

Vol. IX. No. 2.

Price per number 2/- (50 cents.);
for the year, payable in
advance, 5/- (\$1.25).

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

FOURTH MONTH (APRIL), 1912.

London:

HEADLEY BROTHERS,
140, BISHOPSGATE, E.C.

Philadelphia:

HERMAN NEWMAN, 1010 ARCH STREET.

New York:

DAVID S. TABER, 144 EAST 20TH STREET.



VOLUME 1, 1903-1904.

CONTAINS :

The Handwriting of George Fox. *Illustrated.*
Our Recording Clerks :
 (1.) Ellis Hookes. (2.) Richard Richardson.
The Case of William Gibson, 1723. *Illustrated.*
The Quaker Family of Owen.
Cotemporary Account of Illness and Death of George Fox.
Early Records of Friends in the South of Scotland.
Edmund Peckover's Travels in North America, 1745

VOLUME 2, 1905.

CONTAINS :

Deborah Logan and her Contributions to History.
Joseph Williams's Recollections of the Irish Rebellion.
William Penn's Introduction of Thomas Ellwood.
Meetings in Yorkshire, 1668.
Letters in Cypher from Francis Howgill to George Fox.
The Settlement of London Yearly Meeting.
Joseph Rule, the Quaker in White.
Edmund Peckover, Ex-Soldier and Quaker. *Illustrated.*
"William Miller at the King's Gardens."

VOLUME 3, 1906.

CONTAINS :

Words of Sympathy for New England Sufferers.
David Lloyd. *Illustrated.*
King's Briefs, the Forerunners of Mutual Insurance
 Societies.
Memoirs of the Life of Barbara Hoyland.
"Esquire Marsh."
Irish Quaker Records.

VOLUME 4, 1907.

CONTAINS :

Our Bibliographers—John Whiting.
Presentations in Episcopal Visitations, 1662-1679.
Episodes in the Life of May Drummond.
The Quaker Allusions in "The Diary of Samuel Pepys."
 Illustrated.
Personal Recollections of American Ministers, 1828-1852.
Early Meetings in Nottinghamshire.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Contents.	PAGE.
Notes and Queries :—	
Laugharne, Wales—Carlyle and Fox—Friends in the West Indies—" Remarkable Providences " - - - - -	82
Some Account of the Rebellion in Ireland - - - - -	84
Two Logan Letters, with Introduction by <i>Amelia Mott Gummere</i>	85
The Thirnbeck Manuscripts. II.—	
iv. Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, 1666 - - - - -	94
v. Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fell, 1666 - - - - -	96
vi. The Same to the Same, 1666 - - - - -	97
vii. Certificate of the Marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell, 1669 - - - - -	99
viii. George Fox to Margaret Fox, 1669 - - - - -	105
ix. John Rous to Margaret Fox, 1669 - - - - -	105
x. The Will of George Fell, 1670 - - - - -	106
xi. John Rous to Margaret Fox, 1672 - - - - -	106
xii. Robert Barclay to the Fell Sisters, 1676 - - - - -	107
Elisha Tyson, Philanthropist and Emancipator, c. 1749-1824	
By <i>Ella Kent Barnard</i>	108
American Friends in Dunkirk - - - - -	112
Journal Supplement, No. 9, reviewed by <i>W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	113
Friends in Current Literature. By <i>Norman Penney, F.S.A.</i> -	115

D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

F.P.T.=*"The First Publishers of Truth,"* published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

Camb. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Ell. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

Notice.

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Manchester, on the 23rd of Fifth Month, at 2 p.m., in Room 12.

The chair will be taken by A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B. A letter from the President, Amelia Mott Gummere, of Haverford, Pa., will probably be read.

Notes and Queries.

LAUGHARNE, WALES.—“There were Quakers formerly residing in Laugharne. Their burying-place was the part still called ‘The Quaker Yard,’ a field near Ants’ Hill, on the opposite side of the road to it.”—*Antiquities of Laugharne*, by Mary Curtis, 1880, p. 102.

