Robinson see *Camb. Jnl.* i. 246 note 2.

99. The forbidden fruit. Augustine Elutheris.

This item is doubtless correctly identified in xxviii. 18, where the imprint is given as "London: Giles Calvert, 1650." But there were other editions.⁴ Quaker interest in this work is attested by the letter of Hilary Prache written in London in 1676 (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xvi. 2): "Recently I had also to put from German into English Sebastian Francckens book of The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in order that the Friends might have it to read, because it agrees with their position." Prache does not intimate that his version was to be printed. But how was it to be circulated? And would he have made it if the earlier English publication was known to be available?

108. A Dutch Testamt with Clasps.

It will be recalled that Fox's copy of this book is actually extant, but the loss of the title page makes the identification of the edition difficult. There are many New Testaments of this size and translation published in Holland between the time the Version was made in 1637 and the death of Fox in 1690/1, and I have compared many complete copies with Fox's defective one without finding the edition which agrees. With the help of the University Library of Amsterdam I have ascertained that the type and headings resemble those used by Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn in his Dutch New Testament, Leyden, 1643.

More successful was my attempt to interpret the writing on the fly-leaf mentioned, xxix. 67. My suspicion that it was old Dutch script for the former owner's name was confirmed as soon as I submitted a tracing of it in turn to several experts in Holland. They all without hesitation read "Piet^r Hend^r."

Now Pieter Hendricks is a well-known Dutch Friend mentioned in Fox's *Journal* and in other Quaker documents both Dutch and English. He was a prominent member of the Society in Amsterdam, appearing often in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting. Twice letters of Fox begin "Dear Peter and Friends," one belonging to 1667 (printed but without the address as Epistle 253), the other to 1677 (*Bull. F.H.A.* iv., 1911, p. 6). For further information about him and his capable wife Elizabeth reference may be made to C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp and his Correspondents*, Smith's *Catalogue*, i. 936f, and (when it is published) William I. Hull's *History of Quakerism in Holland*. The following data may be of interest. The descriptions of him by Fox on the two letters are respectively: "Peter Hendricks cheesemonger in the Fish lane in the 3 Leyden cheeses at Amsterdam," and "Peter Hendricks Button-Maker on the Cesars graft in Amsterdam." An unpublished letter of Hilary Prache describes his wife, Elizabeth Hendricks, as an English woman. This helps explain their position in Dutch Quakerism. Pieter's signature may be seen more fully on another fly-leaf, a book of English tracts in D,

⁴ In the British Museum there is an 8vo ed., 1640, and *Bibliotheca Furliana*, p. 145, No. 790, has a 12mo. ed., London, 1642. The Fox list of octavos includes duodecimos.

and also on letters elsewhere. There is even other evidence of his having provided Fox with books, for a letter of his (*Annual Catalogue of Geo. Fox*, p. 749) began : " Dr: Gff. by this thou art to receive a book . . . "

Copies Actually Owned by George Fox

In previous articles reference has been made to two of the books in the list as actually extant (55 and 108), both in America. In striking contrast with the tedious process reported a year ago of identifying at Haverford one or at most eight items in a single one of the volumes is the report now to be made. Following a clue that I found in an article in this Journal (vi. 105) by J. J. Green in 1909 and using the external small figure on the leaf edges of the Dutch Testament (xxix. 67) as an indication, I was able on December 2nd, 1932, to unearth in the vault at Friends House in less than an hour's search no less than twenty of the actual books listed in 1695 as the property of George Fox.

A full account of the contents of these books is obviously impossible in the space here available, but, as their history is evidently a good deal alike, they can be dealt with together.

The books are all quarto collections of tracts, none of them large single quarto works and none of them folios or octavos. They are all identically bound in substantial leather bindings and they all have on the leaf edges in front near the top the numeral which in the list recently published (*J.F.H.S.* xxviii, 4ff.) belongs to the first item in the contents. The books have therefore not been cut on the edges since 1695 though it is possible that the cover and especially the more modern-looking backs are more recent.

The books are part of a collection of sixty-six volumes, the property of Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting, and were placed on deposit at Devonshire House in 1906, as is recorded by the following printed book plate :

This volume containing Tracts is the property of Westminster and Longford (formerly Westminster) Monthly Meeting to which it was bequeathed by Richard Hawkins under his Will, dated in 1734. This Volume is deposited on Loan in the Library of the Meeting for Sufferings, 1st mo., 1906.

This collection of books is numbered continuously on the back as "Tracts 1", "Tracts 2", etc., up to "Tracts 66".

The relation between the new numbers (RH) and those of the old list of George Fox's library and leaf edge inking (GF) is as follows :

GF	RH	GF	RH	RH	GF	RH	GF
10	38	37	17	17	37	39	49
11	25	38	28	18	40	41	33
14	32	40	18	22	18	42	25
18	22	44	52	23	20	45	58
20	23	45	55	24	32	47	35
25	42	49	39	25	11	50	51
31	53	51	50	27	54	52	44
32	24	52	60	28	38	53	31
33	41	54	27	32	14	55	45
35	47	58	45	38	10	60	52

Hereafter in referring to the volumes I shall use the number of Fox's library list.

The printed books owned by Fox were at William Meade's in 1695.⁵ In accordance with his instructions they were kept together as a Library. They were borrowed and returned. They were used for collecting Fox's own writings. We know that nearly a score of the big quarto collections of Tracts came to Thomas Lower and through him to his executor, Richard Hawkins. The latter gave them to the Meeting or Meetings of which Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting is the heir, and the latter early in this century placed them on deposit at Friends Reference Library. The books have thus been together for at least two hundred years. In all that period we know that Morris Birkbeck examined most of them and that J. J. Green was aware of their former ownership by George Fox. They contain no evidences of being used or marked by other readers since the days of Meade, Antrobus and Hawkins. They confirm completely the only two identifications made heretofore of items in the list, and make it much easier to identify others, in case they are still extant.

A notice written in the hand of Richard Hawkins usually on the back of the first title page, and occurring in at least

⁵ See heading of the list printed in xxviii. 4. Ten years earlier Fox himself (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 348) refers probably to the same bound collection as "many of my Books Bound up with other Books", but whether they were then in London or "in the North" is not clear. Few if any of the items in the list were published later than 1683.

thirteen of the twenty volumes, runs, with variation, as follows :

What is contained in this vollume is here Plased in the yeare 1725 for the Use and Servis of Hammersmith Meting by R HAWKINS one of the Executors of Doctor Thomas Lowor (No. 20)

In two other volumes are references to the Meeting at the Savoy. For example (No. 37) :

This Collection may be of Servis I therefore desire itt maye be plased amongst the Bookes by me Given for the Use and Servis of the Monthly Meeting of the Savoy

R. HAWKINS.

or (No. 45) :

This is Geven for the Use and Servise of the Monthly Metting At the Savoy in the yeare 1723 R HAWKINS bound here together in number 37 and Chesley all of G F writting

Further ancient evidence of Richard Hawkins's ownership is the stamped R H in the middle of both front and back covers of most of the volumes. And two volumes (27 and 53) have also stamped on them in like manner G F.

Richard Hawkins's interest in the meeting library is attested by the Monthly Meeting minutes, for at the very start he was the instigator. (See Westminster M.M. minutes for 1714, Vol. 4, folios 37, 40, etc.)

Two statements by Hawkins himself indicate his motive. In another of the volumes of tracts in this collection (No. 51), not identified however as of Fox's ownership, he wrote on the verso of the first title page :

Although I have lodged for the use and Servis of the Monthly Meeting at the Savoy G F Doctrinals Wm Dewsb works with James Parnels & Divars othar freinds have therefore never thè Les thought fitt that is here collected bound up to Gether the which in time to com if wanted being originalls may not Easeley procurred shall thearfore place them for presevation with such othar frinds Bookes as is by me Geven as above mentioned being in number 34

R HAWKINS

What is above contained is all redy Don so that this vollum is now to be for Richd Hartwell

R HAWKINS

A broadside is at Friends House which begins as follows :

WESTMINSTER MONTHLY MEETING THE LIBRARY ENDOWED BY THE WILL OF RICHARD HAWKINS 1734.

1734 11th Mo. 28th. I give Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, Poulton Abridgement of the Statutes, and Cooks Institutes, with such of my Books as may be made choice of, with others I may give, to be placed

in a regular and handsome manner in the room up one pair of stairs in the Meeting House, for the giving Liberty to any Friend, or the sober children of any Friends, who desire it, to read any such Books.

The paper continues with a reference to the care of the books and to the provision of funds for the purchase of others "in order to the leaving a perfect collection of all Friends' Books to posterity."

The Monthly Meeting minutes of 1714 concerning the forming of a meeting library mention also John Whiting, and one of the Fox volumes (33) has this entry instead of any reference or stamp referring to Hawkins :

John Whiting His Gift To the Savoy Meeting 4th 11th Month 1715
Numb 4

There is no further MS. evidence of Lower's ownership, but Fox's ownership is indicated in thirteen of the books by the inscription "G F s Book" in the same hand as the like inscription in the Dutch New Testament (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xxviii, frontispiece). This occurs usually on the front fly-leaf (or, by error, on the back fly-leaf, upside down). Beside this phrase, said to be in Mark Swanner's hand, the same expression is written on the fly-leaf of 44 in the hand of Haistwell (cf. *Short Journal*, illustration facing page 225). In all these cases, as in the Testament, above the words is a number not identical with that in this list, and under them a mark which possibly is meant to be a Hebrew letter. In 14 two other Hebrew letters occur םא (=G F) the same Hebrew monogram as appears in the title of his unpublished book on types (*Annual Catalogue*, under 1673 ; 12, 68 F).

A bit of writing which I noticed that seemed to me to be his is a single word correcting the word "kid" into "bride" in the following passage of one of his *General Epistles* (No. 38, Tract 57, page 5) : "And the Lamb shall have the victory, and the Kid the Lamb's wife shall be known." This was certainly an annoying misprint ! More certainly in Fox's hand is the familiar "gf" with which he has indicated his own authorship on the title page of certain anonymous tracts.

Other manuscript references belonging to the time after his death are :

"To be returned to Benj Antrobus's" (44) [in Ellwood's hand]. "G.W. to puse/And to returne it to W Meads for Jo Loft (31)" [in same hand].

Nearly every tract volume has one MS. index, some two, one (37) three. These are of various ages. The hand in some cases is identical with that which numbered the pieces or leaves. The oldest indexes give the number of leaves for each item and the total. In most cases the total number of items is given but these are often incorrect. The total number of tracts in the twenty volumes amounts to about 730. There are many duplicates, i.e. the same work included in more than one volume. There are also many broadsides folded and bound in. I would guess at least fifty, perhaps a hundred in all.

Works not by Friends

Of so many tracts mention may be made of only one sort, those not by Friends. Beside the items already described (*J.F.H.S.* xxviii. 10) under 10, 11 (where, however, the translator may be regarded as a Friend), and 45, since they were known from the list, being the first item in the volume, I may note the following :

10, item 2. A Plain and Necessary Confutation of Divers Gross and Antichristian Errors, delivered to the University Congregation, the Last commencement Anno 1653. By Mr. Sydrach, Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge . . . London : Giles Calvert 1654.

Contains several pieces.

10, item 3. The Stumbling Stone. . . . William Dell. . . . London, 1653.

A favorite piece among Friends by a favorite among their predecessors. Smith : *Cata.* ii. 521.

25, item 25. The Poor Man's Mite, Unto the more large contributions of the Liberal (further contents on title-page but no author) London . . . 1659.

A MS. note signed by Morris Birkbeck's monogram runs : " N.B. not by a Friend, tho' a conscientious piece."

37, item 38. Infant-Baptism None A Christs. William Hartley. London 1652.

37, item 39. The Morning Alarum. An Epistle sent to one of the Princes of Germany, Treating in briefe of the Order of the Four Monarchies, The Calling of the Jewes, The Rebuilding of Jerusalem and of Canaan, etc. . . .

Translated out of French into English by Nathaniell Johnson, Gent. . . . London 1651.

No author's name, but signed in one place D.R.

Other Contents of the Library

An examination of the Library at Westminster Meeting House brought to light three volumes, the gift of Hawkins to Hammersmith Meeting.⁶ Each has the proper number in Fox's list marked on the leaf edges. The folio has also the initials G.F. in ink on the top edges. The volumes are as follows. The number in Fox's list precedes the title :

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------|
| 5. | The Christian Quaker, Wm. Penn and G. Whitehead. | fol. 24A |
| 28. | Humphr(e)y Smith's works | 4° 9H |
| 67. | The Accuser of Our Brethren, G. Whitehead | 8° 31C |

There are other books in the Westminster Library which have written statements in them of presentation by Hawkins, e.g. the volumes of Eusebius, Coke, and Fulton mentioned above. One or two which contain references to Lower also and which are apparently rebound may be the actual copies listed from the Library of Fox, though without any proof on title page or leaf edge. I may mention

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 63. | Immediate Revelation, G. Keith | 4° 28P |
| 26. | Wm. Dewsbury's Works | 4° 11H |
| 13. | Rusticus ad Academicos, S. Fisher | 4° 16H |

Fisher's book has, to be sure, not a reference to Hawkins or Lower, but an inscription of gift by John Whiting, which agrees, except for the number, with that quoted for 33.

⁶ I satisfied myself by a visit to Hammersmith that none of the books belonging formerly to Fox, Lower or Hawkins were still there. H.J.C. Since this article was written, a further nineteen volumes have been deposited by Westminster Friends at Friends House, including all those mentioned below as having Fox, Lower or Hawkins association. Volume 18T in the Hawkins Collection is a folio volume containing George Fox's *Battledoor*, *The Great Mystery* and a collection of fifty-eight broadsides by Friends. Henry J. Cadbury has identified it as item Ff in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*. Many of the page numberings in ink are in George Fox's own hand. It may therefore be supposed, though it cannot be proved, that the volume once belonged to George Fox. Modern rebinding has removed any marks on original leaf edges, fly-leaves or cover. It now bears no evidence of ownership by Lower or Hawkins. All these volumes are now exhibited in the Library at Friends House.

With regard to Dewsbury's works we have not merely the statement of Hawkins himself already quoted but as late as 1842 the printed *Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets Belonging to Westminster Monthly Meeting* contained this entry.

Dewsbury, William, Works of, small 4to 2 copies. Old edition once belonging to G. Fox.

This entry is interesting as the only reference I know of in the nineteenth century to any of these books as owned by Fox.⁷

I have said above that this Library of Fox's books was used for collecting his writings. They were indexed and numbered or the whole volume paged. Then the contents, so far as written by Fox, were noted in the *Annual Catalogue* of his works begun in 1694 and still in Friends Reference Library. The identifying mark is the letter "a" which appears also in the list of books. By this work we can determine which of Fox's writings were contained in the volumes in the library list, though not listed, because not at the beginning of the volume. For example an entry "(9) 21a *A Voice of the Lord to the Heathen*" (189B) means that the pamphlet of that title by Fox (Smith: *Cata.* i. 652) was to be found as the ninth included in the volume numbered 21.

Similarly, we can identify more than thirty of the titles of the "Stitched printed books in 6 parcels from No. 109 to No. 355" mentioned at the close of the library list. As I suspected these were always separate items. They are indexed simply by the single number, without a page number in parenthesis. Thus we now know that 311a was *A Warning to all Teachers of Children* by George Fox (Smith: *Cata.* i. 653) and 324a was *A Journal of the Life of William Caton*, edited by George Fox in 1689 (Smith: *Cata.* i. 394f).

I may further explain that the words at the very end of the list, "they are since put with b",⁸ refer to what was originally another part of the same collection of Fox's printed works, namely "b" or "George Fox his broadsides (some cut out)" (*Annual Catalogue*, p. 960) or "Gff's broadsides stitched in a brown paper book" (*ibid.* p. 178). The titles Nos. 1b to 49b can all be identified with no more than five omissions. A few of the broadsides bound with copies of the *Battledoor* mentioned under 4a and 8a of the first list are also catalogued.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

⁷ The printed catalogues of 1842, 1855 and 1858 make no detailed reference to the tracts but refer to sixty-six volumes of early Friends' tracts, and to a written index to them. But other books then catalogued but not now in Westminster Library may have been once Fox's property, e.g. "Fox, G., *Battledore with Tracts by other Friends*; London, 1660" (c.f. 7 and 8 on the list).

⁸ *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxviii. 9.

George Fox to Friends, 1676

der frends to whom is my love to all the feath full that quereth after mee in the seed of life & the lord god all mighty give you in his power dominion & that in it you may all strive to be of one mind hart & souell keeping the unety in the one spirit which is the bond of peace & drinking all into the one spirit by which you are corcomcised & baptisd in to one body to one heavenly spirituall head & now frends severall ships is goinge out to jamake & new yorke it would be well to send or to see that books be sent thether & epeseles & it would doe well if some frends did ofer up them selveses to the bishopes & prists or magrastates for ther breathren that be in presen to ^alye In prison^a a quarter of a yeare or a month or mor or les that the might that time have ther libarty soe that ouer breatheren may not perish in presen & soe that the blud of the inosent may not com upon them & their soules cry for vengeance against them & soe bring destruction upon them & theres : & this would bring the power of god over them that be the percuters if any should be moufed of the lord to doe soe & it is as freandes did formorly which brought the power of god over them whoe did ofer up them selveses for ther breathern & it did unight frends in the pouer & fealing in the living sence soe I shall leave it to the power & spirit of god in all frends in evary county & you may as you doe pas up & downe you may in forme frends & it would be well to ^bprepare^b som thing of the sufornings of frends against the siting of the next parlement & concerning oathes & of frendes ye (& nay) being taken, but to gather a fuller acount then they had the last parlement for it was very short & soe der wilam thou may read this in the 2 dayes morning(s) meeting & with my love to all frends that quoreth after mee.

& the trooth is over all thos in som places the ar bise but greater is hee that is in us then he that is in the world which will ourcom the world & this our belefe (ffor) he that is in the world is ther god & yet the belever which is borne of god is greater then he being In Xt whoe ouercometh him glory thankes & praeses be to the lord whoe lives & raines for ever

° & Christ whoe is on the head of him &° & his sauents in him singes hallaluga prase the lord & soe in coreg all the menes & wimens meetings in the gospell order the pouer of god which hath brought life & imortalaty to light over him that hath darkned them soe this order keepeth in life & immortalaty a hevenly & glorues order that lasteth for ever & in it all ar fresh & green

& as for j. st : & j. wilkson they meet & keep up ther separad meeting of such as the ar & it is like he is com in to the south to gether more to him if he can but it had ben better for him to a kept at home un till he ben reconsild to frends in his one county & to give forth a condemnashon & remane in a seprashon this is not the wisdom of god any may see this that ar not willfull blind & it is to condamened but one of them was with mee latly & I was trobled for by ther sobscribing the can(n)ot goe to the menes meeting of ther one nor to frends & soe the have brooght them into great bondeg & the[y] beging to see & j doe pety the tender among them & the lordes pouer & trouth is over this spirit & its worke & it will com to nought & ther for keep youer habationes & pashones in the seed of life & salvation that will out last all that is out of it & is ouer it soe with my loue

gff

Swarthmor 2 day 8 mo 1676

The sheet measures 12" top to bottom and 13½" across, the writing down the sheet is in lines of 7" and the rest of the letter is written across the remainder of the sheet, all the writing save the endorsement is on one side of the sheet. "R Read layde by: 177 F" appears at the top of the sheet shewing that it has been considered with other manuscripts for question of publication. The sheet has received some repair. Braces imply interlineations, some of which were written by Thomas Lower.

Portions have appeared in modern form in Barclay's *Letters, etc.*
From the Martha Spriggs Collection.

a . . . a These words are inserted by Thomas Lower in place of G. Fox's word "goe".

b . . . b This word is inserted by Thomas Lower in place of the word "fit".

c . . . c These words have a line through them.

