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THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

VOLUME THIRTY-FOUR  
FOR 1937

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
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AMERICAN AGENCY  
304 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
HEADLEY BROTHERS  
PRINTERS  
109 KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2  
AND ASHFORD, KENT

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Publishing Office : Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

American Agency : 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor at  
Friends House.

*“ In the beginning of time the whole Creation lived in man, and man lived in his Maker, the spirit of Righteousnesse and peace. . . . But when man began to fall out of his Maker ; and to leave his joy and rest which he had in the spirit of Righteousnesse, and sought contentment from creatures and outward objects, then he lost his dominion. . . . And this now is the curse, Man is gone out of his Maker to live upon objects. . . . But now the time is come, that the Spirit will draw all things into man again, to live and be at rest in him, as their Governour, as their Lord, and man and the Creation shall become even again, and so man returning to his Maker, to rest in peace in none but him. And this is that I wait for, being assured it shall be accomplished, having received a taste.”*

GERRARD WINSTANLEY : *The New Law of Righteousness  
Budding Forth.* 1649.

## William F. Harvey

SINCE our last issue the Friends' Historical Society has suffered the loss of its President by the death of William Fryer Harvey on 4th June, 1937. He planned to address the Society's Annual Meeting with a paper on the past training of members in the art of Quaker worship as shown in our literature from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth. Failing health however obliged him to relinquish this work unfinished.

In him the body was always an uncertain ally of a brave and gentle spirit, quick with insight, warm with sympathy and gay with fun.

For a man handicapped in health he achieved much, in service to adult education at Fircroft College, Birmingham, in ambulance work in Flanders, as a naval surgeon

whose selfless gallantry saved a life at the immediate risk and eventual shortening of his own.

He was a gifted writer, original and witty, whether the matter was a ghost story (a form he loved), a musing essay on some Quaker peculiarity, or scenes in his family's history. In 1933 he gave the fifth Lister Lecture to the Quaker Medical Society.

The following is a list of his published works, omitting contributions to periodicals.

*Midnight House and other Tales*, 1910 ; *The Misadventures of Athelstan Digby*, 1920 ; *The Mysterious Mr. Badman* [c. 1930] ; *Laughter and Ghosts* [c. 1923] ; *The Beast with Five Fingers*, 1928 ; *Quaker Byways and other Papers*, 1929 ; *Moods and Tenses*, 1933 ; *John Ruddy of Dublin, Quaker Physician*, 1934 (Fifth Lister Lecture to the Quaker Medical Society, 1933) ; *We Were Seven*, 1936 ; *Caprimulgus*, 1936.

Appreciations of his life appeared in *The Times* of 7th June, 1937, and *The Friend* and the *Letchworth Citizen* of 11th June, 1937.

Margaret Harvey is collecting and preparing his notes for publication and we expect to print them in our next issue.

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# The Life of William Tuke (1733-1822)

A Sketch by Harold C. Hunt

IT is strange that there does not seem to be any separate Life of William Tuke. Among so many Journals and Biographies of lesser men, it is remarkable that a record of the life work of the man who, more than any other, laid the foundation of the Lunacy Laws as they stand to-day, should still be wanting. An ample Memoir of his grandson, Samuel, is available, but almost the only information about William Tuke himself is contained in the first chapter of this Memoir and in two books by his great-grandson, Daniel Hack Tuke: the *History of the Insane in the British Isles* and *Reform of the Treatment of the Insane*. Most of this is repeated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in two or three Encyclopædias. There are also two booklets, one, *The Romance of a Great Industry*, by G. H. Mennell, the other, *Tea, an Historical Sketch*, by Robert O. Mennell, which add a few particulars. From these sources and from documents at York Retreat and in the Record Closet at Clifford Street, York, the following sketch is compiled.

I cannot find much about his early years, nor much at all to fill up his four score years and ten. But there was not much variety in his life: it was cast more or less in the mould of the typical Quaker of his day; a round of meetings, "First Day", "Preparative", "Monthly", and "Yearly", but it did not carry him far beyond the limits of the ground he marked out as the scene of his everyday work and social environment. William Tuke's energies were mainly absorbed in the management of a Tea business and in the work and interests of the meetings of the Society of Friends in York, Yorkshire, and the country at large. For nearly sixty years he seems to have been the principal scribe of the York Preparative Meeting, of the York Monthly Meeting for about fifty years, and, for something like forty years, of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. In 1778 William and his son, Henry Tuke, were formally appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to be Cashiers and Keepers of Books, in

place of Nathaniel Bell, deceased. The Book of Sufferings is in William's hand over a long period; a model of clear, virile handwriting, indicative, one would say, of a strong, reliable and upright character.

William Tuke was the son of Samuel Tuke who was born in 1703, the son of William and Rebecca Tuke, whose marriage took place in 1693. Samuel married Ann Ward in 1731, and William was born on 24th March, 1732-3. One incident comes down to us from his boyhood. He had climbed into a tree in a churchyard for a bird's nest, but his grip failed and he fell to the ground, injuring his head and laming himself. In one place, which in after years he pointed out to his grandson, Samuel, on his painful way home he tried to hop, but had to desist on account of the agony caused by this mode of progression. Wishing to keep his accident a secret from his parents, he said nothing about it and wore his hat to conceal his head injuries. But his mother saw something was wrong, and, later, a friend who had seen the fall came to enquire. Then the hat had to come off, and William was, as soon as possible, subjected to the operation of "trephining".

At a good day-school William Tuke acquired a respectable proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic, and learnt some Latin. He himself said that he was slow in learning, but we may assume that he was sure. At the age of fourteen he left school and was apprenticed to his Aunt Mary Tuke, who in 1725 had set up in York as a Tea Dealer. In 1733 she married Henry Frankland, a Stuff Weaver.

This aunt had shown a considerable share of Tuke combativeness in the conduct of her business. For seven years she defied the York Society of Merchant Adventurers, who disputed her right to trade without their sanction, and in the end came off victorious, having succeeded in wearing down their efforts to restrain her. This conflict might have been more severe but for the fact that she had taken up the freedom of the City of York, a hereditary privilege of the Tukes. Her father, before her, was a freeman, and it is interesting to note that the Tuke family in succeeding generations have continued to avail themselves of their right. Two present day descendants, W. Favill Tuke, Chairman of Barclays Bank, and his son, A. W. Tuke, are freemen of York.

Thus, in 1746, William Tuke was bound apprentice and gave satisfaction. "His assiduity in business, and his kind attentions to his aunt who was quite an invalid, made him a great favourite with her."

Mary Frankland died when William was nineteen years of age, leaving him the business and premises as well as other property. At first he was inclined to give up the tea business and try some other occupation where he might learn more, but his friends persuaded him to carry on. Samuel Tuke suggests that his grandfather never considered this quite the best course, but he followed it, and was now his own master.

Before this time his mind had become "impressed with the supreme importance of Heavenly things". But his position and temperament inclined him to follow his natural bent. Young, and of considerable ability, he was tempted "to launch out and seek after the things of this world, thinking to live somewhat high, and get money, etc. . . . inso-much that in a few years" (he wrote) "I not only most anxiously grasped after the greatness of the world, and to obtain a name amongst men, but my corrupt inclinations so far prevailed as again to push me on to seek delight in forbidden gratifications." He confesses this as coming after an experience in Sheffield Meeting when he was "much broken" and had a clear sense that if he "first sought the Kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, all other needful things would be added".

At the close of the eighteenth century the Society of Friends was settling into a condition which favoured an almost morbid consciousness in some of its members. A high standard of discipline was demanded, but there was a great diminution of dynamic zeal. Conscious of failure to achieve great things in the religious world, Friends sought compensation in rigid attention to sundry odd "testimonies", and a Spartan attendance at, and attention to, Meetings. The Journals of the period are full of their doubts and fears lest they had not been faithful; one because he had felt drowsy (probably after a plentiful dinner) in an afternoon meeting; another because he had allowed stray worldly thoughts to occupy his mind when it should have been in an attitude of "waiting". "My sister Bevan's visit" wrote one prominent Friend, "has produced a humiliating sensation

in my mind, which still attends it ; being convinced that a closer attention to my inward Guide would not have suffered me to remain in my present dwarfish state". Other Journals supply numerous similar bemoanings. Some of the Friends who achieved most seem to be the most troubled with dubiety and what looks, to a modern reader, almost like mock humility. The Journals of Elizabeth Fry and William Allen are examples. William Tuke, who was clear headed and practical and a man of strong decision, might in the Established Church have been more assertive than he actually was, and, perhaps, have risen to eminence in it. But even he shows occasionally something of the introspective spirit that was in the air. He compared himself to ground wherein wheat had been sown, which came up into greenness and promised for a crop, but winter passing over, and spring approaching, when the husbandman began again to look for a fresh growth of the blade, behold all was become dead.

But though this was the time spoken of as the "Quietist" period, there were Friends who were conscious that the machine of Quakerism was running down and required rewinding. To them belongs the credit of keeping the Society from sinking to a low level. Humanitarian reform is the keynote of this phase of Quaker history. While some were content to exhibit the negative virtues of honest dealing and peaceableness, those who felt the need of something more active and positive turned their attention to missionary work at home and on the continent, and to humanizing the world they lived in. There is no need to do more than mention the causes of Anti-Slavery, Prison Reform, Peace, and Education, in all which fields Friends made their influence felt. In the matter of Lunacy Reform, William Tuke became famous.

In his early business experience, all was not plain sailing. It has already been said that he was a diligent apprentice and a kind and devoted nephew, and that when his aunt died in 1752 he became his own master. He faced the world alone, his father having died four years earlier. This world in which he found himself was a place inhabited by enemies in the form of constables and wardens who invaded the shop with warrants from the Mayor to collect "so-called" Church Rates.

Before William came into the management his aunt had incurred "Sufferings". In 1750 Jno. Nicholson and Leond. Terry, Wardens, came with a warrant from Matt. Lister, Mayor, for 12/7 demanded for Church repairs. They took 12/10 out of the change box and 6½ lbs. of Loaf Sugar. The surplus was, no doubt, for charges.

The first demands made on William Tuke as Master, came in 1753. This time Danl. Bulmer and Thos. Hunter brought warrant from Wm. Coates, Mayor, and James Barnard, Alderman, to satisfy a claim of 4/9 for "Steepehouse" Rates and 5/- charges. They took 9/9 from the Cash Box.

Another enemy to be faced was the practice of smuggling. William Tuke set his face sternly against defrauding the King's revenue. "He consistently refused to handle tea 'suspected to be run' and took a particularly active part in trying to check the practice in respect of all dutiable or prohibited goods," and, no doubt, missed a considerable amount of profit as a consequence. He carried his protest into the Quaker camp, where, sad to say, were to be found young women who wore smuggled shawls.

William Tuke continued to climb the steep hill before him. While still a very young man he began to feel the need of a comrade, and, in 1754, he married Elizabeth Hoyland of Sheffield. She was about his own age and "of very respectable connexions". She "united much that was pleasing in aspect and manners with good sense and sound principles". As a wife "her domestic duties were well fulfilled".

For some years her husband struggled in business without much success, and a family sprang up as quickly as it may have been desired. Then, after only six years of happy married life, three days after the birth of her fifth child, William Tuke was bereaved of this true and sympathetic helpmeet. To keep her memory green she left him three sons and two daughters; Henry, born in 1755, William, born in 1758, John, born in 1759, Sarah, born in 1756, and Elizabeth, in 1760. He has left it on record that he took great pleasure in his wife's company and believed that few husbands and wives enjoyed each other's society in a greater degree.

Shortly before Elizabeth was born her mother seems to have had a strong prophetic sense that she would be taken

from her husband, but he put by this foreboding as due to the natural depression at such a time. When she was taken, he felt all refuge to fail him and that everything in which he had trusted was taken from him. He saw in his loss a divine judgment on him for his sins, but eventually he felt that the Everlasting Arm had been underneath, to support and carry him through in a wonderful manner.

At first he gave himself up to unrestrained grief and threw himself on the bed, with a child in his arms, weeping and sobbing loudly. But in time he conquered this despair and set himself a steady course of attention to business and responsibility for his share in the conduct of Quaker affairs. He was particularly concerned with the position in York, and began to take a more active part in "Meetings for discipline".

The State of the Society of Friends at this time is said to have been very low. The management, says Samuel Tuke, had come to be in the hands of a few dry, formal members, unsympathetic and wanting in tact. William Tuke's indignation was aroused more and more, and, being inclined himself to be a little dictatorial, he criticized severely. "The old men," wrote Samuel Tuke, "sometimes treated his expostulations with contempt, telling the Clerk not to mind what he had said." This attitude of the "die-hards" only made William Tuke more determined, and he stuck to his guns. At last, in 1761, reinforcements came from Headquarters. A Commission from the Yearly Meeting visited York and upheld the young reformer, with the result that some improvement began.

Four years after the death of his first wife William Tuke sought consolation in a second marriage. In the town of Bingley, near Bradford, in the West Riding of Yorkshire there lived a family of the name of Maud who had suffered heavy trials and troubles. One of the sons had been a prodigal and spent, in the course of two years, more than £600. Finding all this money, to save the family honour, had so crippled the father financially that he became involved in difficulties necessitating the loss of hundreds more. The son ran away and the father broke down under the blow, and died, a few years later, "leaving his affairs perplexed beyond description". But he died with his mind strongly impressed that "the Everlasting Arm would be underneath"

and that his eldest daughter, Esther, would experience divine help in bearing the weight of responsibility.

Esther had her temptations to shirk the burden thus laid upon her, one of which was to "join herself to one who had it in his power to free her from many outward sufferings". If she had accepted this offer, she would have had a great position, but Providence, as she thought, preserved her from the utter destruction that she supposed would have been her lot if she had yielded to the temptation of riches. Instead, she shouldered the load, which was made heavier for her by her brothers "getting into company and running great lengths". They threw up the sponge in despair of things ever righting themselves, but she pleaded with them, and at last the younger decided to go to America. By sacrificing £200 worth of property the family enabled the young man to emigrate. Eventually he prospered, and helped his family by sending them money. After a time he decided to return home, but was taken ill and died, leaving his affairs in the hands of a partner who lost everything.

Esther Maud met the situation by carrying on a business, of which she made use to keep her mother's home together. This must have been the situation when William Tuke sought her friendship. About four years after his first wife's death he was corresponding with Esther Maud and comparing notes on religious experience in meetings for worship.

At the same time he must have had in mind something more than mere friendship. The essence of the story is revealed in four letters from William Tuke and one from Esther Maud. The first, dated 9th mo. 14th, 1764, is William Tuke's, in answer to one, not preserved, from the lady. Both evidently followed some confidences, and William Tuke begins by expressing gratification at getting the letter. He proceeds to congratulate her on "getting on bravely" in meetings, and to encourage her in faithfulness and resignation. Having found a sympathetic listener, he makes a full confession of his failures and occasional amendment in spiritual matters, concluding with a hint as to the state of his feelings: "I salute thee in a degree of goodwill, and with the best love I am capable of I remain thy friend."

In the interval between this letter and the next, dated 11 mo. 28, William Tuke must have been to Bradford and presented himself formally as a suitor. He writes that his

mind was filled with a degree of peace and satisfaction with what he had done, and proceeds to lay before Esther Maud his past history and present estate, material and spiritual, thus giving her an opportunity to withdraw if the prospect was not sufficiently alluring. He tells her that on looking over his affairs, a few months before, he found he had about made ends meet and that the "neat" value of his effects was between £600 and £700 and that his present set of customers seemed safe. "I am so circumstanced," he wrote, "that I cannot propose making thee a settlement, but I think it will always be my practice to keep a will by me . . . . And I have long seen a method scarcely at all practised of making a suitable provision for children, without making them independent of their mother." The letter concludes "with the salutation of endeared love".

Five days later Esther Maud responds, doubting whether there can ever be a much nearer connection between them. The reason for this is her mother's dependence on her business and the break up of home involved. The business, through her wise conduct and exertions, was doing sufficiently well, but not amassing a fortune. "Those that would run the risk of taking me," she warns her lover, "must have nothing else so long as my mother lives." She adds modestly, "I am neither calculated for an exalted station nor could I keep my place in it." Her letter ends by leaving him entirely free to withdraw if, on solid consideration, he wishes to, and she assures him that she has his good sincerely at heart, and if he changed his mind she would still rejoice if he found a true helpmeet elsewhere.

William Tuke hastens, three days later, to assure her that nothing she has disclosed could in the least make him alter his mind, for he dare not make money any motive either of his choice or refusal.

He shrinks from the menace of Mammon and confesses his temptation, shortly after his first wife's death, to enjoy "a prospect of too much ease and satisfaction for me, for surely scarce any ever formed greater schemes in idea than I, nor any perhaps more unfit to be trusted with affluence". He assures her that however much he doubted whether he was taking the right course in wooing her, thoughts of her persisted and continually revived, and he was more than ever sure that he desired her as his helpmeet.



As for the obstacles suggested in her letter, he suggests that her brother and sister are now so well placed that it may be better for them to shift for themselves, and it would be satisfactory to him to provide a home for his mother-in-law.

On the third of June 1765 William Tuke and Esther Maud became man and wife.

There is not much outstanding in the succeeding twenty years, but they may be regarded as the most important in William Tuke's life; a period of consolidation and the foundation of his future fame. It was a time of domestic happiness and the welding of a partnership of minds devoted to the betterment of the social circle in which they moved. At the end of it the first fruits appeared.

It is not altogether surprising that the children of the first marriage did not welcome a stepmother enthusiastically with open arms. Probably they had "run wild" to some extent, and Sarah, the eldest, would resent losing the authority she had in a small way established. But Esther Tuke was precisely the woman to overcome prejudice with tact and sympathy and convert opposition into co-operation and love. The stepmother quickly gained the ascendancy requisite as domestic head of the family. Her religion was not superficial. "She was lively and spirited, and had a natural facetiousness which made young persons greatly enjoy her society. There was, at the same time, a dignity of mien, and almost an awfulness of character, when serious, which gave her an invincible influence over the minds of young persons." She was an acknowledged Minister in the Society, and William Tuke was an Elder.

At a later period of her life her dignified carriage compelled an expression of admiration from a prominent member of the Men's Yearly Meeting. In 1784, the Women Friends desired to have their own meeting officially recognized by the Men's Meeting. Esther Tuke headed a deputation from the women, and "the Clerk of the Yearly Meeting felt strongly inclined to address to her the regal enquiry of old: 'What wilt thou, Queen Esther, and what is thy request? It shall be given thee to the half of the kingdom.'"