“Several families of the Quakers resided here formerly. In a field belonging to Horse Pool Farm they had their burying-ground; it is entered by a gate on this side of the upper gate of Ants’ Hill House, and opposite to it. From the gate you pass down a narrow path with trees on each side; at the end of it, and on the right, is an opening into a square plot of ground closed in on all sides but one with a hedge and trees; it is the ‘Quakers’ Yard.’ It dates from about 1660. Some poplar trees then stood here. Here passed the old road from St. Clears. It turned first into the Llanddowror road, just past Cross Inn, then by Ants Hill; passed by the ‘Quakers’ Yard’ to Horse Pool and the bottom of the Holloway Fields; ending at the ruined inn called ‘The Dials’ by the Laques.” (*ibid.*, p. 160.)

In 1753 John Churchman writes (*Life*, 1779, p. 153):—

“Next meeting was at Jamestown, and in the evening of the day following at Larn [Laugharne] with the people of the Town, who behaved civilly, but seemed barren as to religion in a right sense. There is but *one* in this

town in unity with Friends, and he seemed near his end, whom I visited.”

“The Independents of Laugharne trace their origin to the labours of the Rev. Stephen Hughes, etc. . . . They are next found at the Mwr near Morfabach in 1704; they continued there till 1750, when they migrated to the town of Laugharne, settling at ‘The Bachs’ till 1850, when a disused old meeting-house of the Quakers was given them on the cliff where the present chapel stands.” [*Hist. of Independents in Wales*, by Drs. Rees and Thomas.]—ELLA K. BARNARD, 1750, Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

CARLYLE AND FOX.—In *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle writes regarding Fox’s consultations with clergymen, “The Clergy of the neighbourhood, the ordained Watchers and Interpreters of that same holy mystery, listened with unaffected tedium to his consultations and advised him, as the solution of such doubts, to ‘drink beer and dance with the girls.’” Where in Fox’s *Journal* do the words here quoted occur?

[The nearest approach to the words quoted is the following:—

“I went to another Ancient Priest at Mancetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the Ground of *Despair* and *Temptations*; but he was ignorant of my Condition; And he bid me

Take Tobacco, and sing Psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love; and Psalms I was not in an Estate to Sing: I could not Sing." We do not recall to mind in the *Journal* the words here quoted: "drink beer and dance with the girls." ED.]

FRIENDS IN THE WEST INDIES (ix. 2).—An outline history of Quakerism in the West Indies can be found in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1892 and 1894, and also in THE JOURNAL, 1908. *The Friend* (Phila.), of 1898 contains a full account of the dissolution of Friends' Meetings in Barbados. In Antigua there was only one Friend left in 1748. There was never any meeting on Montserrat, but Robert King, a Philadelphia Friend, had a trading establishment there in 1763. *The Journal of Thomas Chalkley* gives a considerable amount of information about Friends in the West Indies, 1706-1741.—C. DICKINSON STURGE, Harborne, Birmingham.

"REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES."
—A curious old folio has recently found a temporary home in D., entitled "A Compleat History of the most Remarkable Providences, both of Judgment and Mercy, Which have Hapned in this Present Age, extracted from the Best Writers, the Author's own Observations, and the Numerous Relations sent him from divers Parts of the Three Kingdoms," etc., compiled by William Turner, M.A., Vicar of

Walberton, in Sussex, and published in London in 1697. The slightly more than six hundred pages of this book are full of recitals of extraordinary events of many kinds illustrating such subjects as faith, courage, temperance, chastity, gratitude, retribution, witchcraft, sabbath-breaking, and of Divine judgments upon superstition, murder, unfaithfulness, gluttony, etc.

Chapter 86, titled "Satan permitted to Hurt the Good in their Souls," gives several "passages" relating to Friends. One concerned Robert Churchman¹ and his wife, of Balsham near Cambridge, in 1661, "Persons of a very good Life and of a plentiful Estate," who had "departed from the Church." One night "a violent storm came down upon the room where he lay when it was very calm in all other parts of the town," and "a glimmering light appeared. A voice commanded him to go out of his bed naked, with his wife and children," etc., with the result that he returned to the Church. The case of John Gilpin, of Kendal, also receives notice, 1653, and several instances of "shaking, shrieking, yelling, howling and roaring" of Quakers in their meetings—William Spencer, of Wrexham, North Wales, 1653, John Hunter, of Benfieldside, Co. Durham, 1654, and John Toldervy, of London.

For the subject of Judgments, see *Camb. Jnl.*, i. 394; *F.P.T.*, p. 89n; *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 276.

¹ Robert Churchman's name appears in Besse's *Sufferings*, under Essex, in 1660.