" Priest Feak of Staindrop [Co. Durham] beat Christo. Atkinson, trailed him at the horse side by the hair of the head by the high way, and his wife behind him bunched him on the face."

BURROUGH, *A Word of Reproof*, 1659, p. 96.

The Gurney Manuscripts

Continued from vol. xxix, p. 40

The Gurneys of Keswick (1771-1775)

In *The Gurneys of Earlham*¹, Augustus J. C. Hare gives interesting details of John and Elizabeth Gurney of Keswick, but it may be well to preface the following selection of extracts by a brief sketch of the family in 1771, the date of the earliest letter printed below. John Gurney, who had built up a large and prosperous woolstapling business in Norwich, died in that year at the early age of fifty-four, and the care and management of this important concern devolved upon his two eldest sons, Richard and John, aged twenty-nine and twenty-two respectively. In this they were greatly helped by Thomas Bland, who, in 1775, became their uncle by his marriage with Sarah Gurney (more familiarly known as "Aunt Sally"), the widow of Samuel Gurney of Norwich. The youngest of the family was Joseph, born in 1757, who was living at home at this time; in later years he married Jane Chapman, and became known as "Joseph Gurney of The Grove", whilst Richard remained at Keswick, and John founded the Earlham branch of the family.² There was one daughter, Rachel, two years older than Joseph; in 1775 she married Robert Barclay of Bury Hill, and became the mother of a numerous family, but at the time of these letters she was living quietly at home. The mother of this gifted family was Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Kett, who had married John Gurney in 1741; in her widowhood she retained the deep love and affection of her children, and her letters breathe a maternal care and anxiety for their welfare, which more than compensates for her epistolary shortcomings.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

2 Christ Church Road,
Norwich.

RACHEL GURNEY TO JOHN GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. ii. 318.)

The writer was only sixteen at the time of this letter; the writing is good for a girl of her age, and also the spelling, apart from the "rare word", amanuensis, and other difficulties, although she is very economical with her commas and full stops. It is interesting to note the reference to Earlham ("Arlam"), long before there was any idea that her brother would take up his abode there. The letter is addressed, "To John Gurney Jun, at Jan vander Werf Jun, in Amsterdam."

Keswick Sept^r 5th: 1771

By Mama's request I now take up my pen to Answer my Dear Brother Johns Letter which she had the satisfaction to recieve this morning and tho I am not posses'd of sufficient

talents to be her Amenueces yet an engagement preventing her I must endeavour to manage as well as I can ; be assur'd it is always a peculiar pleasure to be engag'd in this employment to one for whom I have so sincere an affection which the many Miles nor even the great Ocean that now seperates us cant possibly Eradicate.

While we was sitting at Dinner to Day we was surpris'd by the sudden appearance of Friend Bales of Wymondham and his wife which prevented Mama's writing as she intended we are likewise Dress'd & otherways prepared for the reception of Friend Martinues Family this afternoon to Morrow we are to have the Company of our Frd Scots & their Daughter Abigail and her Husband she being lately Married I doubt not but my Discription of our intended Visitors will cause thee to smile but I thought it best to give thee a thorough Detail of our engagements and as this was the readiest way I was willing to pursue it & since it will be very agreable to me if I can cause thee the least degree of Amusement I went on Third Day with Frd Bates to pay a visit at Browick to our Cousin Day we spent a very agreable afternoon I was much pleas'd with the house & Gardens. My Aunt Sally Cousin Evans & Frd Stewart set out this Morning for Woodbridge my Cousins went yesterday and was to wait for thier Mama at Dickleborough. My horse have not stood in the Stable much unemploy'd since thou hast been gone I have taken many very pleasant rides among the rest one particularly so this Morning with E. Wagstaffe (having changed my Companion since thy Departure) we went round by Arlam and was exceedingly entertain'd with the fine Prospects all around us as we came a different way home to what I ever went before leaving the Arlam Turnpike on the left hand we came through fields which compos'd* a very high hill from the top we had a remarkable fine View of Woods & Vallys entermix'd with hills which form'd an agreable variety and put me very much in mind of the Country about Lord Buckingham's Seat I dare say thou have been this way many times and therefore no doubt but thee remember it.

I have not yet seen thy Letter but understand by Mama I am to have one soon with a Discription of the Dutch Woman's dress I shall wait impatiently for the receipt of it

* i.e. "compassed".

but more for the satisfaction of a personal interview as it seems a long while since I see thee be assured we all wish it exceedingly but none more sincerely than thy affectionate Sister

RA GURNEY.

P.S. Mama & Brother Desires their Love. on perusing my Letter I find I have put in a very rare word at the beginning which I doubt I have not spelt wright but thee must consider tis what I never wrote before haste have occasion'd this to be very unintelligible.

JOHN GURNEY TO RICHARD GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. ii. 144.)

This letter deals mainly with business questions, but it contains passages of more general interest at the close, and reference is made to a "Club", with which the two brothers appear to have been associated.

Norwich 14 2/mo 1772

Dear Brother

. . . When thou sees Peggy Bland may give my Mother's kind love & thank her for a very nice Quarter of Lamb which came at quite the right time, my Aunt Aggs³ being in Town, that it was very acceptable.

I suppose there cannot be opportunity of procuring & sending time enough for next 4th Day or the Members of our Club wou'd esteem it a clever present if thou wast to send us one, or bring one down with thee, as they have had none this Season. . . . T. B's⁴ Head is not perfectly clear, but that not unusual with him. We are all very well

& with dear Love I am

Thy very affectionate

JOHN GURNEY JUNR.

DRAFT LETTER OF JOHN GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. ii. 143.)

One or more Friends had evidently written a letter with regard to the "Club" mentioned in the last, and the following draft contains John Gurney's defence of this activity; we may presume that the letter was satisfactory, as no notice was taken by the Monthly Meeting regarding it. There are many alterations in the draft, which probably dates from about the year 1772, but its final form is as under.

Every affectionate admonition of my Fr^{ds} I hope always to receive as tokens of their regard & respect, but when it

comes from those so nearly united it strongly enforces these sentiments & claim particular attention.

The subject of thy Letter I have a good deal consider'd ; my attendance at such a Friendly Meeting (I dont like the name of Club it sounds so like a drinking Party) may not appear to me so entirely inconsistent as the Light it strikes thee in ; yet I think in general thy reasons have great weight ; yet there are very extenuating reasons to be alledged in favour of this Society particularly the members being all Friends whose Company is laudibly pleasing & whose conduct & conversation are agreeably guarded against anything of a disagreeable or hurtful tendency, which it is obvious was the intent of the Quere^s alluded to to guard against & suppress.

JOSEPH GURNEY TO JOHN GURNEY. (Gurney MSS. ii. 265.)

The following letter is interesting, not only on account of its contents, but also from the fact that it is possibly the earliest extant letter of Joseph Gurney, who was only fourteen years old at the time of writing. The orthography is excellent, whilst the composition and style pay a remarkable tribute to the exceptional talents of one who was later recognized as a Friend of deep spirituality and wide influence, and the leader of the Society in the city of Norwich.

Dear Brother

I now take an opportunity of writing to thee that thou may'st not think that I have forgot thee. The Yearly Meeting⁶ was concluded this morn^s which has been very satisfactory, & Fr^d Hunt from America had a very extraordinary time at the Meeting for Business today concerning the Discipline of Fr^{ds}, & urged very pressingly for the Country Meetings in Norfolk to be in the Morn^s instead of the afternoon, remarking that the People's Understandings were clearer, & not so confus'd as in the afternoon. My Mother had besides her usual Lodgers Fr^d Fry of Bristol, & Fr^d Griffiths & his Wife & two American Men Fr^{ds}

. . . I have heard, tho' I do not know how true it is that Coz. John Gurney⁷ has orderd a dinner at the Maid's head for one hundred and fifty people, so by that I suppose our family will be invited amongst others. There are two Young Irish Men in Town who lodge at my Aunt Sally's there not being room at our House, one of them whose name is

Joseph Garret⁸ is very much like Sally Wagstaff he has fine curling Locks w^{ch} he takes some pain with going generally into one corner of the Room to comb them, & my Uncle Bevan calls him the sleek Young Man, however he is very sensible & appear'd at the Meeting for Business today I believe for the first time.

My Mother, Brother & Sister join me in Love
to thee &c, I remain

Norwich 8/7 mo : Thy very affectionate Brother
1772 JO GURNEY.

ELIZABETH GURNEY TO JOHN GURNEY. (Gurney MSS.
ii. 81.)

The following letter from Elizabeth Gurney to her son John Gurney, who with his brother Joseph was in London, is undated, but it evidently belongs to the period 1772-1774. Reference is made therein to an occasion when her son upheld the Quaker Testimony against Hat-honour in somewhat difficult circumstances.

My Dear J. G.

The receipt of thyn this morning was very sattysfatory to hear you where rideing out tho no mention of your health as heard by Cousin H. Kett Joseph has been indisposed so much as to have been confinde within dores but I hope the ride was not purposed to recruit his Health but to imply His perfect recovry ; and thy own health I hope remains good Think you had an agreable sight of the King and His Sons am fit to wish it had not been Cousin J. E[llington] and thy scituation to have been mixt with the rebelious as your hats was only kept on with propriety but hope evry other mark of respect you where not defecient in,—the enclosed pleas to deliver ; and as its evening meeting must conclude with very dear Love to all conections

thy affectionate Mother

E. GURNEY.

NOTES

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 13, 14, 19.

² See *Journal*, vol. xx, p. 71 (note).

³ SARAH AGGS, mother of Thomas Aggs, who married Lucy, daughter of Henry Gurney, in 1775.

⁴ THOMAS BLAND (c. 1740-1818), son of Michael and Patience Bland, of London ; he married, in 1775, Sarah, the widow of Samuel Gurney, of Norwich, thereby becoming an uncle of the writer.

⁵ Probably referring to the 6th Query, which (in the first printed edition, 1791) read, "Are friends careful to avoid all vain sports and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public-houses, excess in drinking, and other intemperance?"

⁶ The Circular Yearly Meeting at Norwich. Friends from a distance included William Hunt and Thomas Thornbury from North Carolina, Sarah and Deborah Morris from Pennsylvania, John Griffith from Essex, William Fry from Bristol, and Elizabeth Robson from Yorkshire. (Minute Book of Norwich Yearly Meeting.)

⁷ JOHN GURNEY (John's) of Brooke, near Norwich (1718-1779). His daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Samuel Alexander, of Needham Market on the 14th of 7th mo. 1772. The "Maid's Head" was, and remains, one of the principal hostelries in the City, and the dinner would be provided on the occasion of the marriage abovesaid.

⁸ JOSEPH GARRET (1748-1793), was a Minister, of Cork. His second marriage was with Mary Pike, of Dungannon, by whom he had nine children. See *Journal*, vols. x, xx.

[Referring to the letter of Joseph Gurney in which he mentions William Hunt, it was not unusual for American visitors to advise and persist in matters of internal concern. See *Pen Pictures*, F.H.S. Supp. xvi., 1930. EDITOR.]

George Fox and a Negro

Is it correct, as has been asserted, that George Fox died possessed of a negro?

Absolutely incorrect. It is in an otherwise trustworthy monograph that the statement occurs. Mary S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America* (1619-1808), Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 11, Boston, 1901, page 21, note 1, writes:

"Among Fox's bequests are mentioned 1 negro man, 1 warming pan, 1 old looking glass, and 1 gun."

She gives as her authority S. M. Janney, *History of Friends*, ii. 249-250, 365, where the quotation may be found, but concerning the division of an estate between Walter and Rachel Dickenson in 1683 in Maryland, Fox had nothing to do with it.

THOMAS E. DRAKE.

Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

In his *Gospel Family Order concerning the ordering of Families both of Whites, Blacks, and Indians*, 1676, p. 22, Fox wrote:

"London 18 xii. 1673.

"Send me over a Black Boy of your instructing that I may see some of your fruits, and as I shall see, I shall make him a free man or send him to you again."

George Fell and the Story of Swarthmoor Hall

Continued from vol. xxix, p. 61

UPON the praemunire of Margaret Fell her son came forward and his action was clearly defined by his family as an intention to have the occupiers of the property dispossessed and himself to take possession. A modern view of his proceeding credits him with the sole desire that the property should be preserved in the family. The following from various sources shed light upon this period of Fell's life :

The humble petition of George Fell of Swarthmore
in the County of Lancaster
Sheweth

That your petitioner's mother being seduced into that fanatic opinion of the Quakers in the late time of usurpation, and notwithstanding all the means used by your petitioner and his friends to reclaim her, yet hath she still obstinately continued in the same (to the great trouble and grief of heart of your petitioner who hath ever been loyal and faithful to your Majesty), by reason whereof she hath run herself into a praemunire, and so hath justly forfeited to your Majesty her estate during her life.

Therefore humbly prayeth that your Sacred Majesty will graciously be pleased out of your abundant clemency to bestow the said estate upon your petitioner, he being the only heir at law thereunto, that he may be the better enabled to serve your Sacred Majesty.

And your petitioner shall pray, etc.

Annexing

These are to certify that George Fell of Swarthmore in the county of Lancaster, Esq., was never in arms against his Majesty that now is nor his father of blessed

memory, but did before his Majesty's happy restoration express his great desire therefor, and did testify such his expressions as well by going himself and carrying his whole interest which was considerable with him to vote for the election of Sir Robert Bindloss and Sir Roger Bradshaigh to be Knights for the Shire and did also march to Barran Downs with the Earl of Derby as his duty to congratulate his Majesty's happy return.

And that he (because he could not persuade his mother to return to her due obedience to his Majesty by conforming herself to the Church of England, which her refusal was to his great trouble and as he thought no less to his disgrace) did absent himself hitherto out of his own country, thereby hoping to prevail with her but however thereby to manifest his great dislike and disapprobation of her resolution to persist in that way.

This in all justice to him and to prevent all mistakes, we have made bold to certify. Witness our hands this first day of December, 1664,

ROGER BRADSHAIGH
RICH : KIRKBY

(*Cal. S.P.Dom.* 1664-5, 161, *Ext.* 228.)

The imprisonment of M. Fell was not a close one. Visitors came and went, also letters. Prison literature came from her quill. The question of the disposal of the Swarthmoor estate was of much concern to the family. From Lancaster Castle M. Fell wrote to her son and daughter Rous a letter which has apparently not survived but is referred to in her next on the subject, dated 1 x. 1664. It is noticeable that in this letter the writer refers to her son as "your brother Fell," also that the sisters Sarah, Susannah and Rachel, who were at Lancaster, send "dear love to you and to their brother Fell."

The following is extracted from the letter :

. . . Last week I wrote my mind concerning your brother Fell, and I would desire to know his mind as to what he intends to do as shortly as may be, for we wish to make a sale of some part of the goods. But if he comes to live in the country and to take things into his own hands, we should make a sale of all and

he shall have what he sees fitting. I would have you persuade him to come to the country, and as soon as may be.

In a postscript: "The enclosed to thy brother Fell deliver to him thyself."

Here is the wording of the grant to George Fell of the Swarthmoor property:

4 January, 1664-5. Our will, &c., that you forthwith prepare a bill for our royal signature to pass, &c., containing our grant unto George Fell, Gent., of the estate real and personal, late of Fell of Swarthmore in our county Palatine of Lancaster forfeited unto us upon the conviction of the said Fell of praemunire . . . and that you are to add such further clauses and nonobstantes as you shall think fit and are usual in grants of like nature. W.B.

To our Attorney General.

(*Cal. S.P.Dom.* 1664-5, 161, *Ext.* 228.)

As a result of above grant George Fell would take formal possession, retaining a London residence and permitting his sisters to remain at the Hall.

His youthful companion, William Caton, wrote to M. Fell at Lancaster Castle from Amsterdam, 30 i. 1664/5:

Having understood that George Fell was at Swarthmore, I have writ the enclosed to him, which thou may read over, and let it then be sealed and sent him (*Swarth. MSS. Trans.* I. 534).

Meanwhile John Rous tells us in a letter to his mother-in-law dated 6 vi. 1664:

I was with sister Fell last night but hear nothing of my brother Fell;

and in a letter written at Mile End, 21 ix. 1664:

I went to speak with my brother Fell but he was not at home, and, since, I was there and carried thy letter to him and then they said he was gone to Whitehall. We have not seen him now for about a fortnight

and so know not what he hath done, nor how far he hath proceeded. But I spoke with Thomas Speed who was last week with him at Whitehall, where he searched the record where all such things, if they are given away, are entered, and T.S. told me they could not find that it was granted to anyone. My sister [Hannah] told me my brother was with Col. Kirkby and that he was very courteous to him, but it is well known what his fair words come to.

I forgot in my last to give thee an account of what I had done about the £36 my brother was to pay Robert Dring. I, perceiving that my brother was in a great strait about the money and knew not where to get it, and that the nonpayment of it would turn much to his discredit, upon his promise to repay it me in a month, I told Robert Dring I would see him satisfied. This I did before I received thy first letter about it. I was not willing to drive it off long after I had passed my word for it lest Robert Dring should have any hard thoughts concerning me for not paying it, and so when rents come in I would desire thee to reserve so much for me, lest my brother when he come down dispose of it otherwise, which would turn my kindness to him into a prejudice to myself.

Having become a land owner, G. Fell came under the provisions of the Militia Act, and he would have to "provide one man fully armed" or else pay a composition. The Deputy-lieutenants of the county were charged with the working of the Act. George Fell wrote to Sir Roger Brads-haigh, of Haigh, near Wigan, who was a Deputy-lieutenant of Lancashire from 1660 to 1675 :

Sir,

The warrant coming to my hand but yesterday (and Mr. Sawrey at so great distance) I could not possibly send my man before this, which I hope you will pardon. Neither could I furnish him according to the warrant with back, breast and pott,¹ by reason that the suit of armour that I bought by my Lord of Darby's order for his Majesty's service was taken out of my house by Sir George Middleton's servants, and as yet

¹ pot=a steel cap or small helmet.

not restored, which I hope may plead my excuse (together with the shortness of the notice) that he is at present deficient in that. One favour more, dear Sir, I beg—that you would give him as quick a dispatch as possibly you could; and if there be necessity of keeping the troop longer together or meeting suddenly again, that you would order some sufficient person (we being at so great distance) to do that duty for us. The charge I shall refer to you to do your discretion and shall ever acknowledge the obligation as an addition to those favours which have already made me perpetually, noble Sir, your most cordial servant,

GEORGE FELL.

Swarthmoor, 12 July.

(From the original in the possession of the late William Farrer, Lit.D., included in his article, "North Lonsdale after the Restoration" in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. xii. 1912.)

The four years imprisonment of M. Fell was now drawing to a close. The following appears among State Papers:

Representation of the state and condition of Margaret Fell, now prisoner in Lancaster Castle, made to the King, that he may release her, as she has been more than three years in a cold, windy, smoky, wet prison because she refused the Oath of Allegiance, her conscience not permitting her to swear. (*Cal. S.P.Dom.* 1666-7, 481.)

The discharge took place in June 1668, to the regret of the local aristocracy. Fleming wrote to Williamson from Rydal, 21 August 1668:

The discharge of M. Fell from her easay imprisonment doth not a little encourage that Rabble of Fanaticks and discourage all Magistrates from acting against them. (*Cal. S.P.Dom.* 1667-8, 546, *Ext.* 277.)

The family party at the wedding of Margaret Fell and George Fox, 27 October 1669, consisted of six daughters and three sons-in-law, and there was much satisfaction expressed at the connection, but the mother's heart may well have

grieved at the absence of her only son. We quote again from Thomas Hodgkin :

To him his mother's remarriage brought no accession of income, and one can easily understand that the social disparagement of such a kinship with the homely shepherd of Leicestershire would be keenly felt by the young magistrate when he met Kirkby, Fleming, and others of the magisterial cousinry at Quarter Sessions or Militia dinners. (*George Fox*, 1896, 215.)

