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## The Beginnings of Quakerism

THE LATE W. C. BRAITHWAITE

This standard work on the early years of the Quaker movement (to 1660) was first published under another imprint in 1912. It is in part an account of George Fox, and is based largely on the writings of the first Friends. The second edition has been revised by Professor Henry J. Cadbury with 42 pages of additional notes.

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T. Edmund Harvey, 1875-1955

QUAKER studies (among many good causes) are the poorer by the death of Thomas Edmund Harvey at the age of 80 on May 3rd, 1955. He had been a member of the Friends' Historical Society ever since its foundation in 1903, and he was president in 1927. His presidential address, *Quaker Language*, was published by the Society in 1928 and was reprinted. He was a member of the Library Committee for about 23 years where his great knowledge of Quaker lore was much valued, and his enthusiasm was an encouragement. He has left a volume of Quaker MSS. to the Library.

As a Quaker historian he is probably best known for his introductions to the *Journal of George Fox* and to the *Short Journal* (Cambridge University Press, 1911 and 1925). Out of some twenty-five of his separately published works in the Library at Friends House, *The Rise of the Quakers* (1905) is one of the earliest and has been several times reprinted. He published other volumes, including *A Wayfarer's Faith*, 1913, *The Long Pilgrimage* (Swarthmore Lecture), 1921, *Silence and Worship*, 1923, *Along the Road of Prayer*, 1929, and *The Christian Church and the Prisoner in English Experience*, 1941, besides an account of *St Aelred of Rievaulx*, and some delightful fables, *Poor Raoul*, and *Stolen Aureoles*. In addition to these he wrote many pamphlets which have enriched the Quaker life and thought of our day.

Without attempting any comprehensive tribute to Edmund Harvey, it must be said that besides his wide and

deep learning in things both divine and human, the quick warmth of his sympathy, his daily dedication to the highest good of others and his lively humour endeared him to all who knew him.

Besides his service in the Society of Friends he was a social worker and reformer, and an educationist. He sat in Parliament some seventeen years in all, including both great wars, and did invaluable work in defence of the rights of conscience. A Friend has written that his qualities "gave him as an M.P. a moral authority in Parliament unequalled since John Bright."<sup>1</sup>

Edmund Harvey left to the Library at Friends House a bound volume of MSS. which he had collected. These papers were entered individually on the catalogue of the library in or before 1925. The 93 MSS. in the volume include the following:

An autograph letter by Richard Farnsworth (undated and unsigned) to William ———.

An autograph letter from Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, 5.iii.1667.

A letter (contemporary copy) from Margaret Fell to Ambrose Apleby, [1654], endorsed in George Fox's hand.

Two letters (contemporary copies) from William Penn to the Meeting for Sufferings in 1696 urging that a paper on a form of words in lieu of oath be not printed.

Several papers in the handwriting of Thomas Ellwood.

A large number of 18th c. certificates relating to ministers, and some letters of interest mainly as autographs.

## Ernest E. Taylor, 1869-1955

**E**RNEST EDWIN TAYLOR, who died 15th August, 1955, aged 86, was president of Friends' Historical Society in 1921. His presidential address, *The First Publishers of Truth*, was a study of the occupations followed by those Friends who first spread Quakerism through this country. It was printed in our *Journal*, vol. XIX (1922), pp. 66-81, and was later incorporated in *The Valiant Sixty*. Ernest Taylor was a constant and active member of F.H.S. from its foundation. He not only made himself familiar with the lives of the first Friends and the places from which they came, but linked them with the revitalization of Quakerism in our own day, and younger Friends were attracted by his presentation of the romantic realities of early Quaker life and

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Friends Newsletter*, Summer 1955.

spiritual achievement. L. Violet Holdsworth once told the present writer that it was Ernest Taylor who, in the early years of this century, discovered to her the romance of the early Friends and redirected her interest towards Quakerism at a time when L.V.H. was becoming inclined towards another communion whose way of worship and whose saints appealed strongly to her. Her *Book of Quaker Saints*, and other works, therefore owed their impulse in some degree to Ernest Taylor's influence. To her as to many others he gave invaluable help and advice on all literary matters.

He was the first secretary of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee (now the Yorkshire Friends Service Committee) and he constantly urged the value of the printed word in the "publishing of Truth." Besides two books, *Cameos from the life of George Fox*, 1907, and *The Valiant Sixty*, 1947, he wrote a number of biographical and other pamphlets. Woolman and Whittier were among his favourites and he did much to keep their writings available. He also made a hobby of writing handy guides to the dales and other north country districts, often with special attention to their Quaker interest.

## Presidential Address

ON Thursday, October 6th, a well-attended meeting held at Friends House, heard John M. Douglas of Belfast give his presidential address on "The Early Quaker Movement in Ireland". John Douglas is the third Irish President of F.H.S., having been preceded by J. Ernest Grubb (1913) and Isabel Grubb (1934). Friends there have always been a minority in the Protestant minority and many of the converts made by William Edmundson and other "First Publishers" were English ex-soldiers settled on land which they had received in lieu of arrears of pay, land whose Irish owners had been dispossessed and driven to the West. There were other conditions touched upon by the speaker, differing from those in England, which influenced the amount of persecution Friends suffered at the hands of their fellow Protestants. We hope to print John Douglas's address in the spring *Journal* which, with an article by Olive Goodbody on Irish conditions in the days of early Friends, will furnish an issue of special Irish interest.

## Some Unpublished Works of John Whiting

JOHN WHITING (1656-1722) is best known as the first bibliographer of Quakerism. But, like many—one almost says most—Friends of his generation, he also wrote and suffered for the Truth. In his own *Catalogue of Friends' Books* (1708) he lists eight of his works, and Joseph Smith, his nineteenth-century successor as Quaker bibliographer, cites eleven more, most of them published after 1708. In addition, Smith mentions “a manuscript volume of John Whiting’s” which, he says, “was once in my possession, but which I disposed of to a Friend in Philadelphia.”<sup>1</sup> This manuscript volume is now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. It formerly belonged to Charles Caleb Cresson—presumably the “Friend in Philadelphia” to whom Smith sold it; the flyleaf bears Cresson’s pencilled note: “Invoice 7mo. 16. 54/ £3. 3.” The volume contains six separate works in Whiting’s autograph, all but one written during his long imprisonment (1679-86) at Ilchester for nonpayment of tithes.<sup>2</sup>

There is a title page, which reads: “Severall Bookes and Papers Written by Me John Whiteing.” It seems apparent, however, that Whiting cherished the hope that these pieces (together perhaps with his already-printed tracts) might be gathered into a volume and published under a collective title after the manner of his friend Richard Samble’s *Handful after the Harvest Man* (1684), or Francis Howgill’s *Dawning of the Gospel Day* (1676) or Robert Barclay’s *Truth Triumphant* (1692). For bound in this volume is a slip which reads: “Some Gleaning of Grapes after the Vintage, being A Collection of severall Bookes & Papers of yt upright man and faithful servant of God according to his measure.—Written with his own hand and Dedicated to ye mens monthly meeting o’

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Smith: *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, II, 921-22.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief sketch of Whiting’s career see this *Journal*, IV (1907), 7-16; for his imprisonment see his *Persecution Expos'd, in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting* (London, 1715), and Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), I, 611 et seq.

the northside of Mendip there to remain wth them in manuscript (If they do not see meet to print itt) among ye Rest of ffrds Bookes & writings bequeathed to them with other things by his Last Will & Testament.—As a memoriall of him & his respect to them when he is gone.”

The first two items listed by Smith are really parts of the same work—“A Testimony against the Hireling Priests and their Tything Trade.” It is in the form of a letter addressed to Edward Ancketyll, the parish priest who was responsible for his imprisonment, and is printed in full in Whiting’s *Persecution Expos’d* (pages 35-52). (The first page, which Smith considers a separate item, was apparently intended as a title page; on the back are some comments on Ancketyll’s death, treated, of course, as a divine judgment.)<sup>1</sup>

There follows a four-page statement headed “The Cause of My Imprisonment the 4th month 1679.” This piece, which recites the circumstances of his arrest and detention, is the rather bitter outpouring of a man who knows himself wrongfully treated; it adds little, however, to our knowledge of the facts in this well-documented case.

Next is “A Short Testimony to all them whom itt may concerne where this may come,” a series of reflections which came to Whiting on Twelfth Month 1, 1679, as he lay in bed in his prison chamber, “waiting on ye Lord . . . & pondering in my heart the things of God.” A certain mellowness and charity has supervened. Persecution arises, he finds, when men depart from the spirit of Truth in their own hearts,

for . . . they yt keep to truth in their own hearts will never oppose it in others, for they being in unity with ye spirit of truth in themselves, they can never oppose ye work thereof, but will have unity with it in whomsoever it is made manifest.—This I witness in my own particular and therefore can set to my seal yt it is true.

By the same token

They yt own ye Judgments of ye Lord in their own hearts, & bring all their deeds to ye Light, yt they may be approved in ye sight of God & hides nothing in their own particulars yt is contrary to ye truth—such will never be afraid to stand to ye Judgment which ye Lord hath given to his church.

He develops this theme for eight closely written pages and ends with the request that his paper be copied, circulated among monthly and quarterly meetings, and, “if friends

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Persecution Expos’d*, pp. 149-50.

thinke fitt," printed. So far as I can tell, it never appeared in print.

We know something about the origin of the next tract, an essay of forty-six pages entitled *A Threefold Apology for the people of God in derision called Quakers*. Whiting tells us in *Persecution Expos'd* how he "hapned into some Discourse with one Walter Singer, a Presbyterian in the town [Ilchester], envious enough against Truth," who cited John Faldo's *Quakerism no Christianity* against him. Later, in his prison chamber at the Friary, he wrote out the arguments he had used against Singer, disposing them under seven heads and adding two sections in refutation of Faldo's charges. (He did not know then, he says, that William Penn had already answered Faldo in his *Quakerism a New Nick-Name for Old Christianity*.) The work is dated "Ivelchester where I yet Remaine a prisoner at the friery for ye testimony of a good conscience. The 1st month 1680/1."

*A True Testimony concerning the Life & Death, Tryalls, Travell & Exercises of my Deare Sister Mary Whiteing*, which follows, is a variant of *Early Piety Exemplified*, which Whiting published many years later.<sup>1</sup> It includes, as in the printed version, two epistles and a poem written by Mary Whiting.

The last manuscript in the volume stands apart from the others in that it was not written at Ilchester during Whiting's imprisonment but at Wrington, where he was living a decade and a half later. It bears the following title:

The Antiscriptural Baptists } Scripturally { Detected  
And ye Apostolicall Quaker } { Defended  
Against the circumstances of composition are set down in *Persecution Expos'd*. Whiting had been present in October 1695 at a theological dispute at Melksham in Wiltshire between Jo. Plimpton, a Baptist, and John Clark of Bradford, a Friend. After his return to Wrington, he "writ some Anim-

<sup>1</sup> Smith (if one may judge from his placement of the title in his *Catalogue*) assumed that this latter pamphlet was published between 1706 and 1711, though he notes that it bears "No printer's name, place, or date." Donald Wing in his *Short-Title Catalogue*, supplies "London, 1681", but this is clearly an error. The piece was composed in October 1681, but in its printed form bears the note: "The foresaid Account . . . was written in the Time of my Imprisonment at Ivelchester; but by an accidental Omission, hath lain by for some Years . . ." The fact that Whiting did not mention it in his *Catalogue* argues for a date of publication after 1708. A second edition was published in 1711.



adversions on this Dispute, and the several points handled in it. . . ." This is the manuscript now in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore. It is of more than routine interest by reason of the glimpse it gives us of one of the greatest Friends of the age in action.

The dispute opened, as usual, on the basic issue between Friends and the rest of Protestantism: whether "A Manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every Man to profit withal." Before the day was over the disputants had ranged over many other points—water baptism, the Lord's supper, perfection, the resurrection of the body. Clark quoted Scripture tirelessly in defense of the Quaker positions, "but the Baptist wrangled on." Near nightfall William Penn, who had apparently been there throughout the day, "broke out over his Head in Testimony to the People, which were many . . . and so ended the Dispute, concluding in Prayer to God."<sup>1</sup>

Whiting's manuscript account of the way the meeting broke up is more detailed and vivid.