Some Account of the Rebellion in Ireland.¹

Limerick, June 4th, 1799.

I will now give you some account of the visitation of the Lord in this Country. The Rebellion was chiefly Confined to the Countys Wexford, Wicklow & Kildare, more particularly Wexford. Indeed that Country may well be said to be drenched in Blood. The rebels had entire possession of that Country for a long Time, & exercised such horrid acts of cruelty as is shocking to Humanity, especially against the Protestants of that Country. Odds of a Hundred together would be put into a Barn and it Burnt about them, & when any would attempt to escape through the windows or Doors, they were immediately stabbed with pikes outside by the rebels under a priest of the name of Murphy. I suppose there was hardly a Protestant family in that whole Country escaped from their wicked hands—butchering some in their Houses, hauling others to prison where they kept them till they were executed, and this they would be by 40 or 50 or 100 of a Day, thinking they were serving God to destroy these Heretics as they called them. However they were not suffered to continue long in their Wicked practices, the King's army warred against them & was victorious, but the whole Country became quite Desolate. Thanks be unto God this City had peace & we had no sign of the Rebellion & Destruction which raged within a few miles of us, except 9 or 10 that were hanged from the Country, there was also a good many flogged severly.

WILLIAM KENT.

From *Letters of Daniel Kent*, compiled by Ella Kent Barnard, Baltimore, 1904, p. 51. Copy in D.

As illustrating the definite "leadings" of his Lord, some circumstances connected with John H. Dillingham's attendance at a wedding in Trenton, New Jersey, may be recited. Two Friends of his meeting, associated with the proposed marriage as overseers, knew of his intention to be present, and very kindly made the needful inquiry about trains. The evening before, they went to his house, told him the hour of starting, and proposed that he should join them in good time at the station. To their sore disappointment he did not appear, and they began the journey with feelings of chagrin. Some accident delayed their train, and they did not reach the meeting until the marriage was concluded. To their surprise and relief, upon entering the meeting-house, John Dillingham was sitting in the gallery as they would have desired. He had wakened early in the morning with a sense that it would be better for him to take a train in advance, and yielding to such an intimation, was in his right place by what seemed to all a special good providence.

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1912, pp. 129, 130.

¹ See THE JOURNAL, vols. ii. and vii.

Two Logan Letters.

The accompanying letter from James Logan to William Penn is among a collection of valuable manuscripts recently presented to Haverford College by the Misses Howland, of Wilmington, Delaware, themselves descended from the writer.¹

James Logan, the famous Secretary for William Penn in Pennsylvania (b. Oct. 20th, 1674; d. Oct. 31st, 1751), the writer, refers to the many privateers and pirates then infesting Delaware Bay and the coasts of New Jersey and Maryland. He alludes in strong terms to the perfidy of Philip Ford and his family, who, as agent for Penn, had defrauded him of so much of his income. Edward Shippen, who is named, was the Mayor of Philadelphia, whose daughter married Thomas Story, and died after a short married life without having accompanied him to England. Correspondence shows that James Logan was also a suitor for her hand at one time, but the slight coolness that fell between the two Quaker rivals did not last long, and James Logan married Sarah Read. "D.Ll." is David Lloyd, described as the "Quaker Boss,"² in the politics of Pennsylvania. He was a violent opponent of the government, and a demagogue in plain clothes.

It will be noticed that James Logan is in favour of William Penn's resigning the government to the Crown. This was a measure not carried out for some years, and in fact only about to be accomplished at the time of the first paralytic stroke of the Founder in 1712. Logan's conclusion, "that a due administration of Government (especially in a time of war) under an English Constitution, is irreconcilable with our [Quaker] principles," is an

¹ These papers are to be called, in memory of their mother, "The Gulielma M. Howland Collection." They contain many early letters of the Logan, Hill, Smith, Dillwyn, Emlen, Morris, Moore, and other families, and date well back into the eighteenth century, those few which are earlier belonging to James Logan, with one autograph copy of a letter of William Penn. Most of the collection forms an important study of a certain type of social life between 1750 and 1830, in both England and America.

² President Sharpless, in his studies of Pennsylvania History.

interesting and suggestive summing up of the administration of the Quakers in the Province of Pennsylvania. The letter concludes with an honest disclaimer of any charges made by his and Penn's enemies against his fair name.