The following two letters indicate in detail the family difficulties in regard to property at this time. The first is from George Fox to his wife, from Enfield, 23 x. 1669 :

Dear Heart,

Here hath been a great noise about thy son George Fell as having orders to send thee to Westchester and me to Jersey,² which I heve been desirous might get as little as may be among Friends for Truth's sake ; but I am informed he hath them not out yet.

Now I hear he hath been with Kirkby and Monke and such like, and I understand his intent is to have Swarthmore and that he saith thou lost thy right by building, and by being married cannot have thy third of Marsh Grange and the mills, they being a customary estate ; and that it cost him forty pounds in getting a warrant to save thy estate, which he might have then taken, and that the agreement that thou made with him signifies nothing, thou being a prisoner.

But in all these things thou may perfectly inform thyself, but in wisdom and patience, that thou may make as little noise of it as may be. And thou may speak to thy brother Richardson about these things (in the seed and life) which are below. And reason quietly with him and them. As concerning the house keep over it and give both it and him to the Lord's ordering. And so if thou canst preserve a part to

² Other cases of proposed or actual banishment to the Island of Jersey appear in Quaker literature. William Penn refers in a letter to Margaret Fox from London, 29 viii. 1684, to the proposal to send William Welch to Jersey which was not carried out owing to his death (*Jnl. F.H.S.* ix. 143). William Prynne, anti-Quaker writer, was sent to the Island under censure for libel.

thyself, the interest thou hast already whereby thee may not be banished out of the country by him. And thou may speak with thy brother Richardson about this also, for if he should wholly put thee out of the house, it might hurt himself and be the destroying of himself turning the Lord out of doors.

Now if thou should make another agreement in another name [Fell to Fox] it may beget another trouble and may be worse than the former. If he hath defamed and blemished thee at the Court, thou should come up some time and clear it, that such things may be emptied out of their minds and thou come over all their orders, if he have any orders but I think he hath none.

G.F.

Dear Mother,

In my last I gave thee an account what had passed between my brother Fell and me and my father's mind concerning it, in his own words so near as I could remember, only through forgetfulness omitted to let thee know that my father left all things to thyself and by the above letter from him thou wilt fully understand his mind further in it.

He mentioned something before of thy leaving that dark country, but considering that thy holding an interest in the house may be a restraint to my brother's being frequented by bad company which may work his undoing.

My brother and sister Fell and uncle Richardson dined last 3rd day at our house and my brother and sister stayed with us all night. I took an opportunity to inform my uncle how my brother had expressed himself in relation to the marriage, and that he intended to get an order to send my father prisoner to Jersey and thee to Westchester, which uncle seemed much to dislike and said it would be very unnatural. I also acquainted him how that my brother had offered to refer the whole business to him and [here the MS. is torn] . . . good office that lay in his power between you should not be wanting. I do not think that my uncle is anyways disaffected towards thee and thy marrying and if he [MS. torn] . . . classed with my brother in his opposition to thee, but advised

him to the contrary to be more moderate than he otherwise would be both in words and actions. When my uncle was gone my wife and I took occasion to speak further to my brother, whose view we found much as I advised thee in my last, namely, if thou would leave Lancashire he would allow thee £200 a year, but at Swarthmore thou should not stay, and if thou would not yield to those terms, then he would get thee sent to prison and might [MS. torn] . . . would give thee anything, and said further that if thou would not agree with [MS. torn] . . . he would proclaim to all the world (if he used extremity) that thou was in [MS. torn] . . . We used as many arguments as we could to persuade him but we could not prevail. He hath been for the most part [MS. torn] . . . humour, but my sister Fell told me within those days he had been more lightsome and cheerful than he was before. I suppose [MS. torn] . . .

Coming into more moderation he hath eased his mind of that weight and burden which the extreme prejudice he was in had brought upon him. We inquired of him whether he had any ways scandalized you to them he had been with about the orders, and he would not acknowledge anything. He told us that Col. Kirkby had sent for him twice about the order for my father since I had spoken to him, but he had not gone to him and intended to let it be till he knew what thou would do, and then if thou did not agree with him he would have them upon writing a letter. He is at present pretty easy to deal with and I believe with gentleness may be brought to much, but I had hard work and a great burden on me before I could bring him to anything and was almost in doubt whether he would come to anything or no. But when he began to fall he came down apace, and I believe is not insensible of the benefit thereof in his own particular though for a while he reflected on me, and asked me why I concerned myself more than the rest of his brothers and sisters. I told him I had no other end than to work reconciliation among so near relations and that he might not do those things which would make everybody cry out against him.

On 4th day in the forenoon we parted very lovingly and at his going away he expressed himself with more love and affection to my wife than I have known come from him to her these many years, and hath promised to come and see us again before he goeth out of town, so that we expect him again to-morrow, and then we intend to see what further may be done with him in relation to Swarthmore, and offer to his consideration my sisters concerns in the country, which if you should all be put away from thence might very much suffer.

Thy dear son in the Lord, JOHN ROUS.

Since I concluded my letter my brother Fell was with us and we cannot prevail anything with him about thy part of Swarthmore.

Newington, 25 of the 10th Mo., 1669.

(Thirnbeck MSS. 8, 9, both letters in the handwriting of John Rous and endorsement by John Abraham.)

With respect to the possible removal of Margaret Fox from Swarthmoor, it is interesting to read a remark in a letter from Gulielma Maria Penn, dated in 1684: "Methinks if thou foundest a clearness in the Lord, it would be happier if thou wert nearer thy dear husband and children, but I leave it to the Lord's ordering and thy freedom." (Quoted in *Fells*.)

Margaret Fox's second imprisonment began in February or March 1670. It must be evident from the foregoing letters that George Fell's relations were satisfied that he was at work to dispossess his mother of her home. Dr. Hodgkin wrote:

He brought vexatious and apparently unfounded claims against his mother for some of her dealings with the Swarthmoor estate; and there is too much reason to believe that he approved, if he did not actually originate the action of the justices in renewing her suspended sentence of imprisonment. (*George Fox*, 1896, 215.)

Thomas Lower wrote to his mother-in-law from London, 19 ii. 1670:

We have received a letter about thy recommittment. When first we received the information thereof, I was more grieved for my brother's barbarous and

unnatural actions towards thee than for thy confinement, for it will tend to thy more certain preservation, and only hasten his woe and sorrow that hath procured it. We were this day with our father and showed thy letter to him. He is sorry for my brother Fell's foolish carriage towards thee in this matter. From thence we went to Luke's, I and my wife and sister Sarah. We found not brother at home, but to his wife we spared not to lay the treacherous dealings of her husband in his bringing down the order before her, and also to manifest to her the odiousness of the fact in general which was abominable amongst heathen. She confidently denied that her husband or she knew anything of it or that he had carried it down or was in the least privy to it. After much plain dealing with her, we left it to the just judgment of the Lord, who would assuredly recompense upon them the like measure in his own due time, and so parted from her, but she still pleaded not guilty. Indeed the action is so brutish that all that hears of it are ashamed of it. My brother the doctor would scarce believe that my brother Fell had any hand in it. But it is too apparent that it was of his procuring.

The letter closes with the following which may refer to some action of George Fell: "We are glad to hear of my sisters intention to indict the rioters and make them and my brother know their folly." (Swarth. MSS. i. 381.)

In addition to the personal attention to the actions of George Fell by members of his family, there are indications that others also interested themselves in the young lawyer. Thomas Speed met him at Whitehall, his uncle Matthew Richardson interviewed him, but the principal record of this intervention is contained in a letter to George Fell's widow in which Elizabeth Hooton reminds her :

When I was with thee and thy husband, I had something on my spirit from the Lord that he might be warned from persecuting the just or joining with them that did, for he is gone from the Truth which he once was in and joined himself with the persecuting magistrates and priests, and had been a means to cause his mother to be persecuted and imprisoned and them

that met at her house, and this (so far as I did hear) was thy husband's work. I was moved of the Lord to go to him and declare to him he was gone out from that Truth he was in before and now hath he joined himself with the persecutors and was a lover of pleasures and did not at all love the Truth but persecuted it, and was a means to keep his mother in prison and was the means (for aught I could hear) to praemunire her.

But I was made to tell him that if he did go on in that persecuting way and would not turn to the Truth which he once received, the Lord would cut him off both root and branch. And though his mother was set at liberty again by the King, yet did thy husband go to the King again and got her praemunired and put into prison again (for aught I know) and now the Lord's hand hath cut him off and shortened his days. (*Elizabeth Hooton, 1914, 65.*)

In another letter E. Hooton writes of "a rebellious and disobedient son."

Emma C. Abraham of Swarthmoor Hall, and Grassendale Park, Liverpool, a descendant of Daniel Abraham and Rachel Fell, has long held the view that historians have not correctly judged the strained relations between George Fell and his family. Miss Abraham wrote to the compiler of this narrative under date 26 i. 1931 :

Perhaps it may be rather difficult for Friends, knowing the moral greatness and natural nobility of George Fox, to understand how he appeared to young George Fell,—probably as only a low-born, illiterate fanatic, who had deluded and imposed upon his mother and sisters.

George Fell was a barrister living in London, doubtless mixing with other men of his class, married to a London lady whose brother, also a barrister, was author of a biography of the English judges. It is easy to imagine the jests and ridicule which George Fell probably had to endure at the time of his mother's marriage. I think that Friends have been unjust and intolerant towards George, except Dr. Hodgkin, who wrote of him reasonably as a man of the world might, though even he did not know George's legal position and rights.

The family letters which have been quoted will exhibit the state of feeling between George Fell and several of his relations. These relations entertained no doubts respecting his conduct in the matter of his mother's imprisonment and praemunire, and they used strong language in their correspondence thereon.

Unfortunately no statements by George Fell regarding his intentions have come to light among the thousands of family MSS. still surviving and in the absence of contemporary evidence, we cannot support the contention that his efforts were directed to the preservation for the family of Swarthmoor Hall and other property.

The death of George Fell took place 14 October 1670, at the early age of about thirty-one, his widow being left in somewhat poor circumstances. His will was dated 7 October, and his residence given as Swarthmoor. The testator first makes bequests to his children and to his wife as long as she remains his widow. In default of issue property was left to his brother-in-law, William Yeamans and to his favourite sister Isabel Yeamans and their heirs; also other property in further default to his sisters, "daughters of my father and their heirs equally to be divided amongst them". Uncle Matthew Richardson and George Hilton "four pounds a piесе to buy each of them a ring, hoping for their assistance to my wife and children". Hannah Fell was his executrix. He desired that his body should be "buried in the parish church of Ulverston as near to my father as with conveniency it may be."

To be concluded

CORRECTIONS

Vol. xxix. Page 59.—What is termed "the official record" of the marriage of George Fell was the licence³ for the marriage, to take place either at St. Dunstan in the East or⁴ St. Margaret's, Lothbury. The marriage took place at the latter church on December 27th.

Page 51.—The date of the baptism of Judge Thomas Fell was 13th March 1599/1600, not as stated on this page.

Amendments kindly sent by F. R. Shackleton.

³ Marriage licence at the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London.

⁴ For of read *or*.

William Meade to Thomas Lawson

Gooses ye 27th of ye 6^o moth 1691.

Deare Friende Thomas Lawson

—my last to thee, w^{ch} was in Answer to thine of ye [] ye 1st moth 1691 :—I have had thy kinde offerr in my thoughts ; And now have an oppertunity to imbrace it, and desire to know, what sume of money yearly, thou wilt expect ;—and also how soone thou cann settle thy affaires and come to mee ; For I am now without one to Instruct my sonn & his Cousin Richard Lower ;—Thou art to live at our Country House, with us, and have all things necessaary for thee, viz^t meate, drinke, washing & Lodginge ;—And I would have thee propose, what sume of money yearly thou dost Expect, that thou mayst bee at a certainty as well as my selfe ;—I would that my sonn, might not change his Schoolmaster any more, untill hee bee perfected in his Learninge ; ffor I hope thou may stay wth mee many yeares ; The younge ladds cann make a peice of Latine, and pearce it & construe it, in some measure,—and are apt ladds to learne, such as I hope, thou will take great delight in.—I am now very cleare from this younge man, who was my sonns Tutor, and hee is gone from us, & I was the more Inclinable to part wth him, haveing thy kinde lett^r by mee ;— Thus with mine & my wives deare Love to thee, desireinge thy speedy Answer ; I Remaine—

Thy assured Loveing Friende,

WILLIAM MEADE.

direct thy Letter ffor Sarah Meade at the Shipp in ffannchurch Streett in London. because, if it bee directed to mee perhapps, my men in my shopp may open it.

my Country House is in Essex ; 12 miles of London.

[The death of Thomas Lawson prevented the completion of the arrangements.]

D Gibson MSS. v. 155.

Miller Manuscripts

The persistent efforts of the Librarian at Friends House to find the present location of the Miller MSS., included by Maria Webb in her *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, has resulted in the discovery of them in the possession of Norman Miller Doncaster of Castle Hill, Burley, Hants, and as Burley is easily reached from Bournemouth, I made arrangements by invitation and permission of the owner to examine the precious documents.

There are several volumes of papers, beautifully arranged by the late William Frederick Miller, uncle of the present owner, and sumptuously bound in leather. One of the volumes contains the seventeen items, which once formed a portion of the papers preserved at Swarthmoor Hall till it passed into stranger hands in 1759, on the break-up of the Abraham family, descendants of Margaret (Fell) Fox's youngest daughter, Rachel. This section reached W. F. Miller from his grandmother Ellen (Abraham) Cockin. Emma C. Abraham of Swarthmoor Hall writes (Jan. 1933): "I have a letter from my grandfather, Thomas A., stating that, with his permission, his sisters, Mrs. Cockin and Mrs. Thirnbeck, took some of the family papers from a box in which they were kept." The Thirnbeck Collection is now at Friends House, the property of the Society.

The transcription of some of the letters printed in *Fells* was collated by me with the originals and produced some curious results. This volume should be consulted in connection with the following letters.

JOHN ROUS TO SARAH FELL

London, 15 vi. 1670.

This is printed in *Fells* and in *Letters, etc.* The original reads: "one Robt. Meede"; and the following has been omitted in both printings: "John Penniman is discharged from his imprisonment and is joined to the bad spirits who have long run out from truth."

DANIEL ABRAHAM TO HIS WIFE

Lancaster Castle, 12 i. 1684.

" . . . We rode fast but had tide enough over sands." . . .
" Roger Haddock spoke some thing that Henry Coward would meet me at the gaoler's house, but he came not while I stayed." . . . "great charge and trouble in carrying us to and fro. I perceive the reason in part to be a friend that came from near Ormskirk whom the constable bore his charge. But after a very few words with me, he ordered the constable to carry me up to the Castle." . . . Addition to close of second paragraph: "So

they kept us there until night, and then Henry Coward came and we were laid down and I came to my old quarters Judah Yates of the corner where I now am with Richard Johnson and Joshua Crosby. I am very well in health and I trust shall be satisfied, however I be disposed of"

Taken from *Fells*, p. 350, with additions.

SARAH MEADE TO HER MOTHER

London, 17th 3d mo. 1684.

My dear and honoured Mother.

My dear husband gave thee an account last week how mercifully the Lord hath been pleased to deal with us and being indifferent well at that time, I now write a few lines myself that thou might know how it is with us. I was about six hours in travail, and though it was sharp the Lord was good to me in giving me strength to go through it and endure it and gave me deliverance in his own good time of a sweet babe.

My sweet babe has been very likely thus far, and is thriving as much as could be expected in the time. He has been a little froward this day and last night, but I hope it is but wind, and that he will soon be better again. I am fine and well and endeavouring to make a nurse if the Lord give me milk¹ and strength to do it. The weather is hot at present, and so may be some hindrance to my milk coming so freely yet as I hope it may be here after. He is a fine child, and we desire never to forget the Lord's mercy in giving him, and that we may resign him to the Lord, committing him to His arms, who is able as He pleases to give life and death, and unto whom we are to be subject in all things.

Sister Rous and all her children are in town and indifferent well, as is Father. We have yours by H. Coward. I cannot enlarge only to add my husband's and sister's affectionate duty and respect to thee, with our kind love to brother and sisters.

I am thy dutiful daughter,

S. M.

Frances Kent stayed with me a week after I was laid. She is a fine woman; it was the Lord sent her to me. It was the Lord's mercy to me that I had her, who is a very skilful and tender woman for that employment.

Nathaniel (afterwards Sir Nathaniel) Meade (1684-1760) was the only child of William and Sarah Meade. The letter is somewhat modernized.

RACHEL ABRAHAM TO HER HUSBAND

Swarthmoor, 7th 11mo. 1694.

This letter is printed in *Fells*, p. 383. There are certain omissions. In the paragraph *re* tithes is added: "Betericks Curan seems also served with

¹ Maria Webb gives *ability*, either from a mis-reading or an excess of prudery.

one of them which I sent up. She seems much concerned about it." Where " paper torn and words obliterated " is enclosed in brackets, we read : " whatever exercises outwardly may attend us." Later : " Robert Salt-house with many more desire dearly to be remembered to thee " ; and a postscript reads : " Our dear loves dearly to all our relations, in particular to brother and sister Lower and cousins. My mother bids me write thee— would be glad to hear from brother Lower, being he is so intelligible. Love to James Dickinson."

JOHN ABRAHAM, OF SWARTHMOOR, TO WILLIAM RAWLINSON,
OF GRAYTHWAITE

21 ii. 1707.

My honoured Friend,

I must say it is not in the power of language to express the surprize the near exercising account I just now receive in thy affectionate lines of my dear Jennie's being seized with the small pox. I am in the greatest distress, in the greatest agony, for my Jenny, *for her* who is the dearest of women. We have none to rely upon, none to confide in, save the sure providence of God, who is infinitely merciful to us all.

I shall be sure to write by tomorrows post to thy son Thomas, desiring an account by the very next post after.

My dear father is not yet returned from Manchester, which makes my dear mother and self uneasy lest he should not be well ; and the weather so very bad we sent one of our men last 6th day in order to meet him.

My mother's cordial respects are presented to thy honorable self and consort, which, with my most affectionate duty,

I am with the greatest sincerity thine in all services

JON. ABRAHAM.

John Abraham (1687-1771) was the home-grandson of Margaret Fox, the only surviving child of Daniel and Rachel Abraham. Was there an engagement for marriage with " Jennie " ? He married Sarah Foster in 1722. A Jennie Rawlinson, grand-daughter of the William who " turned Quaker," married in 1732 " Henry Arderne of Stockport, Esq." (E.C.A.). The letter has been somewhat modernized.

EDITOR.

Register of Hooton Pagnell, S. Yorkshire

Burials Año 1699.

John Burgesse the quaker in his own burial place. 7br 19th.

Hannah Penn to Thomas Story

London ye 4th of 7^{br} 1718.

Dear friend

Tho I fear my letters may be but troublesom to thee having had no answer to what I have wrot, yet being here on purpose to have proved the Will, & finding at last a Coveat Enterd against Mee, I trouble thee this once to Advice thee thereof, and also that, by aplying to Councell the Imperfections are more & more apprehended, And in short my troubles more & more apparent, the heir seems to think himself or nobody Intituled to the Govern^t & w^{ts} due therfrom, the Intended provision of 300 p. ann is thought Invalid for want of Witnesses the Personall Estate is to pay Depts but that hard to find ; all which makes me thoughtfull and on which I would begg thy advice but that being so hard to get I almost dispair & am therefore Loath to trouble thee. However was willing to give thee a hint of our state in which I desire thou will be seecret at least till fitt to be known, for fear of Increasing my Cares ; H. G.¹ just gone from me, & wishes it had been thy lot to be here ; he Gives the his Dear Love as does my son John, now by me.