Her husband left on his grandson the memory of a dignified and judicial figure. Samuel Tuke records his impression in these words: "There was very little of what is now called religious instruction in the family, and religious

doctrines were rarely, if ever, the subject of the parlour chit-chat. The free use of the Sacred Name, and the introduction of deep and mysterious subjects into familiar conversation were very offensive to my Grandfather. . . . He had also a great dislike to the habit of *prosing*, or that of *forcing* of religious subjects and admonition into the ordinary discourse. But when religious subjects arose in a manner which he thought consistent with simplicity no one hailed them more than he did. His home was the resort of most of the Friends who travelled in the ministry and opportunities of religious intercourse in the family frequently occurred during these visits."

William Tuke's second wife provided him with two additional daughters, Ann and Mabel, and a son, Samuel, who died in infancy. William Tuke's grandson, Samuel, gives the following particulars of the family in 1784 :

Henry, with his father in the tea trade.

William, a miller.

John, a land surveyor. (There is at the Retreat a very fine map of Yorkshire in 1816, the work of John.)

Sarah, a girl of talents and spirit, now a minister (i.e. at the time of writing).

Elizabeth, remarkable for prudence and good sense ; also religious.

Ann, a decided character ; melancholy and inclined to meditation and poetry. (It was Ann, who, as the wife of William Alexander, was principally active in founding the Annual Monitor.)

Mabel, the shrewd and lively plaything of her sisters, who, in 1804, married John Hipsley of Hull.

During this period William Tuke developed a yet more active part in the Society's discipline. From about the age of thirty-six until within a few years of his death in 1822, " he attended the Yearly Meeting in London with scarcely an exception " ; a stretch of something like fifty years.

Both William and Esther Tuke adopted pet projects for social reform. First, in order of time, came Esther's : Education. She had for a long time had it on her mind that it was her duty to found a school that should offer Friends' daughters a rather fuller education than was to be had at Ackworth. By 1784 this seed had grown and flourished and borne fruit in the establishment of a Girls' School

in Trinity Lane. The house is now marked by a tablet. For the complete story of this foundation the reader is referred to the History of the Mount School.

When his biographer arrives it will be interesting to be told what various houses were occupied by William Tuke. His Aunt Frankland began business in Walmgate. At the time of her marriage, in 1733, the tea shop was in Castlegate. When Esther Tuke died in 1794 new premises for the school were being built almost under the shadow of Clifford's Tower. The girls moved into the new premises a year or two later. It was for this school that Lindley Murray compiled his Grammar.

The school was not the only Tuke venture to which Murray lent his kindly assistance. Round about this time he was giving help and advice to William Tuke over his pet project, the building of an Asylum for the Insane, especially for the benefit of Friends, in which a milder system of treatment than that generally practised should be the rule.

Here it will not be irrelevant to set down a few particulars relating to William Tuke's business :—

- 1785. Henry Tuke joined the firm, now Tuke & Co. Manufacture of Cocoa and Chocolate introduced.
- 1797. Samuel Tuke apprenticed.
- 1805. Samuel Tuke made a partner.

These last two facts are of interest because it was on Samuel's shoulders that his grandfather's cloak fell. He was born in 1784, and is therefore coeval with the Girls' School, to which he went at the age of seven. He joined the Retreat Committee in 1812, and in 1813 published a "Description of the Retreat". He became Treasurer when his grandfather resigned that office shortly before his death.

It was an incident which occurred in 1790 that led to his taking definite action, but before this William Tuke's mind had been turned to the condition of mentally afflicted people. The incident referred to was the death, under suspicious circumstances, of a woman Friend in a York Asylum.

This painful occurrence created so much concern among York Friends that it was not long before William Tuke was appealed to, as the likeliest leader in the establishment of a Quaker-owned Asylum. The appeal was whole-heartedly

responded to. William Tuke saw the need, and brought his suggestions before a gathering of Friends at the Yorkshire Spring Quarterly Meeting in 1792. In June he succeeded in starting a foundation fund, but it is said that he almost wrecked the project by his *fortiter in re*, raising opposition among some present, and that the tide was turned by his son Henry's *suaviter in modo*, when he asked the meeting, "Well, but isn't my father's suggestion worth considering?"

The fund gradually mounted, and after a few months, when £1,000 had been collected, a Committee was appointed to find a site and buy land. Various Friends co-operated in the purchase of supplies, and bricks, timber, slates and other building necessities were procured. Several of the invoices for these articles are annotated with calculations of the proportions chargeable respectively to the Retreat and the new building in Castlegate for the Girls' School. Particulars of this building will be found in *The Mount School York* by Winifred Sturge and Theodora Clark.

When at last the new Quaker Asylum was opened in May 1796, William Tuke's brother-in-law, Timothy Maud, was made superintendent, but his death a month or two later, left William Tuke with little choice but to superintend his creation himself. He did so for a year, a year of many trials and difficulties.

In this responsible position he turned for mutual interchange of ideas to his nephew William Maud, son of the deceased Superintendent, a rising surgeon in Bradford. One letter written on December 1st, 1796, is a piteous tale of troubles. Several patients, the cook, and a nurse, were suffering from various illnesses. In the midst of this, Jane King, the housekeeper, insisted "though unwell herself, in imprudent officiousness", on sitting up with a patient and making herself worse. "Thus," comments William Tuke, "thou wilt see the family has been greatly *deranged* indeed."

The troubles at the Retreat were not the only ones that assailed him. At the same time he had a domestic worry. His son John had been taken alarmingly ill after exposure to bad weather. But with characteristic courage and determination he turns to a brighter side: two patients were improving. "If these two", he writes, "should be restored to their right minds the institution will get some credit."

In another letter he expounds the Quaker position with regard to military legislation, and, at the end of January 1797 returns to Retreat affairs. He had now had half a year's experience. The first Charge Attendant or "Keeper" had proved careless and allowed a suicidal patient to strangle himself. This necessitated his retirement and replacement. William Maud had evidently assisted in finding a successor. As Treasurer, William Tuke confesses that the Retreat is short of money at the time, and accepts some financial help offered by his nephew. Then, his mind is burdened by the question whether J. Hipsley will agree to become Superintendent, on one hand, and on the other with the apathy of Friends about the School. "All men seem to desert me in matters essential," he breaks out in a fit of discouragement.

A month later, again, having had a letter from J. Hipsley, declining the Superintendentship, he moots the idea that led, as much as anything, to the early success of the Retreat. He expresses his intention to consider the claims of the man who eventually took the office, George Jepson. He asks William Maud figuratively to feel Jepson's pulse, without saying too much, with a view to giving him a trial.

From this the letter goes on to another perplexity, the finding of a housekeeper to replace Jane King, who had proved unequal to her position. She remained, however, for a time, and in April was the cause of further complaint. One of the patients died, and "Jane King in consequence of this not unexpected event let down her spirits so as to think she was going to be ill, and wished to have leave to go away." This, "considering how little use she was", the Committee agreed to.

In the middle of 1797 George Jepson actually became Superintendent.

The next letter in our collection comes two years later, when William Tuke is planning his annual attendance at Yearly Meeting. "I want thee to go with me to London; my plan is to set out to go to Doncaster on 5th day the 9th instant (evidently proximo, the letter being dated April 21st), on 6th day to Newark, 7th day to Oakham, 2nd day to Wellingborough, stay 3rd day there, and go to Hitchin on 4th. William and Rachel intend going, but it is uncertain whether they will go with me or not. I have proposed

taking John Tuke's wife in the chaise with me, but I find she wants to take one of the children, and I do not chuse to be one of 3 in a single Horse Chaise on so long a journey."

A long interval separates this letter from the last of the series which is the most personally interesting. The writer was, at this time, seventy-nine years of age. His nephew seems to have been interested in his symptoms, and William Tuke reports progress. "I have used so few exertions, that it is difficult to determine whether the complaint in my breast, &c. be better or not, yet I rather hope there is a little improvement. I found on trial of the little mare that a moderate trot after the rate of 5 miles an hour scarcely caused any pain, even with riding about 6 miles, but these rides have been before dinner. A *short* walk after dinner causes pain. About the time or rather after thou was here I took light suppers, as Chocolate, Arrow Root, &c. and found little or no uneasiness in going to bed. One night I inclined to a change, eat a little sausage; a very small piece of Apple Pye and about a mouthful of cheese, and drank a quarter of a pint of Ale well warmed with Ginger. Before I went upstairs, the pain came on and increased on undressing and in Bed, extending to the Fingers," and so on. These symptoms were followed after a time by others, a cold or influenza. The rest of the letter consists of items of family news; the health of his children and grandchildren and their various movements.

The complaints described could not overcome this robust old man. He lived another ten years or more and had strength and energy to take a small part in yet another battle against social abuses, when he was eighty-three years of age. The enemy was his old foe of thirty years before, the mismanagement of York Asylum.

The publication of Samuel Tuke's *Description of the Retreat* in 1813, and the circulation of a notice that Dr. Belcombe had set up a private house for the reception of insane patients, roused the ill-advised resentment of the physician and superintendent of the Asylum, who made an onslaught on Samuel Tuke and the Retreat physician. The details of this grim fight may be read in Jonathan Gray's *History of York Asylum*, and in Milnes Gaskell's *Some Passages in the History of York Asylum*.

The attack merely had the effect of calling attention to flagrant cases of cruelty and neglect, as well as gross immorality, at the Asylum. By a curious coincidence, just at this time, a case quite independent of those alluded to, came before the notice of a West Riding Magistrate, Godfrey Higgins.

He brought his case forward just when the Tukes and their friends were contemplating special measures for compelling reform.

Before this, William Tuke had, in 1809, appealed to the Governors to adopt new Rules and Regulations. But the Governors were easy-going gentlemen, quite satisfied that nothing was wrong; and nothing would have been done but for the insistence of Godfrey Higgins, backed by Samuel Tuke and his friends. Though William Tuke took only a small part in this agitation, it was a greater share than most men of his years would have undertaken.

Finding that the Governors were content to make only nominal and very inadequate enquiry into the abuses alleged, the reforming party decided on a dramatic move. They mustered an army of new Governors, who, by giving a donation of £20 each became entitled, by the constitution, to appear in that character, and bore down upon the Quarterly Court in just sufficient numbers to make a majority in the meeting and force a real and thorough enquiry. Thus William Tuke joined forces with Samuel, and both became Governors.

The sequel was that, after two years of dispute (1813 and 1814) the reforming party got the upper hand completely. The Asylum was reformed and started on a career of usefulness that continues to this day.

But a much more important and far-reaching result was the appointment, in 1815, of a Parliamentary Commission, before which Godfrey Higgins and William Tuke himself, gave evidence. It is no flight of fancy to say that the legislation which followed is the fruit of the seed sown in 1792 by the founder of the Retreat. The full story may be read in Dr. Daniel Hack Tuke's *History of the Insane in the British Isles*.

In 1822 William Tuke died. During his strenuous life he had not merely overcome the opposition to many of his ideas, but had won for himself the respect of all and the love of many. It may be said that he had become the leader of

the Society of Friends in York. The lonely voice crying in the wilderness had made itself heard and the prophet who raised it had come to be regarded as the Father of the flock. When at last he was removed by death, the congregation broke through their custom of allowing their elders to depart in silence, and gave forth a "Testimony" under the title *A Memorial concerning William Tuke*. It was signed by sixty members of York Monthly Meeting. He was worthy of a double honour, say the writers, who testify to his reasonableness of spirit; "In the share which he took in the discipline of the Society, in its various meetings, he expressed himself with firmness, and sometimes with earnestness; but after having fully stated his own views, if the meeting did not concur with them, he submitted to its judgment with cheerfulness; and his example in this respect, became increasingly striking as he advanced in years."

"A man's *life* is his Testimony." These are the words of William Tuke in his blind old age, spoken when his granddaughter, Esther Wheeler of Hitchin, had finished reading a biography aloud.

The lasting memory of William Tuke should be of the virile reformer, seeing, as his great grandson Daniel Hack Tuke put it, not merely that right should be done, but "his creed being that it must be done". It is so he should be remembered. Or better still, perhaps, by a domestic picture of the man at the age of forty-seven, his daughter-in-law's first impression of the family into which she was about to marry: "The family consists of Esther Tuke, her husband, three daughters, a son, and a young maid-servant, with an apprentice. They have, I fancy, no outward dependence but trade and economy; but their liberal notions are not to be described; for they and their possessions are wholly their friends. They are marvellously delivered from this world's wisdom. William Tuke seemed to me to sit in the wisdom and glory of Solomon; and entering a little into it was a treat beyond the natural taste."



## Elizabeth Fry: "Heretic" or Seer ?

IT is a matter of common knowledge that the young Gurneys of Earlham, as evidenced by published extracts from their diaries, were largely untrammelled in their beliefs by the doctrines in vogue amongst the Society of Friends, and that the change which her sisters observed in the thoughts and actions of Elizabeth Fry, after her memorable meeting with William Savery, were a source not only of irritation but also of concern to them, in that the liberty she had hitherto had in her beliefs appeared to be repressed, and she seemed to be willingly entering into the narrow and circumscribed limits of doctrine and conduct, which were looked upon as the necessary equipment of a "strict Friend". We, also, are apt to visualize her in later life, in spite of her successful experiments in social welfare, as a faithful and unquestioning adherent to the doctrines and practices of the Society. We find, however, from some of her letters, that she was by no means willing to accept without modification the ideas that were held in great esteem by Friends of that time on at least two questions, those of education and music. If it is correct to define a "heretic" as one who dissents from the traditional beliefs of the day, whatever the later verdict of the Society may be thereon, there is little doubt that this term might be applied even to such a stalwart example of Quakerism as Elizabeth Fry.

The main interest in the first two letters, both of which belong to the Gurney Collection of Manuscripts, is Education, or rather Boarding Schools. In the earlier one we are given a glimpse of the entry of Gurney Fry, at the age of 15, into the school kept by Joel Lean, at Fishponds, near Bristol. The scene might be paralleled at any time between the date of the letter and the present time, as the anxious mother leaves her son in the care of the school authorities, not without a certain amount of advice to the Headmaster with regard to school affairs.

Gurney Fry had been nearly a year at school when the second letter was written, and his mother's opinion of boarding schools, never very flattering, does not seem to have

improved in the meantime. Probably few Friends of her own or later times would entirely agree with her view of these " scenes of temptation ", but the present practice of shorter terms upholds her contention that lengthy periods at school without home influence may be far from beneficial.

The third letter contains many points of interest. It only came to light shortly before the Elizabeth Fry Exhibition at Norwich (1937), and was amongst the exhibits shown. Her views on music and the harm that may ensue from the repression of musical tastes are now fully recognized by the Society, but they were not generally accepted by Friends until forty or fifty years after the letter was written. Her plea that the younger people might be allowed to indulge in singing is far ahead of her time, and marks her as a true " seer ", whilst her home experiences lead her to denounce the immoderate pleasures of the table then indulged, it would appear, amongst some families of otherwise " worthy " Friends. There are many other points of interest in the letters here printed, with slight omissions which are indicated.

## I

Elizabeth Fry to Joseph J. Gurney, Norwich ; " By Romford ".

(Gurney MSS. I, 222)

Dagenham, viii.15.1831.

My dearest Joseph,

I am anxious at once to write to thee after my return from Bristol to tell thee & thy beloved wife that I paid an interesting visit to dear Aunt Fowler & Rachel<sup>1</sup> on my return home. When I made up my mind to take Gurney I concluded to give a day to cousin C. Gurney<sup>2</sup> & Aunt Fowler because I loved them too well to leave the neighbourhood without seeing them. I therefore in mind devoted 6d. day to this purpose but as it proved Bristol meeting day which lasted late it much shorten'd my visit to Elm Grove — James Sheppard & Bessy & Prissy Gurney were with me & by some accident aunt Fowler never got the letter mentioning my plan until just before I arrived therefore she was rather flutter'd & Saml. only gave her reason to expect me, but she soon recovered herself & we had I thought

a very interesting time together, she appeared very lively in spirit, minister'd sweetly to James—& I felt enabled truly to encourage her & spiritually I think we felt comforted & animated together. I was also more encouraged about her bodily state & see more reason for hope about her complaints than I did before I saw her, this I thought you would like to hear. Rachel was most kind & attentive to me, I was but poorly & they helped to comfort me up—we left them early in the morning but they were both up to see us off—Lucy Fowler was there & but poorly.

Now for my other history. I left home low & anxious & yet I did not feel easy not to go with Gurney, but as I went along I felt more quiet & peaceful & believed the step taken a right one—We arrived in Bristol very tired but had a *most* kind reception from Dr. Ball<sup>3</sup> & S. Allen<sup>4</sup> & I had no small pleasure in finding that Saml. & E. & the children were at Coombe & Clifton—I had one small trouble, my box did not arrive & I had not a single article of clothing except *shoes & gloves* & never did arrive until the day that I left Bristol—I entirely shifted as I could, on 4th day we went to Fish Ponds with Sam & Elizth.<sup>5</sup> & thoroughly saw into things *except learning* which we trusted to thee & I felt generally *much* satisfied but have an impression partly from Bristol friends that they are high & rather severe with their boys, though I did not see it in them—Gurney was altogether pleased & Joel Lean<sup>6</sup> *very* glad I went, he said he did not like children going without either their father or mother with them—I chose his bedroom, told my views, plans, &c., &c., some of which I believe will prove useful in the school as to *moral care*, indeed I believe I was in my right place & rather remarkably felt it to be the case—After this we all went to the Hillhouses, Gurney with us, where I well introduced him—as well as to Dr. Ball & S. Allen who appear willing truly to take him by the hand, that if it were only for my proper introduction to some of my kind friends I think my journey paid for, at his age I much value a little good association for him amidst friends & relations. I left him *very* satisfactorily under Sam & Elizth. care, they were to send him to Fish Ponds. Dear Wm. Foster & his boy arrived on 5th day which was very satisfactory & my being there I think was as important nearly for his boy as Gurney, I tried to do for him nearly

the same as mine, dear Agatha Hillhouse will I believe be much like a mother to them.

Thou will like to hear that Wm. Foster & myself had a satisfactory meeting on 6th day morn—S. Allen said it was largely attended for that day—Dearest Sam most kindly sent me home in one of his carriages with James Sheppard & therefore that journey cost me hardly any thing but as my purse is rather low just now & expenses rather heavy I *thankfully* accept thy offer as to *our* journey down which cost just £4—I hope I am not intruding in doing it but I find it best not to refuse *good offers*—I feel peaceful in having left Gurney—I am pleased to hear of thy public meetings & do believe that they are not labour in vain—I look to one or two at Barking but with women it is very humbling work. . . . farewell dearest Joseph much love to those around thee & believe me thy very affectionate & grateful sister

E. Fry.

<sup>1</sup> " Aunt Fowler and Rachel." Rachel Fowler and her daughter, of Melksham ; mother and sister of Mary, the second wife of Joseph J. Gurney, whom he married in 1827.