The letter signed "William Logan" is from the grandson of Penn's Secretary. It gives such a thrilling account of his escape from shipwreck, and shows him in such a fine light, that no apology is needed for its publication. His father, the eldest surviving son of James Logan, William Logan, Senior, was born 5 mo. 14, 1718, and died 10 mo. 28, 1776.³ He was a member of the City Council in Philadelphia for thirty years, and in 1747 became a member of that of the Governor. Two years later he was one of the Commissioners to negotiate a Treaty with the Indians at the State House in Philadelphia in the summer of 1749, when two hundred and sixty Indians from various nations were in attendance.⁴ William Logan, Senior, married, March 24th, 1740, Hannah, daughter of George Emlen, of Philadelphia. His Quaker principles led him to decline to take any part in the Revolutionary struggle. William and Hannah Logan had six children, of whom the eldest son and daughter died young. The others married:—William (the writer of this letter), Sarah Portsmouth; Sarah married Thomas Fisher; George, also a physician, married Deborah Norris, of whom some account was given in the second volume of this JOURNAL. Charles, the youngest of the family, married Mary Pleasants.

The sons of William and Hannah Logan were educated in England. William, following the example of an uncle, William, who for years was a successful practitioner of medicine in Bristol, took up the same calling, and it was doubtless while visiting relatives there that this letter was written. He returned to Philadelphia, married, and was entering upon a successful career, when he was cut off by death in his prime. It was his persuasion, coupled with the evident talent in that direction shown by the lad, that finally determined

³ James Logan wrote a remarkable letter of advice to this son on going to England for his education, published in *Hazard's Register*. His uncle, William, left him his library of 1,300 books.

⁴ *The Burlington Smiths*, by R. Morris Smith, p. 159.

their father to permit the second son, George, his junior by only one year, to take up the study of medicine also ; and after his brother's early death, George went to Edinburgh and made the brilliant record in medicine which was never carried further, as the inheritance of " Stenton " determined him to take up the agricultural pursuits which engaged his attention for the rest of his life, when he was not immersed in politics and diplomacy.

Dr. William Logan was born in 1747, and was therefore twenty years of age when this letter was written. He graduated at Edinburgh in 1770, and married Sarah, the daughter of Dr. Portsmouth ; her death occurred in March, 1797. They had a daughter, who died young, and a son, William Portsmouth Logan, who lived at Plaistow, Essex, England, and died, unmarried, before his mother.

Dr. William Logan's death took place on January 17th, 1772, at the early age of twenty-five.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Haverford, Pa.

I.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

Pilhad^a 19th 5^{mo} 1708.

Hon^d Govern^r

At length I have rec^d thine by Ab. Scott & Rich^d Townsend who arrived here but 3 dayes agoe from Maryl^d All the Virginia fleet are come in safe only Young for this place falling in for the same Privateers who have done so much mischief on our Capes, is taken. All our outward bound Vessels have been stopt here for these 3 weeks not daring to venture out, & now sail under Convoy of a small Man of War from New York who comes round on purpose. 'Tis this gives me another opportunity by Hammerton.

The Acct^s I have had of thy Draughts on me could not but give me some uneasiness but the List I have now rec^d by thine of y^e 16th 8^{mo} has removed great part of it. The total I perceive is 1746^{lbs} 19 :—w^{ch} tho' a large Sum, yet falling under 2000^{lbs} w^{ch} is still less than I fear'd I shall struggle hard, but by some means or other I'll

answer them so, as that thou shalt never hear of them again to thy dissatisfaction. Many even of thy fr^{ds} here are of opinion that nothing of that kind ought to be paid, untill we have assurances that the Countrey will be secured from the ffords, because otherwise the Comm^{es} are told that they will all be call'd into question for the Sales they have made under thee, but for my part I am too far engaged to look back. I am certainly ruin'd if the Countrey be lost, & cannot be more so. To be call'd on for 2 thous^d or 200 thous^d of my own makes no difference at all, & therefore I shall not stop at anything myself if not hindered by others, as 'tis very probable I shall, if there be not at least a great probability of thy keeping the Countrey at the time y^e Bills are to be p^d, but there is this further in it, that in case it prove otherwise, the Bonds I have will be good for nothing. However, I have a very great confidence that there is no danger but that some means or other will be found effectually to relieve thee. Yet I cannot think but there was a great Conveniency (not to say Necessity) in writing as I did to the fr^{ds} there in answer to their Lett^r, tho' I have ever since been jealous I should be taxed for too great plainness. Pray be pleased to furnish me with all the strength that is possible to obviate thy Enemies Endeavours to obstruct paym^t, otherwise I may fail whatever mine be.