I desire thee to put my Cousen Webb on searching if any Joynture Settlem^t of mine is to be found in my fathers secritore, otherwise to Desire Michaell Jones to Lett him or thy selfe see What Writings he has relating to the Irish settlement, for I believe my daughter has in her (?) own care got the part that secures me and for ought I know, I the part that belongs to her, but this ought to be Manag^d Cautiously of w^{ch} give my Cousen Hints, my Dear Love to him & her. And with the same to thy selfe, being glad to hear of thy welfare from other hands, I conclude in hast,

Thy aff^{te} and Obliged fra^d

H. PENN

I go for Ruscom
3^d day.

¹ Henry Gouldney.

[Addressed] For Thomas Story at Brice Webb's in Wine Street, Bristol.

[Thomas Story wrote on the same sheet :]

I have pus^d the Writings in y^e Widow Wades hands, & find they are the originall Agreem^{ts} between W^m Penn, Sen^r and W^m P. jun^r, Letitia Penn, Charles Jones jun^r & Mary Jones & relate only to y^e Marryage Settlem^t of 300^{li} p. Ann to M. Jones when her intended husband W. P. j^r should come of Age &c. A Counterpart whereof is in H. Penn's hands but relates nothing to her self. T. S.

9th 7^m 1718

Thomas Thompson, the donor of the letter, wrote ; 12 viii. 1842 :

"She is just embarking on the sea of litigation in consequence of difficulties in the execution of his [William Penn's] will, on which she was tossed with perplexities of many years duration."

From the Martha Spriggs Collection.

Ellis Hookes to George Fox, 1669

" . . . I have received thy letter and I have sent thee a primer by A. Clayton. I have sold but a few yet, but they are very much liked of all that see them. A. P. and G. W. say it will be serviceable and say there was never a more serviceable book printed in that kind, and it is well liked of everybody that sees it.

"There are 2 or 3 literal faults in the book escaped in the press."

A. P.=Alexander Parker. G. W.=George Whitehead.

Swarth. MSS. i. 386 in D.

Quaker Extracts from Yorkshire Parish Registers

CRAYKE

1664. Will. the son of Elizabeth Palling, a Quaker, was buried upon the 20th of June, 1664, in Christopher Thurnam's close.
1661. Sepul. Anne Temple, widow, sometimes wife of Thomas Temple, ye elder, was buried in y^e Quakers plott : August ye 12th, 1661.
1663. Memorandum their be diverse persons, of that damnable (though lately sprung up) Heresie called Quakers, whose names in this Register are not inserted, who wilfully separate themselves from the Church Communion and soe are thought unworthy of having their names Registered amongst true Christians : by

JO: HUME, *Rect: de Crake.*

August 1st, 1663.

A Quaker Family Carrying Pistols

The following extracts, with others, from the Cork records were copied by Charlotte Fell Smith at the expense of the late Francis C. Clayton.

11 xii. 1688. "Severall friends of this Meeting haueing at Sundry times heard of a certainty that Samuel Abbot hath of late borne armes and walkes y^e street in Moyallow wth a Carbine or the like instrum^t; not only so but its reported his daughters have beene known to haue a pocket pistoll carrying ab^t them vnd^r p^tence of defence &c w^{ch} things being contrary to y^e p^rinciples of truth by vs p^ressed and quite contrary to the practice of ffreinds from the beginning, ffreinds are much concerned at it and desires a lett^r may be written forth^{wth} to him to lay the Dang^r & hurt therof before him, and to desire him if he Were euer seene vpon any Such act, that he may immediatly condemne his forwardness, and not only lay aside & Quit himselfe of his armes, but wholly to shut out all such things out of his Minde, least he suffer hurt in himselfe & cause a reflection vpon the peacable truth of our profession. Tho^s Wight to write y^e lett^r and to desire Joⁿ Butler & W^m End or one of them to dell^r it."

25 i. 1689. "John Butler being called upon to know what ansuear Sam^l Abbott returned him vpon his dell^ring the lett^r to him from last p^rvince Meeting he sayth as to the lett^r he gave no answe^r in Writing nor did his behaviour bespeake a compliance to the Substance of it; being in an ill frame of spirit to Joⁿ Butler; and when he came first to speake to him, came wth his gun on his arme through Moyallow streete for w^{ch} Joⁿ Butler reprov^d him, & he stood to justifie himself, saying he made no scruple to make use of them in his defence or words amounting at least so high. Some few dayes after, Sundry Corke friends going to a Meeting at Moyallow they spoake wth the s^d Sam^l adviseing & pswading him farther, to whom the s^d Samuell Seemed not so stiff in his justification but seemed more concerned y^t it gaue offence to ffreinds then for any Euill he had done in it. As to his

daughters Wearing a pockett pistoll as was reported, We finde no grounds for that and beleieve vpon the examination of it that they were cleare of any such Matter, and the Meeting doe hereby clear them. But as to Samuel Abbots p^t, the Meeting doe condemne him for his practice in the s^d action as being contrary to y^e principles of truth w^{ch} We profess and a great occasion to bring a scandall vpon ffriends."

16 ix. 1691. "Abbot being returned from England came to meeting again & was suffered in silence the first time, but Fr^{ds} then hearing he had raised a troop of soldiers & rec^d a commission, on his appearing again he was desired to desist, at which he angrily protested. After ward other accounts of his ill conduct coming to Fr^{ds} a paper was read or attempted to be read disowning him, but he snatched & tore it, seized "this booke" saying he w^d burn it, &c. It was thought meete to incert these passages (a page) out of the meeting as a record & testimony ag^t him & his Unchristian Practice and behaviour."

On this subject, Isabel Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir, writes :

"So far as I could find when working up the doings of Friends in the War of 1689-1692, S. A. was the only one who entered the army. A modern Irish historian, Ingram, in *Two Chapters of Irish History*, says that the Quakers at the time raised a regiment for King James, but having examined all the contemporary Quaker records and the papers especially about the war conditions, I can find no justification for Ingram's statement. Abbott's troop, if the statement refers to him, would presumably have been for King William."

I. Grubb sends with the above a further reference to Samuel Abbott, taken from the Minutes of Cork Six and Three Weeks Meetings, wording modernized :

16 ix. 91. "Samuel Abbott, of Moyallow, who took up arms and betook himself to the garrison (contrary to the peaceable principles of our profession), was condemned in i. 89, went to England, and when he returned Friends let him be till they saw whether he had improved, they found he

had taken up a commission to raise a troop. He was spoken to about it and told he could not be owned."

The minute continues: "He broke into a rage and fury against the meeting with many reproachfull words, saying he had as much right to sit there as any of the meeting and would not refrain it; so friends bore it until, hearing further common fame of several ill actions done by him both in this towne and in the country since his taking a commission, he was again spoken to in the meeting and desired to absent our Men's Meetings that his said actions might not reflect upon friends, as also that this meeting could not do less than condemn his actions as contrary to our principles and make a record thereof: to which he furiously, and in an extreme outrageous manner, replied that he would not go from our meetings, saying also: 'Let me see who dares make the record, he had as good eate the table,' and other words to that purpose. The record was writ on a wast paper and as it was reading he violently ran and snatched it from the hand of him that was reading and tore it to pieces, catching also at this book saying he would burn it, etc. Great was his rage and fury he vented against friends, with such grievous threats and mallitious reproachful words as is rare to meet with any the like from any reputed the worst of men, soe that as his violence and rage was such as not to endure to hear the reasonableness of what was writ against him (for the clearing of the truth of his aforesaid disorders) but broke it in pieces, It was thought meet to incert these passages thereof (out of meeting) as a record and testimony against him and his unchristian practice and behaviour and the same to enter in the Province meeting book."

From *Read's Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer*, Saturday, June 3rd, 1732:

Edinburgh, May 23 . . . Friday last died Mrs. Miller, a Quaker, famous for her Industry and Improvements in Home Manufactures. It is said she employ'd 6 or 700 poor People at Spinning, &c. which makes her Death much regretted. She was Yesterday interred in the Quakers Burying Place; where Friend Ereskine gave the Word of Exhortation to a very numerous Auditory.

From *Notes and Queries*, June 4th, 1932.

Relief for Quaker Schoolmaster

" London y^e 17 of y^e 7 mo, 1704.

" DEAR FRIEND

" I communicated y^e Letter concerning W^m. Catrill to our meeting for Sufferings by whose advice Nathaniel Markes hath wrote in favour of said Friend to y^e Bishope Secretary who is under particular obligation to N.M., and John ffield having also wrote [? to-day] to y^e ffriend himselfe, am therefor y^e briefer in this [word obliterated] perruse y^e lik Case herewith sent thee of a Friend neer this City who Keepeth a great school undisturbed, may expect that wherein I can be servisable to him I intende, this with y^e remembrance of my dear Love to thee and thy Wife with Ed. Borne, who am " Thy true Friend, GILBERT MOLLISON."

" Many ffriends here are under great Sorrow at y^e Lose of Robert Langhorn, who was an honest friend and of y^e Ministry, being under great temptations and disorder of mynde cutt his own throate last night in the street."

[Addressed] " To William Pardo in Worcester."

Copy of the case of Richard Scoryer, written for Benjamin Bealing at the clerk's office, is attached. The opinion of Councillor King is interesting in view of the numerous citations for school keeping by Friends. See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, iv. 311, xiv. 107, xix. 43.

" Richard Scoryer's Case of Keeping School without a Licence at Wandsworth. 1699.

" Theodor Eccleston and Rich^d Scoryer were with Peter King a Councillor of the Temple and shewed him y^e Citations and also the Lybel w^{ch} R. S. had demanded and Rec^d of y^e Spiritual Court (soe called).

" The said Councillor upon view thereof said there was a good Ground of a suggestion in ord^r to obtain a Prohibition, because y^e objection ag^t Rich^d Chiefly was That he Taught school contrary to the Cannons of the Church w^{ch} y^e Councill. said was no Breach of Law in Rich^d he being a layeman & not in orders, and y^e Cannons not being of force ag^s any but y^e Clergye, unless confirmed by Parliam^t.

" Whereupon he was desired and accordingly did move y^e Court of Kings Bench, and a Prohibition was obtained and 3 Coppyes of y^e order of Court served on the Judge of y^e Court viz^t Brampton and y^e Register and the Procktor or Prosecutor."

From the Martha Spriggs Collection.

Two farmer-brothers Gray, of Kinmuck, Scotland, sat together, the only Friends at meeting. Once they had sold a cow to a widow, which soon died. After meeting the one said to the other, " Brother, I've been thinking in meeting that we should let off the widow half the price of the cow." The other said, " I've been thinking that we should let her off the other half."

Our Recording Clerks

Continued from vol. xxix, p. 45

No. 12. JAMES BOWDEN, 1844-1857, and the Era of the Registers.

HITHERTO in following the line of Clerks to the Society we have viewed the work undertaken by a head-clerk and one or two assistants, we shall now have to visualize an increased number of helpers engaged transcribing the mass of material sent up from the country, containing records of births, marriages and burials from the early days of the Society.

Parish Registers date from the time of Henry VIII. In the middle of the seventeenth century George Fox (influenced perhaps by the position of his father as churchwarden) early instituted a system of registration "that one or two Friends in every Meeting do take an account of all the marriages, births and burials, and carry them to the Monthly Meetings and record them all in one book which is to be kept for the whole County" (in a paper headed: "Friends Fellowship must be in the Spirit" and generally known as Fox's "Canons and Institutions", dated 1669). See *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 416, and *Supp. to Jnl.* 177, where Fox is noted as "Looking after ye Records", 1687.

Other nonconforming bodies were less careful in the matter of registration, but there were about in the country registers more or less accurately kept; and the condition of these non-parochial registers claiming the attention of Parliament resulted in the passing in 1836 of an Act establishing a system of civil registration throughout England and Wales, the finally fixed date for the commencement of the operation of the Act being June 30, 1837.

A copy of the Act was brought to the Meeting for Sufferings, and introduced by George Stacey, on the 2nd of 9 mo. 1836, and sixteen Friends were appointed a committee to consider the effect of the Act upon Friends' system of registration. John Hodgkin (then Junior) was added later and he took a prominent part in the proceedings. In First Month, 1837, G. Stacey, J. Hodgkin and W. Manley had an interview with the Board of the Registration Commission

and a year later, after the Parliamentary Committee to which the subject was referred had been discharged, the whole matter was committed to the care of John Hodgkin, George Stacey, Josiah Forster, Joseph Neatby, Robert Forster and Abram R. Barclay.

The presence of registers sent up from all parts of the country for surrender to the Government suggested the advisability of having copies made, and the Yearly Meeting having approved the suggestion, the abstraction was put in hand under the management of James Bowden, "a young Cornishman". Bowden gathered round him a staff of transcribers of whose work there are several records, which do not record much appreciation of their occupation.

"Address to the Meeting for Sufferings from those employed on the Registers, 5 mo. 1840 :

"To the Committee of Sufferings on the Registers :

"Understanding that in consequence of the Yearly Meeting, our operations must of necessity be suspended and presuming that our services may be required to complete the work after that period, we, the undersigned Transcribers and others respectfully submit the following to your consideration, viz.

"That many of us have families entirely dependent upon our exertions for support, and as most probably we shall be unemployed during that period, our means of providing for them will necessarily be very limited ; that the healths of several of us have been injured by the close application which it has been necessary to bestow upon the work ; and although two or three weeks relaxation would be highly beneficial, we could ill afford to lose the time.

"If therefore upon taking the above statement into consideration you could allow some compensation, the parties concerned would feel obliged,

and remain, Respectfully your Friends

W[illiam] J[esse] Waller

James Morley

H[enry] O[wen] Tahourdin

J[ohn] P[aine] Martin

E[dward] D[ynes] Hayward

Will. R[oberts] Barritt

S[amuel] Gravely

David Doeg, Junr.

R[ichard] P[etipher] Batger

Jno. Meek

Jeffreys Paull

James Giles

Alexander Cudland

Abr^m Wallis."

Another transcriber named John Perry found no great pleasure or satisfaction in his work, he writes :

“ Today I sat eleven hours at writing only for four shillings—closely engaged every day in my new occupation transcribing for which I am very badly paid—every day has been engaged closely & very laboriously in making the Registers for which I am miserably paid. 4 mo. 11, 1840, I gave up writing on the Registers *without any regret*, having engaged with another & much better occupation.” He was approaching sixty at this period.

“ Meeting for Sufferings, 6th of 11 mo. 1840.

“ The time having arrived at which it is needful to decide upon the question whether the Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths amongst Friends in England and Wales, from the origin of the Society to the end of the 6th month, 1837, should be surrendered to the Registration Commissioners, this Meeting thinks it right, in recording its conclusion on this important subject, to enter upon its minutes a statement of the circumstances which have called for this decision, and an outline of the course which has been pursued in reference to these valuable documents.

“ A commission was appointed by the Crown in the year 1836 to enquire into the state of all non-parochial Registers in England and Wales, and to consider of proper measures for facilitating their reception in evidence : and in compliance with the requisition of the Commissioners, the several Monthly, Quarterly and General Meetings of Friends throughout England and Wales were applied to to send up their Registers for inspection with a view to their obtaining the stamp of official approbation. The Commissioners in their Report to the Crown spoke of them in very commendatory terms. They had ‘ visited their place of deposit, and saw enough of their state and condition to testify that they exhibit an admirable specimen of the state to which order and precision may be carried in the classification and arrangement of records of this description.’

“ The total number of these volumes now in the custody of William Manley on behalf of the Society is [85], containing about 260,000 entries of Births, 40,000 entries of Marriages, and 310,000 entries of Deaths. At an early stage of the business, this Meeting was of the opinion that it would

be desirable that advantage should be taken of the opportunity afforded by the several Register Books being thus brought together in one place to form a complete Alphabetical and Chronological index or digested transcript of the whole of the entries within each Quarterly and General Meeting respectively.

“ This work, which has received the cordial concurrence and sanction of the Yearly Meeting, has been attended with great labour and expense, but it is believed that the digest thus prepared will be of very important practical advantage to the Society at large, and to all persons interested in these Records.

“ In the interval between the presentation of the Report of the Commissioners and the passing of the late Act 3 and 4 Vict. chap. 92, repeated applications were made both to the Government and to Members of the Legislature in order to obtain for our Society the benefit of the proposed enactment in favour of Non-parochial Registers, without surrendering the said Records to the custody of a Metropolitan Office, an arrangement which, under the circumstances, it was not thought unreasonable to ask for. These efforts having all proved unavailing the Act referred to at length passed, giving the proposed Advantages to such parochial Registers only as should be surrendered before the 10th of the 11th month instant, and should be approved by the Commissioners. In anticipation of the probability of such an enactment, the last Yearly Meeting issued a Minute to its subordinate Meetings recommending them to authorize this Meeting to make such arrangements in regard to the surrender or other disposition of their Registers as might appear to be most for the benefit of the Society and the furtherance of the usefulness of the said documents, and directing this Meeting to correspond with the several Meetings in order to obtain their concurrence herein.

“ Under these circumstances the Meeting has proceeded with much care and deliberation at several sittings (two of which were specially held for the purpose) to take into its consideration the whole question thus referred to it by the Yearly Meeting and the several subordinate Meetings. It sets a high value upon these interesting and important Records, which, besides their intrinsic worth as documents of Pedigree, it regards as a proof of the faithfulness, the wisdom,

and the diligence of our worthy Elder, George Fox, and of the other pious and enlightened men who were the instruments of first gathering our Religious Society. . . .

“ Acting on these views our forefathers were led to establish very simple yet guarded provision for the celebration of Marriage as a religious act, and to form a systematic and efficient plan of Registration; and the course which they pursued herein and which with some modification has been steadily followed for nearly two centuries, we cannot but regard as satisfactory evidences of the help which was afforded in the faithful support of a Christian Testimony, whilst the authority and respect conceded to our Marriages and Registers may be regarded as a token of the blessing which has rested upon their faithfulness herein. . . .

“ It is moreover computed that at the present day the number of persons not members of our Religious Society who are directly interested in our Registers as documents of Pedigree greatly exceeds the total number of our own members who are so interested: and this Meeting has strongly felt the duty imposed upon the Society as Trustees of so valuable a deposit for both these classes, not to stand in the way of this legislative measure for consolidating and giving full efficiency in all respects to these documents.

“ Taking these and other circumstances into consideration and bearing also in mind the example which our Religious Society has been careful to set of a cheerful compliance with the arrangements of the Civil Government in all matters in which conscience is not violated, this Meeting has come to the conclusion that it will best discharge the important and responsible trust reposed in it by surrendering all our Registers, from the origin of the Society to the end of the 6th month, 1837, to the Commissioners with a view to their being placed, if approved by the said Commissioners, under the care of the Registrar General and entitled to all the privileges conferred by the Act of Parliament already referred to. . . .”

At the conclusion of the work of the transcription of the Registers, the committee in charge reported as follows to the Meeting for Sufferings, 11 v. 1842 :

“ It may now be well to consider this great work as completed; and in making this suggestion, they feel bound to

record their high sense of the value to the Society, as well as to the public more at large, of the services of their friend, James Bowden, to whose unwearied and assiduous care, in connexion with peculiar qualifications, the work is mainly indebted for its satisfactory accomplishment. The committee believe that the digested copy and the several transcripts [supplied to the Quarterly Meetings] are as nearly perfect as, from the nature of the work, could reasonably be expected."

There is no word of thanks to the transcribers !

The late William Beck, in a note to the Librarian, sent him at the commencement of these articles, wrote of a " power of analysis and general grasp of this somewhat intricate business " exhibited in James Bowden, " then a young man fresh from Cornwall ".