<sup>2</sup> " C. Gurney." Christiana Gurney, of Bath, daughter of Joseph and Christiana (*née* Barclay).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Gawen Ball of Bristol (1766-1847).

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Allen, of Hitchin 1771-1868, a recorded minister and a keen supporter of philanthropic movements, especially the Peace Society.

<sup>5</sup> " Sam and Elizabeth." Samuel Gurney, brother of Joseph J. Gurney, and his wife Elizabeth (*née* Sheppard).

<sup>6</sup> Joel Lean (d. 1856, aged 76) kept a successful private boarding school at Fishponds House, Bristol, for the children of Friends. A prospectus, in the Library at Friends House, shows that the hours of study covered eight out of the twelve between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. Besides English subjects and mathematics, Greek, Latin, French and German were taught. Geography and drawing received attention once a week, while the evenings after supper were devoted to " Propositions explanatory of the christian Doctrines of the Society, accompanied by proofs from the Holy Scriptures." —ED.

## II

Elizabeth Fry to Joseph J. Gurney, Norwich.

(Gurney MSS. I, 224)

Upton Lane, vi.16.1832  
finished vi.20

My dearest Joseph,

I much wish to hear of your safe arrival at home—I have since I began received they truly welcome letter, I

can hardly tell thee how much I enjoy hearing from thee. I think thy account of your arrival home satisfactory, I hope that the rest before thou sets out again may refresh thee & be like a little brook by the way. I am quite clear that much stress upon the body & mind depresses the spirits which thou hast had of late but I am also clear that knowing what it is in however small a degree to have Christ within as the *well of water* springing up—heals, refreshes, strengthens body soul & spirit & raises up marvellously, this utterly unworthy as I am of it, I believe I may say that I know to be the case. I often think that it requires much care in the christian life not to make too much of suffering, *Almost boasting of it* : I do not my dearest brother in the *slightest* degree feel this applicable to thee—We know there is & must be fiery baptisms to be past through & at times *deep & real suffering* as some of us have indeed had to experience—but after all & through every discouragement we are called upon to rejoice ever more & in every thing to return thanks—& to look to the God of *hope* to fill us with all joy & peace in believing through the power of the Holy Ghost, I believe it well & right for those who love their Lord to look to the many blessing[s] & unmerited mercies granted them spiritually & naturally & remember that even if the cause they hold most dear does not prosper in themselves or others as they could desire—it is after all not *their cause* but His—Who will work & who can let it—It is curious my writing thus as I consider myself in a poor, low & rather conflicted state but I find as far as I understand it, that the real christian principle leads men to hope against hope.

I am just now rather full under my own dear family. Gurney takes up my time & attention, he is amiable & I trust going on well but I do not like the effect of so many years school & if I had fortune & power I think nothing hardly would induce my sending a boy many years to school, an injury to the character that I believe nothing is ever likely to remedy ; with increased knowledge which I have of these things I am increasingly against *all boarding schools* believing that there are hardly any where the chastity of the mind does not suffer—at all events try first to have the children strongly grounded in principle before they enter these scenes of temptation. Gurney has expressed nothing but satisfaction with the school he was in for the last

half-year. May Wm. & Hannah<sup>1</sup> upon entering their important duties know how to guard & protect the dear children comited to their care from contaminating each other. This is a most important point & should be done by night & by day—

My husband set off on another long journey yesterday which I feel. Poor accounts from Sandgate of Hannah and rather so of Rachel. I feel at times for my different children beyond what I can express in their various situations trials temptations & joys—but again now & then feel able to commit & leave them all to Him who can do all things for them—I am glad yours are going on well—Farewell dearest Joseph, much love to thy dear sweet wife who I increasingly feel a sister in bonds spiritual & bonds natural—much also to the dear children—& Society—H. Scarnel—W. Lean & Houson—

Thy much attached sister

E. Fry.

I owe Hewen some shillings or a pound which I wish to pay & send by Lathume, as a gift is a gift & a debt is a debt, therefore I prefer paying but beg to know what I owe.

Pray ask Wm. Lean where I am to pay his bill as I much wish to do it at once.

<sup>1</sup> William Lean was the son of Joel Lean, mentioned in the previous letter. In 1832 he married Hannah Scarnell of Earham, near Norwich; and they began their married life by taking charge of the new school opened by Warwickshire Quarterly Meeting at Camp Hill, Birmingham. It was under their care during the whole of its short career of ten years.—ED.

### III

Elizabeth Fry to Joseph J. Gurney, Norwich.

(In private possession of Q. E. Gurney, Esq.)

Upton Lane ii.27.1833

My dearest Joseph,

Pray forward the enclosed to Lucy Aggs. The ladies must do all they can to curry favour with the Matron. I much fear that all is not right in the Prison, or the Officers would not feel as they do. I have for some little time thought of writing to thee. I must first ask how it goes with thee, and whether there have been any further openings from within or without respecting Parliament?<sup>1</sup> It is one

of those cases that I should very much trust to these openings and in no way fret myself about it.

I am much interested about thy book.<sup>2</sup> I think it a subject so very important and likely to be so very useful its being handled by a religious person, so much handle has been made of it by the irreligious. There is one point I hope thou wilt dwell upon which is that of forming good and refined tastes in early life, it appears to me to be one important means of helping the human mind in a healthy state, that in recreations which are needful for it, it should be trained as much as possible to look to those things that bring profit as well as pleasure with them. My observation of human nature and the different things that affect it frequently leads me to regret that we as a Society so wholly give up delighting the ear by sound. Surely He who formed the ear and the heart would not have given these tastes and powers without some purpose for them, and I think my husband is a most striking proof of the real injury sustained from the restrictions of his early life wholly preventing his in any degree having cultivated in a sober and limited way his strong natural tastes ; it led him to break other laws of infinitely greater consequence, and I think his character has suffered materially from it. I also do observe that by not allowing the use of that which God has given a taste for, much less refined, and I apprehend safe things take possession, and in our Society we see it, I think, for more thought than in most about eating, particularly how things are dressed at table, etc. and that some grosser pleasures have been partaken of instead.

I also think music in certain states of body and mind very useful, and is thought to check and help insanity. I keep my views very much to myself, and do not see exactly how we can make any change, but in the formation of tastes it is a consideration. I often have felt in singing, as almost all of us do to our poor little babies as the sure means to cheer, comfort and lull them, we forget we are giving a taste that we afterwards have to suppress, but I am not without a hope and expectation that the day may come when under the restriction of christian bounds something of the kind may be admitted of our young people. I have rather unexpectedly entered this subject and I hope neither Mary nor thyself will look upon me as a heretic for doing it. I also fully see

and feel the other side of the question, and believe some are called upon to give it up, but I seriously doubt how far we should make it a general thing. . . .

I am thy most loving sister,

E.F.

<sup>1</sup> "Parliament". Joseph J. Gurney decided in 3rd month 1833 not to attempt a Parliamentary career.

<sup>2</sup> *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 1844. See *Memoirs of J.J.G.*, 1902, p. 265.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON



## From Margaret Fox's Library

PERHAPS books owned by Margaret (Fell) Fox are extant in England and known about. That they should turn up in America is somewhat surprising. As a sequel to earlier articles on George Fox's Library in this *Journal* (xxvii, xxix, xxx)<sup>1</sup> I may describe the following :

1. At the Library of the Representative Meeting, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia. A thick bound quarto volume of 29 Quaker tracts mostly dated about 1670-2. The first 128 leaves are numbered by hand, presumably for the census of George Fox's writings, since the subsequent pieces are not by him. The clasps and the front cover are missing ; the back cover resembles the binding of the volumes from George Fox's library now at Friends Reference Library, London, while corresponding to the " GF " stamped on some of the latter (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxx., 15), it has " M F " stamped in the leather. There is no other evidence of ownership.

2. At the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. A thick bound quarto volume of Quaker pamphlets, printed in 1660 and 1661. On the fly leaf " Ex Libris Margaret Fox " in the hand of Daniel Abraham,<sup>2</sup> and in a later hand " James Birkets Book bo't of Alice Abrams 1778—No. 1. containing 44 Tracts."

3. At the Library of Congress, Washington. *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors* by George Fox, John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly, 1660. Bound in suède leather. On

<sup>1</sup> I may take this opportunity to report that I have picked up one more of the pamphlets formerly bound together as Volume 55, having identified it in the manner described in *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxix, 69f. It is a copy of " Truth Vindicated and the Lyars Refuge Swept away " by John Pitman and Jasper Batt, (1658). Leaves 284-319 (numbered in Fox's handwriting).

As confirmation of identifications so seemingly precarious I may add that I now notice that when the nine pamphlets attributed to that volume are arranged in the order of the MS pagination they fall in the chronological sequence that characterizes the complete volumes of pamphlets surviving from that library,—1658, 1658, 1658, 1659, 1659, 1659, 1660, 1662, 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Son-in-law of Margaret Fox, being the husband of Rachel Fell. A similar history is that of the copy of Fox and Hookes, *The Spirit of the Martyrs Revived*, sent by the latter to Margaret Fell in 1678. Many years later it was in the possession of John Abraham, son of Daniel and father of Allis. See *Jnl. F.H.S.*, ix, 135.

the fly leaf "Daniel Abraham of Swarthmore Book" is written in his own hand, but no name of earlier or later owner. Bequeathed to the present ownership by William Lukens Shoemaker, a collector of Washington, it may very probably have descended through the same channels as the preceding.

The fly leaves contain also a manuscript list of contents with 16 titles, showing that originally 15 Quaker broadsides were bound in with and following the *Battle-Door*. This list, as a photostat promptly disclosed to me, is in the unmistakable handwriting of George Fox.<sup>1</sup> Thus the volume's history is carried back to an earlier generation. Since one of the pieces is dated 1674 they must have been bound some time between that year and Fox's death in 1690/1. If as suggested the book belonged at Swarthmore and to Margaret Fox, he must have made the index in it either in 1675-7 or 1678-80 since he was not there at any later time.

There is, however, another possibility no less interesting. Daniel Abraham may have inherited the book from Fox himself. Among his books at London listed in 1695 as "G.F.'s Books at W[illiam] M[eade]'s" were three copies of the *Battle-Door*, two of them bound with broadsides (Nos. 4 and 8; *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxviii, 4). This would then be another survivor of that notable library, and in America! Unfortunately the fore edges have been trimmed back when the book was rebound in the Eighteenth Century, so that the tell-tale number upon them that would have at once proved this identification is gone (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xxix, 67 and xxx, 13), as it is with another rebound copy of the *Battle-Door* with broadsides at London that is also connected with Fox (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxx, 18 note). The broadsides have not been kept in the rebinding of the Washington copy, which again is unfortunate as some of them would have been to-day quite rare, if not unique.

HENRY J. CADBURY

<sup>1</sup> See facing plate, from a photofacsimile given by Mr. Volta Parma, Curator of the Rare Books Department in the Library of Congress, Washington to Isabel Ross, who has kindly lent it for reproduction.

1. her if first the battel door by gff &  
j. st. b. f. 1660
2. to the king & at his counsell at whight  
hall to left of the crull suferings  
by gff. d. j. o. r. w & many others about 1661
3. a representain of the gouernment of england  
to oler protector of ther sad suferings  
Edward piteuoy. r. f. & others 1661
4. a sermon from heaven ~~to~~ to new castell  
by w. d.
5. a word in season by st. crisps.
6. woe vnto the toorne of cambreg. h. b.
7. som thing aganst swaring by gff the  
yonder 1660
8. an answer ~~to~~ to the oathes of alegance  
by r. h. & g. f. yanger 1660
9. a vison of w. baby
10. to the city of london by m. ff. 1660
11. the secret shutting of the wchall reuoyse  
by j. n.
12. to all thoes that be in authority whom the lord  
is iudging by j. n. 1660
13. a loing aduertisment to all thoes that jare  
to gether to persecut the mosem  
by j. v. 1670

LIST OF BROADSIDE TRACTS, IN GEORGE FOX'S HANDWRITING,  
see p. 28



## Irish Quaker Records

### Some items of interest in the Dublin Collection

**M**OST of the official records of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland are in strong rooms under the care of local meetings. In addition, Dublin Yearly Meeting Historical Committee has responsibility for a collection of books, manuscripts, etc. at 6 Eustace St., Dublin. This was begun in 1908 and includes much of interest to Friends, particularly in relation to Irish Quakerism. Visitors are always welcomed and the number of enquiries for information from it increases year by year. One of the most used parts of the collection is a cabinet containing pedigrees of about two hundred Irish Quaker families abstracted from the official registers by the late Thomas Henry Webb.

The following are notes on a few of the items in the collection, which have been chosen almost at random.

There is a volume of Richard Farnworth's writings, privately bound, which includes a copy of his tract *A Discovery of Faith*, 1653. This small pamphlet was ascribed to James Naylor by John Whiting in his catalogue of Friends books published in 1708 and Joseph Smith (*Cata.* II, 217) also attributes it to him. The reason for this probably is that printed at the end of Farnworth's tract is *A letter of James Naylor to severall Friends about Wakefield*, and in the copy at Friends House the last two lines of the preface are cut off. The conclusion of this preface is of interest apart from the fact that it shows the tract to have been Farnworth's and not Naylor's. It runs as follows ;—

Wait wholly within, and sink down into the eternal love, and thou wilt see me and the rest, that we are in the unity of that one Spirit, where love is head, the daily bread, where the soul's refreshment is for to be had, which makes the heart exceedingly glad, Thine in the Vine, Rich : Farnworth.

It would be interesting to know whether there are extant any other complete copies of this tract.

Among a very large number of Irish-printed editions of well-known Friends' books one may select for mention a French translation of John Woolman's *Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich*, under the title, *Avis Rememoratif, ou Un mot de caution, adressé Aux Riches. Par Jean Woolman . . . Traduit par Jacques Desmanoirs. Youghall 1800. Dublin: 1800, 16mo., 102 pp.* Probably the translator was a teacher for he says in his Preface that he is issuing the book for the benefit of young people who are studying French.

Possibly the earliest examples of Quaker Irish-printed literature are letters from the Half-years Meetings in Dublin in 1688 and 1691.

Recently there was added to the collection a letter dictated by George Fox and sent to Friends in Ireland in 1685. It tells them that George Whitehead had been to see the new Lord Lieutenant on their behalf and that he would be willing to let them have access to him should occasion arise. It adds "I have sent him a many of your names yt some may goe one time and some another as they have occasion or any other that is not set downe may visit him with you."

An autograph letter from William Penn to Ambrose Galloway of Lewes offers him a present of "An American skin for a pair of breeches." He goes on to say "I have wore one three or four years colourd, & much likt by some great ones, & 3 or 4 have been beging of me for some of them."

A more recent autograph letter is from the poet Whittier to the girls of Mountmellick School on the occasion of the centenary of the school in 1886. In it the poet says "Friends should be the last people to fear knowledge. Their great distinctive doctrine of the Light Within is safe from any danger from free inquiry, science and criticism, if it is its own unmistakeable evidence."

There is a very large collection of letters in the library to and from members of the Shackleton family of Ballitore and their descendants. They give a detailed picture of Irish Quaker life for nearly a century (the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier nineteenth). There is also on the premises (though not in charge of the Historical Committee) the many volumed diary of Mary Shackleton, afterwards Leadbeater, which is an almost daily record of social life as she saw it among Friends and others from 1774 to 1826. Contemporary with the Shackleton letters are hundreds of

letters of the Lecky family of Cork and the Newsoms of Limerick and Edenderry.

Earlier than these are letters from Limerick Friends in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One gives a graphic account of the divided state of the London Yearly Meeting gathering of 1719, the chief matter in dispute being the wording of the Affirmation which was permitted to Friends. The letter concludes "A.P. and Danl Quare gave 2 Stroaks at us In Ireland, . . . I own I was not sorry for the occasion it gave of wipeing off the aspersion our discipline has lyen under in this nation—'twas done in the face of a full meeting : . . . there were Severall Occurances wch would be too Tedious to Relate and Must Serve for an entertainment when wee meet. . . ."

A number of diaries illustrate various periods of Quaker history in Ireland, and give side lights on the literary and scientific as well as the commercial pursuits of Friends. One, that of James Hill of Limerick, tells also of life in Philadelphia in 1850 when he was considered fortunate to get a situation in a tea and coffee store at five dollars a week. As he had to work from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m. he did not stay there long ; he also found the American boy too independent for his ideas.

Many minute books and files of correspondence deal with the educational and philanthropic interests of Friends in this country, such as Anti-Slavery, Sunday school work, relief work both in Ireland and abroad, and definite ventures as the model farm started in the west of Ireland by a Quaker committee after the great famine of 1847.

Numerous photographs further illustrate nineteenth century Quaker life.

The curios include a chair on which William Penn is reputed to have sat when visiting in Ireland in 1698, the Cross of the Legion of Honour given to Richard Allen for the War Victims work of Irish Friends in Metz in 1870, an engraving of Penn's Treaty with the Indians framed in wood which was part of the roots of the tree under which the Treaty was made, and some Anti-Slavery china presented to a Friend in Youghal in the early nineteenth century, which has since journeyed safely to California and lately back again to Ireland.

ISABEL GRUBB

## A Conscientious Objector in the Eighteenth Century

ON April 18th, 1782 James Hastie spent the night in Ballitore, and Mary Shackleton in her diary for that date made the following record.

“Some anecdotes concerning Jas Hastie gathered from his own mouth.