The Ship *Diligence*, if she be arrived safe, will supply thee I hope wth 400^{lbs} sterl. and thy Son with half as much.

E. Shippen has been a long time fully restor'd among fr^{ds}, & therefore since he asks for thee as before, may claim y^e same regard as formerly.

'Tis in vain to propose to fr^{ds} here to deal with D. Ll. his party is so strong that it would occasion the greatest convulsions among them. I have frequently press'd it as a matter absolutely incumbent on them unless they would make themselves partners in his Villany, but tho' many would most gladly see it done, yet they dare not adventure on it, 'twould split them, they say, to pieces.

As for thy resigning all into the Queen's hands, if they fail to doe it, I think (as I have repeatedly wrote) that most of thy fr^{ds} here who have any thought about them are agreed that is the most advisable step thou

canst take, especially if some tolerable terms can be made, and anything can be gott for it. This last business of the Privateers upon our Coasts infesting us above others, because unarm'd, has brought friends to a pretty general Confession that a due administration of Government, (especially in a time of War), under an English Constitution, is irreconcilable with our Principles.

I am sorry any Packet of mine should cost 17/5^d, but I could not direct it to —— Lewis (whose first name I know not), because I never that I can remember heard of him before: first I directed to J. Ellis, but he falling into disgrace, I was ordered to J. Parker at Sr Cha: Hedge's office—who, being out himself, I desired to know whether Tucker stood, for the future I shall send to Lewis, when I have Pacquets, but cannot handsomely begin with a single Lett^r, as this is, I doubt.

The Inclosed will show that Rakestraw has at last mett with his deserts in part. I shall send an Authentick Copy with y^e Minutes of y^e meeting Sign'd, but cannot now. I have had some trouble with him but wish I had as fair a hearing with all our Enemies, for they are much alike.

Of the Lotts by Joseph Desborows, there is one laid out to Tho: Callowhill, the rest were disposed of to Purchasers by thy own Ord^r when here.

I know not what T: ff may doe by his Letters but neither his Service nor the contrary is of moment here. Yet I have alwayes kept very fair with him.

The last expression of thy Lett^r Desires me to be easy to all in general, & also Just to all not leaving thee out of that Direction. I am sensible that no man can be more obnoxious to censure & misrepresentations than myself, yet I know the Value of a good Reputation, but my Engagem^{ts} are too binding on me to dispense with any essential part of my Duty for y^e Sake of popular air. A good Conscience I have long resolved should be my only Dependence without much regard to the Sentim^{ts} or discourse of others w^{ch} not being in my power I must quitt the thoughts of them further than as they depend on the other & yet, I have an intire Confidence that one day they will (I mean a good Conscience & Reputation) tho'

not suddenly with me. Yet after all I find it a little Irksome, when I stand so much exposed for thy sake, to fall under Suspicion even with thee. But the same fortress will support me in this also. And all I shall desire is that my Justice may be tried. I hope now thou wilt not trust any man after so villanous an Abuse from fford, & for my own part I never thought it was for mine or any honest man's Advantage to be trusted further than necessity obliged, for when all men see for themselves none can be uneasy. I know there are some particulars in w^{ch} I could have wrong'd thee, because an Error could not easily have been discovered by the Sharpest eye, but I had the Character of honest before that of Sect^{ry} & hope its lustre will not be found tarnish'd after y^e other's gone.

I have enlarg'd thus because within these 2 years I have had divers hints to the same purpose for w^{ch} I am p'suaded I never gave occasion. I am y^e same as ever & without disguise

Thy faithful & obed^t Serv^t
J.L.

II.

WILLIAM LOGAN TO HIS PARENTS.

Bristol Nov^r 14th 1767.

My Dear and Honoured Parents :

I am glad that I have the pleasure of informing you that thro the Interposition of a most merciful Providence, I am arrived in England after a quick passage of about 4 weeks & 4 days, a passage which has been to me a school of much adversity, & I hope in the End will prove an awakening and instructive Lesson.