So ye dispute having held near so many hours as there were particulars & drawing towards a conclusion, some prest [Plimpton?] to be short if he had anything more to say because some or other might have somewhat to offer to ye people, wch he perceiving said, there should be no preaching there today, tho yt was not in his power to hinder, except he would usurp authority over another mans freehold, but hereby he showed his [illegible] what he would have done if he had had the power, but cross cows have short horns as they use to say<sup>2</sup>, & soon after Wm Penn from a convenient standing began to declare to ye people with admiration that ever a man should stand up so long wth a bible in his hand to oppose ye plainest scripture in ye bible, &c at wch ye Presbyterian (immoderate) moderator & some others of yt party made a Hidious noyse to prevent him, but he going on ye baptist putt of his Hatt, saying, "You are Mr Pen, you writt the sandy foundation shaken did not you," to wch W.P. answered, "I am not come here to be Cattedchiz'd by thee, for yt would be to begin another dispute when ye day is too far spent, but if thou hast anything to object agt me or my bookes, I'le meet thee or any of thy party at any time or place in England day or night wth my bookes & my bible in my hand to vindicate them" &c or to yt purpose, & so went on directing them to ye Grace of God &c wch ye baptist seeing he could not prevent came down & went away wth about half a dozen more, ye people beginning to be pretty civell & so continued till he had done, after wch he concluded with prayer about candle lighting.

<sup>1</sup> *Persecution Expos'd*, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, p. 6: "A curst cow has short horns."

This manuscript, which covers eighteen closely written pages, is dated November 11, 1695. There is a five-page postscript in which Whiting tells of the refusal of Penn's opposers to meet him and make good their charges. On the last page is the endorsement "Give this to H. Goldney," and the further notation (in what appears to be the hand of Mark Swanner): "The frd to be advised that frds desire it may ly by awhile to see if the Baptists dont print—at ye meet 27 2/mo. 1696." Whiting himself tells us he sent his "animadversions" to London to be printed, "but the Baptist not Printing, mine was not either."<sup>1</sup>

So another of John Whiting's works remained unpublished, to come to rest finally, *via* Joseph Smith, in a transatlantic Quaker library.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

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Albert D. Mott, of the Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, Cal., is writing a study of Ranterism, particularly a comparison with the Quaker definition of the Inward Light, in the period 1640-1660. This work is being prepared for a Ph.D. degree and author has been engaged in research among original sources in the the Library at Friends House.

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*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 78, no. 4 (October, 1954) opens with an editorial notice of the recently published Index to volumes 1-75 (1877-1951) of *The Pennsylvania Magazine* which will provide an immediate guide to the whole resources of a periodical which has for many years published valuable historical material dealing not only with Pennsylvania and its founders, but with the neighbouring states and American history as a whole, particularly, but not exclusively, for the colonial period.

The January, 1955 issue (vol. 79, no. 1) includes an article "Artist in Exile: the Story of Thomas Spence Duché"—who came to London from Philadelphia during the American Revolutionary war—some material for this study by Professor A. F. Gegenheimer of the University of Arizona comes from the diary of Samuel Shoemaker, a Quaker loyalist also from Philadelphia who spent the years 1780-1786 in London. There is also an article by Professor A. O. Aldridge of the University of Maryland on the poetry of Thomas Paine.

<sup>1</sup> *Persecution Expos'd*, p. 240.

William Penn would have seen the manuscript (dated 11.ix.1695—the day that Penn appeared before Bristol Men's Meeting setting forth his proposals to marry Hannah Callowhill) when he was at Wrington meeting, 14 November, 1695, and perhaps the postscript dates from that time. The mention of Henry Goldney's name brings to mind the views he expressed concerning Penn's proposed marriage, in letter of 12 November, 1695 (Locker-Lampson: *A Quaker Post-Bag*, p. 62).

# The Yearly Meeting for Wales

## 1682-1797

*Notes on the course of the Welsh Yearly Meeting compiled from a transcript by John R. Hughes of the original Minute Book (now in the Glamorgan County Record Office, Cardiff)*

By EVELYN S. WHITING

**A**MONG many old Quaker documents preserved from very early days is the original Minute Book of the Yearly Meeting for Wales, 1682-1797. This old book throws some light on an almost forgotten phase of Quaker history.

The "Welch Yearly Meeting" was held regularly without a break for over 100 years, in places as far apart as Wrexham the the North and Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, in the South; and as remote as John ap John's home in Denbighshire, 1693, and Roger Hughes' at Llanfihangel-Ryd-Ithon, Radnorshire, 1695.

In the early days before Friends had set up Meeting-Houses of their own, the Yearly Meetings were always held in private homes, which included—in addition to the two mentioned above—Charles Lloyd's home at Dolobran, 1694; Richard Hanbury's at Pontymoel, Monmouthshire, 1696; the various Quaker homes around Dolgelly; and for a number of years at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the home of Robert Evans, Mayor of Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire.

Later on, when the Yearly Meetings became more widely known, and when moreover they were made the occasion for holding "Publick Meetings" for the people of the neighbourhood, it was found necessary to hire Town Halls, barns or "booths." This involved considerable expense, for usually the buildings had to be supplied with seating, and there were many incidental items also. In 1750, at Brecon, we have "To charges fillg up the Town Hall £5, use of same £2." (The expression "filling up" occurs frequently and obviously refers to the erection of improvised seating accommodation.) In reading through the old minutes, one is constantly surprised

by the very large sums that were laid out in the holding of these Yearly Meetings. For instance, at Wellington, Salop, 1768, for erecting and seating a "booth," the sum of £45-8-11½d. was spent; and in 1783 at Bridgnorth, the cost reached a total of £51-19-9d., which even in these days would seem high for a small conference lasting 2 or 3 days only. The makeshift premises were not always well-constructed. At Shrewsbury, 1748, there is this minute: "We desire that they (*i.e.* the representatives from the Q.M.s), would be particularly careful wherever this Meeting shall be held for the future to provide such places that may be safe and in no danger: it having been thought Dangerous to be held in such places as sometimes hath been."

The incidental expenses, apart from hire of buildings, included various unexpected and sometimes amusing items, *e.g.*

The Constables for their troubles:	12/6	Abergavenny, 1753.
Doctor Poole for use of Board Slabs for Seats and Carriage:	£3-3-0	Newtown, Mont., 1773.
John Jarman and workmen fitting up Hall and Barn:	£3-10-0	
Thos. Howel, Hallkeeper for trouble and attendance:	£1-1-0	Brecon, 1774.
The Bellman's attendance:	5/-	
Gift to the Beadle and to another:	£1-11-6	Monmouth, 1776.
Sweeping the street	7/10½	Carmarthen, 1778.
To 6 Constables attending:	£1-10-0	Cardiff, 1786.
To Porter at the Castle:	10/6	
For the other barn and damage to the hay:	15/6	Hay, 1788.

It is not clear how many Friends attended the Yearly Meetings, for although lists of some names are given, these are certainly not complete, except perhaps for the very early days. In addition to the Welsh Friends, "Publick Friends" from England and Ireland and frequently from America also, attended the gatherings. They were always welcomed warmly and the local Friends paid their expenses; for instance:

To publick frds expences at ye Inns:	£7-0-6	Cardiff, 1786.
Exp. of English Ministring Friends and their horses:	£8-7-3	Newtown, 1794.

Obviously in the early years when the Yearly Meetings were held in private houses, no very large numbers could have been accommodated. Yet more than 35 attended at Lewis Owen's home, Dolgelley, in 1685; and over 36 at Evan Lloyd's home

at Rhayader in 1698. Many of these Friends came on horse-back over rough and mountainous roads, often very long distances, which must have involved an absence from their homes of several days. One is puzzled as to how satisfactory lodging arrangements could have been made for the many Friends who must have stayed overnight, particularly when they met in such remote hamlets as Llanvareth or Llanfihangel-Ryd-Ithon, both in Radnorshire. That the business of arranging accommodation for visiting Friends must have presented difficulties at times, we gather from the following minute:

1695 It is desired by this meeting that every Quarterly meeting in Wales be informed that the friends that are to attend the service of the next yearly meeting do take up Lodgeings in Public houses that are Convenient, to prevent the Charge and trouble, that did usually fall upon one particular house upon that account.

Even a cursory study of the list of Friends present at the Yearly Meetings shows that certain Friends and certain families gave devotedly long and faithful attendance. Although Friends gathered from almost all parts of Wales, the real strength of the movement was soon concentrated in a few well-defined areas, of which the chief were: Welshpool and district including Dolobran, and Dolgelley and district, in North Wales; Llanidloes and Eskirgoch, Montgomeryshire, and the valleys of the Edw and Ithon in Radnorshire, in Central Wales; and in the South, an area around Pontymoel in Monmouthshire, and another in Glamorganshire. Some parts of Wales remained almost completely untouched by the Quaker movement. Throughout the period Friends made no headway in Anglesey or Carnarvon, and little in Cardigan or Breconshire, and their influence was comparatively short-lived in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. Flintshire and Denbighshire at first sent a representative occasionally, but after 1742 transferred membership to Cheshire.

Friends were puzzled by the lack of response in these districts. The following entries are typical:

1685 Anglesey. Thomas Jones, a Young Friend of ye sd. County gives relation that they are pretty tender and Moderate unto him he being the only Friend as yet in yt County.

1693 Anglesey. None present and noe meeting in that County. Tryall Rider is desired to write to one Thomas Jones who once walked among us, to deal with him as God in his wisdom will direct him and give an account thereof to our next yearly meeting.

1696 Anglesey. No tydings of Thomas Jones, who once professed trueth there.

1698 Anglesey. None present.

After that, Anglesey is dropped from the list altogether. It was a similar story in various other Welsh counties.

In 1693, when the Yearly Meeting was held at the home of John ap John in Denbighshire, 2 representatives came from Shropshire; and from then onwards Shropshire—although an English county—became an integral part of the Yearly Meeting for Wales, and regularly sent representatives who took an increasing responsibility for the work of the meeting.

In 1718 the Yearly Meeting was held at Shrewsbury, and thereafter on eleven occasions it was held in Shropshire. From 1711 to 1796, except on twenty-two occasions, the Clerkship was held by 4 Shropshire Friends in turn, and during the later period, nearly half the expenses were paid by Shropshire Friends. Yet it was only in comparatively small areas in Shropshire that Friends had any lasting influence, that is: in Shrewsbury and in Coalbrookdale, both in the valley of the Severn. Elsewhere in this large county Friends made no progress.

After the first few experimental years the clerkship was held usually by the same Friend for many years in succession. Thus, Lewis Owen of Dolgelly held it for 11 years, Amos Davies of Montgomery for 10; and the four Shropshire Friends—John Kelsall for 11, Abraham Darby for 6, John Young for at least 30 (perhaps more; the records are incomplete on this point) and Richard Reynolds for 5. In the final year, 1797, the Clerk was once more a Welshman, Richard Summers Harford of Monmouth. It may seem strange that the clerkship of the Welsh Yearly Meeting should have been held, for nearly half the period, by Englishmen. It may be that the Welshmen who at that time lived an almost entirely agricultural life, considered it a wiser course that a clerical task should be undertaken by men with greater business experience. Certainly the minutes appear to have been kept more systematically after John Kelsall took over the books, and he introduced a yearly statement of accounts.

Welsh names, as so often, tend to be of monotonous similarity, causing some confusion and perplexity, particularly when father and son, with identical names, attended Yearly Meeting together. We get a string of names such as

Owen Lewis, Lewis Owen, Owen Owen, James Lewis, Lewis James, John Jones Sr. and Jr., and so on. Therefore it is quite refreshing suddenly to be confronted with more spectacular names (almost suggestive of a modern "star" or "ace"), such as Tryall Ryder, Peregrine Musgrave, and Peerce Moice: the last name is, no doubt, just Percy Morris in another form. The spelling of names and places was extraordinarily erratic. Builth in Breconshire was sometimes spelt as Bealt, Built, or Buellt; and Rhayader in Radnorshire had the following variations: Raidr, Rhaiader, Rhayder, Rhayad, and Raiader Gwy.

Throughout the whole period of over 100 years no woman's name is given as a representative, and evidently there were no women at the ordinary business meetings. This was in accordance with the usual procedure in Friends' business meetings elsewhere, which similarly were attended by men only until late in the nineteenth century. Women Friends however were certainly not inactive, and took their full part in upholding and in preaching the principles of the Society. There was a Women's Yearly Meeting for Wales during much of the time.

The first mention of a woman Friend in the minutes comes in 1694 at Dolobran, when we are told that there were "two Prisoners for tythe" in Radnorshire: "Ann Thomas widow of Llanole aged about 80 years and Peter Edwards."<sup>1</sup>

Women's names occur occasionally in the minutes, not only on account of their sufferings, but because of their service as "Publick Friends," *e.g.*

1703 *Llanidloes*. "Pembrokeshire. One Publick Friend dyed since last year, (viz.) Joan Llywelin."

1704 Again at *Llanidloes*. "Radnorshire. One Publick Friend deceased since last yearly meeting (viz.) Gole: Moris widow."