“James Hastie was a man well esteemed amongst his fellow soldiers for courage as well as dexterity in the use of arms on which acct he was made Corporal to exercise the Men ; but turning the Scriptures in his mind he saw by the lamp which burns brighter in some hearts than others the inconsistency of bearing arms with the Christian warfare, which resists not evil. When in Waterford he heard that the Methodists were a spiritual people, he went to hear them and liked their manner of worship & discourse but could not find that any favoured the sentiments of most convincing weight with him. Happening to hear of the Quakers, he asked a Methodist Woman what sort of people they were. She said a good sort of people, but had errors as well as others, for they denied baptism & the Lord’s supper, which James then thought essential points. He asked had they any books, she said they had, & good reading in some of them. Soon after, he went to one of their meetings, & after taking off his hat, & using some form of prayer with his face to the crown of it after the manner of the Methodists, sate down, seeing no pulpit, no preacher, he wondered, looking about for some time thought those he saw dressed in black hoods, green aprons etc., must be further advanced in experience, but pitied the young who he thought knew not where to look for good, & thought he could tell them a brave story. In this meeting (I think it was) the text of the Samaritan woman was brought to his mind, & he felt unusual tenderness ; & as he kept a written account of his experience as he had learned from the Methodists to do, he was remarkably favoured in his waiting that day. This meeting was silent, as were several others he went to : at length Susanna Cove appeared in a short



testimony, which he felt to be Truth. Afterwards Thos Wily spoke so directly to his state that he wondered what company Thos had got into to know so much about him. He went afterwards to Thos house but he was not at home, he wrote to him, & Thos appointed a day for him to come & they had a conference. He began now to see he must lay down his arms, & thought of doing it at the parade, but the reasoning part prevailed; & presently the account came that the French were landed at Bantry, & orders to march thither. The thought of taking away a Man's life was distressing to James, but it was made known to him that the account was false, & he resolved that they should not have to say of him that he was a Coward. On their way they were countermanded. In the house they lodged at, there were acquaintances of James drinking & wanted him to partake but he bore his testimony against all superfluity of that kind, & lay on a bed for about two hours. When they returned to Waterford, he went to meeting, but from the march & want of rest grew heavy which grieved him. It was a Qrly meeting, Thos Wily spoke, then Samuel Neale to his state, which roused him, & I think from that time he dropt going to the Methodist meeting. He now resolved upon his sacrifice & instead of going to parade, staid in his Barrack room. The Serjeant came to see what was the reason, & said he must acquaint the Colonel. James said he would have him do so. The Colonel order'd him to the Guard-house, & had him tried by a court-martial, they said he was mad. I think they sent him away to the black hole, denied him pen & ink, & to see his friends, but had him again & sentenced him to receive two hundred lashes which was executed with a whip of small cords, laid on with the strength of a Man, & a fresh Man every twenty five strokes, But he was enabled to rejoice in his sufferings. The soldiers brought him his clothes, washed his back with milk & water, applied dock leaves to it, & wept over him. He bid them not weep for him, but for themselves. The Soldiers' wives came to him with jugs of Tea, & bread & butter, but though he accepted their kindness he refused their refreshment. The next day but one after his whipping, they were to march to Camp; he being swelled & sore, one arm in a sling which he could not have his coat on, his legs came out in red spots, having marched twenty four miles that day, but he got himself bled, which was of much service & soon grew well. He was

closely confined at Camp, & the Colonel told him he would release him, order him to his duty, & upon his refusal try him again, & have him shot ; this Jas fully expected. At length the Colonel told him he would have him put to death before, only for his former regard for him, but he would wait to hear from a gentleman in Norwich (He said he must have £50 or 8 men for his discharge) this gentleman was one of the Gurneys who on writing to the Lord Lieutenant obtained his discharge for which Friends of Waterford subscribed 20 guineas, & honest James by his trade as a Weaver, has been enabled to pay it off."

Other sources show that Waterford Friends had done their best to intercede for James Hastie while in prison.

The reference to the Gurneys is interesting for it is an indication of the inter-relations of Quakerism and industry at the time. The Gurneys were very large importers of wool, and their agent in Ireland for the buying and export of wool from that country was the Quaker firm of Strangman, Watson, & Davis of Waterford. Robert Watson, one of the partners, had been a clerk in Gurneys' employment, so we may surmise that it was through him the Gurneys were asked to bring their powerful influence to bear on the Lord Lieutenant to secure the soldier's release.

ISABEL GRUBB

# Elizabeth Fry, Amelia Opie

## Two Lives

Janet Whitney : *Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine*. Harrap. 1937, pp. 328, 12s. 6d.

Jacobine Menzies-Wilson and Helen Lloyd : *Amelia : the Tale of a Plain Friend*. Oxford University Press. 1937, pp. xii. + 299, 12s. 6d.

It is a curious and to some extent a consoling fact, that this year of 1937, which has been dedicated to re-armament and punctuated by wars, should see the publication of a standard life of Elizabeth Fry. The welcome that the book has met with is evidence, not only of the skill and sympathy of the author, nor even of the most noble qualities of its subject ; but of the longing with which our country, haunted by fear of war, can still contemplate the achievements of applied Christianity.

Janet Whitney has performed the service of breathing life into a great figure, who for nearly one hundred years has survived mainly in blue-books, and has only been recalled to memory for purposes of reference. Two years after her death, the pious task of writing the life of Elizabeth Fry was undertaken by two of her daughters, and the two stout volumes which resulted have shared the fate of the majority of standard works. Apart from the fact that, in common with all her children, they failed to understand their mother or sympathize with her nature, their book was doomed to early oblivion, because, after the accepted manner of Victorian biography it set the claims of propriety above those of veraciousness. Filial piety moreover, was at odds with the virtues of selection, and the volumes overflow with extracts from Elizabeth Fry's Journals, and with hortatory epistles, which can never have possessed any but a sentimental interest. " Her letters to her children ", comments her modern biographer, " are the only readable letters she ever wrote."

Now that close on one hundred years have passed, she has found a worthy and indeed an ideal biographer in Janet Whitney, a writer of great charm and humour, who was not only born and married into Quakerism, but has proved

herself in her sympathies and her gifts of leadership to be a true daughter of Friends.

The main outlines of the public life of Elizabeth Fry have always been clear in men's minds, tending to overshadow her private virtues, which were no less remarkable; and only the fact that not one of her eleven children remained a member of his mother's community has been cited from time to time as a damaging comment upon her outside activities. But in this new biography she has stepped down amongst us, tender-hearted and shrinking, and yet with how queenly a dignity. One lays down the volume,—and it is hard to lay it down before one has read every one of the 311 pages!—feeling that one has gained a friend. We see Betsy Gurney in her happy childhood at Earlham, always a little set apart from the merry throng of her brothers and sisters by her delicacy of body and her want of humour, and, as she grew into young womanhood, by her conversion to the "Plain Friends". Nowhere perhaps is her biographer's method more clearly shown, than in the opening chapter, where two lines of the earlier *Life* are expanded into as many sparkling pages, transporting us, like passengers in the mail coach held up by the string of laughing sisters, straight into the heart of the eighteenth century, and the family of "Gay Gurneys".

Either by accident or design, the *Life of Amelia Opie*, which was also published this year, forms a valuable pendant to Janet Whitney's more important work. The only daughter of the beloved Dr. Alderson of Norwich, she was a playmate and friend of the Gurney family, touching them in those early days rather upon the "gay" surface of their lives than upon the deep religious foundation which was later to form the basis of their friendship. When fate had brought Amelia to London as the second wife of John Opie, the famous Cornish painter, she rejoiced at Elizabeth's marriage, which transplanted her also from the country to be her neighbour in town. It is to Mrs. Opie's lively pen that we owe the picture of young Mrs. Fry's home in St. Mildred's Court, with its massive mahogany furniture, its staff of trained servants, and its "sense of comfort and good living". The portrait of the shy hostess, who at twenty years of age was facing her first confinement, ravaged by toothache, surrounded by uncongenial relatives-in-law, and cooped up

in a London Court, comes as a shock to readers who think of Elizabeth Fry only as the Angel of Newgate, in her comely and well-poised matronhood.

For all their old-time affection, there could be little intercourse between the two young wives during the years that followed. Amelia's childlessness left her free to cultivate the friendship of the fashionable and famous people who frequented her husband's studio, and to develop her own real talent for writing. As authoress of the much acclaimed novel "Father and Daughter," and wife of "the English Rembrandt," she was welcomed and fêted by the intelligentsia of both London and Paris.

Into these adventures Elizabeth had neither leisure nor inclination to follow her. During the ten years that succeeded the wedding call at St. Mildred's Court, Mrs. Fry had given birth to seven children; through the death of her father-in-law she had become mistress of the Fry mansion of Plashet, and from thence the whole countryside had benefited by her activities. The girl who at eighteen had gathered from 50 to 70 neglected children into the laundry at Earlham, and there, without help from her six critical sisters, had instilled into them the rudiments of learning and virtue, now, as lady of the manor, "set out to give the benefits of education to every child whom she could reach". She introduced vaccination, and kept her own neighbourhood free from the all pervading smallpox. On the day of her father's funeral she had taken the first and long dreaded step of a new career, and had begun to preach. Finally, in the first days of 1813, she went for the first time, with one companion, inside the women's prison at Newgate, at the request of Stephen Grellet, a travelling Friend from America, who had himself newly explored the horrors of that "hell upon earth".

"What hope is there for the remote claims of prisoners, however wretched, to press themselves upon a life so full?" So questions the author in a fine rhetorical passage, and herself supplies the answer.

When Elizabeth Fry died at 65, she had "reformed the bestial conditions among the women prisoners in Newgate Prison. Her institution of prison libraries and educational classes and her remedies for crime (had) gradually brought her world fame; her influence became felt in many countries of Europe; she was consulted by foreign Governments, and

won the friendship of Queen Victoria and King Frederick William IV of Prussia.

Elizabeth Fry's other work included the reformation of conditions in the ships that transported women convicts to Australia, the provision of libraries for coastguards, and the foundation of a training home for nurses in London. She was also instrumental in getting Parliament to prohibit the practice of suttee in India."

While these concerns were crowding upon her, and her family almost year by year increasing. Amelia Opie, left a childless widow at 38, had returned to Norwich, to knit up again her girlhood's friendships. The affection which sprang up between herself and Joseph John Gurney, who was nearly 20 years her junior throws the colour of romance over her middle years, and we see the handsome banker who was his sister's companion on her Continental journeys falling in love in spite of himself with the authoress whose sprightly conversation and defiance of convention both allured and shocked him. Won at last by her affection for Joseph Gurney and her admiration for his famous sister, Amelia adopted the profession and costume of a "Plain Friend". She lived on into 1853, almost the last survivor of the happy Earlham circle. She who had flirted with Sir Walter Scott and seen Napoleon as First Consul, made her last excursion to London by the great adventure of the Railroad, and was wheeled round the Great Exhibition in a bath chair.

These two biographies, which have so happily appeared together, afford a singularly complete picture of England seen through the eyes of two notable and widely differing women, at that time of ferment and change in which their lives were set. There can be no comparison between the two friends in nobility of purpose and grandeur of achievement. Yet no one saw Amelia and did not love her. William Godwin and Holcroft in her youth, Joseph John Gurney in her middle years, and in her old age the great French sculptor David, all acknowledged her charm and looked to her for inspiration. Through her life of 84 years she gave with both hands to the sad world laughter, and the love of beauty, and unshakable fidelity of friendship; and surely like her more famous friend, she has heard her Master's "Well-done", at the close.

MABEL R. BRAILSFORD

## London Yearly Meeting in the 1850's

THREE small MS. books have recently been presented to Friends House Library, consisting of letters written by the late Joseph Rowntree of York, containing his impressions of the Yearly Meetings of 1855, 1857 and 1858. At the first of these visits to Devonshire House, the writer was a young man of nineteen. Obviously, he was really interested in the business of the Yearly Meeting and in its conduct ; but his remarks often contain pungent criticism of the matter and length of the addresses given, and of the leisurely methods of those days : and there is evidence of the independence of mind and the sound judgement which so strongly marked his later years.

The record is chiefly concerned with Society business, but the happenings of the great world sometimes made themselves felt. On the very first page we have as background the Crimean War, then in progress :—

“ When we stopped at Grantham, a lady . . . asked Father rather earnestly for *The Times*. She glanced hastily over the columns of deaths, then sunk back into the corner of the carriage and burst into an uncontrollable fit of weeping. When she was a little composed she pointed to the notice of the death of her brother, killed in the trenches before Sebastopol.”

A further reminder comes in the account of a tea visit on 1st day to Joseph J. Lister's, when John Bright was among the guests. Bright's opposition to the Crimean War had made him extremely unpopular, but, says J.R., “ Amidst great opposition it seems he has some encouragement : about 30 ministers [? ministerialists] unknown to himself had written to him expressing their approval of his conduct. Among others he mentioned W. V. Harcourt, who had presented him a book with a complimentary note on the first page.” Another reminder of outside interests was the report of a letter addressed by the Meeting for Sufferings in 1858 to David Livingstone on his work for native races, and his answer thereto. In the same year an address had been

presented to the Emperor Napoleon III on an aspect of slavery. "Samuel Bowly thought we should be careful how we sent documents of this kind to such a man ; it appeared to him like ' casting pearls before swine.' "

Joseph Rowntree and his younger brother had come up two days previous to the beginning of Yearly Meeting with their parents, and the family had lodgings at 16 South St., Finsbury. The first evening they visited Madame Tussaud's, but says J. R., "the figures, although life like, were not so deceptively so as I had been led to expect. John Knox preaching before Mary Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell handing Chas. I a paper, the statues of Pitt, Brougham and Theobald Matthew were amongst the most interesting." The next day the two young men enjoyed the Crystal Palace, and during their stay in London they visited the Thames Tunnel and the Zoo.

In those days Yearly Meeting lasted—let us keep, as the MS. does, to the plain language—from the 4th day in the third week of 5th mo. to the following 6th day week. Meetings for Worship were held on the 6th day in the first week, and on the 4th day in the second week, in the Large Meeting-house at Devonshire House, and also at Gracechurch St., Peel, Westminster and Southwark. The general order of the business after the appointment of Clerks, was the reading of Epistles from other Yearly Meetings, the consideration of the answers to the queries (involving a good many statistics, such as the list of distraints for non-payment of tithes and church rates) which led to discussion on the state of the Society ; and, lastly, the discussion of " Propositions " sent up by one or other of the Quarterly Meetings. The names of leading Friends appear again and again : " John Allen spoke for half-an-hour " : " John Hodgkin spoke at some length " : " Benjamin Seebohm " (this was at a Meeting for Worship) " spoke at great length." Among other frequently recurring names are those of John Pease (" striking as his addresses often are for the force and beauty of that which may be said to belong to the ministry, and comparatively feeble in that which does not appertain to it "), Josiah Forster, Peter Bedford, Thomas Pumphrey, Samuel Bowly. John Bright seems generally to have been present and frequently took vigorous part in discussions. The Clerk of the Meeting in each year was Joseph Thorp.



Yearly Meeting is often criticized as being slow to move : but the pace of Friends to-day seems rapid compared with that of 80 years ago. When in 1857 it was agreed to print the Yearly Meeting documents and minutes (the first issue of " Printed Proceedings " dates from that year) Josiah Forster " seemed startled " at the suggestion that *this year's* minutes were to be printed. On a proposal to issue a " Salutation to all bearing the name of Friends " the same speaker wished to substitute the word " Address ", apparently lest the warmer word might be construed as suggesting fellowship with separated bodies in the U.S.A. J.R.'s note goes on : " When the discussion upon words had gone on at great length, Samuel Bowly hoped it would stop. He understood in the Committee on the constitution of the Meeting for Sufferings that four hours had been spent on the name."

It is only possible to refer to a few of the more important matters noted in these books. In 1855, the reading of Epistles brought the Meeting up against a difficult question. There were two Epistles claiming to come from Ohio Yearly Meeting. Which should be acknowledged? This led, says our critic, to " a long and rambling discussion ". In fact the Yearly Meeting or the Large Committee, devoted two whole days to consideration of the matter before any course could be agreed to. The decision belongs to the unhappy history of American separations : and, for once, it seems likely that, after all, the Yearly Meeting acted too precipitately.

Replies to the Queries from all Quarterly Meetings were read, and as the answers contained detailed statistics, much time was occupied. In 1855 the answers to the question whether any had joined the Society by conviction since last year reveal the fact that the largest number reported by any Quarterly Meeting was five. A long discussion took place as to the duty of a Friend with private knowledge of some exception which might prevent a clear answer being given, for instance, to the query whether Friends were " preserved in love ", if he has not had time " to speak to the delinquent or enquire into the circumstances of the case ". Should he tell the meeting, or should he not? Joseph Rowntree says : " Some idea may be formed of the animated character of the discussion by the fact that I saw one Friend try to speak 4 or 5 times and finally give up with a look of despair." " John Bright thought that much of the difficulty

resulted from the statistical way in which the queries were answered." He believed they needed revision, and that "there was much in them that would be better left out". The justice of this view is amply illustrated by the notes on the succeeding Yearly Meetings.

In 1857 Cumberland gave a clear answer to the question whether Friends avoided excess in drinking. As this was the first clear answer from that Quarterly Meeting for some years, a Friend said he would be glad to know whether it was "in consequence of disownment or of reformation"? There was some hesitation as to whether such a question should be answered: but finally "one of the representatives stated that reformation was the cause of the improvement in the answer".

The greatest difficulty, however, arose from the last part of the fourth query, which asked whether Friends endeavoured "by example and precept to train up their children, servants, and those under their care . . . in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel". Naturally "plainness" was interpreted very differently in different Meetings. Joseph Sturge thought that this query "was doing more injury to the Society than any other single thing". He did not think that the youth of his Quarterly Meeting were unmindful of the duty of plainness, "but many of them did object to bear about a mark unsanctioned by Christianity". Time did not allow of full consideration, and the query was left unaltered "to the astonishment of not a few". Joseph Sturge brought up the subject again in the following year, and there was much discussion. The argument that a peculiar dress acted as a safeguard was brought forward, and, on the other hand, the loss to the society was deplored of young Friends who did not like being returned as "exceptions", as was also the tendency to limit office in the Society to those wearing collarless coats. "Samuel Sturge, who it is always pleasant to hear, as he is such a spirited old man, made a queer speech in favour of things as they are." Another Friend (Thomas Satterthwaite) said that "If we persisted in our present practice he thought we should have nothing but silvery hairs and infirm persons to conduct the business." William Thistlethwaite pointed out that "religion led to simplicity, not to a costume". It will be observed that these many hours mainly devoted to the question of correct dress were spent in

a meeting entirely consisting of men. The subject was finally referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, and the latter part of this query was omitted when, in 1861 a revised Book of Discipline was issued.

If "plainness" was an obstacle to young Friends, much more so were the marriage regulations, leading to disownment of Friends who married non-members, even if such were in the habit of attending Meetings. One can only wonder that the society survived its "Discipline", it was certainly brought to a very low ebb. Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting had brought in a "proposition" to alter this practice, but the subject had been left over. In 1857 it was taken up by the Large Committee, and Joseph Rowntree was specially interested because his father, Joseph Rowntree Sen. was in charge of the Yorkshire minute, "Father again brought it forward, not at great length, but sufficiently so, as I should have thought, to convince every truth-seeker." But the young man had to learn that the strongest arguments frequently fail to convince; and, he adds, "Such, however, did not appear to be the case." After debating the matter till 9 o'clock, the utmost that was attained was a minute "recommending the subject to the *favourable* consideration of next year's Y.M."

Alas! next year many friends remained unconvinced; and, in spite of a vigorous speech from John Bright, who said that "Hundreds, aye, and thousands had been disowned for acts for which a church could not rightly disown", the matter was deferred for yet another year. J.R. adds "Although this appears to be a small step in advance, I believe the question is nearly settled."

The subject of disownment in the case of the marriage of first cousins came up from Gloucestershire in 1857. It was discussed at length, and deferred, and in 1858 more debate followed before the "proposition" was rejected. John Hodgkin touched a weak spot when he said that "the exquisitely courteous terms in which we proceeded to disown persons indicated something wrong".