We sailed from the Capes^s I think the 8th of October, the first few Days were fair and flattering, but at length a violent Gale at N.E. obliged us to bring too under a ballanc'd Mainsail, which continued 24 hours, during this, the Vessel by reason of her deep Load, struck against her stern Counter in the most horrible Manner, at length the Captain casually heard a small Leak pour into her

^s Of the Delaware River.

about the Rudder Case. We instantly got down all our Lockers and Bulkheads, when dreadfull to relate a 2 in. plank near her Stern Post was Stove in about half an inch, and probably the next Stroke would have burst it in, & we must have presently sunk. This we secured and it lasted us throughout the Passage without further accident.

We had a fine strong Gale at S.W. from the Banks of Newfoundland, & got into Soundings the 11th of Nov^r off Ireland. On the 12th we had violent Gales at W. We ran in for the land till noon & then stood off. The next Day, the 12th [*sic*] the Wind blew a hurricane at S.W. About 8 it Cleared up & we found ourselves close in upon a small Island which we were unanimous was Lundy, accordingly we stood up Channel (as we thought) with Dreadful Squally thick weather. About 12 the sky Cleared a little & we found to our unspeakable horror that we were Embayed. We had but five fathom Water. Our Foresail and Foretopsail Split and tore to Pieces, the Sea runing Mountains high, & Rocks and Breakers all round us. Death Seemed now inevitable. We cleared out our Boat & put into her Provision, Oars, Compass, Papers and everything that was near and dear to us. the lashings were cut & every one Endeavoured to hoist her into the Sea, when all our Strength proved insufficient we were fatigued almost to Death. Seeing that we must die, I called all hands in the Cabbin & we all joined in Supplicating the Almighty to receive our dying Souls into his Mercy. While we were thus employed, a breaker Struck the side and wash'd the Boat overboard, the Stern Sunk & *our all* perished. The next shock broke the Painter & she went adrift, we were now cut off from all hope & therefore returned to prepare ourselves for the ensuing change. After some time spent in Prayer, we took a most affectionate leave of each other, & I went to my Birth and form'd a Sheet around me by way of Shroud & in much Silence and I hope resignation waited for the awful Moment. The Captⁿ & Sailors were at the Pumps & endeavouring to secure the Steerage and hatchway, that the Waves might not go down, when a Monstrous Wave wash'd our poor Mate and a Seaman overboard, & they were instantly drown'd. Our Men now absolutely

refused to stand the Deck, & indeed they could not with Safety; they came down distracted & beg'd me to joyn them again in Prayers, which I did in their behalf & my own, with Cries of Sincerity. We continued in this Situation until 10 O'clock at Night, as I imagine, & we then found the Impetuosity of the Wind and tide drive us fast on Shoar. As my last Refuge I had strip'd & made a hencoop ready with a Rope thro the Bars to hold me. About 11 She Struck on a Sand with a most dreadful Stroke, which broke her Chain Plates and tumbled everything up in her Cabbin. I seized my Coop & was going to jump into the Sea, when the Cap^t beg'd me to wait the determination of Providence & desist from the attempt. I stood in my Shirt with the Wind and Rain beating on me a Quarter of an Hour & then retir'd once more to supplicate the Lord to preserve us; all on a sudden, the Wind ceased & the Vessel ceased beating & presently we were surrounded by a Crew of wretches who live by Rapine and Plunder (the Tide had left her dry all round) which we did not know. I lost most of my Cloathes in the Boat & all that I sav'd in the World I put in my Book Trunk and Pillow Case & that night went to the house of a Welsh Smuggler who next day conducted me to Swansea, where some Friends assisted me in getting to this Place where I arrived in good health. I think the Vessel must be lost inevitably. She was a mere Wreck as to rigging in general. I spoke to the Collector of the Customs at Swansea to send some officers to keep the Country from ripping her up. I shall write more particularly by Cap^t Carr who is wind bound in King Road for your Port; in short I have had a most merciful Escape & I hope the Solemn Covenant we all made when the Terrors of Death hovered over us, will not be erased from my mind in the time of Prosperity, but may I ever rest assured that the same hand which delivered me from the Sea may punish my Ingratitude on Land.

My dear Friend Anna Fry is on a visit to Basingstoke. With love to my dear Sister and Brothers & all Relations I am thy most affectionate Son,

WILLIAM LOGAN.