The extreme youth of some of these "Publick Friends" is remarkable:

1714 *Wrexham*. "Radnorshire. One Publick Friend Deceased viz. Elizab. Lloyd the 1st of 7mo. 1713, aged abt. 23."

By 1755 it is evident that a sufficient number of women

<sup>1</sup> Peter Edwards' descendants remained "well-concerned" Friends till late in the 19th century. At the family home at Hindwell Farm, Walton, Radnorshire, they entertained many travelling Friends from England and America. Tradition says that Wordsworth—a friend of the Edwards family—also visited the farm and worshipped in the little octagonal summer-house, still standing in 1920 but now pulled down, where William Edwards, the stock farmer, used to have Quaker meetings.

came to the Yearly Meetings to justify the holding of separate women's meetings, held at the same time as the men's meetings.

Soon after the turn of the century, it became the custom for the Yearly Meeting proceedings to extend over several days. For in addition to the business meetings for the members of the Society, it was the rule, as has been said, to hold one or more "publick meetings," for the purpose of proclaiming the Quaker message to the people of the neighbourhood. Usually two or more "Ministering Friends" from England, Ireland or America attended the Yearly Meeting to help in this service. Frequently a woman Friend would be of their number. So we have Isabella Middleton from Dublin and Rachel Wilson from Kendal in 1762; Catherine Phillips from Falmouth in 1783; Rebekah Wright from America in 1787; and Mary Gurney from Norwich in 1788. At Carmarthen in 1793, the Yearly Meeting gave a certificate to two women Friends for service in America.

Our beloved Friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young laid before this Meeting in a weighty manner their Concern to pay a religious visit to Friends and others on the Continent of America—which being solidly and deeply considered divers Friends present expressed their sympathy and entire unity with our said Friends in their Concern.

The Yearly Meeting thereupon endorsed the certificate which they had brought from their own monthly meeting of Shropshire. It was during this visit to America that Deborah Darby met and by her ministry so deeply impressed the French emigré, Stephen Grellet.

Four years later, at "Welchpool," the two Friends returned their certificate, and asked for another for a religious visit, "as Truth should open the way," to Scotland and Ireland; and this also was readily granted.

The minutes of the Welsh Yearly meetings, covering a period of over 100 years, record with brief references the deaths of many faithful Friends. On only six occasions was a full testimony included in the minutes; but of the six Friends honoured in this way, four were women: *i.e.* Mary Goodwin of Eskirgoch, Montgomeryshire, in 1778; Martha Williams of Pontypool, in 1788; Dorothy Owen of Tyddyn-y-garreg, Dolgelley, in 1794, and Abiah Darby of Coalbrookdale, in 1795.



Mary Goodwin along with her husband had made their simple, primitive home in a wild lonely spot among the mountains of central Wales a well-known and much-loved Quaker centre, in which Friends from many countries felt it a privilege to be entertained. Here they had set up a Meeting House and provided land for a burial-ground. The testimony speaks of her as "a true helpmeet and fellow-labourer with her husband" and mentions that she had "a small but lively testimony."

Dorothy Owen was the valiant Friend who on occasions had walked all the way from her own home near the Cardigan coast up to London and back in order to attend London Yearly Meeting. "She contented herself with the least expensive manner of living and of dress in order to have the more to distribute to the necessities of others." A neighbour, "not in profession with us," was so impressed by the witness of her life that she said, "Her Conduct preaches dayly to me."

Of Abiah Darby we read:

She was a tender sympathizer with the afflicted whether in body or mind and an eminent Example of Christian Benevolence to those who are Stewards of the Good Things of this Life, being rich in Good Works, ready to distribute, willing to Communicate, feeding the hungry, cloathing the naked, visiting the sick and also at sundry times under an especial apprehension of Duty, the condemned and other Prisoners in different Jails.

We know that her daughter-in-law, Deborah Darby, commended a similar service to Elizabeth Fry when as a young girl with her father John Gurney she visited Coalbrookdale in 1798. Had Deborah then in mind this testimony to her mother-in-law, produced only 3 years previously?

These brief testimonies in their quaint old-fashioned Quaker phraseology are moving tributes to the noble lives of these intrepid women from Wales and her borders. Something of their staunchness and indomitable spirit comes to us through the old records. Their lives left a fragrant memory and we can well believe that it is to such women we can attribute the respect and veneration still given to the name of Quaker in various parts of Wales.

#### YEARLY MEETING BUSINESS

The subjects considered at the Yearly Meeting show a gradual change and development throughout the period. At first the main subjects were: reports on the sufferings of

Friends in the various constituent counties; repeated reminders of the importance of upholding the testimony against the payment of tithe; preparation of an Epistle to be distributed throughout the Principality of Wales, and of another to be sent to London Yearly Meeting.

George Fox had ordered that an accurate record should be kept of the sufferings of Friends. In fact a copy of his Epistle on this matter is one of the first items written in the minute book. However, perhaps an almost undue emphasis was given to this by succeeding generations. Representatives received a severe reproof if they failed to bring the necessary information for their own, and sometimes for adjacent counties also. Friends were regularly appointed to keep records for their districts, and to send the information to London.

Much time was spent particularly in the earlier years on negative and critical measures, for in addition to frequent expressions of censure for slackness, both in reporting sufferings and in upholding the testimony against tithe, there were also constantly repeated advices against "marrying out", the use of gravestones, extravagance in dress and the conducting of weddings and funerals; against the abuse of tobacco and strong drink, and too great attachment to business interests. Also Friends were constantly urged to maintain strict integrity in business and in their dealings with the government.

Here are some typical entries:

1691 Things generally indiferent well.

1697 Let not a gluedness to the world and your worldly interests cause you to keep back.

1760 It is cause of no small pain of mind to some amongst us to observe a deficiency of care in some places against defrauding the King of his Customs Duty's or Excise or dealing in Run Goods even for their own use.

1765 Bear testimony against that Antichristian yoke of Tythes. It caused pain of mind to several of us in this our Annual Assembly to find that some among us should act as inconsistent with the Dignity of Truth as to leave the Corn or Hay in the field after the same has been marked.

1777 [A minute condemns] that very unbecoming behaviour of Drowsiness (which in some places appeared to be given way to by too many).

"Nothing else was offered" was the expression used, where now it would be "There is no further business at the table."

Positive and constructive measures were not neglected

and took an increasingly important place as the years passed. From the very first year at Redstone, Pembrokeshire, in 1682, Friends showed loyalty to their native land and tongue, and were concerned that Quaker books and pamphlets should be translated into the Welsh language, and distributed throughout the Principality.

1682 This day it was layed before the Meetings Concerning the Good Service of translating books into Welch.

1692 According to a motion made by Richard Davies,<sup>1</sup> Concerning a parcell of Welsh books, as it is consented by this meeting, that the sayd books be received by Richard Davies to be divided among friends in Wales as shall be thought fitt.

The Welsh have always been a book-loving people and there was a constant demand for the Welsh translations. In 1748 a request was made to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, for a consignment of Friends' books, for distribution amongst the various quarterly meetings in Wales. 580 books were received, which included 200 copies of T. Williams' book, *Reasons for leaving the Baptists!*

Although all the minutes from the very first were written in English, we know that the Welsh language was used at times in the meetings for worship.

1691 *Haverfordwest*. Our yearly meeting assembly which the Lord hath crowned with his glorious presence and appearance where divers living testimonies were given forth both in Welsh and English.

Many of the early pioneers, such as John ap John and Richard Davies, had a deep concern that the Welsh language should be retained, and they amongst others made great efforts to have Quaker books and pamphlets translated into Welsh, and distributed widely through the Principality. Perhaps if their efforts had been more faithfully followed by later generations the history of Welsh Quakerism might have been very different.

Another factor in the decline of Welsh Quakerism was the wholesale emigration to Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. A very strongly worded minute on this subject was included in the Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1698 from Rhayader.

And moreover we being under a deepe sence and Consideration that some friends by their irregular, disordrly and unsavoury proceedings and runnings into Pensilvania having been a Cause of great

<sup>1</sup> The hatter from Welshpool who wrote a racy journal; 1710, and reprints.

weakening if not the total decayeing of some meetings in the Dominion of Wales—therefore earnestly intreate friends for the future to Consult with friends in the Quarterly and monthly meetings to have their unity afore they resolve to remove to Pensilvania or ellswhere.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the minutes refer to the gift, purchase or lease of meeting houses and burial grounds, insisting that their legal tenure must be clearly defined, and responsible Friends appointed for their management.

A matter which received serious consideration at many Yearly Meetings and was frequently urged upon the Meeting, was the practice of visiting Friends in their families—a practice which was of peculiar value in a countryside like Wales, containing a rural population, where the Quaker families were often isolated and widely separated.

1706 *Llanidloes*. This meeting doth recommend to ye several Qu and Mo Meet: that they be careful (at least once a year) to chuse such friends as may be approved by the sd. meetings to visit the Several Families.

Such visits were of incalculable worth in strengthening the Society. Certainly they were very deeply appreciated. The visiting Friends always received a warm welcome and hospitable entertainment. But Friends who came from England or America were often struck by the poverty and primitive standards of the Welsh country folk. In their journals there are frequent references to the "low circumstances" and "poor Habitations" of Welsh Friends. Economic factors undoubtedly played some part in the decline of Welsh Quakerism.

Not till late in the eighteenth century was consideration given to social and educational questions. A few items in the minutes towards the close of the period however reveal an awakening sense of concern in these matters.

1763 *Presteigne*. The importance of Educating the Youth of our Society in the Principles of true Religion and Virtue and also in necessary Learning having been the subject of our weighty Consideration, We cannot Avoid recommending the same to the most serious attention of Friends in general as in a short time the concerns of the Church will devolve upon the succeeding generation. And it appears to us that Divers of Friends Children are not taught to Read and

<sup>1</sup> John Griffiths, 1713-1776, a Radnorshire Friend who had emigrated as a youth to Pennsylvania and later had returned to the British Isles, states in his *Journal* that his father "was very deeply affected by the declining state of the society in these parts (*i.e.* around Pales, Radnorshire) many having removed to America, which since his decease (in 1745) have become almost a desolation".

Write. It is therefore requested that Friends use their best Endeavours to procure for their children Instructions in those necessary Parts of Learning that they may become more useful in the Creation and to the Society.

1764 *Wrexham*. The answers from the several counties [were received]. It appeared that in most proper care was taken, tho' it was remarked with Concern that there was a remissness in a few and it is Earnestly recommended to the friends of the Counties in which there is a remissness that proper Endeavours be used to remove the Cause of Complaint.

In 1795, the testimony to the life of Abiah Darby shows that her social work was warmly approved and it seems likely therefore that her example may have inspired others to undertake similar forms of service.

However, the Welsh Yearly Meetings were much more than assemblies for the conduct of routine business. They were also religious and social gatherings, greatly valued by the Welsh Friends themselves, and in addition exercising a wide-spread influence in the districts where the meetings were held.

Some of the old journals of the eighteenth century give us revealing sidelights on the Yearly Meetings and the life of the Welsh Friends.

Benjamin Holme, in his account of his travels in 1728, says he went

To the Yearly-meeting in Wales, which was held this Year at Brecknock, where there was a great Appearance of People of other Professions (none of our Meetings having been there for many Years before) and Friends had a good Opportunity to declare the Way of Truth to them.<sup>1</sup>

In 1744 he was again at the Yearly Meeting

which was held this Year at a Place called Glanneedless [Llanidloes] . . . the said Yearly-meeting was large and very peaceable, there being a great Resort of other People who were not of our Society.<sup>2</sup>

Lucy Ecroyd, 1723-66: (MS. Journal, lent by Henry Ecroyd)

1763 "Welch Yearly Meeting at Presteigne. The public Meeting was held in a Barn, when very large numbers assembled even beyond the limits of the place to contain, and I was concerned in the early part of the Meeting in Prayer, after which John Lewis had an acceptable opportunity in Testimony, as had also Catherine Payton a very extended one, and J. Hunt concluded in prayer, and through the whole the behaviour of the People was with becoming gravity. In the afternoon from the very large attendance Meetings were held in two places, viz. the Barn mentioned before, and the Town Hall where Catherine Payton and John Hunt had the public service. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *A Collection of the Epistles and Works of Benjamin Holme*, 1754, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5th day. At 11 o'clock were held public meetings in the Hall and Barn—The behaviour of the people showed great attention and it was remarkable they showed some reluctance to withdraw at the conclusion of the meeting, and it was cause of hearty thankfulness to some of our minds to have vouchsafed to us such evidence of the presence of the great master of our Assemblies."