Information came to hand later that there were Registers still in the possession of Meetings or individual Friends, or even of persons not members, and in 1848 the Yearly Meeting instructed its executive Meeting to pursue the matter. This resulted in the receipt of various Registers, and a digest was made of these before their surrender, known as " Supplements ", 27 vols.

James Bowden was born at Liskeard, Cornwall, in 1811, son of John Bowden, a farmer, and Mary Barbery, his wife. In 1847 he married Amelia Gilkes, daughter of Benjamin Gilbert Gilkes, of Croydon, and niece of Peter Bedford, he being then of 12 St. Helen's Place, Bishopsgate, and became the father of two daughters, Maria Bedford (b. 1848), and Eliza Sophia (b. 1851) and a son, Alfred James (b. 1850). Amelia Bowden died in 1853, at the age of thirty-six, and in 1857 the widower became the husband of Hannah Marsh, Jr., daughter of John Finch Marsh, of Croydon. The union was of brief duration ; Hannah Bowden died in 1859, at the birth of her child, at the same age as her predecessor. Her father recalls the event fourteen years later, adding " Precious indeed is her memory " (*John Finch Marsh*, 1873, p. 30). Her sister, Priscilla Pitt, published under the title *Poetical Remains of Hannah Bowden*, in 1860, a collection of her many fugitive pieces. William Ball dedicated a few verses to her memory in his *Memorials*

of *Kindred and Friends Departed*, 1865 ; see also Armitage's *Quaker Poets*, 1896. Alfred James Bowden died in Victoria, Australia, in 1888. For many years the two daughters conducted a school at Nailsworth in Gloucestershire.

In 1844 J. Bowden was appointed an Overseer by Devonshire House Monthly Meeting. John Pryor in his notes on the Monthly Meeting (in **D**) records his objection to this :

“ Because he was just appointed the Clerk of the Society and because he had preached for more than three years and had not been acknowledged ” (vol. ii. p. 41). Further volumes of John Pryor's Notes reveal considerable divergence of view from that of J. Bowden. According to John Pryor, Bowden took a prominent position in the affairs of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, and freely expressed his opinion.

On the retirement of William Manley and presumably about the close of his work on the Registers, James Bowden was appointed Recording Clerk with a committee of reference and Isaac Patching as Assistant. The amounts paid him were : Meeting for Sufferings £50, Six Weeks Meeting £50, Ackworth School £20. In addition to his clerical work he found time during the thirteen years for study and writing. His principal work was his two volume *History of Friends in America*, published in 1850-54 (one copy in **D** is inscribed : “ Peter Bedford from his affectionate nephew, the author ”). In 1857 he prepared an introduction to the two volumes of the reprint of the Yearly Meeting Epistles. An increase of salary was made in 1855, and the duties of the Recording Clerk were detailed in a minute of the Meeting for Sufferings.

But two years later, 6 xi. 1857, occurs this minute of the Meeting for Sufferings :

“ A letter has been now received from James Bowden tendering his resignation as Recording Clerk to the Society. The proposal has obtained the serious attention of the meeting and it is concluded to accept the same.”

There is doubtless much behind this short statement into which we need not enquire too closely, but the following extracts from minutes will fill in the period between this resignation and the death of J. Bowden in 1887.

In 1855 the family had moved from Devonshire House to Kingston M.M. and settled at Croydon. A further

resignation took place eight years later as recorded in the minutes of the M.M. 24 xii. 1863 :

“ Minute of Kingston M.M. 24 xii. 1863 :

“ A letter has been received from James Bowden tendering his resignation of membership in our Society, and further information has been communicated by the Overseers as to the circumstances which induced him to take this step and which show that his conduct has been unguarded and indiscreet ; tending to bring reproach on himself and on us as a church. After serious deliberation this Meeting concludes to accept James Bowden’s resignation.”

18 xi. 1874, J. B. applied for reinstatement, but his application was sent on to Westminster and Longford M.M. within the compass of which he was then living. His application reads as follows :

“ Dear Friends. It is now about 11 years since I resigned my membership amongst you. Throughout this long period, however, I have felt my peace concerned in steadily continuing the attendance of your Meetings for Worship, though often under much trial of mind, and deep has been the sorrow which has filled my mind with regard to the circumstances which led to my resignation.

“ The time has, however, I believe, now arrived when it is right for me to seek for a reinstatement of membership, and should it please my Heavenly Father to make way for it in the hearts of my friends, it would not only prove to me a source of comfort and consolation but a strength and encouragement also to press forward in the path of true peace.

“ I am your sincere friend,

“ JAS. BOWDEN.

“ 13 George St.

“ Mansion Hse,

“ 21.10.74.”

The M.M. appointed Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and Robert Kemp to visit the applicant and they brought in a report, which has the following sentences :

“ He entered with much feeling into the causes that led to his resignation, expressing his deep sorrow for his mis-steppings, with the humble trust that in great mercy the transgression had been forgiven. . . . We were agreeably impressed with our interview and shall be quite satisfied

if the Mo. Mtg. unites with us in taking a favourable view of the application."

But the Monthly Meeting did not unite and decided after a month's delay, "not to accede to the proposal made by him".

Presumably he passed his remaining days with his daughters at Nailsworth. He was buried at Shortwood, under the impression of his friends that he was a member of Devonshire House M.M. but the membership was afterwards questioned.

In Appendix II to his *Statistics of Insanity*, 1845, Dr. Thurnam, of The Retreat, York, acknowledges his "obligation to the respected recording clerk of the Society, James Bowden" for his work on "Contributions to the Statistics of the Society of Friends". He also refers to the Friends Registers and the Act of Parliament.

To be continued.

Unsuccessful Proposals for Marriage

"I was at Falmouth to meeting last week; friends mostly well there. Ann Dale and A. Womersly are at Roscrow on a visit, the former keeps a handsome Carriage—she is the Person Joshua made an offer to, but it is quite over. A. Womersly is the person that Edwin Price paid his addresses to, but that is also at an end as Edwin is still in a consumption & it was thought best to give the matter up on both sides. . . His sister Junia."

Anna (Thomas) Thompson, from Belair near Penryn, to her daughter Mary Westlake, of Southampton. 8th mo. 19th, 1818.

[A.D. had numerous suitors. She married William Ball.]

Engaged Couples in One House

Quarter-Meeting 29 day 10/mo. 1680 :

"Whereas a case was stated Concerning Friends that live together in one house & are concerned in relation to Marriage, the question was whether two friends so Concerned dwelling in one house should be seperated from each other during their Concern before Marriage; its the advice of this Meeting that the one of them remove, becaus the Continuance of such together in one family have tended to ye dishonour of Truth & grief of ye Faithful."

From Minute Book of Marsden (Lancashire) Preparative Meeting, 1696-1733, in D.

Luke Howard on Early Travel by Rail

My dear Sister,

I think I have not written thee a letter since the time of thy leaving home for the coast, and now I conclude this will find thee returned home : we are however in possession of information sent us at different times of thy stay out which has been acceptable. I have been rather more from home than usual, myself, having accompanied our friend Elisha Bates, first to Sheffield about a month since, of which I believe thou hast been informed. Then, after his being confined with us a few days by indisposition, to Dewsbury, Halifax, Brighouse and Highflatts : from the latter hospitable mansion we went accompanied by our kind host John Firth, over the mountain pass by Peniston to Manchester, lodged at Isaac Crewdson's. The next day (First day 15th) a large public meeting after the usual large meeting with Friends in the Forenoon. Lodged again at I. C's and on Second day was induced to try the Steam Conveyance (of which I had not a very favourable opinion) in company with my friend E. Bates and our guide D. Docwra, to Liverpool. We left Manchester at the usual afternoon hour—Two, arrived at Liverpool 30 miles by Half past Three, took Coffee with Isaac Hadwen and family, were in the Carriage again and in motion for return (leaving E.B. at Isaac Hadwen's) by a few minutes after five and reached Manchester again by half past six. I was quite satisfied by this trial, of the stability and comfort of the new conveyance, in which we went (as I found by the watch) mostly 20 miles an hour—sometimes faster, sometimes slower—not at all incommoded by smoke or other circumstances, as the too rapid passage of objects across the sight, of which I had entertained some apprehension. The latter might, I think make some giddy. When we come near a wall, for instance, there is the strangest flying out (if I may so speak) of the lines of the courses, in rapid perspective, as if the parts were really separating from each other ; and objects near the road, such as the walls of a cottage, or the fences of a small enclosure seem to dance in a circle—but the smoke I had dreaded was found to be no more than a cloud of steam which I thought added at times to the rain that was falling part of the way.

We had in our train—1. The engine. 2. Six of their treble bodied coaches carrying 18 passengers each 3. The mail coach. 4. Three private Carriages with their passengers set each upon a heavy carriage adapted to the Railway, all full—so that when we come to a pretty long ascent, there was sent after us an Engine *to push behind up the hill*, the impulse of which we sensibly felt at the moment it came up and joined our enormous mass by mere contact at certain points fitted for the junction.

The only thing that at all startled was the passing by of the first train we met—the apparent motion being 40 miles per hour and the passage very close. People must sit still and trust to their conductors, and then,

I believe, are safer in these vehicles than on the common highway, if crowded or in a laden coach. The motion is peculiar, a swing from side to side but within very short limits, and the whole train, when one looks out, is seen quivering and darting along like a great serpent. . . .

Thy affectionate brother,

LUKE HOWARD.

Ackworth, 3. x. 1833.

Addressed : Elizabeth Howard, Bruce Grove, Tottenham, near London.

NOTE

There appears to have been only one class—each compartment holding six passengers.

Early in the history of railways an Act was passed obliging them to send one train each day carrying third class passengers for 1d. a mile. This was known as the "Parliamentary Train" and stopped at all Stations.

The mention of "private carriages with their passengers—set each upon a heavy carriage" recalls the fact that for many years some persons preferred to sit in their own carriages paying second class fare in addition to the charge for conveyance of the carriages.

The Villa,

23 Sept. 1842.

My dear Sister,

I lose no time in replying to thy acceptable letter of the 19th in order to communicate our own news in return.

Last evening we had the pleasure of receiving my Son John and family, eleven in all—for whom we sent to the Station at Cudworth, our own carriage, a hired coach from Pontefract, and a cart for the luggage, all well occupied with the return freight—all through Divine providence in good health. How things are altered in this respect! When a boy, my journey to and from Burford, 70 miles, occupied a night and great part of a day, in a crowded see-saw coach; or what was not much better, a long Postchaise day's travel—and such were the effects on head and stomach, that the next scarcely sufficient for recovery. I daresay my brother will remember his share of the suffering, and the noise, delays and other disagreeables of the ride, as well as myself. Now, after 200 miles of ground run over in 12 hours from door to door, the little things frisk and jump about as if they had come in from an airing—and all at less than half the cost!

Thy affte. brother,

LUKE HOWARD.

NOTE

The journey was then made by L. & N.W.R. from London to Sheffield or some other Station where it joined to Midland Railway—landing the party at Cudworth—a good many miles from Ackworth. When the G.N.R.

was opened some years later, there was a Station at Pontefract (3 miles off) and, later a line passed through Ackworth itself.

The journey from Tottenham (whence the party started) to Ackworth would now take under 6½ hours.

From the MSS. in the possession of Elizabeth Fox Howard, 1933.

In 1840 Sarah Atkinson of Bristol travelled by train to Bath. She wrote of it: "I do not prefer it to coach travelling. When the line is open to the country, you are not aware of the speed at which you are travelling, but when there are high banks on each side of the line it is very painful to the head and eyes; were I to travel far by railroad I should be obliged to refrain from looking out of the windows."

From the *Families of Atkinson and Dearman*, by Harold W. Atkinson, 1933, p. 24.

Moone of Woodplumpton

"The second chapter of Dilworth Abbatt's valuable survey of Quakerism in parts of Lancashire—*Quaker Annals of Preston and the Fylde, 1653-1900*,¹ deals with "The Moone Family of Woodplumpton." John Moone, son of parents who joined Friends about 1653, was born about 1620 at Woodplumpton. He became a prominent Friend, travelled to the south and took part in a controversy at Leominster and attended the Fox—Fell wedding at Bristol. He died at his home, Carr House, near Garstang, Lancs. in 1689.

Joseph Smith has five items under John Moone in his "Catalogue," but his description was probably in error. It was a nephew, John Moone, who lived at Bristol and emigrated to America. The elder John had also a nephew Paul Moone, of Bristol, carrier, a prominent Friend.

Latin Class at Ackworth

"The boys who have been but a short time in the Latin Class have a fair acquaintance with the rudiments of the language.

"The Boys who have been in the Class for a longer period exhibit a fair progress, and construe in the Delectus with considerable facility.

"The highest class is reduced to one boy & he was examined along with the junior Apprentices; their reading in Caesar and Virgil was satisfactory to the Committee.

"On behalf of the Examining Committee

8 mo. 29, 1844.

"JOHN BRIGHT."

From the Martha Spriggs Collection.

¹ London: Headley, pp. 168, sixteen illustrations. 7s. 6d. net.

Scrivener Alsop and the Friends' School and Workhouse

C. Brightwen Rowntree, B.A., headmaster of the Friends' School at Saffron Walden, Essex, has compiled an account of a steward of the School and Workhouse at Clerkenwell, London, drawn largely from official minute books of which there exist thirty volumes of minutes, dating from 1702, under the writer's care, and from the records of London and Colchester Monthly Meetings.

Scrivener Alsop was a linen draper at Colchester, Essex when he married Mary Carter in 1760.

In 1778 the office of Steward to the School became vacant by the resignation of Robert Letchworth and his wife. Alsop applied for the post with Benjamin Batt, Daniel Emson, John Arnold and Thomas Soundy and was appointed with "a Salary of £50 *p.* Annum and that they take no Perquisites whatsoever." The disposition of the children was that Ann and Robert, the two youngest children, should be admitted without expense and his son Othniel to be paid for by him as "a Country Child," the last named being still a member of Colchester Meeting and outside the privileges of London membership; but soon afterwards, Peel Monthly Meeting, within the verge of which the School was situated, agreed to pay the fee for Othniel and he was admitted without expense to his father.

Scrivener Alsop died in January, 1783, and the post was again declared vacant. None of the previous applicants appear to have tried again—Josiah Collier and his wife being the appointees.

Mary Alsop was left in poor circumstances, owing to the payment of debts made before leaving Colchester, and to assist her she received one year's salary from the Six Weeks Meeting, the Finance Committee of London Friends.

It was agreed "to let Othniel Alsop go out on liking¹ as an apprentice to Wm. Hayhurst, Stay Maker, Newman Street, Oxford Street". Robert, the youngest son, was admitted to the School free and was later apprenticed to a Friend who was a brush manufacturer in Birmingham.

In 1793 Ruhamah John (1765-), the eldest son and Othniel (1770-1836), went to America. The youngest son, Robert (1777-1850) was the grandfather of the Robert Alsop (1803-1876) who married Christine Majolier.

¹ "It was the custom of the School Committee to send boys out as apprentices, on *trial* for a month. If the master *liked* the look of the lad, articles were signed at the end of the trial month." (C.B.R.)

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xxviii. p. 93

Owners of copies of the Cambridge "Journal" are urged to make note of the following corrections and additions.

123.—Vol. I. p. 161. An early copy (ante 1692) of this letter appears in the Thomas Thompson MSS. in **D**, p. 48. A contemporary hand has erased the words: "who is ever Son of God."

124.—Vol. I. p. 372. For scorpions read *scorpius*.

125.—Vol. II. pp. 60, 394. It is an error to refer to an "Indictment in Latin and English." The Indictment is in Latin, quoting *in extenso* in English the terms of the oath tendered to George Fox.

126.—Vol. II. p. 185, l. 14. Read *Bunnittæ*=bonitoes.

127.—Vol. I. pp. 150, 261, 423f, 445, 454. The wife of the brother of Sir Richard Wray "abode in the Truth and died therein, though he afterward run out". Christopher Wray, who is considered to have been of a branch of this family, lived at Fulbeck as early as the year 1628. Meetings for worship were held at his house till c. 1690. He was the husband of Joan Wray, often mentioned in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting, who, after her husband's death, continued to reside at her ancient mansion at Fulbeck, Lincolnshire.

MS. Record of the Burt Family, see vol. xxix, p. 83.

128.—Vol. II. p. 420. William Meade achieved early fame as companion of William Penn in the noted trial at the Old Bailey in 1670.

John Rous, writing from London to Sarah Fell, 2 vi. 1670, refers to "one Rob^t Meede" (Miller MSS. cf. Barclay's *Letters*: "one Meade [William]"; Webb's *Fells*: "one William Meade"), "lately convinced". The error in the name would imply that Meade was a newcomer among London Friends. This was probably the first introduction of William Meade to his future wife, Sarah Fell.

129.—Vol. II. p. 228. New Castle, Delaware and its Governor. Ferris, *History of Original Settlements on the Delaware*, 1846, p. 132, states: "The governor under the Duke of York, at this time, was Lord Lovelace. The house he lived in stood near the shore. It was built of brick, and over each window and door was a low elliptical arch made of yellow bricks imported from Holland." But Scharf, *History of Delaware*, 1888, relates that Lovelace remained in New York and that on the Delaware Sir John Carr was in charge as deputy governor, and if so it was Carr who entertained Fox as "governor". In either case the description of the house is interesting. In May 1672 Captain Edmund Cantrell was appointed high sheriff. The "scoute" must for the present remain anonymous.

130.—Vol. II. p. 243, l. 22, should read: "gybing [of] the sail over the boat struck off my hat & cap." This clearly refers to the swinging of the

boom (or lower spar of a fore and aft sail) across the boat when the course is changed. Such a knock is a common experience for an unwary passenger in a quite small sailing vessel. This boat must have been quite a small, open boat. G.F.'s anxiety to retrieve his headgear put the whole party in some little peril. No doubt they offered to put about and get his precious hat for him. Was it his "£4 french" hat?

(The transcription as printed represents Sarah Fell's original.)

131.—Vol. II. pp. 247, 427. George Fox and party boarded the ship for Europe "the 21th day" and "on the 22. day of y^e 3 mo. drew ankor & sayled".

Ell. edd. do not agree with this statement or among themselves. The first ed. reads: ". . . that night. Next day which was the Twenty-first of the Third Month, 1673, and the day following we set sail for England." The second ed. agrees. The third ed. ("corrected" by Joseph Phipps, see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxviii) reads: ". . . night. Next day, the twenty-first of the third month 1673 we set sail for England." Later edd. agree, save the 1827 which follows the first. It appears as though the words "came on shipboard" had been omitted from Ellwood's first ed. after the full date and the statement "corrected" in the Phipps ed. of 1765.

132.—Vol. II. pp. 501ff. The Index, p. 510, under "Fox, George", omit *imprisonment and*; p. 511, under "relations" add in Vol. II. p. 110. Under "personal appearance" add in Vol. I. p. 368. Under "nights" add in Vol. II. p. 121. Under "remarkable cures" add in Vol. II. p. 342. Under "money declined" add p. 27.

p. 512, under "Friends, name" add *ii. 47*. Under "offer to take places" add in Vol. I. p. 334.

p. 516, under "Jamaica" add in Vol. I. p. 305.

p. 517, "Kirkby, Richard", correct 135-137. p. 524, "Rous, John", read 165 for 163.

p. 528, "Vagrancy", add in Vol. I. pp. 231, 232.

p. 530, read Winder, *Henry*.

133.—Vol. I. p. 419. In an ancient document in D, entitled: "How the Lord by his Power and Spirit did Raise up Friends", p. 9, we read: "About 1653 in Bishoprick, Henry Draper, called a Esquire & an Antient Justice of the Peace Received ye truth." What was the position of an "esquire"?

134.—Vol. II. p. 428. In the above mentioned document, p. 25, John Hull is stated to have "been a priest and refused a thousand a year in Ireland, a Man of a great kindred & writ many pretious Books from G.ff.'s mouth".