P.S.—

The mate is drown'd.

Also Nicholas Stoops, a Seaman from Philadelphia.

All the Ships Papers are lost.

One Bag of Dollars and One of Gold.

All the Capt^{ns} Cloathes and all he has else.

The Boat ; I suppose may drive a Shoar.

The Vessel has lost : her Stern Rails, One Companion door ; a Spare fore-yard, her Sprit-sails and Yard from the Bowsprit ; her Foresail & Top-Sail, also her Main Chain Plates, & Tom James says there are some bolts drawn. I believe the Capt. protested in time, poor man, he is almost distracted & I think in every point of Seamanship he is as fine a man as I know, Carefull of his Owner's interest & ready to oblige all. his tenderness to me demands more than I can express & I hope his owners will be more humane than to let him suffer on Acct. of this inevitable Misfortune.

George Watson and I intend setting out in two Days for the Vessel to lend her all our Assistance & save all that we can.

W. LOGAN.

She is lost in a Bay on the Welsh Coast, which turns in abt 4 Leagues N.E. from Lundy, the place is call'd the *Worm head*. (She is hog'd, I think they call it.)

At Holbeach in Lincolnshire, Mr. Sam. Trotheringham [Frotheringham], one of the people call'd Quakers, but no bigot, a man of considerable fortune, and eminent for his learning in general, as well as mathematicks, more particularly algebra, and the doctrine of fluxions, and chances (tho' no gamester) : he was the first man in England who invented a clock with two minute hands ; one shewing the *true time*, and the other the apparent time at all seasons of the year, according to the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and obliquity of the ecliptick, as settled by Dr. Flamstead ; which was made by Mr. John Berridge late of Boston, now of London ; he was affable, and charitable, of an engaging conversation, and courteous behaviour to people of all perswasions ; and is accordingly lamented by his acquaintance.—Newscutting in *D.*, 1745.

[Samuel Frotheringham died 1745, iv. 22, and was buried at Broad Gate, Gedney. ED.]

Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

Continued from page 65.

IV.

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FELL, 1666.

It is not yet evident in what year Henry Fell settled on the island of Barbados. He was on the continent of Europe in 1661 (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 8), and appears to have left for the New World under some weight of financial difficulties. If he settled on the mainland as he proposed to do, it could not have been for long, as later letters to M. Fell are written from Barbados (1672, see *Fells*, p. 281; 1673/4, see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 256).

Barbados y^e 20th of y^e 4th month, 1666.

Deare M: F

Thy kinde and Lovinge Letter J rece^d w^{ch} was dated the 9th of y^e 10th Month 1665 aboue six month after y^e writing of it. how euer it was exceeding welcome to me; for J was very much refreshed, and melted with the tendernes of thy loue; the Lord reward thee seuenfould into thy owne bosome. mine with my wiues very deare loue Salutes thee; and ffriends that wayes. J haue written Seuerall Letters w^{ch} J pceiue haue come to thy hands, though some J beleue haue miscarryed; but it may be more of thyne to me. y^e Seas now are very troublesome & passage difficult by reason of y^e warr¹⁶ whereby many Shipps haue Miscarryed and y^e Shipps are stopt from trading, by y^e Kings Jmbargo w^{ch} hinders y^e recourse of o^r letters. J could write much as concerning ffriends in relation to Truth, in this place, but J see it not conveynent to mention at p^rsent only we enjoye our meetings peacable, but things are not well; for though good seed hath beene sowne; yet the enemy hath sown tares, w^{ch} come up, & ouertopp y^e other and most haue come to great losse. J am very Sencible of it my selfe to my great sorrow & greife. and he that only can restore

¹⁶ The second Dutch war, 1665-67, terminating in the Peace of Breda, July, 1667, whereby the colonies of Delaware, New Jersey, and New York were ceded to the English.