Rebecca Jones (1739-1817, of Philadelphia but of Welsh descent), visited Wales in 1786, in company with Sarah Grubb (*née* Tuke). She gives some idea of the Welsh country and people of this period

"The journey was rendered arduous by the ruggedness of the country and the road being partly over the tops of very high mountains," and the scenery impressed her as "amazing and awful." She speaks of "meeting with honest-hearted Friends in Wales, well worth visiting, and more in the simplicity than most other places. Great openness also among others, many of whom understood our language, and gladly accept invitations to attend our Meetings.—We had a precious meeting at Tythyn-y-garreg (home of Dorothy Owen near Dolgelley), many who could not understand us, were feelingly sensible of the spreading of Divine love over us. At Eskirgoch, in the midst of high hills and great barren mountains, to the house where John Goodwin lived and died, came many not of our Society several miles on foot, and were solid and attentive. The Welch people are an industrious, hardy, plain people, and there are a few precious Friends worth visiting. I have a secret hope that there will be a revival in Wales, in His time, who doth all things well and wisely."<sup>1</sup>

Reading through these and similar journals, and also the reports in the old minute book, we realize that the pre-eminent concern of the Yearly Meeting for Wales, constantly exercising the minds of Friends and urgently pressed upon their fellow-members, was for the spiritual condition of Friends and the right holding of their meetings.

The following extracts from the epistles bring this out:

1688 *Pontymoel, Mon.* [A note of relief and triumph comes with the cessation of the time of acute persecution.] Dear Friends—we do most dearly salute you that these may let you understand that our yearly meeting was glorious and numerous, and the power of the Lord overshadowed it . . . we certify you that things are well with friends in the severall Counties of Wales and unity and prosperity among them in a great measure. Glory to the name of our God, and meetings increase (rather than diminish) and things are on a growing rather than declining hand.

But with the cessation of persecution, Friends became aware increasingly of the insidious temptations of slackness and complacency.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, 124, 127-8.

1696 *Pontymoel*. We earnestly intreat you to meet often together in this quiet and calm day of liberty, neglect not your weekly and middle weeke meetings, for ye that Could give up all for trueth in the late times of Persecutions and many of you kept from your families for weeks months and some for years, now can ye not give one day in the middle of the weeke, from your outward concerns, to serve the Liveing God—(to witt) monethly quarterly and men and women's meetings wch. were sett up in the will of God; that thus ye may be a growing and not a decaying people.

1717 *New Radnor*. It is fervently recommended that we should wait upon God with Diligence and Sincerity, not in Dulness of Body and Stupidity of Mind (wch. is too much a growing Evil), but that our active minds in a steady waiting upon him—may discover the first offer of the least measure of the Spirit of God.

1760 *Oswestry*. We also find it necessary to advise Friends everywhere to be careful to attend all our religious meetings both on First and Week days as well as those for Discipline and this our Annual Meeting. We have with sorrow observed the slackness that prevails in some places in attending the same.

But discouragement increased as the century proceeded:

1784 *Rhayader*. Our numbers in this Principality is much Decreased and the Concern for the Prosperity of Truth thro' Indifferency and Lukewarmness much Abated, since the time of our Ancestors who are removed from works to rewards.

Then came an appeal to London Yearly Meeting:

1794 *Newtown*. The very reduced and low state of the Society in the Principality—having painfully affected us and engaged our weighty Attention—it is concluded to represent the same to the ensuing Yearly Meeting in London, with a request for such assistance and advice as they in their wisdom of Truth shall have to impart.

The matter was duly considered by London Yearly Meeting. In accordance with its recommendations a minute was passed at Welshpool in 1797, finally bringing the Yearly Meeting for Wales to a close. In future the work of the Society of Friends in Wales was to be carried on by the holding of Half-Yearly Meetings on rather different lines.

The following list of places where the Yearly Meeting for Wales was held is taken from the information provided by Frederick J. Gibbins and printed in *The Friend*, 1.1.1870, p. 15. The spelling of the original records has been followed.

1682 Redstone, Pembrokeshire.	1687 Dolobran
1683 Dolgyn, Merionethshire	1688 Pontymoel, Monmouthshire
1684 Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire	1689 Wm. Awbery's house, Brecknocksire
1685 Garthgynvor, Merionethshire	1690 Swansea, Glamorganshire
1686 Near Llanvair, Llanvareth parish	1691 Haverfordwest

- 1692 Garthgynvor  
 1692/3 Coed Ecionaidd, ye house of  
     John ap John, Denbighshire  
 1694 Dolobran, Montgomeryshire  
 1695 House of Roger Hughes,  
     Radnorshire  
 1696 House of Richard Hanbury,  
     Pontymoil  
 1697 House of Robert Evans,  
     Lanidlos  
 1698 House of Evan Lloyd, Raiadr  
 1699 Lanidlos  
 1700 do.  
 1701 do.  
 1702 do.  
 1703 do.  
 1704 do.  
 1705 Buellt [Builth], Brecknock-  
     shire  
 1706 Lanidlos  
 1707 Buelt  
 1708 Newtown, Montgomeryshire  
 1709 Landoverly, Carmarthenshire  
 1710 Abergavenny, Monmouthshire  
 1711 Bealt [Builth]  
 1712 Lanidlos  
 1713 Newtown  
 1714 Wrexam, Denbighshire  
 1715 Haverfordwest  
 1716 Pontymoil, Monmouthshire  
 1717 New Radnor, Radnorshire  
 1718 Shrewsbury, Shropshire  
 1719 Bealt  
 1720 Swansea  
 1721 Dolgelle, Merioneddshire  
 1722 Lanidlos  
 1723 Presteygn, Radnorshire.  
 1724 Monmouth  
 1725 Carmarthen  
 1726 Denbigh  
 1727 Shrewsbury  
 1728 Brecknock, Brecknockshire  
 1729 Newport, Monmouthshire  
 1730 Rayadr Gwy  
 1731 Ludlow, Shropshire  
 1732 Bala, Merioneddshire  
 1733 Hay, Brecknockshire  
 1734 Welshpool, Montgomeryshire  
 1735 Landoverly  
 1736 Cardigan  
 1737 Whitchurch, Shropshire  
 1738 Knighton, Radnorshire  
 1739 Cowbridge, Glamorganshire  
 1740 Montgomery  
 1741 Usk, Monmouthshire  
 1742 Bridgnorth, Shropshire  
 1743 Tenbigh, Pembrokeshire  
 1744 Lanidlos  
 1745 Carmarthen  
 1746 Bealt  
 1747 Cardiff, Glamorganshire  
 1748 Salop, Shropshire  
 1749 Haverfordwest  
 1750 Brecon  
 1751 Newport, Shropshire  
 1752 Rayader Gwy, Radnorshire  
 1753 Abergavenny  
 1754 Swanzey, Glamorganshire  
 1755 Llandilo Vawr, Carmarthen-  
     shire  
 1756 Bishop's Castle, Shropshire  
 1757 Lanidlos, Montgomeryshire  
 1758 Chepstow, Monmouthshire  
 1759 Neath, Glamorganshire  
 1760 Oswestry, Shropshire  
 1761 Laugharn, Carmarthenshire  
 1762 Bala, Merionethshire  
 1763 Presteigne, Radnorshire  
 1764 Wrexham, Denbysire  
 1765 Hay  
 1766 Pembroke  
 1767 Buillt, Brecknockshire  
 1768 Wellington, Shropshire  
 1769 Cowbridge  
 1770 Knighton  
 1771 Ludlow  
 1772 Lanidlos  
 1773 Newtown  
 1774 Brecknock  
 1775 Dolgelle  
 1776 Monmouth  
 1777 Buillt  
 1778 Landoverly  
 1779 Lanidlos  
 1780 Usk  
 1781 Haverfordwest  
 1782 Brecon  
 1783 Bridgnorth  
 1784 Rhaiader Gwy, Radnorshire  
 1785 Aberystwith, Cardiganshire  
 1786 Cardiff  
 1787 Machunleth  
 1788 Hay  
 1789 Brecon  
 1790 Lanidlos  
 1791 Buillt  
 1792 Bala  
 1793 Carmarthen  
 1794 New Town  
 1795 Hay  
 1796 Brecon  
 1797 Welch Pool



## The Marriage of Judith Crowley

**T**HE name of Judith Crowley is almost unknown even to those familiar with the by-paths of Quaker history in the eighteenth century, yet her hand was sought by members of the Society of Friends as eminent as James Logan, William Penn's Secretary to his colony of Pennsylvania, and John Pemberton, the Midlands ironmaster, whilst the successful suitor was ultimately Cornelius Ford, a minister of the Church of England, and cousin of the great Doctor Johnson. The fortunate survival of letters now scattered in several collections both in this country and across the Atlantic has enabled some of the threads of this fascinating story to be drawn together.<sup>1</sup>

Judith Crowley was born at Stourbridge, Worcestershire, in 1681, and her failure to marry such eligible suitors, or indeed to marry at all until over 40 years of age, suggests that her temperament was difficult. This suggestion is confirmed by references in letters to her from her eventual husband, Cornelius Ford. Nevertheless, in the early years of the eighteenth century, the wealth and connections of the Crowleys encouraged marriage alliances with the family. Judith's father, it is true, was possessed of no great wealth. He was Ambrose Crowley the elder, father of the great industrialist Sir Ambrose. But in the early years of the eighteenth century, when her hand was being so ardently sought, there was already great wealth in the family. Her half-brother, Sir Ambrose, had achieved a position of wealth and influence in the City of London before his death in 1713. Two of her sisters, Sarah and Mary, had married the brothers Charles and Sampson Lloyd, whose iron businesses in Wales and Birmingham were growing steadily. Though her father, an ironmonger of Stourbridge, was only a man of moderate means, he was a well-known Friend in Worcestershire. Generosity, which ate deeply into his resources, so that he died almost a poor man, had earned the name of Crowley respect and admiration throughout the meetings of Worcestershire and the Birmingham area. Through the brothers

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mr. Frederick B. Tolles, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, for assistance in solving some of the references in letters, and for the supply of photostats and transcriptions.

Lloyd the family was linked closely with other well-known Quaker families in the Midlands—the Pembertons, the Parkes, and the Norrises.

At a time when Sir Ambrose Crowley was offering £10,000 with the marriage of his daughters,<sup>1</sup> it is not surprising that the hands of the remaining spinsters of the Crowley family should be sought with enthusiasm. The earliest known suitor of Judith's was Benjamin Braine. In 1703, Sir Ambrose wrote to Sampson Lloyd: "I have found a very great civility in the Carrage of Mr. Benja. Braine sence I came home but have not entred in to any discourse with him relating to Sister Judeth—but Peter Bowen telleth mee hee beleiveth that family hath a great inclynation to bee nearly related to us—I doe not thinck their will ever bee a better offer on the Anvill than this soe doe advise my Father to lett my sister Judith com for London this Springe."<sup>2</sup> Who Benjamin Braine was is not known, but clearly nothing came of the project, and it is another eight years before there is any record of a further marriage project.

This time the suitor was a man of the highest distinction and achievement. James Logan, then Penn's Secretary in Pennsylvania, later became Chief Justice of the Colony and President of the Council, as well as being probably the most distinguished scientist, philosopher and bibliophile in Pennsylvania.<sup>3</sup> In 1709, political difficulties in the colony brought Logan to England. He brought with him a letter of introduction from Isaac Norris addressed to the Lloyd and Crowley families. Norris would probably have had in mind the fact that Sampson Lloyd in Birmingham was the nephew of Thomas Lloyd, Penn's deputy, who had died in 1694. In this way Logan was led into Ambrose Crowley's family circle at Stourbridge.<sup>4</sup> A friendship thus struck up with Judith evidently ripened into a love affair and a proposal of marriage.

<sup>1</sup> Lettice Crowley, who married Sir John Hind Cotton in 1707, Mary, who married James Hallett in 1708, and Anne, who married Richard Fleming in 1713 (?), each had portions of £10,000. His fourth daughter, Elizabeth, married Lord St. John of Bletsoe in 1725, many years after her father's death and it is not known what her marriage portion was.

<sup>2</sup> 23rd February, 1702/3, in possession of Mr. Humphrey Lloyd, Marlow, to whom I am indebted for permission to quote.

<sup>3</sup> See F. B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (University of North Carolina, 1948), Chapter 8, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> N. Penney (edit), *Correspondence of James Logan and Thomas Story* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 3.