A more constructive treatment of the subject of marriage was that embodied in a concern of Thomas Pumphrey in 1857. He spoke, says J.R. "at great length and with much earnestness upon the importance of persons getting married. He believed that the great number of [?unmarried] adult men

and women in the Society much weakened it. If he had been of any little service to the Society, it had been owing to his being married." He thought young people should be willing to begin married life simply, not living as their parents left off. One hopes it did not destroy the sense of concern in the Meeting when "Friend Bull got up to say there had been many persons useful in the world and church unmarried"!

The subject of Education came up ordinarily on the Report of Ackworth and the other Friends' schools. In 1855, Thomas Pumphrey, Superintendent of Ackworth for the last twenty years, said it was unlikely that he would hold the office much longer. "He then", says J.R., "traced the manner in which the prospect of his being Superintendent had been opened to him, and said that if any Friend felt his mind drawn in the same way that his had been, he hoped he would be willing to attend to the call." This seems rather far removed from the present method of appointing Headmasters! Joseph Rowntree continues: "Father then called the attention of the Meeting to the deficiency of teachers. He said that although the profession of teaching did not offer equal prizes with trade yet comparing men of the age of 30 in trade and in the teacher's office the latter were generally in a better pecuniary position. The occupation of the teacher was also much more desirable. These remarks were made to counteract the common opinion that teaching was a poor means of getting a livelihood. A Friend in the bottom of the Meeting thought there could be no doubt that a clerk's employment brought in a much larger salary than that of a teacher. Why, a good clerk thought little of £300. Should not a [? Friend] be informed of this?" Obviously the days of the Burnham scale were not yet.

The discussion on Education in 1857 one seems oneself to have heard in recent years. There was "a general opinion that the terms ought to be raised". It must be borne in mind that the Ackworth report for 1856 states that 167 children paid £12, 65 paid £16, and 53 paid the highest rate, £21. Further a minute from the Ackworth General Meeting deplored the "gross ignorance" of religious subjects of children entering the School. This minute, says J.R. "was twice read, and if I was not reporting the proceedings of Yearly Meeting, I might have said it was carried by acclamation: such a general warm expression I have rarely seen." It

seems a strange subject on which to have waxed enthusiastic and I wonder if the approval may not have been given to the proposal to issue an address to parents on the Scriptural education of children. This address includes the following sentences :—

“ It is, however, with pain that we have to acknowledge that instances continue to occur of children entering our schools very imperfectly instructed in their moral and religious duties, and lamentably ignorant of the contents of the sacred Volume : the want of knowledge extending in some cases to the most simple facts and histories in the Old and New Testament.”

In 1858 Brookfield School was reported closed, and an Irish Friend explained “ that the school had been given up owing to the insubordination of the boys consequent upon inefficient teachers: and that as soon as suitable ones should be found it would be re-established ”. This led to further exhortations to young men to take up the teaching profession. Then, says J.R., “ Joseph Pearce made a speech which, if it showed nothing else, indicated that education was at a low ebb in the district where he spent his schooldays. He thought we did not want intellectual men for Superintendents : but persons of plain common sense. He knew a school where the Superintendent allowed the boys to have indigestible food because he did not know better.” In the discussion it was pointed out that the qualifications required for the Head of Brookfield School were unusual, “ a farmer of good education, or an educated man with a knowledge of farming ”. “ A nice distinction ”, comments Joseph Rowntree.

It must of course be remembered that in the years under review, and for many subsequent years, the Yearly Meeting consisted exclusively of men. Women Friends met at the same time, but had no legislative authority. Men Friends under concern not unfrequently visited the Women's Meeting, and, in the case of the Ohio separation two or three Friends were appointed to go and inform Women Friends of the course that had been adopted. In 1858 it is remarked that “ Jacob Green was liberated to pay his annual visit to the Women's Meeting.” Once Josiah Forster was moved to express the hope that a proposed visit might be “ the last visit paid ”, apparently in that year. The same year the

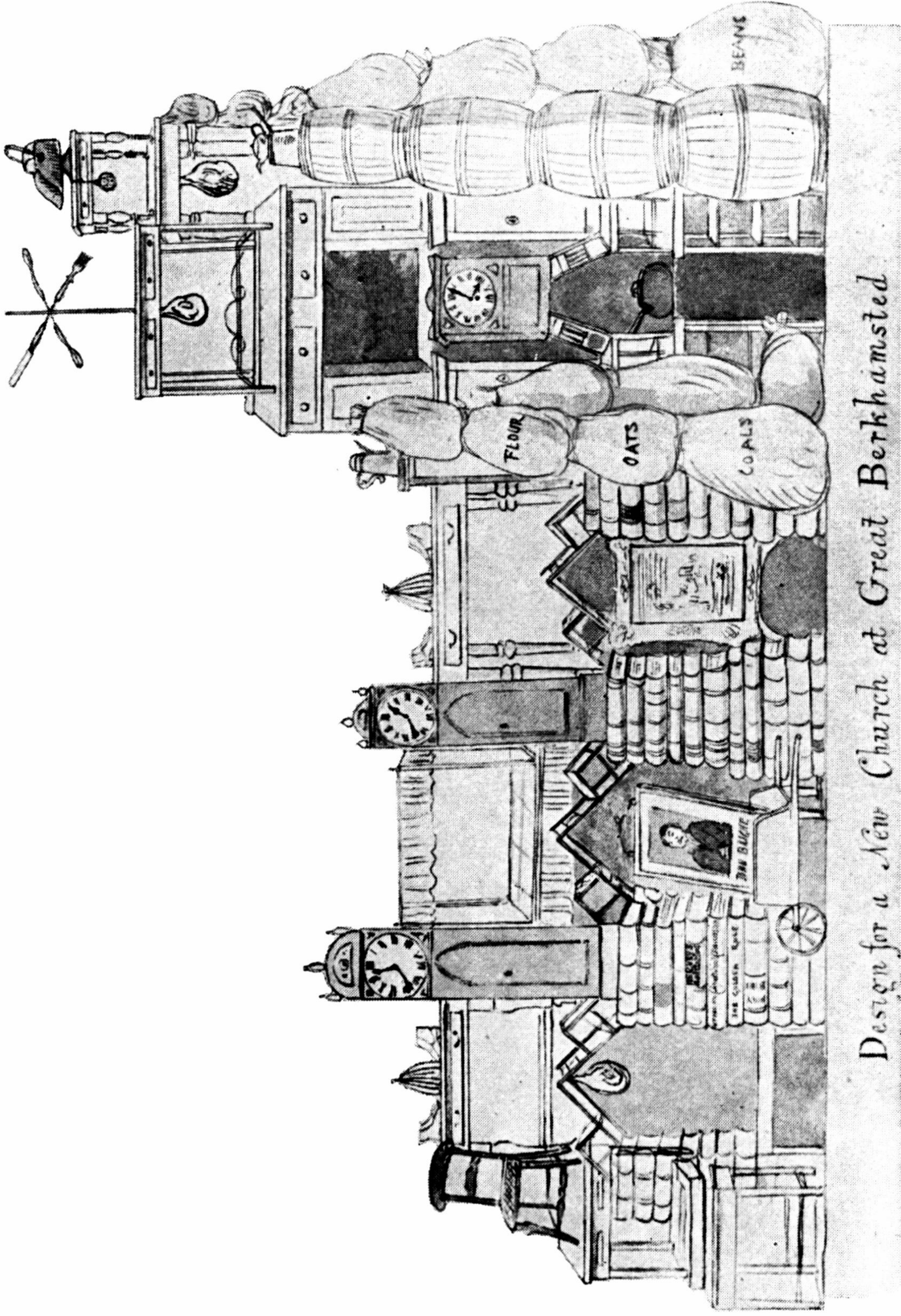
Clerk received "a note from the Women's Meeting, saying that a woman Friend desired to have a meeting with young Friends". Various speakers thought the name should have been given. "Josiah Forster said he knew, but for some reason it was thought better to send and enquire. A note was sent, but no answer coming for some time, Robert Forster went in to the Women's Meeting. He brought back the Friend's name, Eliza Sessions. Samuel Bowly and Joseph Sturge thought there was a great want of simplicity in these extraordinary evolutions"—surely with some justice. In the end, Eliza Sessions was liberated. There was no doubt about the subjection of women as regarded "Church affairs".

Although there is evidence of some tedium in the long discussions, and natural impatience at the extreme deliberation with which changes were made, the story of these Yearly Meetings as told by Joseph Rowntree does not make dull reading. The proposals of the Meeting for Sufferings were by no means always approved. Some advices respecting marriage drawn up by that Meeting had to be expurgated: "a rather singular paragraph about the kind of presents to give at marriages having been happily consigned to oblivion by the revising Committee."

In those days the Quaker "chant" was still heard and advice had to be given that "unnatural toning of the voice" should be avoided. Again, one speaker trenchantly "hoped that if Friends thought it necessary to make an apology for speaking, they would also consider whether they might not keep silent."

Testimonies to deceased Friends were read in full. In 1857 after the reading of a testimony to a certain Martha Thornhill, William Ball (to quote the M.S.) "objected to the pointed allusion to the frailties of the dead, and thought her ministerial defects were not greater than those of many others." Other Friends were thankful for the true record, and thought it would be of use. Here is an example of the desire for strict truthfulness which underlay the time and attention devoted to *words*; time that seems wasted to our less punctilious age. It also explains such phrases as "so far as appears" which are so common in the answers to the Queries. In 1855 when the Clerk hoped Friends would assemble punctually for the afternoon session, a Friend, in supporting his plea, said "he did not know whether it was true to say we met





*Design for a New Church at Great Berkhamsted*

A PICTORIAL PROTEST AGAINST TITHES



according to adjournment, when we had not met till a quarter of an hour afterwards ". For such regard for Truth speaking which is part of our heritage as Friends, we can be thankful even if sometimes we feel it to have been exaggerated or misplaced.

ANNA L. LITTLEBOY

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## A Pictorial Protest against Tithes

The pen and ink drawing reproduced here was made by a Friend about the middle of last century as a satirical protest against the injustice of tithes in the parish of Great Berkhamsted, Herts. The church is built up of various goods and chattels distrained for non-payment of the tithe. The portrait is that of John Bright. The plate is made from a photograph of the original drawing, given to the Library by Anna L. Littleboy. The artist is unknown.

# The Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk

(Continued from vol. xxxiii, p. 49)

By ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON

THE first half of the Eighteenth Century presents a picture of the Society settling down into an organisation which continued with little change for another hundred years. The main lines had been laid down in the previous century, but there still remained numerous details to be worked out, and it is interesting to note the gradual establishment of bodies, such as the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders or the Women's Quarterly Meeting, which play an important and vital part in the Quakerism of the Nineteenth Century. In the development of these is seen the persistence of a "concerned" minority overcoming the apathy of the general membership; a common feature in movements connected with the development and spread of Quakerism.

Even in matters connected with the Office of Clerk, there is evidence of this quest for the most satisfactory method of procedure. The beginning of the year, from a Quarterly Meeting point of view, was the Midsummer Quarter, and the choice of Clerk or Clerks for the year was usually determined at the Spring gathering. An interesting experiment was made in 1709, when the duties of the Clerkship were allotted to four Friends, chosen from various Monthly Meetings, who were to serve at the table in rotation. This practice was discontinued in 1713, but reappears in 1735, being finally abandoned on the appointment of Edmund Gurney as Clerk for twelve months in 1736. During these periods, Samuel Defrance appears, from the following minutes, to have acted occasionally as Transcribing Clerk:—

4th mo. 1713. Samll. Defrance is Appointed by ys Meeting to Write five Copies of ye written Minutes, of ye London Yearly Meeting, & bring them to ys Meeting to distribute to ye several Monthly Meetings in ye County.

Henry Fenn is Desired by ys Meeting to Deposit ye Money to pay Samll. Defrance for ye abovesd Writings.

Henry Fenn pd Samll. Defrance three shillings wch. this Meeting is Accountable to him for.

The Copies of ye private Minutes of London Yearly Meeting were Sent to all ye Monthly Meetings in ye County.

4th mo. 1733. Ordered that Nathaniell Springall pay Samuell Defrance Tenn shillings for his trouble in making up 2 Quarters in the Quarterly Meeting Book.

4th mo. 1734. Ordered that Nathaniell Springall pay Samuel Defrance sixteen shillings for making up the Quarterly meeting book to this Quarter, and two shillings for paper.

With the single exception of Edmund Gurney, all Friends who were appointed to the Clerkship were remunerated for their services. When Joseph Middleton, who had recently removed to Fakenham from Brighthouse Monthly Meeting, took office in 1713, a minute records that the Meeting "will gratify him sutably for ye same", and Christopher Catt, who followed him in 1716, receives a salary of forty shillings a year. Hubert van Kamp, who succeeded him in the following year, held the office of Clerk for seven years at the same salary; he kept a school in Goat Lane Meeting house, to which reference is made in a minute dated 1st month 1718.

All those friends whom it concerns are desired by this Meeting to send up their Accounts of Sufferings unto Hubert van Camp at his School in the Old Meeting House in Norwich by the 15th day of the 3d. Month, for him to transcribe and ingrosse the aforesaid Accounts and deliver the Transcription to the Representatives.

In 1724, William Cay was appointed to the office, and the following minute was passed in 7th month :—" This Meeting agree that Wm. Cay should have fiveteen shillings p Qur. Sallery for being Clark of this Meeting, And orderd Jno. Aggs to pay him now being the first." William Cay was Clerk of the Meeting until 1732, when John Wall was appointed in his

stead, and the following minute was passed in the 1st month of that year.

Ordered that Nathaniel Springall pay Wm. Cay Fifteen Shillings out of ye Stock for Incident Charges being his Quarter Salary and it is further Ordered that John Wall of Norwich be Clark of this Meeting in the place of the sd. Wm. Cay whose Health & Business hath not permitted him to give the Necessary Attendance wch. this Meeting Requires and he is therefore desired to send him all ye Books and Papers belonging to this Meeting.

At the very next Meeting, however, John Wall acquainted the Meeting "that he was no longer Capable of Serving Friends as Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting being shortly to Remove to the City of London", and Edmund Gurney was appointed to undertake the duties. He relinquished the position in 1741, and Thomas Davey, Jnr. succeeded him, the Meeting agreeing "to pay him Ten Shillings p. Quarter for his Trouble". No further change was proposed until 1745, in which year the following minutes are recorded.

7th mo. Robt. Holmes having proposed Isaac Jermyn as Clerk to this Meetg in ye room of Thos. Davey Junr. ye same is ordered to be considered next Quarterly Meetg.

10th mo. It is ordered that Thos. Davey be continued our Clerk till ye Midsummer Quarter next insueg. when Isaac Jermyn is appointed in his room and to have ye same Salary.

Isaac Jermyn, who commenced his duties as Quarterly Meeting Clerk in the Autumn of 1746, served the Meeting in this capacity until his death, which occurred in 1787. He was an active and influential Friend of Norwich Monthly Meeting, who, in 1750, appointed him their Clerk in addition to his Quarterly Meeting duties, and this position he also retained for the rest of his life. One would think that his service of 41 years as Clerk of the Quarterly Meeting, during 37 years of which he served his Monthly Meeting in the same capacity, must constitute a record in the annals of our Society.

The Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders was a most important and influential body in the life of the Society, whose functions corresponded closely to those of the present Ministry and Oversight Committees. In early days they were gatherings of suitable Friends for the fostering of spiritual life and ministry, and a minute of 1712 thus defines their scope and purpose.

It is mutually agreed by this Meeting that the Select meeting appointed for Ministers and Elders shall be Always Expounded and Construed to have relation unto Freedom of Speech with and unto Each other in order to provoke one another to their Severall respective duties, Either by Testimony bearing as it may please ye Lord to move any one thereto on Full Conference. It is also advised that Each Monthly Meeting do Endeavour to Stirr up Suitable members to attend the sd Select meeting, and prevent as much as in them lyes Such as are not So and that it be held at Mattishall the day before the Quarterly Meeting in the 7th and 1st months to begin att the tenth hour.

In 1744 each Monthly Meeting is directed to appoint two Elders (at least) to sit as Members in the Meeting of Ministers, whilst a rather earlier minute gives interesting details of the duties allotted to Elders at that period.

4th mo. 1741. Order'd that (pursuant to the advice of the Yearly Meeting In London) the Severall Mo. Meetings do appoint from amongst themselves Elder & Circumspect Friends to watch over Such Ministers as may belong to their Severall Meetings and to administer (In a Spiritt of Love, from Time to Time as they may find Itt their duty) Such Advice Either respecting their doctrine or Practice, as they may find necessary : & they are desired to return the Names of the Friends appointed for such Service to our next Q. Meeting, In Order to have Enquiry made by this Meeting how the said Trust is discharg'd.

In 1745, it was " agreed that ye Meetg of Ministers and Elders preceeding ye Yearly Meetg be for ye future made a Meetg for records " : from this date, therefore, the Meeting

was presided over by a Friend as Clerk, and regular reports were presented to the Quarterly Meeting. The following minutes will illustrate the general tenour of these reports, and from them we find the difficulty experienced in obtaining a proper appointment by Monthly Meetings of Elders to sit with the Ministers. Gradually, however, a regular attendance of representative Elders was secured, thus giving an added effectiveness to the Select Meetings of Ministers and Elders.

4th mo. 1746. Joseph Gurney reports from the Meeting of Ministring Friends and Elders, that pursuant to the Order of this Meeting they met in the forenoon at the Old Meetinghouse, & were favoured with a good degree of Divine Love & Mercy to the refreshing & strengthning their Spirits : & that several Mo. Meetings appointed Elders to sit therein : Norwich & Wymondham not having done it, they are desired to do it against next Quarly Meeting : And it is requested that Friends be very careful in choosing the most proper & qualified Persons that the Services intended may meet the desired Effects, which are that they give a true Acct of the State of their several Meetings both with respect to the Ministers & Members, that where there is Occasion for help, either by Admonition or Advice, the same may be administered in that Spirit of Love & Good-will as becomes the true followers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and thereby tend to the Establishing & building up One another in the most Holy Faith.

Ordered, that a Copy of this Minute be sent to each Mo Meeting ; And the several Mo Meetings are desired to take notice the time appointed for the said Meeting to sit down, is the Second Hour in the afternoon preceeding the Quarly Meeting.

4th mo. 1751. John Gurney reports from the Meeting of Ministers & Elders, that the same was held much to their Comfort & Satisfaction : and under a Concern that the same might be continued to a general Service earnestly recommend to this Meeting, that each Monthly Meeting would appoint Elders to sit as Members in sd Meeting and to be qualified to give an Account of the State of the Ministry in their respective Monthly Meetings, that where there may be a Ministry

not acceptable or in true Unity with the Society, such Advices may be communicated, & Assistance afforded as the Case may require, and which this Meeting approving do advise & direct, That each Monthly Meeting do appoint Elders accordingly.