135.—Vol. I. p. 423 (148.3). The Lady Montagu still eludes commentators on George Fox's *Journal*, but the name occurs with that of other titled ladies in "How the Lord by his Power and Spirit . . .", MS. in D.:

"Lady Dorset & Lady Drury & Lady Mountague & Lady Lawson & Lady Pennington & Lady Rhoads, & many others yt went under yt Tyle, Received ye Truth. Some Dyed in it & some are alive."

For Lady Darcy (Dorsett) see Vol. II. pp. 117, 408 ; for Sir Thomas and Ruth Lawson see Vol. I. p. 408 ; for Mary Penington, formerly Lady Springett, see Vol. I. p. 445 ; for Lady Rodes see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, vol. i ; *Quaker Post Bag*, 1910. Who was Lady Drury and the " many other " titled adherents ?

136.—Vol. II. p. 224. Gardiners Island, " within the geographical boundaries of the present New York State ", was purchased from the Indians by Lion Gardiner in 1639, and has been, ever since that date, in the possession of the Gardiner family. It is over 3,000 acres in extent and is now a game preserve.

Notes and Queries, April 8 1933, quoting Robert David Lion Gardiner in *New York History*.

137.—Vol. II. pp. 95, 399. Remove the figure 1 and also the note. The incident appears on p. 104.

138.—Vol. I. p. 407. The baptism of Judge Fell is now stated to have taken place 13 March, 1599/1600, not in 1598.

139.—Vol. II. p. 32. The place-name " Wellingeborough in Northampton sheere " does not appear in Ell. edd., but in the margin of the first edition appears the name *Wellington*, which seems to suit the context, the narrative before and after being laid in the West Country.

140.—Vol. II. pp. 153, 416. The statement that the " paper " was probably the document beginning " Friends fellowship " is contradicted by W. C. Braithwaite (*Second Period*, 263, note 1).

141.—Vol. II. pp. 315, 462. It is suggested that " a cooke " may be a mistake and that *Alice Corker* is intended, " who caused the Truth to be evil spoken of with thy filthiness " (Fox, " Annual Catalogue ", 6, 74A).

142.—Vol. II. p. 19. The " great man " of Twycross was of the name *Noel*. His recovery is related in Ell. edd. under date 1649 (D Portfolio 10.41).

The Cambridge " Journal of George Fox " Centenary Supplement

Continued from vol. xxvi. p. 52

25.—Page 379. A note in *Conway Letters*, 1930, 436, states : " It is probable that the ' German booke ' referred to was the work of Peganius, with whom Keith corresponded." " Peganius " was the pseudonym for Baron Knorr von Rosenroth, who was engaged in the study of ancient and rabbinical Hebrew lore in Amsterdam.

26.—Page 379. The book answered by Fox, Keith and Van Helmont, written by " y^e priest of y^e pish ", was *The Spirit of Delusion Reproved, or the Quakers' Cause Fairly Heard and Justly Condemned* . . . by Thomas Wilson, Rector of Arrow in Warwickshire, London, 1678 (*Conway Letters*, 436).

“Pen Pictures of London Yearly Meeting, 1789-1833”¹

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

1.—Page ii. OBED COOK (c. 1725-1785) was a son of Alexander and Abigail Cook. He was twice married. In 1784 he published “A Short Tribute to the Memory of his Beloved Wife, Elizabeth.” She was Archer by birth and married Obed Cook in 1760. She died in 1783, aged 70, and in 1787 the widower married Sophia Norris (c. 1756-1793), of Horslydown.

2.—Page 157. Harold Capper Hunt, of York, has forwarded photo. reproductions of playbills issued in connection with the EXHIBITION OF INDIANS.

One is headed: “Theatre Royal, English Opera, Strand.” Then follows: “The programme of the New Characteristick Ballet Divertisement, descriptive of the Various Customs, Manners, &c., &c., of the Native American Indian Warriors.” There follow various head-lines, e.g., “A Distant War Whoop”, “Mode of Surprise & Attack”, “Sacrificing their Prisoners”, “Death Dance”, “Indian Ceremony of Peace-Making”, “Dance of Peace”. Originals are in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

The signatures or totem marks of these Indians are in the Visitors’ Book at The Retreat, York, where the Indians were entertained to breakfast in May, 1818. See *A Retired Habitation*, 1932.

3.—Page 166. A letter from Rev. F. F. Bretherton, of Whitby, states that MORDECAI CASSON, Senr., was more closely allied with the Wesleyan cause than implied here. He was associated in 1766 with the Methodists in Thorne, who “worshipped in a small cottage in an obscure retired yard at the north end of the town”. In 1787 “Mordecai Casson, of Thorne, currier”, with others made a surrender of the old Methodist chapel.

“When the Thorne chapel was built in 1826, the old one in which Wesley preached in 1772 was sold to Mordecai Casson [the younger] and was used for a long time as a seed warehouse.”

4.—Page 188. JOHN RICKMAN (1780-1835) was one of the sons of Dr. Joseph Rickman, of Maidenhead, etc., and Sarah Neave, his wife. He was married at Devonshire House in 1811 to Elizabeth Barnard

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

(1785-1825), daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Barnard, of London, and again in 1828 to Sarah Godlee (1798-1866), whose mother was his first cousin. He was an accountant, of London and Edinburgh. There were three sons of the first marriage, two of whom died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, and son, Barnard, of the second. Barnard Rickman (b. 1834), of York, married Sarah Benson in 1871 and had four sons.

5.—Page 216. C. Ernest Naish, of Charlbury, Oxfordshire, has sent additional data respecting JOHN CAPPER.

John Capper (1747-1835) was a brother of Jasper Capper. It is uncertain whether he was a Friend, but his letter to Richard Fry (in **D**) is dated from "Clapton, 25 3 mo. 1833", and begins "My dear Friend". The letter refers to a leaflet on temperance which he published (see Smith's *Catalogue*, under his name, which appears with an asterisk denoting non-membership). John Capper married, first, Jane Evans (d. 1803) and second, Anna Maria Biddulph.

6.—Page 140. The subject alluded to in the second paragraph appears more fully in a letter, recently presented to **D**, written by Joshua Ransom to Joseph Ransom :

"The enquiry from Scotland if Friends could be partners in a Bank belonging to 615 persons, at which a military centinel was posted, but in the management of which Friends had no share; and if they could hold shares in an insurance the office of which was liable to and [from] which was paid a sum of money for tythe; without weakening our testimonies against bearing arms and the support of an Hireling ministry, was returned as not suitable for the Yearly Meeting's consideration."

7.—Page 7. Joseph Garrett died in 1793, not 1792.

Against Black Clothes, 1811

From notes of London Y.M. 1811, written by Anna (Thomas) Thompson, of Compton, Dorset :

"William Grover expressed a little matter which seemed to have taken hold of his mind, which was to remark the prevailing custom Women friends were got into of wearing black gowns, which he thought might prove a hurtful example appearing like mourning habits & open a door for taking liberty in this respect.

"I thought there was much in the remark, & if the mens cloaths had been also included, which are many of them very near if not quite black, it might not have been amiss."

The notes are written in the blank pages of a "Book of Meetings" of 1808. The names mentioned include Susanna Appleby, Sarah Rundle, Margaret Allen, Anna Price, Mary Proud, Jeremiah Knight, William Watson of Scotland, Jonah Thompson, George Penney, Henry Hull (U.S.A.), Sarah Lamley, Richard and Sarah Cadbury, Priscilla Neave, John Allen.

From Thompson MSS. of Hitchin & Bournemouth under examination of the Editor.

Friends Historical Society

The Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting was held at Friends House on 2.iii.1933. The Society was deprived of its President through the death of John William Graham. But Henry J. Cadbury, of Bryn Mawr College, Pa., kindly stepped into the breach with a stimulating address on *Colonial Quaker Antecedents to British Abolition of Slavery*, a study of Quaker Method of Social Change. In this he outlined the influence through the eighteenth century of American Friends, whose close concern with slavery quickened their consciences, upon English Friends who ultimately played so strong a part in the campaign for abolition within the British Empire, first of the slave trade, and then of slavery itself in 1833. The greater part of the address was printed in *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (Seventh month, 1933), and has been reprinted as a pamphlet by the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings (Friends' Book Centre, 2d.). Margaret Sefton Jones was appointed President and Isabel Grubb Vice-President for 1933.

Statement of Accounts in connection with Volume xxix of the Journal, 1932

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 31st Dec., 1931	44	7	10	Insurance		5	2
Subscriptions	86	17	2	Postage	11	0	0
Sales	11	16	10	Headley Brothers, Erratum slips		7	6
				Dunstan, Annual Meeting Invitations	2	8	6
				Cheque Book		5	0
				Lloyd, 400 Subscription Forms		12	0
				Headley Brothers, 1000 Envelopes	1	9	6
				Headley Brothers, 425 Journals, Vol. xxix ..	66	4	1
				Balance in hand, 31st Dec., 1932	*60	10	1
	£143	1	10		£143	1	10

Examined with books and vouchers and found correct,
25.ii.1933.

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

* The publication, as a Supplement to *The Journal*, of the late John William Graham's intended presidential address on *The Psychological Experiences of Ministering Friends* is likely to use £20 of the available balance.

Quaker Psychical Experiences

Psychical Experiences of Quaker Ministers (Published by F.H.S., 1933, pp. vi, 42, 2s.) was to have been John William Graham's Presidential address to the Society at its annual meeting last spring. After his death, with the help of Margaret Graham, the unfinished manuscript which he left was prepared for the press and is now issued as Supplement 18 to this *Journal*. In it he collects instances of a variety of psychical experiences in the lives of between thirty and forty Friends. The majority of instances are from America in the eighteenth century. He would doubtless have collected others which are known and have added more in the way of comment and conclusions, but it has been thought better to print the paper almost as he left it than to attempt any kind of completion. Francis E. Pollard has kindly contributed an introduction. As it is, it forms a valuable collection of cases illustrating an interesting aspect of Quaker history with the notes as to sources practically complete. It is to be hoped all members will order a copy when paying their subscription for the coming year.

A New Life of William Penn

William Penn, by C. E. Vulliamy (Geoffrey Bles, 1933, 8vo, pp.xii, 304, 10s. 6d.). Mr. Vulliamy writes with the detachment which marks the true biographer. He is candid, approaching this subject with no Quaker bias, and certainly his portrait is less favourable than we have been accustomed to. He shows, however, a real sympathy with Penn's ideals and if his criticism is at times unsparing it is nowhere malicious or cynical. A happy style makes the book delightful reading. The careful picture of Penn himself is improved by passages devoted to public affairs in connection with various episodes. He finds Penn's greatness not in his writings, nor in his spiritual services to Quakerism, or his disastrous dabblings in politics at Court, but in his conception and founding of Pennsylvania and in the idealism which led him to it, and to his generous treatment of the Indians.

Mr. Vulliamy misdates the first meeting of Penn with George Fox by placing it in 1673 at the latter's return from America. Actually Penn saw Fox off to America from the Thames in 1671, and it is difficult to believe they did not meet in the spring of 1668, when both were in London and Penn had just joined Friends.

Full of information as it is, detailed references to the sources, especially for the more important quotations, would have enhanced the value of the book for students. There is a bibliography of some ninety titles at the end.

A Patriarch in Virginia

"In Virginia near James's River I met with an aged Friend whose name was William Porter. He was ninety-two years of age, and had then a daughter two years old. He had upwards of 70 children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. He lived to see the above daughter married, and died at 107."

Journal of Thomas Chalkley, Phila. 1749, 22.

John Firth of Shepley

“ There is a tradition that one John Firth of the family of the Shepley Lanehead Firths was a cavalry soldier or officer, serving in a troop raised by Bosville of Gunthwaite Hall during the wars of the Commonwealth. This troop was a thousand strong and it was said that every man was six feet in height.

“ This John Firth, in the course of such service, was one of a regiment employed to guard Nottingham Castle at the time when George Fox was there confined. George Fox preached to the soldiers from the Castle walls, and John Firth was convinced thereby, and became a Friend, being the first of the family who adopted that religious belief, which has remained in the family ever since.

“ It is not known whether this John Firth at once resigned his post in the army, but he soon became obnoxious to the Royalists, who sent a body of horse from Halifax to Lanehead to arrest him. He took refuge in an old quarry at Skelmanthorpe, but was discovered and taken prisoner. He was mounted on the back of the horse behind one of the troopers and as they were passing through Boxing Wood, situated between Shelley and Kirkburton, John Firth slipped off behind and escaped into the wood. Search for him proved fruitless and the troop resumed their way without him.

“ The captain of the horse was very much exasperated at the loss of his prisoner, and in passing the vicarage house which then stood, and still stands, on the right-hand side leading through Kirkburton, he emptied his arquebus through the staircase window which faced the road. The vicar's wife was descending the stairs at the time with a light in her hand and, whether intentionally or not, he shot her dead.”

Above is taken from a manuscript account of the Firth family, owned by the late Helen Wood, of Colwyn Bay, and on loan from Mary Alice Chipchase of the same.

The family home was Lanehead, Shepley, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, where early meetings were held “ in a chamber over the cellar in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth in the Low Room or Far Parlour,” alternating with meetings at Highflatts and Wooldale. The Lanehead premises were sold away from the family in 1928. The descent of the family to the present day is set out in this book ; the name has survived to modern times in association with Bottomley, Clark, Crosland, Fryer, Lowe, Woodhead.

M. A. Chipchase has presented to D the original document constituting the house of Joseph Firth, “ Hallroyd Lane Head in Shepley,” a meeting place for religious worship, anno 1695 ; also a receipt dated July 7, 1686, for two shillings “ one half years Duty for two fire-hearths ” in the house of Joseph Firth.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at:
Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
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.

The Families of Atkinson of Roxby (Lincs.) and Dearman of Braithwaite, and Families connected with them, compiled by Harold Waring Atkinson, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.G. (The Author, 10 Eastbury Avenue, Northwood, Middlesex, 11 by 8½, pp. 518, numbered paragraphs 2001, price two guineas.) The foundation of this remarkable production is based on the parents of the author, William Atkinson (1825-1907) and his wife Anna Sophia Birchall (1830-1905). Both descended from Quaker families but had left the Society. William's grandfather, Joseph Atkinson (1752-1818), was an Elder of Manchester Meeting, his mother Sarah (Waring) (1801-1879) was for many years an Overseer and Elder of Bristol Meeting ("Jnl. F.H.S." xxiii). She was granddaughter of Thos. Waring of Leominster (1721-1793), a Minister for about 50 years, and great-granddaughter of Samuel Beavington (1691-1771), a leader among the Quakers of Chipping Campden. Anna Sophia Atkinson was daughter of Samuel Jowitt Birchall (1788-1854),—the Birchalls and Jowitts were both prominent Quaker families of Leeds—and Sophia Jane Dearman (1805-1837) of the Dearmans of Braithwaite, Darlington, London, etc.

Pedigrees of allied families are numerous, and in addition about half of the book consists of Biographical Notes, facsimile signatures, maps and plans, wills, extracts from Public Records and from minute books of Quaker Meetings; also a remarkable Index exceeding 20,200 references. From a Quaker point of view this volume requires study in every part, but only a few hints for this can here be given. There is a pedigree of Barnes of Great Sankey, of which family was William Barnes (1620-1681), who was visited by George Fox, and of whose house at Great Sankey there is an illustration. Pedigrees, and Notes to most of them, also appear *re* Beavington, Birchall, Ransome, Rooke, Edwards, Neave, Miller, Stanley, Sessions, Waring and others. There is an extensive Bibliography; also illustrations of the old Atkinson

house and factory in Manchester, the Birchall house at Leeds, and the Dearman home at Braithwaite, a village between Thorne and Doncaster in the county of York. Headley Brothers, of Ashford, Kent, are to be congratulated on the intricate printing of this volume. It is hoped that many of our readers and others will obtain copies before the edition is run out or the price increased.

It is no surprise that among the mass of names and figures there should occur a few inaccuracies.

It will confer a favour on students and others that *The Personality of George Fox*, by A. Neave Brayshaw, first published in 1918, should re-appear with additions, in more attractive format (London: Allenson, 7½ by 5½, pp. xx+187, 3s. 6d.). The author writes: "This work is intended to be a picture of the man George Fox, not a consecutive account of his life or an exposition of his teaching," and well has the picture been drawn, seen from some seventy angles. There are several pages of "Abbreviations and Bibliography", and a "Chronological Table", and "Index". We regret that the Index has not followed the plan of the earlier edition—the scattering of Fox items produces some curious entries—"Eyes, G.F.'s 26"; and what does the entry "Oceans of Light, 21-85, 156" represent? We think that the iteration of the age of Fox is somewhat overdone.

P. 62, note 2, l. 7, read ii. 498. P. 108, note 4, l. 1, read ii. 149. P. 150, note 2, read "Jnl. bi-cent" in place of "Ibid".

Harold Capper Hunt has written a very readable history of the Retreat at York—*A Retired Habitation. A History of the Retreat, York (Mental Hospital)* (London: H. K. Lewis, 4to, pp. xvi+144, twenty-one illustrations, Index. 7s. 6d. net). The house opened in 1796, largely owing to the efforts of William Tuke. Numerous anecdotes of patients, mainly anonymous, appear here and there. When the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia visited the Retreat a woman patient slapped him on the shoulder and exclaimed, "Thee Great Muscovite!" One patient, who was an inmate from 1845 to his death in 1902, was apt to take vocal part in meetings for worship till suppressed. On one occasion he commented upon the address of a little man who had given a fervent address—"Little pot, soon hot." His best known saying took the form of a kindly wish to a grocer who was giving up the grocery trade and taking a stationer's shop—"I hope your trade will not be stationary, but grow, Sir." But we must desist.

The book is dedicated to the late Dr. Bedford Pierce, who encouraged its preparation but did not live till its publication.

The first article in *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Oct. 1932, is headed "A Colonial Reading List". It is taken from the first loan-book of the Union Library of Hatboro, Pa., dated 1762-1774. There are indications of Quaker influence—the months are often denoted by figures and some of the personal names seem friendly. Among the thirty-one pages of loans appear

the titles of a few Quaker books—Thomas Ellwood's "Sacred History" was frequently borrowed, also Anthony Purver's "Bible", Barclay's "Apology" was "out" a few times. Among the non-Quaker literature we notice Poole's "Annotations upon the Holy Bible" and many books of a religious character. Other entries are: "Smolets Donquixsett", "Thomas acempis", "betsy shotless"; Richardson's "Pamela" was never long on the shelves or "Adventures of a Guinea".

The same magazine carries also in this issue an article on "General Duportail at Valley Forge", in which occurs the name Isaac Huddleston, with the note "Isaac Huddleston was a young Quaker doctor who settled in Norristown in 1793. As a cultivated young man the two had undoubtedly been early drawn together. See Auge, 'Men of Montgomery County.'"

Several Friends are mentioned in a further article "Philadelphia's Fire Defences."

The next issue of this magazine contains an illustrated article of twenty-seven pages on "William Penn and Pastorius", written by Beatrice Pastorius Turner. There are also mentions of Friends in the article on "The Origin of the Philadelphia General Hospital", especially in an excerpt from Brissot de Warville, 1788.

At the suggestion of Professor Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, Edith Philips, of Swarthmore, Pa., has been engaged for some time in the study of the "Quakers as they were conceived to be by the French and as they appeared in French literature," resulting in a valuable volume: *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 9½ by 5¾, pp. x + 235, with illustrations and Index of Names, English price, 14s. net).

The first chapter describes the origin of the French interest in Quakers, and the long catalogue of French references to Friends opens with reports of James Nayler and his trial in the news-gazette of Cromwell published in France—*Les Nouvelles Ordinaires*, 1656.