There has survived a letter of his of October, 1711, which starts, "My Dearest Life," and ends, "Thy most faithful and affectionate J. Logan."<sup>1</sup> Possibly Logan had proposed marriage to Judith already when this letter was written, for five weeks earlier, she had written to him: "I dare not nor cannot comply with thy request for severall reasons. I should still remember I am and must be under subjection, this consideration will by no means admit me. No I must not act without my ffrds. aproving it."<sup>2</sup> Judith's letter suggests rather less ardour than does Logan's, for it begins "Respected J.L.," and she merely signs herself "Thy ffriend J.C." Logan apparently made no secret of his intention to marry Judith, and to take her back with him to Pennsylvania. As early as November, 1710, Isaac Norris, who was Judith's second cousin, had written to him, "I am now to thank thee for ye Stepps thou art making towards bringing over my 2d."<sup>3</sup> By August, 1711, Norris wrote to Logan, "I gather yt you two are agreed. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The proposed marriage, however, occasioned considerable hostility in the Crowley and Lloyd families. There was some reluctance to lose Judith across the Atlantic. In 1712, for example, Judith's brother-in-law, Sampson Lloyd, wrote to her urging that "I beleive thou maist be satisfied that all thy relations will be against thy removall out of thy Native Countrey. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Probably a more important reason for the family's reluctance to lose Judith was that her departure would leave no one to care for her father in his old age. In 1711, old Ambrose Crowley was 76, and suffered at times from loss of memory. His second wife had died in 1701, and of his five daughters, Sarah and Mary had married in 1693 and 1695 respectively; Susanna was married before 1711; and the date of Phoebe's marriage is uncertain, but it was being negotiated in 1711. She was married at the time her Father made out his will in 1713, and it seems most likely that the wedding took place early in 1712. After this marriage, Judith

<sup>1</sup> 23rd October, 1711, in possession of Mr. Humphrey Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup> 15th September, 1711, *Logan Papers*, Vol. X, 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This letter has been printed in the *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan*, II (Philadelphia, 1872), 437.

<sup>3</sup> 29th November, 1710, *Norris Letter Book*, 1709-16, 226, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>4</sup> 28th August, 1711, *ibid.*, 286.

<sup>5</sup> 30th August, 1712, Lloyd MSS., Friends House Library, London.

alone of the daughters remained at home, and the problem of looking after their father may seriously have conditioned the attitude of other members of the family to the question of Judith's marriage to Logan.

Logan's only surviving letter to Judith, written in October, 1711, refers not at all to their own affairs, but is a panegyric on Elizabeth Pemberton, John Pemberton's first wife, who had just died. Elizabeth Pemberton was a sister of Sampson and Charles Lloyd. Her death left John Pemberton a very eligible widower, and in their anxiety to prevent the match which would remove Judith to America, it may well be that the Crowley and Lloyd families both looked to John Pemberton as their saviour. Sampson Lloyd's letter of August, 1712, to Judith was carried to her by John Pemberton, with the wish that "thou wilt give him such encouragement as I believe his cordial respect deserves which I shall be hearty glad to hear. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

It was unfortunate for Logan that he was obliged to return to America. He left England on the 10th December, 1711, less than two months after Elizabeth Pemberton's death. Though his departure seems to have put an end to his chances of marriage to Judith, the door of his heart remained open for yet another year or two, for in September, 1713, he wrote to Hannah Penn, "Thou hinted to me that my frd. J.C. is still single. I am told as much lately, very favorably, from her own hand; but while she has such Relations, I doubt little is to be expected. I have ventured, however, to putt it now to a Trial, and shall at least, by that means, bring it to an end."<sup>2</sup> The jibe at the Crowleys, Lloyds, and Pembertons, seems to be fully justified. There is little doubt that Judith's reply to his final request was negative.

Pemberton, it has been alleged, began to pay court to Judith "almost immediately" after the death of his first wife.<sup>3</sup> The massive family support which he mustered evidently told, for he became formally engaged to Judith. But the engagement can only have been of short duration, for on 27th August, 1713, Judith formally released him.<sup>4</sup> This was a

<sup>1</sup> 30th August, 1712, Lloyd MSS., Friends House Library, London.

<sup>2</sup> 14th September, 1713, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd Series, (Harrisburg, Penna., 1890), VII, 44.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hill and R. K. Dent, *Memorials of the Old Square* (Birmingham, 1897), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Bevan-Naish MS. 4041, 36. Woodbrooke College, Birmingham.

mere fortnight before Logan's letter to Hannah Penn referred to above, so that it appears that Judith finally rejected Logan in 1713 within a few weeks of rejecting Pemberton. It seems that the reason for Judith's breaking off the engagement was that Pemberton was simultaneously conducting an affair with another lady. On 17th August, Judith wrote to one of her brothers, "As to Coosen Pember request I thinke 'tis all together needless to give my self ye trouble of writting another, for you may assure your selves, had Coosen been ye most excellent of your sex my thoughts are to exalted, to lay a claim after he has addressed ells were. Coosen may depend upon't he'll meet with no interruption from me, for I can't yett belive my self to be at my last Prayers. I hear by freind Parker that he setts out for Bristoll on 5 day; I wish him a very good journey. . . ." <sup>1</sup> Pemberton's journey to Bristol which earned him the sarcastic good wishes of his late fiancée was almost certainly to meet Hannah James whom he married before the year was out. <sup>2</sup> Logan, too, finally rejected in 1713, found comfort across the Atlantic. There he fell in love with Sarah Read, whom he eventually married. There is a love letter of Logan's to Sarah dated September, 1714. <sup>3</sup>

In 1713 Judith was 32, and her prospects of marriage, after the rejection of such distinguished and eligible suitors as Logan and Pemberton, must have seemed slight. Indeed, family correspondence during the next few years contains no further reference to her affairs, and it seems that the family must have regarded her as comfortably "on the shelf". At all events no more is known of any marriage projects until Cornelius Ford came on to the scene. Cornelius was the son of Joseph Ford, an uncle of the great Doctor Johnson, <sup>4</sup> and he was described by Boswell as being "a man in whom both

<sup>1</sup> 17th August, 1713, Lloyd MSS., Friends House Library, London.

<sup>2</sup> T. S. Ashton, *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester, 1924), p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship* (Philadelphia, 1904).

<sup>4</sup> Ford's marriage to Judith Crowley created a relationship, admittedly somewhat tenuous, between Dr. Johnson and Lord Chesterfield. The late A. L. Reade believed that Lord Chesterfield must have been aware of the existence of this relationship when Johnson, as he wrote in his famous letter, "waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door." See A. L. Reade's letter in *The Sphere*, 30th October, 1915. See also J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1 vol. 2, p. 157, for Cornelius Ford's career.

talents and good dispositions were disgraced by licentiousness."<sup>1</sup> He was, however, well known as a widely read scholar and a brilliant and witty talker, and was a Fellow of Peterhouse from 1720 to 1724.<sup>2</sup> The Ford family had long been acquainted with the Crowleys, and Cornelius' father, Joseph, was one of the executors of Ambrose Crowley senior's will.<sup>3</sup> He had also witnessed the marriage of Sarah Crowley and Charles Lloyd in 1693.<sup>4</sup>

Judith Crowley's marriage to Cornelius Ford in 1724 ended what must have been a long courtship, for there have survived three of Ford's letters to her of the year 1719.<sup>5</sup> The letters are rather extravagantly sentimental, and suggest that the course of true love was not running quite smoothly. Indeed, the contrast of Judith's obstinacy with Ford's flashy brilliance can hardly have conduced to smooth relations. Ford complained, for example, in one letter: "I do not doubt but you love me, but I desire you would not hereafter fail to give me proofs of it by being as bountiful of your writing as you have been of your heart." In another place he speaks of her "suspicion and uneasinesses and complaints." His assurances of constant devotion ring a little hollow when he has to apologize for having forgotten to send his felicitations on her birthday, and writes a week late! "Tis true I pay you my compliments a little out of season, yet I beg you would receive them with the same love with which they are sent to you. . . ." His letter of 18th April announces his failure to win a Fellowship; this fell to him in the following year.

On 3rd June, 1724, they were married at Rustock in Worcestershire under circumstances which suggest some haste. Judith gave her residence as Pedmore in Worcestershire, though until her father's death in 1720, she had always lived in Stourbridge. A marriage licence was issued at Worcester on the same day, and Rustock lies half way between Worcester and Pedmore. As Judith had been a Quaker all her life, she had first to be baptised, for which the Bishop's permission had to be given. In the following January, Ford was

<sup>1</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Everyman Edition) I, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly sent by the late A. L. Reade.

<sup>3</sup> P.C.C. 125, Buckingham.

<sup>4</sup> Marriage Certificate in Lloyd MSS., Friends House Library, London.

<sup>5</sup> 5th March, 18th April, and n.d. The letters, which are in the possession of Mr. Humphrey Lloyd, are not dated with the year. Internal evidence, however, enables them to be ascribed to the year 1719, with some certainty.

ordained deacon in the Church of England, becoming a priest in 1727.<sup>1</sup>

It seems a pity that all the effort that was put into getting Judith married should have produced so short a married life for her, for Cornelius Ford died in 1731, after only seven years of married life. Judith was 43 when she married, though the entry she made in Rustock parish register gave her age as "about 40," and there were no children of the marriage. After Ford's death in 1731 no trace can be found of what became of Judith. Still only 50, she may have lived for many more years, and even—though one shudders to think of the troubles involved—have married again. Lacking any great distinction herself, her name nevertheless creeps into the biographies of several of the more distinguished men of the early eighteenth century.

M. W. FLINN

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*New Green World.* By Josephine Herbst. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954. 15s., illustrated.

This is an agreeable and somewhat colloquial account of two American Friends, John Bartram (1699-1777) and his son, William (1739-1823). These notable explorer-botanists maintained correspondence with subscribers in England, to whom were sent seeds gathered in journeys stretching from the Great Lakes to Florida.

Their consignments enriched many English parks and gardens, and introduced many new species of shrubs, trees and plants to this country. Friends Peter Collinson and John Fothergill were among their principal correspondents.

If the father is the more notable as a botanist, his son William's accounts about their travels were more widely influential as literature, and provided Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey and others with romantic themes; and descriptions clearly based on Bartram's travels occur in their works.

These literary influences are but lightly touched upon by Miss Herbst; they have been thoroughly elucidated in other works, such as *William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape*, 1933, by N. B. Fagin; *The Road to Xanadu*, 1927, by J. L. Lowes; and *John and William Bartram*, 1940, by Ernest Earnest. A reviewer of the present work in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History* (1954) shows that in reviving so readably a knowledge of our debt to the Bartram's the author has in a number of cases made an inaccurate use of the sources, though not sufficiently to rob the general picture of its validity and interest. A table of contents or an index, or both, and page headings, would have improved an otherwise well-produced book.

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, Pt. II (1912), 110; Pt. III (1922), 147; Pt. IV (1923), 8.

## A. R. Barclay MSS

Extracts. Continued from vol. xlvi, p. 91

*Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journals," 1925. The use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interest of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House, and also available on microfilm.*

CVI

RICHARD PINDAR to GEORGE FOX & GEORGE  
WHITEHEAD

North Shields, 14th 3th mo 1684.

Dear G F & G W:

I Recevd yours of ye 5th Instantt and am not withoutt a sence of your Godly care in all respicts for ye good of ye truth and for ye churches peace. As for yt differance in Scotland which haith bene ye cause of soe much writinge and reflectins upon ye truth, we are in good hopes it may be now brought nigh a pearod. [Account of a dispute concerning a marriage, parties not named.]

Frinds heare aboutes is att presentt under some exercissise conserning somthinge that is falne outt att new Castell. Ye Cunstebeles with som outhere offersers beinge to destrane for a fine (upon ye Convintectell Actt) upon John Arah and ye lude wicked infformer beinge with them they brocke open J.A. sope house dores and takeinge som goods away; and ye infformer takeinge outt som tapes outt of oyle caskes on purpuss to waist it, Jo Arahs sonn threw a dish full of ye sope lees in his fase and ye infformer is like to goe wholly blinde upon it. One of his eyes is clearely gon as a Freind tould me yt see him, and ye outhere eye is in greatt dainger. J Arah son is about 20 years of aige. They have comited him prisnor and, the Justes who haith beine Frindes greatt persacuter takes ocation upon this to falle upon yt meteinge very severely, and we are affrayed they will be very hard upon ye yonge man thare beinge an Actt yt makes it felon, ye loss of a member. Frinds is under An exercise in ye matter. My dear wiffe [blot] still in greatt weakenes [blot] she and Dority Burdon who lives att my [blot] desire to be derely rememberd to you both. Soe with my unalrabel Love [blot] to you Both

Remane your truly Lovinge Brother  
R. Pinder



[address] To  
 Edward Man att  
 His Warre house in  
 Greises Yard in Lumbar  
 street Boyser  
 to be given to George Fox

In  
 [endorsed] For G Whitehead to read it over & seal  
 it up, & send it adding first if he  
 anything to add.  
 Rt Sandilands to look  
 at ye latter part of ye letter that concerns him  
 & write it out & clear himself of what Rd Pindar  
 speaks of him [with] Rd Pindar himself by  
 writing

## CVII

GEORGE FOX to CHRISTOPHER HOLDER

[Not autograph]

per E.H.<sup>1</sup> Writt a copey

London 15 of 4 m 1677

Dear Friends

My desires are yt you may be preserved in love and peace. Now as conserning of sudden Marriages soon after the husbands and wives are deceased by which ye word [world?] has reproached us, trye their owne proverb that if a Man or a woman Marry before 12 Monthes be expired they are not Cold in the Grave and surely Friends should have a litle more chastity and dominion over theire spirits then the people of the world, for Frds professing a Faith light and life beyond ym therefore shold shew forth more vertue then they; and you may read the Law of Widdowhood and morning: the Jewes antiquities explaines it more fully and soe Frds should shew them selves examples to ye world and be examples in chastity virtue and patience in all these things.