9th mo. 1761. John Gurney reports from our Meeting of Ministers & Elders, that there was a considerable deficiency of the Elders in attending, much to the Concern as well as hurt to the Service of the said Meeting. This Meeting therefore finds it needful, not only to refer to the former Advices given on this head, but also to direct That Monthly Meetings do appoint proper representatives to each Quarterly Meeting of Ministers & Elders; and the Friends so appointed are requested to let no common Occasion prevent their attendance: And that the Monthly Meetings do require an Account from such Friends as are appointed & do not attend, the reason for their so doing.

9th mo. 1763. John Gurney reports from the Meeting of Ministers & Elders held yesterday, That it was a solid good Meeting; but so many of the Monthly Meetings had no Friend present, as Representatives, that the Queries could not be properly answered, and were therefore omitted; and the other Business of the Meeting much obstructed. This Meeting being sorrowfully affected with the latter part of this Report; do very earnestly recommend, That the Advices, so frequently given & repeated on this head, may be more properly attended to, and put in practice: and that Friends be more & more stirred up to Diligence in the several Monthly Meetings, and that they do not suffer common matters to hinder their coming up in every Service whereunto they may be appointed; that so We may become a Strength one to another; and such manifest Tokens of Indifference & Weakness may not be found amongst us.

Women's Meetings had been established by George Fox as early as 1671 (*First 50 Years of Quakerism in Norwich*, pp. 273, 274), and although mention is made of a "Womens

meeting for Worship ” in a Quarterly Meeting minute of 1714, the first reference to the Women’s Monthly Meeting appears in 1721, when stress is laid on the importance of this service.

7th mo. Our Meetings being called over to answer to the several Queries agreed to be asked at this Meeting and it appearing to this Meeting that the monthly Meeting of Lynn are deficient in the Seventh Query relating to keeping up their Womens Monthly Meeting. And this Meeting being under a due Sense of the Service of such Womens Meetings, and being desirous that the said Monthly Meeting may not fall short of the said Benefit : Do earnestly request, that the Mens Mo Meeting would be concerned to establish the said Meeting, and tenderly to encourage the Womens friends to come up to the said monthly Meetings, and it is the sincere desire, and hope of this meeting, that they will be sensible of the true benefit of such Meetings. And it is further ordered that a Copy of this Minute be sent to the said mens monthly Meeting, and they are desired to recommend the same to the particular Meeting.

About the middle of the eighteenth century London Yearly Meeting was seriously concerned at the weakness apparent throughout the Society regarding the holding of these Meetings, and an advice on the subject was sent to all Quarterly Meetings. An enquiry from the Quarterly Meeting to the Monthly Meetings elicited the information that there were no established Monthly Meetings of Women in the area of Lynn and Tivetshall, and the Quarterly Meeting minuted “ a renewed Concern, earnestly to press said Meetings to come up with the rest of their Brethren herein, and that they do take the same into their solid and serious Consideration ”.

The proposal for a Women’s Quarterly Meeting first appears in a minute of 7th month, 1754, when seven Friends are appointed, “ with any other Friend or Friends that may be free to attend ”, “ to draw up a Sett of Queries proper to be answered to in our Women Friends Monthly Meetings ; and to consider of the most proper Method for establishing a Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends in this County ”, the



following important minute being adopted at the next Quarterly Meeting.

9th mo. 1754. "The Monthly Meetings having brought in for Answer to the Minute recommending the Establishing of Women's Monthly Meetings, That such are now settled, except in Wymondham Monthly Meeting: It is the Judgement of this Meeting that it may yet further conduce to the good of the Society in this County, and prove beneficial thereto in general, that some solid Women Friends be deputed from each Monthly Meeting to meet together at each Quarterly Meeting; and therein give an Acct. of the State of their respective Monthly Meetings, amongst themselves; and to which purpose the following Queries are recommended to be answered from each Monthly Meeting. And wherein a Deficiency appear that they do administer such Help & Assistance in the meekness & wisdom of Truth, as may be necessary to the Occasion given.

This Meeting request that our Women Friends at Norwich would likewise depute a number of Friends to accompany the Women Friends of this County in said Quarterly Meeting, in the same manner as is now done by the Monthly Meeting of Men Friends there. And also, that such solid Women as may be free to attend the same, have liberty so to do, altho' not particularly appointed.

Queries to be answered by the Women Friends, in their respective Monthly Meetings, viz.

- 1st. Is your Monthly Meeting duly attended, and, is Love & Unity preserved amongst you?
- 2nd. Are First-day & Week-day Meetings diligently kept to; and if any appear careless or negligent, is there Care taken duly to admonish such?
- 3d. Is Care taken timely in your Monthly Meetings to advise such as appear Inclined to marry with those not in Profession with us?
- 4th. Do you take proper Care of enquiring into the Necessities of such Poor Friends as may fall more particularly under your Notice?

- 5th. Are you careful to example your Families, and to bring them up in the Simplicity of Truth, in plainness of Speech & Apparel, and in a diligent reading the Holy Scriptures ?
- 6th. When any Superfluity of Dress, Furniture, or in providing of Entertainments appear, is there suitable Advice & Admonition given ?

In the two following Quarterly Meetings, mention is made of Epistles addressed to the Women's Quarterly Meeting from the Monthly Meetings of Women Friends at Lynn and Wells, "but the same not being fully established" they were "ordered to be lodged with the Clerk for the present". The next extract, in a decidedly optimistic vein, is taken from the Answers to Queries forwarded to London Yearly Meeting in 3rd month, 1755.

We have Week-day Meetings in all our particular Meetings, and in general are attended: by the Accounts received there is a revival in that respect, Have also a Womens Meeting in every of our Monthly Meetings, and have reason to believe shall not only keep them up, but further be able to encourage the same, and shortly to have a regular Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends from the sundry Monthly Meetings, being very sensible the same would be of Benefit. We send you also the Queries peculiar to this Meeting.

The Women's Quarterly Meeting was fully established in 9th month 1756, but the response from the Monthly Meetings was very discouraging; the following minute was therefore sent down to them.

Our Women Friends having sent up to request the Assistance of this Meeting, in order to the Encouragement of the Women Frds to join in the Service of this Quarterly Meeting from the several Monthly Meetings; and further to acquaint this Meeting, That no Friend from any of the Monthly Meetings in the County was personally present; and an Account in Writing from One only: This Meeting taking the same into solid Consideration do earnestly press, that the Men Friends in the several Monthly Meetings Do encourage and assist their Women Friends to come up and attend with

them the Service of these Meetings ; that Opportunity by that Means may be afforded for our meeting together and jointly as well as in our separate Capacities, so far as in us lay, promote that good Cause which we humbly hope many of us are truly engaged for.

Further discouragement was expressed by the Women Friends assembled at the Quarterly Meeting in 3rd month 1757 " that they should have so small an Attendance ", and a further minute of 6th month in the same year shows a far from satisfactory state, even in the Monthly Meetings of Women.

By the Answers in writing from some Monthly Meetings, and verbal Answers from some others, it appears, that Womens Monthly Meetings are not yet in general established ; but, that where wanting, the Men Friends are endeavouring to assist and encourage the Women Frds to come up in this necessary Branch of our Christian Discipline ; and that they hope, in time may effect the same : which this Meeting finds it's Concern earnestly to press & recommend, that we may together, in our separate Stations, unite to promote the prosperity of Truth ; and not be deficient in coming up to the Advices so often recommended from the Yearly Meeting in London in this respect.

During the next ten years a general improvement took place in this respect, and the following minute was recorded at the Quarterly Meeting held on the 31st of 12th month 1766.

It appears, in answer to the Yearly Minute of last Year, respecting the Encouragement of Women Friends Meetings, that only the Monthly Meeting of Tivetshall is deficient in holding of such Mo Meetings, and in corresponding with the Quarterly Meeting ; This Meeting therefore recommends to the said Monthly Meeting that they do take the same into serious consideration ; and earnestly desire that it may come up with the rest of the Monthly Meetings in this necessary Branch of our Discipline ; And it is ordered that the Minute be again called on at next Quarterly Meeting, in order to send a suitable Answer to the Yearly Meeting in London.

At the following Quarterly Meeting a satisfactory report was received from Tivetshall Monthly Meeting, stating that "Womens Monthly Meetings are kept up, and answers to the usual Queries are sent to the Quarterly Meeting." By this date the Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends was settled on a firm basis, and it is interesting to note that (in this area) it remained in existence for 160 years, until, in 1915, it was decided that Women Friends should no longer retire to another room for certain details of the business, but that all matters coming before the Quarterly Meeting should be dealt with by Men and Women sitting together in joint Session.

#### CLERKS OF NORFOLK QUARTERLY MEETING

1709-1713.	1st Qr.	Samuel Stanton (of Wymondham).
	2nd Qr.	John Aggs (of Norwich).
	3rd Qr.	Richard Durban (of Tasburgh).
	4th Qr.	Peregrine Tyzack (of Norwich).
1713-1716.		Joseph Middleton (of Fakenham).
1716-1717.		Christopher Catt (of Norwich).
1717-1724.		Hubert van Kamp (of Norwich).
1724-1731.		William Cay (of Norwich).
1732.		John Wall (of Norwich).
1732-1734.		Edmund Gurney (of Norwich).
1734-1735.	1st Qr.	Edmund Peckover (of Wells).
	2nd Qr.	John Gurney (of Norwich).
	3rd Qr.	Robert Seaman (of Norwich).
	4th Qr.	Richard Ashby, Jnr. (of Mattishall).
1735-1736.	1st Qr.	Edmund Gurney (of Norwich).
	2nd Qr.	Robert Seaman (of Norwich).
	3rd Qr.	Richard Ashby (of Mattishall).
	4th Qr.	Edmund Peckover (of Wells).
1736-1741.		Edmund Gurney (of Norwich).
1741-1746.		Thomas Davey, Jnr. (of Norwich).
1746-1787.		Isaac Jermyn (of Norwich).

*(To be concluded.)*

# London Yearly Meeting Recollections

## 1917-1937

By WILLIAM F. NICHOLSON

The following article gives the substance of the address which the writer gave at the Annual Meeting of the Society in November, 1937, and which is here reprinted in response to the requests made at that meeting.

I HAVE been asked to recall some of the incidents of the time during which I was Recording Clerk and especially to deal with some of the more important changes agreed to by Yearly Meeting. The period begins with July, 1917, when the war had been in progress three years and when Quaker war-time activities were at their height. To realize their extent one has only to recall some of the Friends' Committees which were active at the time, such as the "Emergency", "War Victims Relief", "Service", "Visitation of Prisoners" or the "Ambulance Unit".

During my first week at Devonshire House, I was talking things over with my predecessor, Isaac Sharp, when we heard an air-raid alarm and, with the rest of those who were employed in Devonshire House, took refuge in the basement. It was in my early days as Recording Clerk that the Devonshire House premises were searched for men of military age who had not joined the forces.

One of the most interesting happenings during the time of Yearly Meeting, 1918, was the trial at the Guildhall of three members of the Service Committee for publishing without the Censor's leave "A Challenge to Militarism". Its Clerk and five other Friends were asked by Yearly Meeting to be present at the trial and if a suitable opportunity should occur they were encouraged to read to the Court the minute of the Meeting for Sufferings approving of the action of the Committee. In the Clerk's absence Mary Jane Godlee acted in his stead—the first occasion on which a woman Friend has presided over London Yearly Meeting.

*All Friends Conference*

At the same Yearly Meeting a report was received from a Committee set up two years before to try to arrange for a Conference in London, at the close of the War, on the Peace Testimony of Friends, to which all organized bodies calling themselves Friends should be asked to send representatives. The Conference was not able to meet till 1920 in consequence of the difficulties of travel. The delay gave the opportunity for a great deal of useful preliminary work by commissions on the different aspects of our Peace Testimony. It finally met in Devonshire House and was attended by nearly 1,000 representatives. Much of the success of the gathering was due to the able manner in which the discussions were guided by the Clerk, John Henry Barlow. Perhaps the greatest service that the Conference rendered to the Society was that it enabled Friends holding different outlooks to meet together to discuss matters of common interest. At one sitting a Friend from America who had made a suggestion was warmly supported by another from the same city. Although the two meeting houses which they attended were only a few streets apart the two Friends had never met before.

*Correspondents*

Ever since the separation in Ohio Yearly Meeting in the middle of last century the question of correspondence with American Yearly Meetings had caused a good deal of heart searching among Friends in England. The question was constantly being asked whether we had been right in ceasing all communication with the Conservative Yearly Meetings in America. The "General Conference", or Hicksite Yearly Meetings were looked upon as quite outside the pale and it was not till some thirty years ago that anyone ventured to ask for closer contact with them. But all the time there was with an increasing number of Friends an uneasy feeling that the attempts of London Yearly Meeting to sit in judgment on others with whose circumstances she was not well acquainted had not made for unity in America. At the end of last century London had official correspondents appointed for Dublin, Philadelphia (Arch Street), Ohio (Pastoral) and the thirteen Yearly Meetings which made up the Five Years Meeting. The chief duty of a Correspondent

was to accredit epistles and other official documents passing between his own Yearly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting for which he was correspondent.

After the Conference of All Friends English Friends felt that the time had come when they should cease any longer to draw distinctions between Yearly Meetings. At first it was suggested that a correspondent should be appointed for every group calling itself a Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, but eventually, after correspondence with leading Friends in America, it was decided in 1923 to appoint no more correspondents but to send a copy of our General Epistle with a covering letter to every Yearly Meeting in America. A few years later a minute was sent to the Conservative Yearly Meetings expressing regret for the part that English Friends had taken in the separations of last century.

#### *Revision of "Christian Discipline"*

During the twenty years with which we are concerned the whole of *Christian Discipline* has been revised, though there was considerable difficulty in coming to an agreement on the revision of Part I, "Christian Doctrine". Yearly Meeting in 1918 was asked by two Quarterly Meetings to undertake the revision of Part I, which had been last revised in 1883, and which was very strongly Evangelical in its statement of the Quaker position. There was, however, so much opposition to a revision that Yearly Meeting decided to ask the Quarterly Meetings for suggestions. In the following year minutes and in some cases lengthy memoranda were forthcoming from the different Quarterly Meetings. Yearly Meeting, thereupon, asked Meeting for Sufferings to call a conference of Quarterly Meeting representatives to discuss in the light of these replies whether a revision of Part I was necessary and if so upon what lines it should be carried out. It was also suggested that if it felt able to do so it should produce a draft revision and a Special Statement for Seekers. In 1920 Yearly Meeting agreed to a Statement that had been prepared by the Conference under the title of "A word to all who seek Truth", while in 1921 a draft of Part I was presented and adopted under the title of "Christian Life and Thought of the Society of Friends". Instead of being a doctrinal statement this is an attempt to illustrate the Life and Thought of the Society of Friends by extracts from

the writings of leading members of the Society and from official documents of the Society during the whole period of its existence.

### *Recording of Ministers*

There had been growing up in the Society for some years a strong feeling of dissatisfaction at the practice of the Recording of Ministers. Indeed there were Monthly Meetings that felt so strongly on the matter that they had for years ceased to record anyone.

In the early days of the Society those who travelled in the Ministry were known as Publishers of Truth. They were united in a close fellowship and met together every year from 1668 onwards. Every Sunday morning at 8 o'clock those Publishers of Truth who were in London met at the house of Gerrard Roberts to arrange what meeting each should attend and to enter the information in a book kept for the purpose. On the following morning they met again to talk over their experiences of the preceding day and make arrangements for the future. This was known as the Morning Meeting which afterwards acted as the executive of the Yearly Meeting of Ministry and Oversight.

In 1723 the Morning Meeting objected to a certain William Gibson entering his name in the book with the other visiting Ministers. He appealed to his Quarterly Meeting and afterwards to Yearly Meeting. The latter laid it down that in future no one should enter his name unless he carried a certificate from a Monthly or Quarterly Meeting and that the Morning Meeting possessed no power of disownment. So the practice of recording arose which remained with scarcely any alteration for two hundred years.

In 1922, as a result of a minute from Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting suggesting a consideration of the whole subject, Yearly Meeting asked for the views of Quarterly Meetings.

The reports received were of such an indefinite character that Yearly Meeting did not feel that it could come to any definite decision but it asked Meeting for Sufferings to report in the following year what consequential changes would be necessary if recording was discontinued.

This report was received in 1924 with the result that it was agreed to discontinue the practice. It is perhaps too soon to say whether the step was a wise one or not, though of



late years there has been in many meetings a larger number sharing in the ministry and fewer long sermons or sermons on points of theology. Another interesting development may be noted in some Monthly Meetings in which it is considered that a chief qualification for Eldership is a sharing in the vocal ministry of the meeting. I can remember the time when this was considered a serious disqualification.

### *Friends' Service Council*

One of the most momentous of recent changes in the Society has been the amalgamation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association and the Council for International Service to form the Friends' Service Council.

The Association was formed in 1868 by a group of interested Friends to spread the Gospel in non-Christian countries. It received for years no recognition by Yearly Meeting, but in 1873 it was agreed that the Association might every year report the fact that it had held its annual meeting.

Eight years later Yearly Meeting agreed to accept every year a report on its work. Finally, in 1917, nearly fifty years after its foundation, a new constitution was agreed to by which London and Dublin Yearly Meetings were to appoint the greater part of the Board. In 1918 Yearly Meeting asked Meeting for Sufferings to look into the need for a Bureau or Council for international information and training for service. A conference was accordingly called of those who were interested in the proposal. On its recommendation a Council for International Service with an Information Bureau and Literature Board was set up, consisting of about thirty members, chiefly representative of different committees of the Society. In the following year direct Quarterly Meeting representation was arranged for. This new Council was encouraged to establish settlements abroad, to be known as Quaker Embassies, to study local conditions and to attempt to give the Quaker message through the lives of the settlers.

At the same time it was decided to lay down the Continental Committee, the oldest standing committee in the Society, as it was felt that its work would be sure to overlap with that of the Council. The committee had been set up in 1817 to keep in touch with groups in France and Germany who held similar views to Friends on Worship and

War, and who had been visited during the previous year by a number of English Friends, one of whom was Elizabeth Fry.

The Council for International Service was also given permission to enrol as members of the Society of Friends suitable individuals who might apply for membership but were living in countries where there was no regular meeting.

In 1924 the Council reported complete co-operation in all fields with the American Friends' Service Committee and the taking over of the remaining work of the Friends' Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee.