The story of Nayler was copied and recounted by LORET—*La Muse Historique*, a rhymed gazette—"He might be a queer sort of charlatan or only a ridiculous atheist, or an agent of Satan, a sophisticated wretch and a monster of extravagance." It was thus that the first Quaker described to the French was represented.¹

On February 5, 1661, Charles II's successor to Cromwell's news-gazette, *Journal de tout ce qui s'est passé*, reported that "the Trembleurs in England are great fanatics, have in the name of religion excited seditions and enterprises against the Government so that it has been necessary to take arms against them. Some were killed, some taken prisoner and others fled."²

Then came ROCOLES, *Le Monde*, 1666, who gives the story of Nayler in detail.

¹ Quotation marks are reserved for the extracts from literature, connecting sentences are principally those of the author.

² Accusations of plotting were common also in England. See Fox, *Journal* (Camb. ed.) i. 334, 363, 375; *Extract from State Papers*, 116, 150, etc.

In 1667 ROBINET told the story of *Le Quaker Amoureux*, the first Quaker in French fiction.

ISAAC DE LARREY, *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, 1689, considered Quakers conspirators, ready for any plot against Government. A popular review was prepared by CHAMBERLAYNE, *L'Etat présent de l'Angleterre*—"The Church of England considers them merely as bastard children and takes no more account of them than of vermin or insects which spring up in the foulest refuse." But other views were presented in an edition published in 1702 by GUY MIÈGE—"They reject absolutely all kinds of ministers or orders, they mock at premeditated preaching. They have a reputation of being frank and honest in their dealings in their commerce."

CHAPPUZEAU, *L'Europe vivante*, 1669, dismissed them as "a sect which has quite disappeared, and whose members dare not show themselves".

Les Religions du monde was put into French by THOMAS LA GRUE from the English of ALEXANDER ROSS, 1666, 1669, 1686.³

Ross evidently had a particular grudge against the Quakers, for, although he dismissed most of the other sects with a page or less, the Quakers received ten pages of vituperation. After the appearance of this work in French the Quakers were never again classed as merely one group of *visionnaires*, but were always distinguished from the others both by their friends and their enemies (author).

H. MISSON, *Memoirs et observations*, 1698, wrote :

"Although they are great fanatics they seem to be gentle, simple in all respects, sober, modest and peaceful. . . . But do not be deceived, there is much affectation in this exterior. . . . The best way to inspire one of their women preachers is to take a lady to meeting. At the sight of a ribbon the Spirit seizes upon the *Couacresse*, and after many sighs and groans she bursts out in an incomprehensible torrent of words."

G. LESAGE, *Remarques sur l'Angleterre*, 1715, refers to "meaningless discourses of ignorant people," but adds :

"Although they profess to have no ecclesiastics they support in the guise of charity certain men of letters who concern themselves exclusively with the study of religion. Those who are distinguished as preachers often earn more money than if they held a regular Benefice."

In a volume attributed to him DUC LOUIS CHARLES DE LUYNES, *Nouveau Voyage en Angleterre*, 1717, remarks :

"The women of this extraordinary religion are all pretty. . . . Could anything be more appealing than a sermon pronounced by a pretty mouth? Her bearing, her postures, her tone of voice, all is comic and burlesque."

Of all the pre-Voltairian travellers AUBREY DE LA MOTTRAYE, *Voyages*, 1727, was the only one who really understood the point of view of the Quakers. His account [half a page of this is English] suggests already the idealization through which the Quakers were to pass at the hands of the French until they appeared to some enthusiasts at the end of the eighteenth century as a model of all the virtues (author).

Then follow the views of French theologians, with few exceptions bitterly hostile. The literary activities of Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam,

³ The complete French text of Ross—La Grue appears as Appendix II.

aroused enquiry and comment by BOSSUET, NAUDÉ and CATROU.⁴ The last-named wrote of Fox, 1695 : " Born from the lowest dregs of the people, a wretch without letters or true piety, his proper place by reason of the lowness and stupidity of his mind was that of keeper of pigs."

Of GERARD CROESE and his *History of Friends*, 1695, our author writes : " The fact that the eighteenth century began by judging Quakers tolerantly and ended by making saints of them is probably due to Croesius."

Chapter II considers " The Quakers seen by Voltaire".⁵ One extract must suffice : It was through VOLTAIRE that attention was turned from the English Quaker, a fanatical non-conformist, to the Pennsylvania Quaker, a model citizen of a model republic (author).

In chapter III—" The Legend Takes Form", we have reference to BERNARD, *Cérémonies . . . de tous les Peuples du monde*, 1736—" they dress in black coats, which have no pleats or buttons on the pockets and sleeves. Their manners are frank and natural."⁶ The ABBÉ LE BLANC, *Lettres d'un Français*, 1745, refers to Barclay's " Apology " :

" It has been translated into all the polite languages of Europe, but the English style is particularly pure, simple, and elegant. As for the matter in it no theologian of any of the sects therein attacked has yet made a satisfactory reply to it."

In 1766 came the ABBÉ COYER, *De la Prédiction*, a work said to have led to the conversion of Jean de Marsillac.⁷ In his *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Angleterre*, 1779, he gives a description of a Quaker meeting : " . . . One man rose and spoke for a few minutes. Inspiration seems to be more abundant with the women, for a sexagenarian Sibyl spoke for nearly an hour . . . when I left."

Chapter IV is titled " The Utopia of Penn"—" Undoubtedly much of the idealization of Pennsylvania was due to the very popular work of RAYNAL," who wrote *Histoire . . . des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes*, Amsterdam, 1770. He was followed by HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR, whose *Lettres d'un Cultivateur* appeared in 1784. Crèvecoeur made an enthusiastic convert in BRISSOT DE WARVILLE who became a great defender of Friends.⁸

One of his friends when in England in 1784 was Etienne Bridel, a French teacher in London who, like Claude Gay, Stephen Grellet and Anthony Benezet, was a French convert to Quakerism. He translated Penn's " No Cross, No Crown," etc.

Another French convert was JEAN DE MARSILLAC LE COINTE whose name and work receive frequent notice in chapter V, " Quaker Ideals and the French Revolution," including a recital of the proposals for an educational establishment at Chambord (Loir et Cher). See " Jnl. F.H.S.," vii.

⁴ Naudé and Catrou are in D.

⁵ For Voltaire and Friends see " Jnl. F.H.S." vi. xiii. ; Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, ed. Lanson, Paris, 1924 (copy in D).

⁶ He devotes forty pages to Quakers and four to the Presbyterians.

⁷ For this French Friend see Index (a dozen entries) ; " Jnl. F.H.S." ii. vii. xv. xvi. xviii. xix. xxi. xxv. xxix.

⁸ For Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville see " Jnl. F.H.S." xvi. 18.

Chapter VI is headed : " Persistence of the Legend in the Nineteenth Century." The noblest Quaker in literature is probably to be found in ALFRED DE VIGNY'S *Chatterton*, 1834, a play.

In " Summary and Conclusion " we read :

After some study of the French interest in Quakers it soon becomes evident that there are several quite different elements involved and that they group themselves more or less chronologically. The early interest was primarily in dogma ; later it was the private life and peculiar customs of the Quaker which were chiefly emphasized ; and finally Pennsylvania came to be first in the thoughts of all who wrote on Quakers (author).

There are several Appendixes—the first contains a list of 33 Quaker publications which appeared in French translations, followed by Bibliographical Notes.

* *St. Aeldred of Rievaulx* (c. 1109-1166) is the title of an attractively written study by T. Edmund Harvey of this Abbot of Rievaulx, the ruins of whose Abbey near Helmsley are so well known to travellers in Yorkshire. It is based on contemporary sources recently printed and contains extracts in English from St. Aeldred's devotional writings as well as a bibliography. (London : Allenson, 1932, pp. 148.)

In the *Publications of The Geneological Society of Pennsylvania*, March, 1932 (vol. xi. no. 3) there is a section devoted to " Early Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends." In 1760 John Storer, Jane Crosfield and George Mason of England, and Susanna Hatton of Ireland, were in the district on religious service. In the same year " Caspar Wistar, of this City, disowned."—" Benedict Dorsey accepted as a member of the Society. . . "

In *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, vol. v. no. 2 there is an article on " Rev. Edward Bowles, 1617-1662," without any reference to the Priest Bowles of " The Journal of George Fox." " He exercised remarkable powers in the government of civic affairs, being the spring that moved all the wheels in the City of York. He was a tall and lovely person. . . . As the day approached for the non-conforming clergy to be expelled, he grew sick, dying of a broken heart at the early age of 49."⁹

" Crispin Pearson was born about 1748 and died in 1806. He married Hannah Willson. They spent their entire married life in Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. They had twelve children."

Thus opens a volume of 166 pages concerned with the descendants of this couple—first a daughter, then ten sons and finally another daughter. *Crispin Pearson* is compiled by Annie Pearson Darrow of Pasadena, California. (New Jersey, New Brunswick : J. Heidingsfeld Company, 1932, numerous illustrations, bibliography and index of surnames.) " The early Pearsons in Bucks County were Quakers and those living to-day in Pennsylvania are mostly Quakers in spirit." There are pages detailing the

* Not in **D**.

⁹ This would imply his birth year as 1613 not 1617.

Scarborough family—Henry Wismer Scarborough (1870-) a descendant of Friends, an ancestor being John Scarborough Jr., a prominent Quaker Minister. Several pages recite incidents in the life of Albert Large, "The Hermit of Wolf Rocks."

Copy presented by the compiler.

A. G. Matthews, M.A., of Farmcote, Oxted, Surrey, has prepared a valuable pamphlet on *The Works of Richard Baxter: An Annotated List*, pp. 52, 2s. net. Numerous explanatory paragraphs are extracted from "Reliquiae Baxterianae". "Quakers" appear on pp. 5, 8, 10, 11.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* (vol. xiii. no. 2) has an article on "Peebles Planters and Pioneers", which has the following reference to Virginian Friends :

"In the early 1700's William Peebles and wife Martha were living in Prince George County. William's youngest son, Peter, married Huldah Ladd, a Quakeress, and the two were leaders of the Burleigh Meeting near Powells Creek. William and Martha seem to have joined the Friends. Although Virginia had banished Quaker immigrants to North Carolina in the seventeenth century, early in the eighteenth there were strong congregations of them in many of her south-eastern counties. . . . The last of the Quaker Peebles in Prince George County sold their lands in the 1820's and moved to Indiana and Illinois."

In *Not Every One* . . . by Edith Ratcliffe (London: Allenson, 1932, pp. 104) the author presents the teaching of Jesus in relation to five commonly accepted standards or practices which are responsible for much of the evil in the world to-day, viz., war as a means of settlement, competitive industry, punishment of the guilty, "might is right", acquisitiveness of monetary wealth. The teaching is presented in imaginary incidents affecting the disciples of Jesus.

In the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. xii. no. 1 there is an article on "Cromwell's Toleration", noticing a pamphlet "A Serious Admonition to . . . Members of Parliament", London, 1660. Page 7 is quoted : "Some of you have suffered, if not followed all sorts of hideous Heresies and execrable Errors; witness your letting out of prison that Arch-Quaker and impudent Seducer *Nailer*, and your general Toleration of, or at least connivance at all Religions."

Liberty of conscience has been upheld : "Witness the multitudes of all sorts of Recusants, besides the arrogant Ranters and Quakers."

Congregational Historical Society Transactions, XII, 2 (September 1933), *Was Cromwell an Iconoclast?* is an interesting article defending Oliver Cromwell against the charges commonly made that he was responsible for the destruction of images and pictures in churches. *Some Early Scottish Independents* sketches among others Alexander Jaffray, who afterwards became a Friend.

In the spring of 1929, on the death of her cousin, Lucy Hannah Southall, a large number of family papers came into the possession of Celia Southall, widow of Thomas Southall, and daughter of Samuel Price. These have been carefully studied and the result is a volume of family history: *Records of the Southall Family* (pp. xiv + 166, with illustrations and pedigree, printed by Headley Brothers for private circulation but obtainable at Friends Book Centre for six shillings). The first portion of the book is occupied with records of the Prichard Family, supplementary to "The Prichards of Almeley and their Descendants," by Isabel Southall (1893, 1901), and taking the record of earlier times through the researches of Josiah Newman. One branch of the family, headed by Samuel Prichard (1767-1819), emigrated in 1818 to the neighbourhood of the property of Morris Birkbeck, at Wanborough, Illinois.

"Perhaps the only descendants of Roger Prichard who bear his name are to be found in Nebraska."

Then follows "The Southalls". "In 1757 John Southall married Mary Prichard, thus uniting the two families." "The remainder of these records deals chiefly with them and their descendants for the next two generations." The "Recollections and Reflections of an Octogenarian, Henry Southall, of Ross, Herefordshire, begun in November 1911", cover 13 pages in which the names of various Friends of the recent past appear, with comments by the diarist. Here is an amusing note by the editor: "My father, Samuel Price, told us he remembered seeing a beautiful statuette of the Three Graces, which William Nutter brought from Italy, with the figures clothed in pink chemises made by his wife, who considered them improper." The initials on page 56 may be extended to Priscilla Hannah Gurney and Sussannah Naish.

Copy presented by the author.

Robert Muschamp (Spout Bank, Heap Bridge, Bury, Lancs.), in continuation of his studies and lectures on Lancashire Quakerism has recently had "Early Days in the Oldham District" under review. The *Oldham Standard*, January 1933, gives a full account of our Friend's discourse on this subject.

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. have re-issued *The Making of William Penn*, by Mabel R. Brailsford, at the price of five shillings, in the same form as the previous issue.

The long looked-forward-to Penn Pageant Play, to celebrate the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1682, took place on 10 June and was an immense success. The book of words was written with great ability and accuracy by H. Winifred Sturge and Christine Ellis (London: Headley, pp. 109, 2s.). We regret, however, that "Biographer" should have perpetuated the mixture of Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans (p. 3). The distinction is clearly set out in "Jnl. F.H.S." xiii. 3.—There were two distinct colonies, the New Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay. The latter was settled by emigrants from England—Puritans who aimed to purify the Church of England, while the Pilgrim Fathers were Separatists from the Church, not Puritans of it.

The Rev. Hugh Bowler has caused to be printed in the *Berkshire Archæological Journal* (vol. 37, no. 1) the text of some original documents discovered among the records of the London Sessions, now preserved at the City Guildhall, recording "Judicial Proceedings against William Penn and William Mead in London, June 1670 to May 1671." "Several fresh and interesting details, notably in the matter of bailment and the length of imprisonment undergone by Penn's associates" are given.

**Map of New Castle upon Delaware as William Penn saw it.* In Commemoration of the 250th anniversary of Penn's first landing in America, 1682. By Leon de Valinger, Jr., 1932. Price postage paid, \$2.50.

Albert Cook Myers: *The Boy George Washington aged 16 His Own Account of an Iroquois Indian Dance, 1748.* (Author, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., 1932, 80 pp. illus.) This little book deals with George Washington's travels as a surveyor in the employ of Thomas Lord Fairfax in Virginia in 1748. The title-incident, however, occupies little more than a page. *Presented by the author.*

Not many hours after receiving a review copy from the publishers was Mrs. Gregory's life of her husband taken into reading and much appreciated—*For He loveth our Nation. A Record of the Life and Work of William Edward Gregory* by his wife (London: Allenson, 8½ × 5½, pp. 248, illus. 3s. 6d.). The record of missionary life in Madagascar is enlivening and informing. Elements for discouragement appear and there is much of sadness as well as happiness in these pages—loss as well as gain. W. E. Gregory died in 1930, aged 52.

James Henry Thomas, B.Litt. (Oxon.), a member of South Wales Monthly Meeting and warden of Bargoed Educational Settlement, has contributed to the history of Elizabethan England by his *Town Government in the Sixteenth Century* (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d., pp. 188, illus.). In the making of this book he has used as sources chiefly the town records of twelve important towns scattered over the country, from Manchester to Ipswich. Besides the general structure of town government he portrays the development of social services concerning street paving and cleaning, water supply, markets, the ale trade, lighting, fire fighting, and epidemics, and concludes that the sixteenth was ahead of the early nineteenth century in such matters. Dealing as it does with English town conditions only a couple of generations before the rise of Quakerism it is an interesting "background" book in that connection.

Rayner W. Kelsey, as Curator of the Quaker collections of Haverford College has boldly launched a little periodical entitled *Quakeriana Notes*, of which No. 1, dated Tenth Month, 1933, contains 16 pp., 8vo. He hopes

* Not in D.

to issue it twice a year. It fulfils the useful purpose of informing the public about new and old treasures in the Haverford collections and the progress of work upon them. The detailed card index, we suppose upon lines somewhat similar to the one at Friends House in London, now numbers sixty thousand cards. There is a valuable annotated list of recent accessions and an interesting students' account of events at Haverford College during its first four years (1833-1837), taken from a newly acquired MS. written at the time.

The Oxford University Press has published a valuable volume of regional history, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660. A Social and Political Study*, by Mary Coate, fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Warwick Square, London, E.C.4, 8vo., pp. viii. + 414, 21s. net). This book should be studied in connection with Quakerism in Cornwall and especially with the imprisonment of George Fox and company at Launceston. There are useful references to non-Friends who appear in Fox's "Journal." Robert Bennett, Peter Ceely, John Fox, Desborough, Anthony Rous, Tregosse, and others.

W. Loftus Hare, editor of the *Journal of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions*, has presented a file of that periodical, to which he has been a frequent contributor. Later issues are being received as they appear.

Sir John H. Harris, who is the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society of London, has written *A Century of Emancipation* (London, 1933, pp. xvi, 288). It portrays a hundred years of effort and is designed to focus public attention upon the need of a renewed campaign to drive slavery from the extensive regions where it still survives. The work of Friends in the movement finds recognition.

Classic Americans : a Study of Eminent American Writers from Irving to Whitman, with an Introductory Survey of the Colonial Background of Our National Literature, by Henry Seidel Canby (New York, 1931, pp. xviii, 372) has been presented by Grace T. W. Sturge.

The author holds the view that "the Quaker heritage has been more durable as a spiritual influence than the Puritan, and . . . only less powerful than Calvinism."

The Discipline of Canada Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (London, 1933) received the approval of the Y.M. in 1932. It contains entire Parts I and II of London Y.M. Discipline. Part III on Church Government (pp. 40) has been written specially for Canada Y.M. Each part is separately paged and indexed, all three being bound in the same covers. A new title page and a general preface sketching the history of Canada Y.M. Discipline precede the whole work.

J. Travis Mills has in preparation *John Bright and the Quakers*. The first half is to be devoted to the history of Quakerism in Marsden Monthly Meeting and to the part taken by the Bright family in local Quaker life and work. John Bright's share in the discussions of the Yearly Meeting and in the advocacy of Quaker principles in public life will be discussed in detail, and an attempt made to estimate Bright's position in the story of Quakerism. The work is likely to be in two volumes.

L. Violet Holdsworth has written a little book of devotional thoughts (*Anima: The Pilgrim of the Cross*. Longmans, 1933, 8vo, pp. 64, 2s. 6d.) which reaches us as we go to press. Its ten short chapters on the journey of the soul are written in meditative comment upon ten pictures which originally illustrated an old devotional manual, and which bear such titles as Humility, Patience, Living Faith. They have been re-drawn by Mrs. Cayley Robinson for this new collection of messages from Violet Holdsworth's skilful pen and ripe mystical experience.

John Bellers: Ein Vertreter des frühen Quäkertums. Von Dr. Karl Seipp (Nürnberg, Quäker-Verlag, 1933, pp. 81). Written as a thesis for a doctorate, this little book deals with John Bellers in his Quaker background. The author refers to Eduard Bernstein's comprehensive estimate of Bellers in *Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution*, but claims for his own work a place by reason of its greater detail and his special attention to the religious motives which characterized Bellers, whose social-political interests were derived from his Quakerism.