And now concerneing Hen: Bull shooting to death soe many horses comeing on his ground *that* he should not have done, but have pounded them, and given them meat to have kept them alive till the owners had released them and if they had trespassed it should have been tryed by a jury or by

<sup>1</sup> Edward Haistwell. This paper is numbered 4,28G in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's papers*, edited by Henry J. Cadbury, 1939. See . C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 475.

arbitration to see how his Fences was and what ye damage was, and he must not be judge and executioner in his owne matter nor any Man in such cases depending amongst neighbours. Therefore this thing must be referred to Men to judge and determine the matter. I am sorry to heare of such things for they are an ill example in your Island and will sett ye world over you and encourage them to doe the like actions and then say the Quakers lead them to itt.

And of such actions as these bee, with their hasty Marriages below ye world and falling into strife and contention about them, and loose the power of God which should keep you in virtue unity and Peace, have a care and take heed least the Lord doe bring the world over you in Government to chasetise you. & therefore lett all such things as these are be judged, for no Friends in Truth can owne them, and be att unity among your selves in the Lords Power both in your men and womens meetings and all other meetings. & lett Hen: Bull make restitution for ye horses according as men shall judge, both of his Fence and Trespasse, to stopp all such bad examples and as they shall judge what damage the horses did him, and soe cleer the Truth of his passion throughout the Iland for his doings are contrary both to ye Law of God and Man. & such actions brings a Reproach upon ye Government and ye Governors should take notice of such things & I am sorry that any such ill action should have been done in your Government in ye sight of professors and prophane whoe may glory and boast over you.

And I doe hear yt An Eason<sup>1</sup> soon after that Hen: Bulls wife was deceased that shee should be in Company with H.B. upon which a discourse about Marriage was raised, but I hope better thinges of her and Joshua Coxhall, that they will be wiser and have more reputation for the Truth and them selves. Not that I deny marriage but yt [they] may have patience and doe things to ye honour and glory of God in the sight of men.

And soe Remem: mee to Petter Eason and Jos. Nicholson and Robert Hodgson, and that ye may strive together to be all of one mind and that noe weaknesse may appear and what has been amisse lett it be forgiven with the seed of life that itt may be hea[r]d amongst you. Remem: mee alsoe to the Governor and to old Wm. Coddington and tell him I have

<sup>1</sup> Anne Easton, *née* Clayton, m. Henry Bull.

sent his Book to bee printed, and to all the Rest of Friends  
yt Queries after mee mind my love to them and to Arthur  
Cook if yett come into your Ieland; and my desire is that  
you may all live in ye Power of God and that there may be  
noe more strife amongst you but all strive for Peace and unity.  
Soe with my dear love to thee I rest

G. F.

Alexr. Parker and Jo Burnyeat being present Rem: their dear  
love to thee and to all Friends

[endorsed] G.F. to Christo:

Holder in the

15th 4mo 1677

in Road Iland.

No 4  $\frac{1}{28}$  GF

Laid by

CVIII

THOMAS ELLIS to PHILIP FORD

Dublin 13th 4 m 85

My dear & fatherly friend

In whom the tender love of my God & Compassionate  
bowells of Mercy hath appeared to my soul beyond what I  
can expresse. . . .

Printed in *Journal F.H.S.* vi, 173-5 (1909).

CIX

GEORGE FOX to GEORGE WHITEHEAD

[not autograph]

South Street ye 9th 3d mo: 86:

Dear G:W:

With my Love to thee & thy wife in ye holy truth that is  
over all & that Changes not & to ye Rest of frinds yt query  
after me, I received thy Letter yesterday & thou didst very  
well to give me an account & I am sory that you have noe  
more help to assist Concerning Looking through the Certifi-  
cates & the Sufferings to See what frinds Can be set at  
Liberty which have Long Laid in prison. I am Sory that  
frinds Should be backward or wanting in Soe good a work &  
if any be out of ye way you must speak to Some others to  
draw up a List of every County that Can be set at Liberty by  
a warrant but if you Can get ye Kings Warrant suddenly yt  
will reach more of them then they may Come out together,

And if you Could have gott into ye Warrant them that Lye upon Contempts & not swearing to their Answers & other wise, And as I take it many lye upon Capass' for not paying tyths a way of Contempt, and if frinds Come out upon fines for meeting I think there is a matter of 20 will Come out at Lancaster which were fined by Gefferyes<sup>1</sup> £20 apeece, and if thee Seest W: Pen & Robt. Barkley I gave them a Letter concerning Swearing when R:B: doth Speak again to ye King &c that he might put him in mind how many friends Lyes in Goal because for tenderness of Conscience they dare not swear to their Answers, And alsoe many young men that honestly & truly served their Apprentice ships in Cittyes & Corporations & because they dare not take ye formality of an oath & swear Lest they should be disobeyers of Christ many Cannot have ye freedome of the Cittyes & Corporations to open their Shops; these things thou mayest put ym in mind of when thou Seest them yt they may Speak to ye King as they have an oportunity. I have not been very well since I came into ye Country soe ye Lord in his eternall power give you dominion & in his wisdome preserve you in it. Amen.

G. F.

[address]

This  
For Geo: Whitehead  
if he be not at  
whom Carry it to Mark  
Swanner at 3 King  
Courte in Lombard  
Street

In  
London  
Middlesex

[endorsed] G Fs Letter to G.W.  
about the discharge of  
ye rest of prisoners in  
ye Counties.

Meet. Suff: 21 3 mo 1686  
not for Record

This letter is numbered 4,70H in Henry J. Cadbury's *Annual catalogue of George Fox's papers* (1939).

For George Whitehead's activity in securing the release of Friends under the General Pardon of March 1686, see his *Christian Progress*, 587-591; W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 125

<sup>1</sup> Judge Jeffreys.

## CX

JOHN AUDLAND to EDWARD BURROUGH

*Bristol, 12.iii.1656*

E.B.

Deare & well beloved Brother in the unitey unchangable am I with thee. & in the life eternall doe I embrace thee, my deare & sweete companion in the worke of the lord, my love abids with thee & with my dearely beloved F.H[owgill]. when thou sees him or writtes to him sallute mee to him in the pure love & unitey.

Deare brother, the thinge I did enquire after, as touching the bookes which was sente for Ireland: & as farr as I heare the vessell they wente in was loste, & all the goods that was in it: but there was other books sente to another place which went saffe: these which was loste Eliz: Marshall<sup>1</sup> sente them with some other goods: made up for Watterford according as she had derection, it may bee Mar: Blanch Can tell thee of it: deare harte A.A. [Anne Audland] her deare love is to thee she wente towards gF laste 5 day: many friends are gone & goeing that way: Jane Waugh was freed out of prison: out of the north I heard & friends are pretty well there: Milles [Hubbersty] & Tho: [Salthouse] are Continued and Lenerd Fell & little Mills Bateman was taken priseners at Totnes: & kepte aboute 5 dayes: & then got free, but Milles hath not beene well, and so was lefte Sicke at Execeter & I heard since that hee recovered. Eliz: F[letcher] & Eliz. S[mith]: is gone this day towards gF. & some other friends.

Deare harte remember mee to friends as thou art free: my deare love is to thee & with thee: I recaved one from thee & one from my deare bro: F: H: Since I writte to thee.

I am bound to you with Cords of love, & reste with you in the fould of Eterenall peace: thy dear brother

J.A.

Brestoll the 12th day of 3d Month 1656

[address] For my deare  
Brother: Edward  
Burrough These

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Marshall, widow, of Bristol, was mother of Charles Marshall; she joined Friends in 1654 and was imprisoned for disturbing ministers (Ralph Farmer at St. Nicholas church, John Knowles at the cathedral) before the end of the year; *The Cry of Blood* (1656), 16-17, 19-21, 48-50; John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the 17th century*, 240-1. In 1673 Elizabeth Marshall married Ulysses Taunton, of Wells, Somerset.

in dd.  
 London.  
 [endorsed] severall letters of  
 frds minist  
 deceased  
 1656.

## CXI

ROBERT SANDILANDS to JOHN FIELD

Reading 22d 4th mo 87

Deare Frd

Last first day I was at Windsor where W. P[enn]. & R. B[arclay]. were also & wee had very good & large Meettings, & many people of divers sorts flocked in, & were sober & well affected ye power of truth & life being over in dominion; now ye occasione of my writing to thee is, seing (as Ben: Antrobus may remember when he was there, about a month agoe I happened to be there then too) there is a considerable number of people yt comes frequently to Windsor meeting ye 1st day. It would be very serviceable (& some Friends of Windser desyred me to acquaint you with it) if your 2 days meeting tooke it into consideratione yt there might be a Constant supply by one Frd or other at Windsor especially during ye tyme of Courts being there; which I leave to thyn & Frds further serious thoughts. With my dear love to them to thy selfe & wife is all at present from thy Affectionat Frd

R Sandilands

I hope thee hast minded or will mind my Epistle<sup>1</sup> & let me heare by my Cusing when he writes from whom I expect shortly to heare.

[address] To John Feild  
 at ye Bull & Mouth  
 neere Aldersgate  
 in London

These

[endorsed] 27. 4 mo 87 read  
 Rt Sandilands in behalf  
 of Winsor Frds.

<sup>1</sup> Printed, 1688, *A Salutation of endeared Love . . . to the Called and Chosen of the Lord*. Robert Sandilands was convinced by Robert Barclay when a student at Aberdeen; he later joined George Keith in his separation.

## CXII

THOMAS ROBERTSON to SARAH MEADE

*Newgate, Bristol 29.vii.1682*

Sarah Meade

And deare freind whom I salute in ye truth and in ye life of Jesus which is made manyfest through death and through sufferings and many tribulations . . .

As to this place sufferings is much what as formerly at ye meetings abroad in ye Citty and kept up by a few, their<sup>1</sup> being many in prison, and ym of ye great booke party<sup>2</sup> comes very litle now of late some hath come to meeting and was tooke [prisoner] but they goe presently out againe and sometimes by meanes yt ye truth Cannot allow of, so yt in prison we are generally of one hart & minde. Here is Nathaniells Dayes wife<sup>3</sup> whose Certifycat is in ye booke Concer[ni]ng thy fathers goeing out of ye meeting at Bristol, but she saith yt she did not know but yt all freinds was satisfyed with it his goeing out and she did not know yt they would have made yt use of it yt they did and if she had so knowne yt they would she would not have soe said to ym, but I suppose they partly extorted and drew it out of her yet she was Corrupted by ym and hurt. Their are some yt are and have bene kept from meetings in this suffering time by one temptation or other yt [*two or three words torn away*] death hath over-tooke, and one in her sicknes hath caused her needles things in her Kitchin to be taken downe, and was very much under Judgment for severall things, but at length came to be eased and well satisfyed and now a dying woman. One yongue man is come to prison at ye first meeting yt he was at but one, he was tooke and sent hither and ye power of ye lord is stirring in severall which will bring downe ye power of darknes. They threaten freinds much what they will doe hereafter as to persecution, saying yt it is but small there sufferings yt hath

<sup>1</sup> In this letter the writer uses the spelling "their" for "there".

<sup>2</sup> Supporters of William Rogers, author of *The Christian-Quaker*.