Yearly Meeting in 1926 was so impressed by the importance of the World Service of the Society that it decided to adjourn till the autumn so as to give sufficient time for a discussion of the subject and to arrange for the more adequate support of the work. As the meeting house in Friends House was not yet completed this gathering met in Essex Hall. The attendance, however, was so large that the remaining sittings had to be held in a larger hall. The Conference was very strongly of the opinion that the work of Friends abroad should be unified. A commission representing various interested committees was accordingly set up to look into the possibility of merging into one body the Friends' Foreign Mission Association and the Council for International Service.

The scheme that was drawn up by this commission was accepted by the Yearly Meetings of London and Dublin and the new body came into being in 1927 as the Friends' Service Council.

As one looks back on what has been accomplished by this new Council during the first ten years of its existence one must feel thankful for the success of the union and hope that it may continue to receive the support of Friends in the splendid work it is accomplishing in so many fields with funds that are scarcely adequate.

### *New Premises*

Perhaps the most momentous change in the past twenty years has been the removal from Devonshire House to Friends House.

It was in 1911 that the Home Mission and Extension Committee called the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings to the inadequacy of the Devonshire House premises for the

work of the Society. So a special Premises Committee was set up to look into the question of accommodation and to make recommendations. This committee obtained a valuation of the premises and consulted the various committees and associations with offices in Devonshire House as to their requirements. It also recommended that, if it should be decided to sell the Devonshire House premises, no action should be taken before some of the leases expired in 1918.

At first it was thought that, for the sake of economy, it would be better not to provide a Meeting House for Yearly Meeting on the premises; but in 1914 Yearly Meeting definitely decided that a Large Meeting House should form part of the scheme. This decision made it almost imperative that a new site would have to be sought. One site that was suggested was that of Westminster Meeting House. Meanwhile in order to make the property more saleable it was decided in 1921 to purchase the two portions belonging to the Six Weeks Meeting and Bethlem Hospital.

After inspecting a good many sites it was finally decided to purchase the Endsleigh Gardens site, covering as it did 96,000 square feet. One-third of this was ultimately re-sold. At about the same time the Devonshire House site was disposed of to the Northern Estates Company.

The removal from the old premises to the new took place at the end of 1925, though the Bookshop was able to carry on in its old quarters for another twelve months. So ended the Society's connection with the Devonshire House site—a connection going back to 1667, while Yearly Meeting had, with only three breaks, met regularly on the premises since 1794.

The move to Euston Road has meant many changes and the passing of many old customs and traditions. The new premises are so easy of access and so convenient in every way that an invitation for Yearly Meeting to meet elsewhere is not received with enthusiasm. However, the experiment of meeting last summer out of London was so successful that one hopes that in the future we may have provincial meetings at least once every three or four years.

Another result of the change of premises is seen in the greatly increased attendances at the various meetings of the Society and especially at the Meeting for Sufferings, which has at present an average attendance of over 180. Friends

House is also increasingly looked upon as a place where advanced movements are sure of sympathy and so the rooms are much in demand for meetings by such groups. It is reported that at a meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Associations in the Large Meeting House their leader congratulating the members on the harmony that had prevailed, suggested that it might in part be due to the atmosphere of the building in which they were meeting.

The Large Meeting House has housed many interesting gatherings during the last ten years. One thinks of a crowded session of Yearly Meeting to welcome Rabindranath Tagore ; a packed meeting addressed by Mahatma Gandhi ; a debate between Sir Oswald Mosley and James Maxton presided over by Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George ; a mock trial with David Low accused of sedition in one of his cartoons ; or the Swarthmore Lecture by Prof. Eddington, when two additional rooms were filled and numbers failed to gain admittance. I think one could say that it was four magnificent meetings at Friends House that set the Peace Pledge Union on its feet.

We have, I think, acted wisely in being willing to let the rooms in Friends House to any reputable organization, provided it was not too patently working against all that we hold dear.

Among the activities that have been actively fostered at Friends House some should be mentioned. Perhaps the most outstanding have been the Lunch Hour addresses on Peace and Internationalism. The attendance and interest in these has been steadily growing. One of the regular attenders at these meetings informed the Chairman recently that although an Atheist he felt that Friends House was his spiritual home.

One evening a week a Club of Foreign Students is held in the Institute when as many as twenty different nationalities are sometimes represented. The evenings are occupied by addresses, discussions and social times. The chief difficulty facing the organizers is to limit the attendance.

An Adult School is also held on the premises and public meetings on Sunday evenings when advertised addresses are delivered.

There is a tendency at present to centralize Friends' work at Friends House with a very considerable increase in the number of those employed on the premises—the number at present being nearly eighty.

*Birthright Membership*

A subject which during the past thirty or forty years has caused Friends much anxious thought has been the question of Birthright Membership. This has been especially the case during the past twenty years.

The practice first arose as a by-product of poor relief in the Society.

In the early eighteenth century it was found necessary to check the constant migration of Friends who were seeking relief to other Monthly Meetings where more funds were available. It was accordingly decided that every Friend should be deemed a member of the Monthly Meeting within which he was residing in Fourth Month, 1737, and children were to be members of the Meeting to which the father belonged. In recent years, however, a growing number of Friends have objected to this automatic registration of children as members at birth and have advocated leaving the decision to the child when it has attained years of discretion.

In 1920 two Quarterly Meetings asked for a careful consideration of the whole subject of the Basis of Membership with a view to some such change being agreed to. A Committee was appointed which reported in the following year that after communicating with Monthly Meetings it had come to the conclusion that the feeling of dissatisfaction with Birthright Membership was not strong enough to warrant its abolition. But it suggested that the privilege should be extended to children where only one parent was a Friend provided both parents expressed in writing their wish for it and promised to bring up the child in accordance with the principles of the Society. This was agreed to by Yearly Meeting.

In 1922 Yearly Meeting was asked for a ruling in a case where the parents of a boy had requested the Monthly Meeting to remove his name from the list of members, he having been recorded years before as a Birthright Member. It was decided that there was nothing in our Discipline that covered such cases and Meeting for Sufferings was asked to look into the matter and advise Monthly Meetings. After a good deal of consideration a memorandum was agreed to advising Meetings, in cases where parents for conscientious reasons declined to sign a

birth-note, to frame a minute setting out the facts and to enter the child's name on a Supplementary List in the hope that the child might later claim its membership.

Yearly Meeting in 1928 decided that in the case of births where only one parent was a member the birth-note must be produced within three months of the child's birth.

Three years later one of the Quarterly Meetings suggested to Meeting for Sufferings that the rule should be rescinded granting Birthright Membership in cases where only one parent was a member. But when the Monthly Meetings were consulted the replies received were so various that the suggestion was dropped.

In 1935 Yorkshire suggested a form of Junior Membership which should terminate at a certain age when the child should have the option of applying for full membership or of letting its membership lapse. The Meeting for Sufferings, to whom the matter was referred, consulted Quarterly Meetings, but again the replies received did not indicate any clear unity of thought in the Society, and so Yearly Meeting in 1936 decided to drop the matter.

At the same Yearly Meeting, Meeting for Sufferings was asked carefully to examine the regulations about Children on the Supplementary List and to suggest alterations in the wording of the same that would make them clearer and more complete.

At the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, 1937, the suggestions of the Meeting for Sufferings were adopted, together with suggestions from Bedfordshire Quarterly Meeting, one of which places children with only one parent a member on the same footing in regard to the Supplementary List as those with both parents members.

### *Allotments*

In the Industrial Crisis of 1926 a committee was set up by the Meeting for Sufferings to do what it could to bring about a settlement and to try to alleviate the distress in some of the industrial areas. In the following year this committee was laid down and the Home Service Committee was asked to administer any funds still in hand. This it did through a sub-committee, which was known as the Coalfields Distress Committee. This committee did a great deal to assist the inhabitants of the distressed areas to help themselves through

clubs, boot repairing centres and allotments, as well as by organizing a large distribution of clothes.

In 1930 this committee was wound up and the Allotments Committee was set up to continue the allotments work among the unemployed.

The last annual report of this committee told of over 135,000 men helped at a cost of nearly £60,000, half of which came from the men themselves.

#### *Friends Trusts, Ltd.*

Other happenings that should be mentioned are, first, the setting up in 1928 of Friends Trusts, Ltd., for the purpose of holding any of the trust funds of the Society that might be handed over to it, and second, the decision in 1936 to give a three years trial to a scheme for the pooling of fares of representatives to the Meeting for Sufferings.

#### *Tabular Returns*

The Tabular Returns for the twenty years are disappointing, showing an increase in membership in Great Britain of only 91. One must remember, however, that during the period the Supplementary List was started on which there are now 250 names. These formerly would have been reckoned as members.

The past twenty years has seen many changes in the Society. One of especial interest is in the character of the membership. We seem to be steadily losing those who belong to the old Quaker families while there is a steady influx of able, keen members, a large proportion of whom are interested in education. At present in Great Britain about one in every seventeen members is or has been a teacher.

Perhaps one of the greatest dangers we shall have to face in the future is the popularity of the Society. At present everyone praises us. The words of the Master often recur to me when I listen to such expressions—"Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you."

## Quakerism in Lincolnshire

QUARTERLY Meetings have been held in the City of Lincoln for 265 years, the first being held there on 25th of 1st month, 1668.

In 1651 George Fox came to Lincolnshire and visited Friends. One 1st day he went into steeple houses on both sides of the river Trent declaring the word of Life to the people and directing them to their Teacher, JESUS CHRIST. In 1654 he was again in the county and tells us in his Journal that "there were great Meetings and a large conviction."

Elizabeth Hooton was imprisoned that year for "bearing testimony" at Beckingham, and John Whitehead, who was convinced when he was a soldier at Scarborough Castle, first came to preach the "Light within" and "bore testimony" in the high place called the Minster at Lincoln—"that it is the light of the glorious gospel that shines in man's heart and discovers sin."

The story of the sufferings of the Quakers in Lincolnshire during the years of persecution, 1650 to 1689, is tragic reading. So many Friends were imprisoned in Lincoln Castle that arrangements were made with the gaoler for them to have a special room apart from other prisoners for which a yearly rent of £6 was paid by Friends. A loom was also provided by the Monthly Meeting so that those in confinement might earn a little money to buy necessities.

In 1666 George Fox came again after settling Monthly Meetings in Nottinghamshire, and had a gathering of men Friends of all the Meetings in this County at the house of Robert Craven, a former Sheriff of the city of Lincoln.

In the following year on the 25th of 10th month, 1667, the county was constituted a Quarterly Meeting, and divided into four Monthly Meetings, viz. : Lincoln, Spalding, Gainsborough and Mumby. Quarterly Meetings were held at the house of William and Susanna Morrice in Lincoln, until a Meeting House was built in 1689.

At the first Quarterly Meeting held in the city in 1668 a contribution was brought in amounting to the sum of



£12 12s. 4d. to supply the needs of several Friends who were in distress.

John Whitehead succeeded Robert Rockhill as clerk in 1685, and continued until his death in 1696 ; he was followed by Thomas Robinson of Brant Broughton, who in 1684 recounted unto the Quarterly Meeting the charges of himself and other Friends of £5 13s. 5d. on their journey to Winchester with an address to King Charles II.

In 1686 a minute or paper was read from London Yearly Meeting showing that the National Stock (now known as Yearly Meeting Fund) was applied to the relief of sufferers, and other general services of the Truth, beyond the sea and in this nation, and it was ordered that a free contribution should be collected throughout the county and brought up to the next Quarterly Meeting. The amount from Lincolnshire Friends was £20 12s. 2d. that year.

The first Quarterly Meeting gathered in what is now the "Old Meeting House" in 1st month, 1690, when Isabel, daughter of Judge and Margaret Fell, was present as the bride of Abraham Morrice, a silk mercer in the city, who in 1669 had bought the plot of ground for a burying place for the Quaker prisoners who died in the Castle and the City Gaol, and afterwards had the Meeting House built thereon.

In 1703 it was decided to hold the mid-week Meeting for worship on the day after the Quarterly Meeting so that any visiting Friends "who had freedom" could be present, but in 1758 a minute was passed that as no Monthly Meetings were then held in the city it was agreed to call the Monthly Meeting "Broughton" instead of "Lincoln."

On the 16th of 6th month, 1779, we find that, "in compliance with the minute of Yearly Meeting relating to the school intended to be established at Ackworth, this Quarterly Meeting desires the several M.M's. to appoint a suitable Friend in each of them to apply to such Friends as are of ability for subscriptions towards the said Institution, and what they receive put into the hands of the correspondent for their Monthly Meeting for him to remit to London agreeable to the instructions of the Meeting for Sufferings, and John Massey is by this Meeting chosen to join with the Committee to be appointed by the Meetings for Sufferings in the management of the School to be opened at Ackworth

and be present at the Meeting to be held for that purpose as it may suit his conveniency."

The School was primarily intended for the education of children of Friends who were not "in affluent circumstances"; and in 1780 Elizabeth Pearson, of Spalding, was sent from this Quarterly Meeting, the Fee of £8 per annum being provided from the Meeting Funds.

The names of Burtt, Hutchinson and Massey appear with great frequency in the Quarterly Meeting minutes, and members of all three families served for long periods as Clerks and as members of the Ackworth School Committee.

When Lincolnshire joined Notts and Derby, two Quarterly Meetings only were held at Lincoln, namely, in June and December; later still, Mansfield took the Winter Meeting, but the June Meeting has been kept up continuously at Lincoln.

Quaker weddings appear to have been solemnized in the City since 1658, when William Willows married Ann Lammin at the house of Martin Mason.

For many years no Friends gathered at Lincoln Meeting House on 1st day until the Meeting for worship was re-established in 1893, and has continued to be held ever since. When more members resided in the City the accommodation was felt to be inadequate, and in 1910 the new Meeting House was built; but the old one still serves a useful purpose.

MARY B. BURTT

# William Penn

## Some Unsubstantiated Statements

THERE was recently published a book entitled *James Edward Oglethorpe*, written by A. A. Ettinger. In it there are six references to William Penn.

The first is on page 36. "On May 9 that strong Stuart supporter, William Penn, had escaped from prison and fled to Scotland." The authority for this statement is given as the MSS. of the late Allan George Finch (Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. II, p. 278). Actually the alleged escape is merely the gossip of a news monger "W.D." whose authenticity, apart from the fact that he was merely repeating gossip, is suspect from his later misstatements on another subject. There is no evidence that William Penn was ever in Scotland.

The second reference, on page 37, to the Royal Proclamation against William Penn, is correct.

The third reference is on page 41. ". . . Penn having expressed similar sentiments in favour of an expeditionary force of 30,000 men, James pondered . . ." All the other alleged agents and friends of the exiled James II had strangely enough suggested exactly 30,000 men. This exact agreement suggests at once that all the reports were manufactured by one man. Ettinger gives a formidable array of authorities, but they all come down to a manuscript (in Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford) alleged to have been compiled from a journal written by James himself. Anyone who is disposed to believe it should read the introductory chapter to *A History of the early part of the reign of James the Second*, by Charles James Fox. The author wrote that he doubted if Carte had ever seen the original journal. The same statement about Penn's being in favour of a force of 30,000 men is given in Macpherson's *Collection of original papers containing extracts of Memoirs of King James II by himself*, and Macpherson is the man who produced *Ossian*, supposed to be from the original Gaelic, about the authenticity of which controversy raged for many years. It seems clear that the Carte MSS. should be read very critically, and the only verdict must be one of "not proven". Certainly Penn's alleged statement should not be used without qualification.

On page 42 appears the following: ". . . Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe and William Penn again advocated a French invasion

to England to hasten the restoration of James II, and at least the former shortly thereafter attended 'a meeting at a tavern in Holbourn' . . ." The authorities for this statement are Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, etc. and the MSS. of the Marquess of Downshire. Neither of these mentions William Penn. Why then was his name introduced here ?

The fifth statement that William Penn submitted to William III in 1694, is hardly correct. Penn had been outlawed and at last the ban was withdrawn, but Penn had admitted nothing, and made no submission.

The sixth statement quoting Penn on the subject of American colonies is correct. So out of the six, there are two right, and the others are very ill-supported remarks which, though they cannot be proved definitely wrong, are nevertheless not proved to be correct. In a reliable work they should be omitted.

C. L. BOLTZ

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## Christian Lodowick

Henry J. Cadbury sends the following addition to his article (p. 20) in our last volume. It attests further Lodowick's mathematical ability. In the MSS. of the Rhode Island Historical Society at Providence (No. xiv. 323) is preserved a letter from Lodowick to Thomas Brattle of Boston, dated 31 April, 1694, which contains a carefully worked out explanation by trigonometry of "middle parallel sailing". The letter is printed in full in the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, xvii (1924), 89f.



## Current Literature and Additions to the Library

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*Recent books and old books recently acquired are noticed here for their bearing on Quakerism past or present. Unless there is a note to the contrary a copy will be found in the Library of the Society of Friends in London.*

*Many of the books in the Library 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.*

*Stocks of books regarding Friends are to be found for sale at :*

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

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

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

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*William Penn: A Topical Biography.* By William I. Hull. (Oxford University Press, 362 pp., 21s.) This latest life of the founder of Pennsylvania is built on an unusual plan. We have many books attempting to combine the many episodes and the diverse strains of character into a complete picture of the man and his work. Here however the subject is deliberately treated piecemeal. The available material on each of thirty topics is collected and we are shown Penn in relation to his ancestors, his two wives, their respective families, his own education and early travels, his Irish experience, his conversion, Penn as an author, preacher, organizer, colonizer, courtier, alleged Jesuit and Jacobite, with many other aspects. The resulting book inevitably lacks somewhat in continuity for the reader, but is an admirable work of reference for the enquirer with a particular aspect of Penn in view. The book is well produced, and generously illustrated. It would have added materially to the reader's ease in referring to it if the chapter titles instead of the general title, had been printed on the recto of each leaf.

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*Eight First Biographies of William Penn in Seven Languages and Seven Lands.* By the same author as the preceding, this is the third of his Swarthmore College Monographs (\$2.00). It offers, without access to the originals which are in some cases difficult to find, some account of the first essays in the subject in Dutch, Latin, German, French, Spanish and Italian, besides English. As was to be expected those writers more separated from Penn by the gulf of time, place or outlook have depended more upon the stock sources of information

and achieved less, some indeed not more than a conventional epitome. There are numerous illustrations of title pages, portraits, etc.

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*The Learned Blacksmith: The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt.* By Merle Curti. (New York, 1937, 241 pp., \$3.00.) This volume prints a large number of letters which have with few exceptions not been published before. They are arranged in chapters dealing with Burritt's self education, his work for world peace, ocean penny postage, the cause of the slaves, and assisted emigration from England to America. Not himself a member of our society, he was constantly in contact with Friends on both sides of the Atlantic. In these letters the man speaks for himself, but they are not a substitute for a life which it is to be hoped Professor Curti will give us.