Quaker Ways, by A. Ruth Fry (Cassel, 1933, pp. viii, 280) sets forth Quakerism to the general reader in a series of chapters illustrating its practical working out in both national and international citizenship, social responsibility and philanthropy, science and commerce. There are chapters on the fundamental Quaker position, on Fox, Penn and other early leaders. An Appendix contains brief statistics as to the distribution of Quakerism in the world to-day. There is also a classified Bibliography of seven pages.

The same author's *A Quaker Adventure*, the history of Friends' War Relief work, reviewed *J.F.H.S.*, XXIX, 91, has now been translated and published in German as *Ein Quäker Wagnis* (Nürnberg, Quäker-Verlag, 1933, pp. xxiv, 366).

The *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Nov., 1933, contains a number of articles on Joseph Priestley, the bicentenary of whose birth is celebrated this year. There is also an article by Ernest Axon, F.S.A., on the distribution of Nonconformity in Yorkshire in 1743. It is based largely upon *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743* (Yorkshire Archæological Society, 1928- , 5 vols.), supplemented by several nonconformist historical sources. The number of Quakers or families in comparison with the general population and with other dissenting bodies is given for many localities.

Recent Accessions to

A quarto volume containing three of the works of Laurence Claxton (d. 1667) has been purchased by the Library. They are

The Quakers Downfal, with all other Dispensations their inside turn'd outward: . . . also a brief narration of the Quakers Conference with us the second of July 1659 . . . London: Will Learner, 1659, 4to, pp. 72.

A Paradisical Dialogue betwixt Faith and Reason: Disputing the high mysterious Secrets of Eternity, the like never extant in our Revelation. As touching God in Eternity, how he became time in flesh, and how he dyed in the grave, and ascended to his glory again. . . . London: Will Learner, 1660, 4to, pp. 120.

The Lost Sheep Found: or the Prodigal returned to his Fathers house, after many a sad and weary Journey through many Religious Countreys, . . . London: 1660, 4to, pp. 64.

The author was in turn a Baptist, Independent, Ranter and Muggletonian, and there is some account of him in Muggleton's "Acts of the Witnesses", 1699, pp. 80-82, quoted in J. Smith's Catalogue of Antiquaker books.

The first two works are controversial, the third, largely autobiographical, covers the period 1630-1660, and is interesting as a plain account of himself by one of the wilder sectaries of the time. J.L.N.

Records and Memories, by Eliza (Gregory) Clark, born 12. iii. 1833, widow of John Aubrey Clark, "the last of her generation" (11¼ × 8½, pp. 255, typed, twelve illustrations of persons and places, but no index or pedigree, c. 1915). Edward and Martha Gregory, living at the little village of Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, joined Friends *post* 1668. Their son, William, married Mary Boulton, of Gaunts Ircot, in the parish of Almondsbury in 1709, daughter of JOHN BOULTON, d. 1709 (see "Piety Promoted"). The family removed to Yatton and remained there till 1876.

MORRIS BIRKBECK, the younger, of Blandford, Dorset, "was a frequent visitor at the Gregory homes, and so intimate in the families that he wanted to have Ann [daughter of Edw^d and Ann Gregory], but she preferred Thomas Thompson, of Compton" (p. 30), and married him in 1782, and "was a most interesting woman".¹

1789. "MARY RICKMAN had a meeting at Yeovil; had not much to say but much to the purpose. After dinner had a little to say which was very acceptable, and we parted in love" (p. 43).

SARAH HARRISON from U.S.A. and SARAH BIRKBECK appear on p. 34.

¹ There is much respecting Ann Thompson in *F.Q.E.* 1878. For William Ball on Thomas Thompson see Mrs. Clark's book (p. 91).

CHARITY COOK and MARY SWETT from U.S.A. passed through the Gregory country in 1801 (pp. 64f).

TILL ADAM SMITH is noticed on pp. 137, 149, 154.

There are some lively reminiscences of the compiler, beginning on p. 128: "My precious cat 'Peter' entered into the fun with about 15 dolls, headless, or armless, or legless—poor cripples!"

Copy presented by Walter Dymond Gregory, of Toronto, Canada.

The Historical, Philosophical and Religious Aspects of John Inglesant (Purnerend, Holland, 1933, pp. xii, 188) by Meijer Polak, discusses the life and character of Henry Shorthouse and the qualities of his famous work. He sustains a charge of plagiarism and traces many unacknowledged passages almost verbatim to seventeenth century sources. A copy has been presented by the author.

The file of *The Bombay Guardian* has been extended from 1903 back to 1889 by a gift from Percy Horne. Friends have been closely associated with the conduct of this Christian weekly, which was active in the campaign against the state regulation of vice in India. It is still appearing and is now published in Madras as *The Guardian*.

Horace B. Pointing has presented a typed copy of his play, *The Man in Leather Breeches*. It is constructed about some incidents in the life of George Fox during the Commonwealth period, and its six scenes deal with Edward Burrough leaving home, an imaginary prison incident involving George Fox and Justice Bennet, George Fox meeting with Judge Fell and the justices at Swarthmore Hall, George Fox and Cromwell (an attempt to arrest George Fox at a meeting), and the death of Edward Burroughs in Newgate prison.

The author has not confined himself to historical fact and, in the interests of dramatic value, has exercised his imagination freely over many incidents. There are more than thirty parts, which can be taken by a much smaller cast of actors if necessary. The play was publicly performed at Welwyn Theatre in 1930.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review, which is received in exchange for this *Journal*, is devoted largely to Mennonite History which has contact at various points with that of Friends, particularly in Pennsylvania. The July, 1933, issue discusses conscientious objectors to military service with special reference to three American studies of the subject:—Walter G. Kellogg: *The Conscientious Objector*, New York, 1919; Norman Thomas: *The Conscientious Objector in America*, New York, 1925; Edward N. Wright: *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War*, Phila., 1931.

Friends and Mennonites were the most numerous among those who based their objection on religious grounds.

The Emancipator, which appeared at Jonesborough, Tennessee, monthly from 4th month to 10th month, 1820, was devoted exclusively to the cause of the slaves. It was conducted by Elihu Embree (1782-1820), a Friend, and was brought to an early end by its promoter's death. His *Manumission Intelligencer* of 1819 was the earliest of all American anti-slavery periodicals. Only one complete file of *The Emancipator* is known to exist and it has been reprinted entire, together with a sketch of Embree's life by Robert H. White, Ph.D. (Nashville, Tenn., 1932, pp. xii, 114).

Wakefield in the Seventeenth Century by S. H. Waters (Wakefield : Sanderson, 1933, pp. xvi, 164) is "a social history of the town and neighbourhood from 1550-1710" based upon original sources. All the chief aspects of local life and government receive attention and in the chapter on "Religion and Education" there are details about the persecution of Friends, drawn from the Quarter Sessions Records as well as from Quaker sources.

Arthur J. Eddington has given to the library a bound typescript *Inventory and Index to the Gurney MSS.* which were briefly described in *J.F.H.S.* xxix (1932), 31. He is also at work upon a calendar of all the more important letters in the collection which will give synopses and extracts of many of them and the full text of some of the most valuable. It is hoped after securing sufficient support to publish the work as a supplement to this *Journal*. The letters are very informing about the life of the Society of Friends in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The travels of J. J. Gurney in America, 1837-1840, are an important feature.

Lettsom, His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants, by J. Johnston Abraham (Heinemann, 1933, 4to, pp. xx, 498) is not only a very full life of John Coakley Lettsom (1744-1815) but a study of contemporary medical and social life and philanthropic activity, as much without as within the Society of Friends. Lettsom, who succeeded to John Fothergill's practice, was keenly interested in everything tending to human welfare and had a very wide circle of acquaintances in all ranks of society. Besides founding the Medical Society of London and defending Jenner's practice of vaccination, he founded the first of all open-air sanatoria in the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital at Margate. He was also much interested in prison reform.

Dr. Abraham has consulted an immense range of sources, both MS. and printed, for which he gives references, and he writes in an easy style which brings the reader into living touch with the subject. The value of the book is further enhanced by 144 illustrations and an index of eleven pages.

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.

TONES IN PREACHING (see indexes, Contributions by Henry J. Cadbury) —Pieter de la Rue visited the Friends' Meeting in Amsterdam in 1735 and heard both a man and a woman speak. His impression is reported :—

“The tone of both was nearer to singing or humming than to a clear speech. This manner of singing speech was in fact a characteristic of the Quakers, it reminds more of the tone in which an Arabic priest is accustomed to read the Koran.”

This is not taken direct from de la Rue but from article on “Quakers in Amsterdam” in the Dutch periodical *Op de Hoogte*, August, 1919, p. 337.

“A woman so low in parts, that she was looked on not much better than a Natural, being at a Quakers Meeting in Buckinghamshire not far from Ailesbury, was suddenly so transported that with much liberty and confidence she spake in their tone in matters above her.”

R. Blome, *The Fanatick History*, 1660, pp. 114f, in which apparently is used *Hell Broke Loose* by Underhill, page 47.

Of the ministry of George Keith Henry Gouldney wrote to Sir John Rodes, 27 ii. 1694: “He talks commonly large time in meetings but mostly flat; he has a tone sometimes, especially when on one of his particular points that he hugs more than ordinary, that he carries off more lively.” (Locker-Lampson, *A Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, 58.)

In the *Records of James Jenkins* (MS. in D) we read :—

American visitors to Europe—“not any two were alike with respect of their *mode* of address, for each had their own exclusive tone, and, in point of melody, one was as a flute, another a clarionet, a violin, french-horn, &c.” (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xvi.)

Sarah Crawley (1717-1799)—
“ Her voice was harsh and grating
and her cadence the music of
dissonance ” (*ibid.*).

Samuel Alexander (1749-1824)—
“ Words poured forth with irresist-
ible impetuosity ”, contrasted with
Thomas Colley’s “ sluggish delivery,
words given as if with grudging and
reluctance.” (*Pen Pictures*, 1930,
26.)

In the Yearly Meeting of 1805 a
letter was read from William
Crotch (*d.* 1805), “ Friends were
cautioned against contracting habits
in meeting for discipline in speaking
in a tone of voice as if they were
speaking under a divine impression ”
(*ibid.*, 93).

John Wilkinson (*c.* 1783-1846)
warned Friends in Y.M. 1809
against “ adopting a routine of
expression in a tone of voice con-
tracted by habit ” (*ibid.*, 122).

Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845) knelt
down and deliberately chanted a
sweet prayer (*ibid.*, 7).

[Elizabeth Fry had considerable
difficulty to suit her voice in the
ministry to the wishes of her
friends. In 1813, aged thirty-three,
she wrote in her Journal: “ A
conversation with dear R. Smith¹
yesterday cast me very low, by her
expressing how much satisfied she
was at my having so much improved
in my *mode* of speaking in meeting.
When I am so watchful of my voice
rising I believe I often keep the *gift*
under and sit down not relieved.
It amounts, I think, to rather a
serious thing, as it is clear from the
advice I received from each of the
dear Elders that I love that they
every one view the thing differently.

¹ Probably Rachel Smith, wife of
Joseph the banker. She died in
1814.

J. Hull² thinks my gift really hurt,
I believe, by restraining my voice,
dear R. Smith by giving it free
course, and dear cousin J. G. Bevan,
though for a long time he was one
to advise my restraining it, he told
me lately that he thought I carried
it too far, I think, to the injuring
the gift and therefore wish’d me
to take more liberty. What is this
in them that so greatly differs ? ”
 (“ Journal.”)]

THE VOICE IN MINISTRY (xxviii.
89, see also under “ Tones in
Preaching ” in previous volumes).—
“ I was moved of the Lord God
to stand up at the Cross [probably
at Dundee] and declare with a loud
voice the everlasting Truth.”—
GEORGE FOX, *Journal*, Camb. ed.,
i. 305.

“ Friends’ voices were so full and
high in the power of God that the
priest could do little in the steeple-
house, so he came out again and
stood awhile, and after went his
ways ” (*ibid.*, i. 309).

“ George Whitehead spoke in so
loud a voice that he could be heard
from the Castle Green in Newcastle
where he was standing, over the
Tyne into Gateshead.”—White-
head, *Christian Progress*, *apud*
BRAITHWAITE, *Beginnings*, p. 373.

[By the courtesy of the City
Engineer of Newcastle-on-Tyne we
have ascertained that “ the distance
from a point on the Castle Garth,
south of the Old Castle, to a point
in Pipewellgate in Gateshead is
about 330 yards.” For Castle
Green read *Castle Garth*.]

² John Hull, of Uxbridge, died
1816.

Roger Williams described William Edmondson as "a stout, portly man of a great voice." (*George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*, 1676, p. 38.)

"It is said that George Withy (d. 1837) once preached at Y.M. time with such energy that he removed his outer garments, and that his voice sounded across to the other meetinghouse and interfered with the service there." (*Pen Pictures*, p. 166.)

Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret Fell, a prominent Minister, "had a curious voice and a freer way of delivering herself." (G. Croese, *History*, 1696, p. 237.)

SIR THOMAS BROWNE (1605-1682) AND QUAKERISM.—The following passage appears in Simon Wilkin's *Supplementary Memoir to the Works of Sir Thos. Browne*, 1852:—

"From one Samuel Duncon, a member of the Society of Friends, resident at Norwich, the author received a most obliging communication, in which the writer seems to have been led by some passages in the book to entertain hopes of winning Browne over to his own opinions."

The book referred to was the *Religio Medici*. Is anything known of the "obliging communication"?

EDWARD PYOTT TO CHIEF JUSTICE GLYNN, 1656.—At the conclusion of this 7,300-word address there is a reference (Fox, *Journal*, bi-cent. ed., i. 300) to "O. St. Johns, chief justice of the common pleas," whose name does not appear in the index to any edition of the *Journal*.

Oliver St. John (1598?-1673) is the subject of a note by Edward Bensly in *Notes and Queries*, September 9th, in which it is stated that Carlyle described him: "Learned Mr. St. John, a dark, tough man of the toughness of leather." He was Hampden's counsel, and a Member of the Short and Long Parliaments, and originator of the saying "worse before better".

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL.—In the recently-issued volume concerning "Atkinson and Dearman," among extracts from Monthly Meetings, appears the following:—

"1731 Among subscribers for the reprinting of George Fox's Journal at 7/6 in folio edition, taking one copy each . . ." (several Friends of Balby M.M.).

This was probably an abortive attempt at a new issue—the third edition appeared in 1765, in folio, subscription-price 12s. in sheets, 14s. in half-binding or 16s. in leather.

THE SPEECH AND CONFESSION OF HUMPHREY STONE, A QUAKER.—"This pamphlet states that Humphrey Stone was tried in October, 1661, before the Lord Mayor of Dublin, on a charge of murdering one William Frith by stabbing him, that he was guilty of blasphemy at his trial, and was finally sentenced to death. 'Mercurius Politicus,' January 23rd-30th, 1662, published a certificate that no such trial had taken place" (Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism*, 1931, 556, quoting *Notes and Queries*, 11th ser., viii. 284).

This pamphlet is not known in Friends' Library, London, nor is

there any record of it in Friends' Historical Collection, Dublin, or in the National Library in that city. Isabel Grubb writes that "there was no *Lord* Mayor of Dublin at that date; the Mayor was George Gilbert."

WILL OF HESTER FLEETWOOD,
1712.—

To grandson, George Fleetwood, one piece of gold called a guinea.

To grandson, John Fleetwood, if living at my death £50.

To grand-daughter Anne £50.

To my cousins Mary Russell and Elizabeth Gouldney (daughters of my cousin Mary Forster deceased) each one 20/- piece of old Gold.

Item. Unto my loving friends William Russell and Bridgett his wife (with whom I have long sojourned) I give the sum of Tenn pounds of like lawful money as an acknowledgment of their kindness to me and a token of my love to them.

To their three daughters Sarah, Susannah and Mary Russell 20/- each.

To the servant maid living with them at my death 20/-.

Item. My will and desire is that my body may be laid in the Burying

Ground called New Jordons belonging to my friends the people called Quakers. Burial to be directed by Mary Baker and Bridgett Russell before named. Executors to give £5 to William Russell or Bridgett his wife at my burial for their charge and trouble.

To Mary Baker and Bridgett Russell my wearing apparel [with exceptions].

Item. To the poor of the parish of Giles Chalfont aforesaid (in which I have long lived and in which I desire to be buried) 50/-.

Remainder of estate to grandson Robert Fleetwood, who is sole executor.

Witnesses: Tho: Ellwood, Mary Baker, Joseph Dodd.

Hester Fleetwood (c. 1633-1713/14) was a daughter of Sir Robert Smith and Judith his wife, née Walmsley, of Upton, West Ham, co. Essex. She became the second wife of Colonel George Fleetwood, the Regicide (bapt. 1622, said to have died in America in or prior to 1674). Her name appears among Friends of Chalfont Meeting, Bucks, in 1678. Her will was proved 13th May 1714. P.P.C. Aslon 94. *Jnl. F.H.S.* vii., xix.

Information from Robert W. Buss, 1921.

William Lucas, 1804-1861

A Quaker Journal, being the diary and reminiscences of William Lucas of Hitchin, edited by G. E. Bryant and G. P. Baker, will be published in two illustrated volumes early in 1934, by Messrs. Hutchinson.

Some Inscriptions in the Friends' Burial Ground at Tasburgh, Norfolk

1. SAMUEL SPOONER. A plain headstone, which was buried face downwards and is therefore in good condition.

Here lieth y^e Body of
S A M V E L S P O O N E R
who Departed this Life
ye 12 of Septembr 1710
Aged 49 years

2. WALTER DURBAN. A very small stone, only 12 inches wide. This child was born on 21.10.1716, and therefore not quite 2 years old at his death. (From Registers.)

W. Durban
obijt
o6 Die
9^{bris}
1718

3. ANN HART. Headstone with corners. Here lieth y^e Body of ANN y^e Wife of Charles Hart who Died 28th Febr'y 1749 Aged 72 Years

4. ANNE MUSKET. Ornamented stone with cherubs' heads and wings, in poor condition.

Here lieth y^e Body of
A n n e
the Wife of
J O H N M U S K E T
who departed this Life
the 10th of May 1750
Aged 38 Years

5. RICHARD DURBAN. Stone with corners.

Hic Jacet
RICHARDUS DURBAN Jun^r
nuper de Stratton Sanctæ Mariæ
in Agro Norfolkciensi AD
Natus sexto Die Martis 1727
Denatus undecimo Die Junij 1750
Ætatis suo 23

6. DOROTHY HART. Plain stone. Dorothy Hart was "aged about 21" years when she died. (From Registers.)

In
 Memory of
 DOROTHY
 The Daughter of
 JOHN & ANN
 HART
 who Died Sept' 8th
 1781

7. JOHN HART. A very large stone, evidently placed in a flat position over grave, now at a depth of one foot from surface of ground.

Here Resteth
 the Remains of
 J N ° H A R T
 late of Fundenhall
 who Departed
 this Life Feb'y 18th 1809
 In the 74th Year
 of his Age

Several of these stones were buried over the graves, probably owing to the ruling that no headstones should be allowed. They have been disinterred by William Morgan, who is now living at Tasburgh, and set up by him over the graves again.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

Western Counties Circular Y.M.

In *J.F.H.S.* xxix, 47, under the heading "A Wise Suggestion" for "Bristol" read "Hereford". Neave Brayshaw writes pointing out that the Y.M. which was held in Bristol until 1798 was distinct from the Circular Y.M. of the Western Counties which lasted until 1786, and that when the latter was held in Gloucestershire it met as follows:—1725 Wooton-under-Edge, 1732 Tetbury, 1739 Gloucester, 1746 Minchinhampton, 1753 Coleford, 1760 Wooton-under-Edge, 1767 Tetbury, 1774 and 1786 Gloucester.

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