<sup>3</sup> Anne Day (wife of Nathaniel Day, hosier, of Bristol Bridge, later of Castle Precincts, d. 1691) signed a certificate concerning George Fox's leaving Broadmead meeting in 1662. The certificate is printed in William Rogers, *The Christian-Quaker* (1680) part V, p. 62; see also *Antichristian treachery*, 143; Thomas Ellwood, *Antidote* (1682) 223ff; George Whitehead, *The Accuser of our Brethren* (1681) 157-9, 238. It was used by Rogers to reflect on Fox as one who fled in time of persecution; see W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 219-20. Anne Day was a sufferer in 1664, 1682 and 1683; *Relation of the inhumane and barbarous sufferings . . . Bristol* (1665) 109, 118, 122; Besse, *Sufferings* (1753) i. 66, 68.

bene Inflicted as yet to yt which will now befall freinds a new Mayor now being come into place and Sheriffes<sup>1</sup>, and they prosecute freinds for not Coming to Church as they call it, and for 20 li a month<sup>2</sup> for 12d. a Sunday they tell of, for refuseing ye Oath of abiuration and ye oath of Alegeance excommunications they are forward in with severall, and they drive one as furious as is posible, but I hope god will preserve his people in ye midst of all their afflictions. I was had before ye Court ye last sesions and ye Towne Clarke<sup>3</sup> saith yt I might have bene released had not ye Bishop<sup>4</sup> bene their they were willing it semes to release me, severall of ym of ye Bench, but ye Bishop he points with his finger at me and soe he would have had ym to tender me ye oath againe<sup>5</sup>, but they did not but ordered me to be kept to ye next sesions, and ye Towne Clarke saith now when ye Goale is delivered up he will leave me out of ye Kalendar, and so I am in some likelihood to be released; but I am very well Content in ye will of god however things be. So haveing litle more at present, but if thy father be in towne you may let him heare this with my love to him and to thy husband and to thy deare sister Margaret [Rous] and her husband for I heare they are come to live at London. Noe more but fare ye well and so I rest thine in Christ Jesus.

Tho: Robertson

Bristol, Newgate this  
29 of ye 7ber 82.

And at ye meeting house in ye fryers which they have in possession, which the[y] have taken from freinds, they comonly take freinds their on ye first dayes and comes to ym as if they had authority through ye great house; and freinds being talking at ye door they aske freinds what they doe their and so fales on e[i]ther to beating ym or to take ym to prison, so yt if freinds had ye posesion of ye house they had more authority yn now they have. And I have spoken to severall on this wise, but Wm Rogers hath ye writings and

<sup>1</sup> 29 September 1682: Thomas Eston, merchant became mayor of Bristol, and George Hart and John Combes sheriffs.

<sup>2</sup> Besse, *Sufferings* (1753), 68-70, has a long list of Bristol convictions on this account.

<sup>3</sup> John Romsey.

<sup>4</sup> William Gulston.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Robertson had been in prison since January 1682 for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; *Distressed case* (1682) 7.



will not give ym up to freinds unles freinds will give him 80 li which he saith he hath laid out to ye building of ye meeting houses in Bristol and yt ye writeings could be had as aforesaid. Charles Harford saith yt he would stand to ye owneing of ye meeting house so this money will be very hard to be raised. T. Gouldney is not willing to pay any part towards it & ye rest of ym. G[ouldney] is or was lately in London and if thy father had an oportunity to speake to him it might doe well<sup>1</sup> vale.

[address]

To Sarah Meade  
at the signe of ye  
Shipp in fanchurch  
Street London  
D.

[endorsed by G.F.]

Thomas robson to  
sara mead 1682

## The Midgley Library, Manchester

### *A Quaker Research Collection in the North of England*

**E**ARLIER this year the books and bookcase of the Midgley Library, housed for the last ninety years in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street, were removed on permanent loan to the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.

The Midgley Library consists of 221 volumes, representing a total of some 1,200 different items. Dates of publication range from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. About 1050 of the volumes and pamphlets—the vast majority of the whole—form a valuable collection of early Quaker works from the seventeenth century. To put this into proper perspective, it may be remembered that the output of Friends' works of the seventeenth century has been estimated at 6,000. The Midgley Library contains more than one in six of these. Approximately one-third of the works

<sup>1</sup> See W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 104. Thomas Callowhill held the counterparts of the Friars Meeting House deeds, but Friends did not resume possession of the keys until 1686; Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 10 & 30. viii. 1682; 27.vii.1686. Charles Harford already owned Temple Street Meeting House, Bristol's smaller meeting-house across Bristol Bridge, on the Somerset side of the Avon (for him see *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xliii, 77).

in the library were published in the 1660s, the year 1660 itself accounting for well over 100 pamphlets. Two striking things are worthy of note—the strength of the collection around the troubled Restoration years (300 items coming from the period 1658-61), and the spectacular drop from 33 items in 1665 to 6 in 1666, rising again to 32 in 1667 as printers renewed their presses and built up their stocks after the Great Fire in London.

The books came from the library of James Midgley (1786-1852) of Spring Hill, near Rochdale, who devoted much time and thought to building up his collection; they were presented in 1863 by his surviving children to Lancashire and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting. By minute of the Quarterly Meeting, the library was placed in the care of a standing committee of five Friends, three of them members of Manchester Meeting. The books were to be perused at the premises in Mount Street, and not taken therefrom except by authority of two members of the committee in writing.

In one sense the field of the library was restricted. The report to the Quarterly Meeting in 1864 includes the following observations made by the committee, noting that the collection

consists chiefly of *rare* works, and hence many of the writings of Friends which are commonly found in other libraries, are not included in this. It does not contain, for instance, the collected works of Richard Claridge, Edward Burrough, William Penn, Robert Barclay and Isaac Penington, the writings and travels of Richard Davies, William Dewsbury and John Grattan, the *Journal* and *Epistles* of George Fox, Sewell's *History*, Besse's *Sufferings* and other standard works.

The report continues:

It can therefore only be considered as the nucleus of a good reference library, to which it is to be hoped that other standard works may, ere long, be attracted.

Unfortunately, this does not seem to have happened, and the standard historical and bibliographical works (which the Quaker historian must use) were not provided at Mount Street. In authorizing the removal made this year, the Quarterly Meeting recognized the value of having the whole resources of a great library available to the user of the collection if it were offered on loan to the John Rylands Library. Moreover the John Rylands Library already possessed many standard Quaker historical items, and the Midgley books would be a useful supplement to them.

The printed catalogue of the library, issued in 1866, is in three parts: Inventory of the bound volumes of tracts (to p. 42); List of the individual volumes, mostly (but not all) in alphabetical order of author (pages 42-52); and Index of authors' names, with references to pages on which any of their works appear. The catalogue is not entirely free from blemishes, and unfortunately the Index of authors' names is one in which names are followed by many page references, some of them having more than one item by the author on the page, and no indication of the titles of the works referred to.

Apart from the abiding value of the books and pamphlets themselves as source material in the study of all aspects of seventeenth-century Quaker growth, thought and controversy, a further interest lies in the associations which the volumes in the collection built by James Midgley have. Five of the bound volumes of tracts (nos. 26, 35, 25, 39 and 40) come direct from the collection of George De Horne, who between the 1670s and 1712 made a remarkable library of 211 early Quaker pamphlets and had them bound in six fat quarto volumes, each prefaced with a manuscript contents-list and paged throughout in manuscript. Volumes 3 and 4 of De Horne's collection do not appear to be present, but it is possible that they were broken up and rebound by William Midgley or James Midgley or some intermediate owner.

None of the other books seem to have come from any large collection in a block, but the interest revealed by the inscriptions is various. There are signatures of Wilson Birkbeck in the Baskerville Barclay's *Apology* (1765), of Gilbert Molleson (1668), John Overend (1665), Sir John Rodes of Balber Hall (1706), Thomas Shillitoe, and the inscription of Lord Charles Noel Somerset (1725). "James Harison," who signed *The Innocent Assemblies* (1669, no. 20, xx), may possibly be the James Harrison (c. 1628-87) shoemaker, who emigrated in 1682 to Pennsylvania and became Penn's first steward at Pennsbury.

Thomas Speed (d. 1703) was owner of *The Popish Informer Reprehended* (1673, no. 20, xiv). He was one of the foremost Bristol Friends, a merchant, member of the Corporation of New England, who married the widow of a former sheriff of Bristol who had been hanged in 1643 for plotting to open the city gates to let in the besieging forces of Prince Rupert. Towards the end of his life, Speed became a most influential

Friend politically, and cemented in Bristol the nonconformist-Whig alliance which continued for many decades.

Mary Prince owned William Dewsbury's *The Word of the Lord* (1665, no. 33, ix). Mary Prince travelled in the ministry as far afield as New England in the West and Venice and the eastern Mediterranean in the East. In 1656 she was taken up at Boston and sent out of the province. Next year she was back in England, preparing to sail to the Mediterranean with Mary Fisher. They were at Venice later on, and again on the continent in 1660. Mary Prince was among the Friends who signed the marriage certificate of George Fox and Margaret Fell in 1669, and she died, a widow, ten years later. It is a source of satisfaction to the modern student to read and use the very copies which early Friends possessed; works which must have given them some of their inspiration and confirmed them in their faith.

John Whiting, the first Quaker bibliographer, whose *Catalogue* (1708, no. 154) James Midgley knew well, is represented in the library by his own publications and by two books he owned. These latter are, George Keith's *The Light of the Glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ* (1671, no. 132), and *Quakerism Confirmed* by Robert Barclay and Aberdeen Friends (1676, no. 136). It is interesting to note that Whiting changed his practice in spelling his name between 1680 and 1683. In the first book he signed "John Whiteing," but in the second he dropped the "e." Whiting was in jail from 1681 for some years, and we can perhaps think of him in the little prison at Ilchester reading these pages and sharing with his Quaker fellow prisoners the same tracts which now stand safely on the shelves in busy Manchester.

Perhaps the outstanding individual volume in the collection is *A Battle-door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural*, by George Fox, John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly (1660, no. 57). The book aimed to prove that all grammatical principles in ancient and modern languages required singular address to one person. Fox mentions it in his *Journal*: Friends presented copies to the universities, to the privy council, to the archbishop of Canterbury and other high dignitaries in church and state; "it so confounded people that few after were so rugged against us for saying 'thee' and 'thou' to a single person." (*Journal*, ed. Nickalls, p. 416.) The work is now a collector's piece—the pages set out in the

form of a battle-door, and the many different languages, all give this most unusual book a value outside its purely linguistic aim.

The tracts of the Commonwealth period are the outstanding group in the library, and among these are some rare anti-Quaker items. For instance, there is George Emmot's *Northern Blast, or the Spiritual Quaker Converted*, issued at York in 1655 (no. 1, iv). This does not appear in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*. There is a volume of Isaac Penington's pre-Quaker publications, dating from 1648 (no. 56). At the end of James Nayler's *Milk for Babes, and Meat for Strong Men* (1661, no. 19, x) there is a leaf with one of the early printings of his "dying saying" commencing "There is a spirit . . ." Apart from the bound pamphlets there is a remarkable run of Barclay's *Apology*, commencing with the Latin edition of 1676, continuing with more than a dozen English editions, from the first, 1678, until 1841, and including the Baskerville 1765 edition with the errata.

This collection, the fruit of James Midgley's work and the generosity of his family in the middle of last century, contains much valuable material. It can provide much of the printed work required by the student of early Quaker history, and it is hoped that its new home will see the library increasingly used in research.<sup>1</sup>

R.S.M.

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## Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals is gratefully acknowledged:

*Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association* (Philadelphia).

Institute of Historical Research, *Bulletin*.

*Mennonite Quarterly Review* (U.S.A.).

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

Presbyterian Historical Society, *Proceedings*.

Unitarian Historical Society, *Transactions*.

Wesley Historical Society, *Proceedings*.

*William and Mary Quarterly*

<sup>1</sup> See the note in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 37, no. 2, p. 361 (March 1955).

## Recent Publications

*The Story of Quakerism, 1652-1952.* By Elfrida Vipont. London, Bannisdale Press, 1954. 12s. 6d.

We have been needing for some time a popular history of Quakerism. Elfrida Vipont Foulds, in the volume under review, has provided a very readable and comprehensive one that will appeal to a large circle of readers who want something rather simpler than the fully documented standard works we already have. Readers in their 'teens will also enjoy it. The author presents Quakerism as a way of life rather than of creed, in which Friends have been led by inward conviction and experience into faithful and sometimes heroic testimony and service.

The book is in three parts: Part I, which occupies over a third of the book, tells graphically of the formative period until the Toleration Act and the death of Fox, and brings to life for us the brave adventures in faith of the people who made the movement that became the Society of Friends.

Part II covers the two centuries from the first decade of toleration until the modern revival at the end of the nineteenth century. This tells of the period of solid faithful witness, of quietism, the revival of discipline after a rather decadent period, the coming of evangelicalism and the schisms, the growth of philanthropy and the emergence from peculiarity and seclusion into active reform and public affairs. The society's debt to its leading characters is well conveyed.

Part III, the last half century, sets the author a more difficult task, in the selection of material, in the account of events still remembered, and of tendencies still proceeding, yet whose real significance or effects we cannot ourselves assess.

The author has succeeded best with the first half of the history, but we are also indebted to her for this account of the later period, a valuable and useful survey not before made. Throughout the book the principal events and developments of Quakerism in America receive attention, as also does its more recent growth in other parts of the world. There is a useful table of the number of Friends throughout the world, and a good bibliography. All these matters, whether far or near in time, are presented by an enthusiastic Friend who is deeply imbued with the lore of our society and a skilful story teller.