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*Friend Anthony Benezet.* By George S. Brookes. (Philadelphia, 1937, 516 pp., \$5.00 and Oxford Press, 22s. 6d.) There have been lives of Benezet before, though none for forty years, and no previous work has been so thoroughly prepared by the collection and examination of all the available source material. The present large volume was inspired by the reading of Amelia Mott Gunmere's edition of John Woolman's *Journal and Works*. Dr. Brookes devotes over two hundred pages to biography and about three hundred to printing letters and other papers by Benezet, most of which have never been used before. Benezet is generally known as a Philadelphia schoolmaster. In fact he taught for forty years, besides engaging continuously in writing for his wide circle of correspondents and for the press. He began to teach in 1739 in Germantown after the failure of a business proposal. He began a school for negroes in 1750 and a school was built for negro children in Philadelphia in 1770. But even more than their education he cared for their freedom, and his correspondence informed and kindled the minds of many against slavery at a time when outside our own society there was very little concern expressed.

He distributed his own pamphlets far and wide and it was the reading of Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea* that set Thomas Clarkson thinking about the slave trade and eventually led to his devoting himself to the cause of the slaves. Peace, Temperance, the treatment of the Indians and of the poor were all causes he actively supported. This full and readable biography gives us a good picture of Benezet. It is well illustrated and fully documented.

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We are indebted to Charles A. Hawley of Iowa State University for sending a copy of his article on *Correspondence Between John Greenleaf Whittier and Iowa*, reprinted from the *Iowa Journal of*

*History and Politics*, April, 1937. Iowa Friends at Salem, one of the earliest Quaker settlements west of the Mississippi, founded in 1868 a college which they named Whittier after the anti-slavery writer. It was hatred of slavery which had driven their fathers from the Carolinas. At its foundation and later after a disastrous fire the poet took a keen interest in its welfare.

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*A History of the Parish of Penn.* By J. Gilbert Jenkins. (St. Catherine Press, 4to, 210 pp., 7s. 6d.) This volume is a well constructed and interestingly written history, based at first hand upon the sources.

The author examines the theory that William Penn the Quaker was connected in family with the Penns of Penn. His conclusion is that Penn may have known with certainty of his connection with these Penns; he believed it, but upon what his belief was based we cannot now say. Surviving parochial and other records at no point show any connection between the Penns of Minety (Glos.) and those of Penn (Bucks.).

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*Some Problems of Life.* By Rufus M. Jones, Nashville Tenn., 1937, 214 pp. These eight papers were delivered as the Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University. They discuss values, freedom, and personality in the light of the author's own experience and learning and set forth his faith in "the illimitable resources of man's spiritual estate".

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Thomas E. Drake has written a brief history of Friends in the state of Minnesota under the title *Quakers in Minnesota*, published in the magazine of the Minnesota Historical Society, September, 1937, 20 pp. and separately reprinted. It covers the migration of the first Friends there in 1851 from North Carolina, shows the influences making for the establishment of the pastoral system, the part played by Friends in the affairs of the state, and brings the story down to the present day.

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*The Burttts : A Lincolnshire Quaker Family 1500-1900.* By Mary Bowen Burtt. (Hull; Burtt Bros., 1937, 200 pp.) Their story compiled from meeting records and family papers is closely interwoven with the history of Quakerism from its beginnings, in Brant Broughton and district. The volume is well written, well illustrated and well printed in each case by members of the Burtt family. It is an interesting account of Quaker life for more than two centuries in a country district. It has seven family charts and its value would have been further increased by an index.



*A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier.* By T. Franklin Currier. (Harvard Press, 1937, 693 pp.) Mr. Currier's exhaustive bibliography includes the innumerable broadside and leaflet printings of Whittier's poems, his communications to newspapers other than those he was connected with editorially. There is also a section on books and articles about Whittier. Others describe his editorial work for newspapers, the editions and leaflets chronologically, the poems alphabetically with each printing noted. This work will remain the authoritative description of Whittier's published work.

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*A Day-Book of Counsel and Comfort from the Epistles of George Fox.* Compiled by L. V. Hodgkin. (London: MacMillan, 1937, 314 pp.)

*The Name is Living: The Life and Teachings of Isaac Penington.* By M. Whitcomb Hess, (Chicago: Willet Clark, 1936, pp. 151).

These two volumes place before the modern reader some of the finest passages in the teachings of Fox and Penington. Fox has lived for us too much by his *Journal* alone; his *Epistles* numbering over four hundred, were published in 1698 in a folio volume of 557 pages, which has never been reprinted in full. The present volume contains a passage for every day in the year and thereby offers an acquaintance with his pastoral teachings in a short piece at a time. It is to be hoped they will also make many seek the original edition, which contains much of value that, necessarily, had to be omitted from the present volume.

Mrs. Whitcomb Hess offers us a study of Penington, opening with a brief life mainly taken from the testimonies that precede his collected *Works*, 1681. The chapters on his teaching collect quotations together under seven subjects; introductory and explanatory passages by the compiler open each chapter. She emphasizes the close relationship of mind between Penington and Plotinus and quotes also from his works. The general neglect of Penington is to-day partly due to an obscurity of style but is partly a measure of our lack of the type of experience his writings try to portray. The present volume opens acquaintance with him by removing many of the obstacles to studying him in a complete edition.

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*Divinity and Philosophy Dissected and Set Forth by a Mad Man.* (Amsterdam: 1644, 62 pp.) Dr. Theodor Sippell has very kindly presented to the Library a copy of this rare mystical tract.

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*George Fox.* By William Howitt. (Typescript, 149 pp.) The library is indebted to Dorothy Cadbury for the gift of a typescript

copy of this unfinished and unpublished study of George Fox. The original MS. is at Woodbrooke.

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*Pennsylvania : 1681-1756, The State without an army.* By E. Dingwall and E. A. Heard. (London : Daniel, 1937, 134 pp.) Is a brief account of the ideals of Penn's "Holy Experiment", its successes and increasing obstacles down to the withdrawal of Friends from the government.

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*Guide to the Administrative Records of the Society of Friends in Bristol, 1667-1869.* By Russell S. Mortimer. (Unpublished, typescript, 1937, 48 pp.) This thesis, presented for the London University Diploma of Librarianship, provides a complete schedule, with accurate descriptions and a brief introduction, of one hundred and thirty volumes of minute books and other MSS. preserved at the Friars Meeting House, Bristol. The author has kindly presented a copy to the Library.

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*Nottinghamshire in the Civil War.* By Alfred C. Wood, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford Press, 1937, pp. x, 240, 4 maps.) 15s. This history of the county during the period 1640-1660 is based upon first-hand research into sources, and covers not only the military events but also the constitutional and religious changes of the time. There is a general survey of the character of Nottinghamshire and its people in 1640 and a chapter at the end describes the changes in organized religious life preceeding and during the war, and following the restoration. Appendices give lists of Nottinghamshire members of Parliament, Royalists, Roundheads, and ejected clergy. A sketch of early Quakerism in the county occupies several pages, mainly drawn from sources well known to Quaker historians. It is to be hoped that fresh light may yet be some day cast on George Fox's early sojourn in the county and on "one Hincks, a Ranter" who is alleged to have been his teacher, by Henry Pickworth in *A True and Faithful Relation . . . of the Quakers*, 1736, p. 3.

## Periodicals

*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, (Philadelphia), Vol. xxv, No. 2 (1936). Hans Albrecht outlines the history of the meeting and meeting house at Bad Pyrmont in Germany from its first erection in 1800 till its reconstruction in 1933. The paper provides a useful historical sketch in English of German Quakerism. The article is illustrated by photographs. Wilhelm Hubben describes the various Russian groups which have in that country been popularly described as Quakers from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The similarity has in some cases been more apparent than real. None of the succession of Friends visiting Russia has mentioned any Russian Quakers. The term has both in Germany and in Russia been used to label various mystical, anti-ecclesiastical, pacifist, and sometimes fanatical sects some of whom had very elaborate theology and ritual.

Henry J. Cadbury contributes a further article on Anthony Benezet's library. A letter, reproduced in full, from Cornplanter, Chief of the Seneca Indians to Philadelphia Friends in 1791 is addressed to "The Friends of Onas", the Indian name for William Penn, who had passed from his labours then over seventy years. It asks Friends to care for and educate in the ways of peace, two boys of the tribe. Vol. xxvi, No. 1 (1937) is largely devoted to history in the making, in articles about the many bodies of Friends throughout the world who constituted the world Conference at Philadelphia later in the year.

Henry J. Cadbury contributes (pp. 39-53) *Bibliographical Notes* on the earliest anti-slavery writings including a rare item by one John Hepburn *The American Defence of the Golden Rule* . . . 1715, of whose author very little is known. Another, *A Mite Cast into the Treasury* . . . 1772, anonymous, has hitherto been attributed to Anthony Benezet, but is shown to be by another Friend, David Cooper of Woodbury, New Jersey (1724-95). He is also shown to be the author of two other anonymously published pieces, one against slavery, the other pleading for a better execution of the laws against drink and gaming.

In *Quakeriana Notes* No. 7, news of special interest is the acquisition by Haverford College of *Jacob Behmen's Theosophical Philosophy Unfolded* by Joseph Taylor, London, 1691. The copy was owned by John Woolman and bears evidence that he had it early in life and that he read it.

*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1937. Historical articles during the year include *Isaac Sharp in Scandinavia in 1846*, p. 111; *George III and Quakers*, p. 112; *Quakers of Long Ago*, (18th century Norwich Friends), p. 172; *Quaker Contributions to Medicine and Public Health* (Part I), 307.

*Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, Vol. xiii, No. 1, (September, 1937) contains a valuable article on the teaching of Walter Cradock (1606?-1659). His was a tender, tolerant, seeking and experienced spirit. His attitude towards all merely outward signs of godliness, the spirit in the scriptures, "gospel ministry" by the path of learning, formal worship and his love of simplicity of heart were so near the standpoint of George Fox that one wonders where and what harshness, what intractability, made the antagonism between Cradock and Friends. He was an independent minister, first in Wales, then in London, where he preached before the Parliament. He is not to be confused with the Dr. Cradock in George Fox's *Journal*. There are also a number of references to Walter Cradock in original sources in the Library at Friends House. *Anabaptists in England during the 17th Century* brings out the close Association in the official mind of these groups with Friends in the Commonwealth and Restoration periods.

*Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* Vol. vi, No. 3 contains a second instalment of the life of Thomas Firmin the seventeenth century philanthropist. To his practical charity we may add the interest of his sympathy with the Cambridge Platonists represented by Benjamin Whichcote. His friendships were wide and a contemporary describes him as a trader who, though knowing no Latin or Greek, was compassed about by an incredible number of learned friends.

*The Baptist Quarterly* for 1937 contains an account of the connection between *Dissent and Republicanism after the Restoration* by J. Walker (January, 1937, pp. 263-80). In a well documented paper the writer points out that the names of religious sects were also used for political parties and that the purely religious use of the same terms only came later in the 17th century. Dissenters generally were on the side of the Parliament in the civil war and this led to the common assumption by the authorities for twenty years after the Restoration that nonconformists were republicans. This and the nonconformists' suspicion that Charles and James intended to destroy Protestantism insured their political discontent and opposition.

*Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings, 1937.* The series of three articles by T. B. Shepherd on *Methodism and the Theatre in the 18th century* is concluded. These are interesting in connection with the numerous plays in the same period attacking Quakerism (See 1936, pp. 166-8, 181-5, 1937, pp. 3-7, 36-8). There is a brief account of Alexander Kilham (d. 1798) whose widow Hannah Kilham joined the Society of Friends shortly after his death. She became one of the earliest Quaker foreign missionaries in the 19th century and died at sea off the coast of West Africa in 1832.

*The Mennonite Quarterly Review.* In Vol. x, No. 4, Guy Hershberger discusses at length (pp. 187-221) the *Pennsylvania Quaker Experiment in Politics, 1682-1756*, the degree of its success and the reasons for its failure. The article is a valuable summary of this important piece of Quaker history. The writer inclines from its examination to conclude that if one adheres to the New Testament ethic one must remain almost detached from the political aspects of the social order.

In Vol. xi, No. 3, Edward S. Yoder (pp. 171-95) under the title *Christianity and the State* contributes further to the same general question with some reference to the Quaker attitude at the present time.

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History, Vol. lx, No. 4,* contains an article by Henry J. Cadbury (pp. 362-74) on *Intercolonial Solidarity of American Quakerism*. He gives an account of the links in feeling and in the practical application of a sense of unity among Friends in their widely distributed communities from Carolina to New England. Vol. lxi, No. 1 (pp. 88-92) prints, with a facsimile of the original, a rare tract by Edward Byllynge of Westminster offering 100 acres of land in West-Jersey to each of 100 needy families to enable them to emigrate. Further particulars of Edward Byllynge his writings, and his influence on the West Jersey constitution are discussed in the forthcoming volume *Children of Light* (New York, Macmillan, 1938). No. 2, (pp. 325-31), contains a reprint of a paper by Thomas Budd entitled *A True and perfect Account of the Disposal of one Hundred Shares or Proprieties of the Province of West-New-Jersey by Edw. Bylling, London, 1685*. The paper was published as part of the controversy between Byllynge and his colonists over the right of government of the colony. It was intended to show that Byllynge had no further proprietary interest there and therefore could not equitably claim the governorship. The contention as to proprietorship was incorrect however, and this was admitted by the author in a subsequent paper, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*. An article on *Samuel Keimer* in No. 4 (pp. 357-86)

is " a study in the transit of English culture to colonial Pennsylvania ". Keimer was born, probably about 1690, in Southwark. After being associated with the French Prophets for some years he professed himself a Quaker in 1718, but did not give evidence of very staunch attachment to the Society. He removed to Philadelphia in 1721 or 1722. There he printed, besides some very bad verse of his own, works by noted English writers such as Defoe, Steele and Sir Matthew Hale, which had not previously been published in the colonies. In the *Morals* of Epictetus he was the first American printer of a translation from a classical author. In addition to popular moralizing and political tracts, almanacs etc., he printed several Friends books of note, e.g. Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, Mary Molineux's *Fruits of Retirement* and Stephen Crisp's *Short History of a Long Travel from Babylon to Bethel*. A work apparently of his own, entitled *A Parable*, of which no copy is known, secured his formal disownment by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in September, 1723. In 1729 or 1730 he went to Barbadoes, where he died in 1742.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following :—

*Presbyterian Historical Society's Journal*. The same society publishes separately an account of the rise and suppression of a Presbyterian Movement in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

*Institute of Historical Research, Bulletin*.

## Extracts from a Vicar's Diary, 1655-79

THE following entries from a country clergyman's diary in the 17th century indicate the feelings aroused by some Friends in those whose beliefs and practices they felt called upon to oppose. They are contributed by J. W. Mathews of Earls Colne, Essex.

*Extracts relating to Quakers from the Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin, (1616-83), Vicar of Earls Colne, Essex from 1640 till his death. He was "a devoted adherent of the Parliament". The Diary was printed, in part, by the Royal Historical Society : Camden third series, Vol. xv, in 1908.*

3.vii.1655. Preacht at gaines Coln y<sup>e</sup> quakers nest, but no disturbance ; God hath raised up my heart not to feare, but willing to beare, & to make apposicon to y<sup>r</sup> wayes in defence of truth ; it is an evill that runs much in all places ; some think it will be dangerous to Cromwells interest, and is so ; God knows, I doe not, yett I think he feares them not, & perhaps y<sup>e</sup> clause in his declaration, not to disturb y<sup>e</sup> minister in exercise, was to hint to them they might doe it after, if they would, securely, for y<sup>t</sup> is y<sup>r</sup> practice.

15.vii.1655. Those called Quakers, whose work is to revile the ministry made a disturbance at Cogshall, and were sent to goale ; oh, many feare y<sup>e</sup> Quakers to ruine Cromwell ; tis not words y<sup>t</sup> alter governm<sup>ts</sup>, and rout armies ; it must forme it selfe into a military posture first, and when that appeares, then enemies of y<sup>e</sup> state, disturbers of y<sup>e</sup> peace, seiseth on them.

28.vii.1655. The Quakers set up a paper on the Church door at E. Coln.

29.vii.1655. This corner begins to feel y<sup>e</sup> Quakers ; some of y<sup>e</sup> heads its said are among us, the Lord bee our refuge ; an infallible spirit once granted them, what lies may they not utter, and what delusions may not poor men bee given up unto ?

10.ii.1656. Great noise of people called Quakers ; divers have fits about us, and y<sup>r</sup>by come to bee able to speake ; the Lord helpe us to stand fast against every evill and error.

16.ii.1656. Heard for certain y<sup>t</sup> one Wade, a Quaker as called, comes to our toune.

9.iv.1656. Heard and true y<sup>t</sup> Turners daughter was distract in this quaking busines ; sad are y<sup>e</sup> fits at Coxall like the pow wowing among the Indies.

11.iv.1656. Heard this morning that James Parnel the father of the Quakers in these parts, having undertaken to fast 40 dayes & nights, was *die* 10, in y<sup>e</sup> morning found dead ; he was by Jury found guilty of his own death, and buried in y<sup>e</sup> Castle yard.

Mr. R. H. told mee as seing y<sup>e</sup> letter sent by Fleetwood to release Parnel, but he was dead first ; had he been delivered y<sup>e</sup> triumph his partie would have made ! Its s<sup>d</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> contry that his partie went to Colchester to see his resurrection again.

31.x.1656. In y<sup>e</sup> lane sett upon by one called a quaker, the Lord was with my heart that I was not dismayed ; I had some discourse with him, the Lord bee my helpe.

21.viii.1659. A quaker wench came boisterously into y<sup>e</sup> church up almost to the deske, I perceived persons expected some disturbance, but shee staid y<sup>e</sup> end & then went out quietly, blessed bee God.

30.vi.1660. The quakers after a stop and silence, seeme to bee swarming and increased, and why Lord onely knowest.

7.vii. 1660. My soule mourneth to see how quakers and profanesse increaseth ; Gods holy day is most mens vain day.

8.ix.1660. Y<sup>e</sup> price of corne riseth much, much sicknes in many places ; the quakers busy about us.

3.i.1662. The quakers meetings are in great places disturbed, driven from thence, and other meetings of the non-conformists much omitted.

15.xii.1674. Quakers increasd ; John Garrod their head in O<sup>r</sup> town, building them a meeting place, appointing to meet once a week. I am not ov<sup>r</sup> solicitous of the effect, having seen Abbotts meeting house left, expecting God will appear for his truth, and I hope in perticular for mee in this place who truly desire to feare his name. I doe not determine why, but this morning viz 26, y<sup>t</sup> Garrods wife died, within 6 weeks of the use of that house ; I onely desire to feare and tremble, but doe not question y<sup>e</sup> downfall of that sect under y<sup>e</sup> feet of Christ & his servants.

25.i.1679. Allen the quakers speaker buried, the men & women following severally in some order.



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