Occasionally in the course of compression, which is admirably achieved, or through enthusiasm, clear objectivity of statement has been blurred. There are also a few minor inaccuracies which can be set right in subsequent editions. The publisher has produced a very pleasant and readable page, but page-headings, and even cross-heads would have been useful in a book with rather variegated chapters averaging eleven pages each. The table of contents does not mention the membership table or the bibliography, and the index also leaves something to be desired. We are glad to report that a second impression has already appeared.

*The Beginnings of Quakerism.* By the late William C. Braithwaite. Second edition revised by Henry J. Cadbury. pp. xxviii, 607; 3 plates. Cambridge, University Press, 1955. 25s.

In the series of standard Quaker histories by William Charles Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones the volume of the greatest general interest, and one of the most readable, is Braithwaite's *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, which takes the story as far as 1660. First published in 1912 (reprinted 1912, 1923), the book has been out of print for some years. It has never been superseded. Every later history of Quakerism has been indebted to it for its multitude of facts, documents and memoirs, assembled to illustrate the humane interpretation of religious history which the author's spiritual insight enabled him to give. His interpretation of the writings of the early Friends is so reasonable and so well documented that, even where modern research may lay slightly different emphasis here and there, the older view still commands respect and in the main, assent. It is cause for congratulation that Cambridge University Press has followed up the 1952 edition of George Fox's *Journal* with a new edition of this, the standard first volume on Quaker history, and that we are promised the like for the *Second Period*.

In this new edition "about one hundred and fifty small alterations have been made in the text, the great majority being additional references or corrections in the footnotes." Forty-three pages have been added at the end, containing additional notes and bibliographical references. Some of these are from the hand of William Charles Braithwaite, but the great majority are by the editor, Professor Henry J. Cadbury, who is now actively engaged on the second volume.

In his notes, Henry J. Cadbury brings forward just the additions and correctives to Braithwaite's statements which research over the past forty years enables a modern scholar to supply. He discusses the origins of Quakerism, and gives references for further reading on the new views—putting fairly the points of disagreement. In his bibliographical references to literature published since 1912, the editor gives the critical papers and has wisely resisted the temptation to parade an unnecessary multiplicity of references. A star in the appropriate place in the text of the book indicates the existence of these notes. The student will be grateful for them.

The index has been reset to incorporate page references to the additional notes, and layout has been improved where large headings are subdivided. It is not yet free from blemishes: a dozen items are out of alphabetical order; and there are minor inconsistencies elsewhere, for instance in arranging places and persons of the same name. A ghost seems to have crept in, in the form of "Desborough, Major General Hugh", and at least one important additional note has been passed without a needed index entry.

The edition under review has a new foreword by L. Hugh Doncaster, Reader in Quaker Studies at Woodbrooke, but the twenty-page introduction in the original edition by the editor of the series, Rufus

M. Jones, has been dropped, because "recent studies have, in the minds of a number of scholars, put Quakerism in a rather different light." It is unfortunate that it has not been replaced by an introduction incorporating Rufus Jones's illuminating interpretation and shedding the new light which recent scholarship has made available, rather than leaving it to be dealt with piecemeal in the additional notes.

These are small points of criticism, and they cannot alter our welcome to this new edition of an essential book on Quaker history, now brought up to date, and well fitted to take the place of the old edition on our shelves.

For the benefit of students new to Quaker history, it may be mentioned that the abbreviation Dev.Ho. which is used in footnotes throughout the book to indicate material in the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, the former central offices of the Society of Friends in Britain (see the Note on p. xi), applies to materials which since 1926 have been in the Library, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, where enquiries are welcomed and where research facilities are provided.

R. S. MORTIMER

*The Heir of Craigs.* By Charles Vipont. Oxford University Press, 1955. pp. 211. 10s. 6d.

Set among Quaker and Catholic recusant families in the reign of William and Mary, this is a thrilling story of adventure, peril and tragedy.

Nigel, a young orphan boy, heir to the family estate at the age of 8 years, is taken from the kindly home of his maternal grandparents, to his father's people at Craigs, near the desolate Lancashire coast, and the harsh and jealous treatment of his paternal uncle Askew. With his cousin Nicholas, a loyal supporter of James II, he sails for the New World, but is shipwrecked off the coast of Florida. The adventures described with cannibal Indians retell part of Jonathan Dickinson's story *God's protecting Providence, Man's surest Help and Defence*, 1699.

Before they return to Craigs, Nigel and Nicholas visit the court of the exiled King James II at St. Germain, where Nigel learns that his grandfather at Craigs has died and that he is now the head of the family. In a duel Nicholas is killed by Askew and Nigel finds himself bereft of a good friend. Nigel's liberty and perhaps his life are in danger from Askew, whose spy he refuses to be, but he is rescued by Tom Hubbersty, and leaves home again. The character of his cousin Nicholas, the calm influence of Robert Barrow and other Friends met in Florida, the casual meeting with Margaret Fox in a country lane, have developed in him a real dependance upon God.

The story is well told, and can be equally enjoyed by the young, and not so young. It asks for a sequel, for although Nigel escapes from Craigs his prospects are uncertain.

M.A.H.



## Notes and Queries

### THE NAME "SOCIETY OF FRIENDS"

The comparatively late use in Quakerism of the term "Society of Friends" has been noted. See W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 307, and the additional note, p. 570, in the second edition of 1955, with the earlier discussions there mentioned. This *Journal*, xxxii, 1935, p. 83, concluded its query with the words: "A note of any instance earlier than 1800 would be welcomed."

In answer to this invitation I may call attention to a discussion of the critical position in Pennsylvania in 1756, after the defeat of General Braddock, with a legislature controlled by Friends. There was much hostility to the Quaker policy of disarmament and of "appeasing" the Indians. In a long defence of Friends, signed by "A.B.", a merchant in Philadelphia but apparently not a Friend, appearing in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, No. 703, May 27, 1756, the phrase occurs in this sentence: "But I must beg Leave to say that the late Efforts made use of by the Society of Friends to gain the good Will of the Indians (notwithstanding their Rebellion against his Majesty and his good Subjects here) is no other than what hath been made Use of by every Province and Colony upon the Continent." This might even be a reference to the special new Quaker organization entitled "The Friendly Association for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific

Measures." Since the article elsewhere seems to use "Society" for Friends in general the longer phrase may be taken likewise. It would be in this case a natural term though not a formal or official one. HENRY J. CADBURY.

### BISHOP NICOLSON ON THE AFFIRMATION, 1722

*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, vol. 17, 1954, pp. 173-186, includes an article "Derry in the time of George I: selections from Bishop Nicolson's letters, 1718-1822. Edited by Francis Godwin James." One letter to William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, dated Londonderry, March 4, 1721[22], shows the attitude Nicolson (a staunch Churchman, but a Whig) took up towards the Affirmation Act (8 Geo. 1, cap 6). Nonetheless, Nicolson himself later supported the passage of corresponding legislation for Ireland.

The letter reads (p. 184):

"The extraordinary Caresses wherewith ye Quakers have been treated, in this present Session of your Parliament, have occasion'd a good deal of free Reflections here: And yet those Hereticks have not been more kindly used in Brittain, than the Irregular (unqualify'd) popish priests are in Ireland."

### KIRKBY STEPHEN FRIENDS

An article "Kirkby Stephen churchwardens' accounts, 1658-1670", by the Rev. J. Breay, appears in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological*

*Society*, vol. 54 (new series), 1955, pp. 165-183. The paper includes a list of dissenters, 1662/3, 6 Papists 10 Quakers—the majority of them from Mallerstang—and there is an undated list of defaulters in paying church rates (c. 1669).

The author dates the foundation of Quakerism in Mallerstang from the visit of James Nayler in 1652, and notes their sufferings after the Restoration—"the constant hunting of Quakers by Sir Daniel Fleming and Sir Philip Musgrave, after the Kaber Rigg Plot, must have made the lot of poor Quaker families in this parish unenviable."

#### LEICESTER FRIENDS

*Radical Leicester: a history of Leicester, 1780-1850*, by A. Temple Patterson (University College, Leicester, 1954, 30s.) includes a few notes about the Quakers in the town. At the end of the 18th century it was recorded that the town had a small but neat meeting house, and the Quakers there "retained more of their original simplicity of dress and manners than in any other place." Thirty years later, Friends were active in movements for reform; W. E. Hutchinson, a Quaker chemist, was joint secretary of the Mechanics' Institute; there were three Quakers among the fifty-six members of the first reformed corporation in 1836; John Ellis, Quaker landowner of Beaumont Leys, was a pioneer in the development of the Leicester-Swannington Railway.

#### CAROLINE FOX AND THE MILLS

*The Life of John Stuart Mill*, by Michael St. John Packe (Secker & Warburg, 42s.) includes an account of the Mills' accidental first visit to Falmouth in 1840—

accidental because they had intended to winter in a warmer climate but found when they arrived that the packet to Madeira had already sailed. The author quotes from Caroline Fox's Diary for the Mills' Falmouth visits and records the Foxes' return visit to London. Caroline herself, "a pert girl of twenty-one with a nimble pen and a propensity for collecting autographs" quickly formed a life-long attachment to Clara Mill, "and something more than an attachment to John Sterling."

#### ADULT SCHOOLS

Considerable material on adult schools, particularly in the city of York, is assembled and studied in the Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1955, by John Fletcher Clews Harrison. The thesis, which is in typescript, is entitled "Social and religious influences in adult education in Yorkshire between 1830 and 1870." Manuscript records of the York Adult Schools formerly in the possession of Theodore Rowntree are now in York Public Library, and the author has used documents preserved at Clifford Street Meeting House, York.

#### TRANSLATIONS INTO GERMAN

In *The publication of English humaniora in Germany in the eighteenth century* (University of California publications in modern philology, 44, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955, pp. xxxiii, 216) Mary Bell Price and Lawrence M. Price list translations under authors and give a notice of the original. Quaker authors mentioned include Robert Barclay, Anthony Benezet, Mary B. Brook, Stephen Crisp, Jonathan Dickinson, Benjamin Holme, Sydney Parkinson, William Penn and William Sewel.

The Germans do not seem to have been interested in the lighter literature. William Penn has entries occupying two pages of the bibliography, and translations of his works seem to have been about as numerous as those of Benjamin Franklin, David Hume, John Locke or Isaac Watts. Most of the Quaker entries provide material additional to Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, and note editions unknown to him.

FOLLIES AND GROTTOS  
IN *Follies and Grottoes*, by Barbara Jones (London, 1953), there is a short account of Thomas Goldney's grotto at Clifton and of William Reeve's Arnos Castle between Bristol and Brislington. Goldney's grotto dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, and it was enriched by exotic shells brought back by the Goldneys' seamen from their trading voyages.

William Reeve's architectural activities in the Black Castle at Brislington may have been the most outstanding sign of the extravagances which combined with losses in trade to cause his bankruptcy, and subsequent disownment by Bristol Friends. Bristol meeting may well have been right about the extravagance but it seems likely that Reeve's trading losses were largely due to the course of the wars in the middle of the eighteenth century.

EDMOND OF KINGSWELLS  
*Aberdeen University Review*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Spring, 1954) includes pp. 229-232, an article by James Cruickshank, LL.D., on Francis Edmond, LL.D., of

Kingswells. Edmond purchased the place in 1854 from the last of the Jaffrays of Kingswells, and continued the improving policies as far as he was able by restrictive leases. Friends Burial Ground is now under county control.

#### GEORGE BISHOP

A. H. Woolrych uses George Bishop as an example to prove his thesis there was little or no contact between levellers and royalists at the time of Penruddock's rising against the Cromwellian regime in 1655. He shows that Bishop was no party to the royalist plans when they gathered in Bristol in large numbers on 13th February, 1655. Indeed, by his reports of events, George Bishop succeeded in getting the garrison reinforced (A. H. Woolrych: *Penruddock's Rising*, 1655. Historical Association. General series G.29. 1955, p. 26).

George Bishop doubtless retained many of his leveller sympathies after becoming a Friend, but there seems to be no evidence that he was in the Bristol garrison in 1655.

WALES YEARLY MEETING, 1695  
In W. G. Norris: *John Ap John*, 1907, Journal Supplement No. 6, on p. 31, it is stated that the Yearly Meeting for Wales, 1695, was held at Regaron in Radnorshire. John R. Hughes writes that this yearly meeting was held 20.i.1695 at the house of Roger Hughes at Tregeran, Llanfihangel Ryd Ithon, Radnorshire. Information taken from the Wales Yearly Meeting minute book, transcribed by John R. Hughes.

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