& repaire is the lord. J desire thy prayers in the Spirit w^{ch} intercedes with y^e ffather & god of all Comfort and Consolation. Some y^e lord hath taken away who troubled us here. J suppose yee haue heard of J P: death at Jamaica before this tyme.¹⁷ here is one R. Stacke now in the Jsland who came hither lately from virginia,¹⁸ his worke is like y^e former, & end will be the same. A.C:¹⁹ J.N. & his wife²⁰ and litle Ann Coalman²¹ went lately for Road Jsland. Soe that here is none in y^e ministry at p^rsent. J haue often wished for Tho: Salthouse²² or Geo: Whitehead²² to come hither (or some other good sound ffriend) if y^e will of y^e lord were soe; w^{ch} might sett things in order, w^{ch} might be great Seruice. J am euen now ready to take shipping for New Yorke, in New England (it was formerly called Manathas); J haue bought a p^t of y^e vessell J goe in; my Jntentions is to see ffriends there abouts that are settled, and if J like y^e Country J intend y^e next yeare (if the lord will) to carry my wife thither, and dwell there. J hope J may be backe at this Jsland about 4 or 5 monthes hence. my wife stayes here and her ffamilly where she did till J returne, J hope to see A C: and y^e rest of ffriends before J returne. my very deare loue is to all thy children, and ffriends in thy ffamilly and elsewhere. Alsoe let my very deare

¹⁷ This, no doubt, refers to John Perrot. His death must have taken place between Fourth Month, 1665, the date of a letter from him to some English Friends, and the date of this letter. John Taylor was on the Island when Perrot died, and he resided there from March, 1663/4, till May, 1666 (*Camb. Jnl.*). The reference to his death in *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 376 should be modified accordingly.

¹⁸ Not identified. A Robert *Stake* was imprisoned in Maryland in 1661 (*Besse*, ii. 380).

¹⁹ Perhaps, Anne Clayton (Cleaton), who married Governor Easton, of Rhode Island. See *Camb. Jnl.*

²⁰ Probably, Joseph and Jane Nicholson. See *Camb. Jnl.*

²¹ Of Ann Coleman there is, at present, great dearth of information except respecting her travels in America. The one letter of hers known to us (*D. Swarth. MSS.* iv. 225) was addressed to G. Fox from Rhode Island, 17. v. 1663, and endorsed by the recipient "to gf 1663 this womon was a drovers & died in barmouds in the trouth," implying, perhaps, that her previous name was Ann Drover, and also that she died in Bermudas. In above letter she writes, "Five times J have bin a prisoner and in ther tovnes J have bin wipt be side stoning and kicking and striking." John Taylor met her in Boston, N.E., in 1666.

²² For these Friends, see *Camb Jnl.*

loue be remembered to deare G. ff when thou writes. yee are very often in my rememberance, and J doe greatly hono^r yee in y^e Lord. my loue Salutes deare L: ff :²³ & R. Cleayton,²⁴ and all y^e ffaithfull as if J named them desireing yo^r prayers for me y^t J may be p^rserued in y^e Euerlasting Truth to y^e end, to receiue an Jnheritance amongst the saints.

Thy ffriend in my measure of Truth,
HEN: FELL.

This letter occupiess one page of a folio sheet ; the fly-leaf has been partially destroyed. The letter is addressed: "To my very deare ffriend Margret ffell prison^r at Lancaster dd these," and endorsed by G. Fox: "henery fell to mff 1666." There is another endorsement, by John Abraham: "Henry ffell a ffriend In early times, his Letter to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother." On the back of the letter are several arithmetical calculations !

V.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL, 1666.

The correspondence between Ellis Hookes, Friends' secretary in London, and M. Fell was voluminous. Many letters from the former to the latter are extant.

Two subjects—a lull in persecution in London and an attempt to obtain the release of G. Fox from Scarborough Castle—engage attention in this letter. The writer modestly omits reference to his own efforts for the release of G.F. Another letter from the same to the same, written twelve days later, on the subject of the release, is printed in the *Camb. Jnl.* (ii. 102). George Fox was liberated on the 1st of the following month.

Deare Mff.

My deare and everlasting loue is vnto thee in y^e Truth wherein J am sensible y^t my loue is as deare to thee as ever. J received thy letter wth one enclosed of John Rous & now thou may know by this that freinds

²³ That is, Leonard Fell: See *Camb. Jnl.*

²⁴ For Richard Clayton (Cleaton), see *Camb. Jnl.*

are gen^{ly} well heere & our Meetings are quiet & through the Lords loue wee enioy a Calm heere in the midst of all these stormes & troubles that are in the World w^{ch} is the Lords loue towards vs and he preserues vs throw his infinite loue, blessed be his name for ever. There was lately two Women freinds gaue the King a short letter from G[eorge] W[hitehead] w^{ch} the King was pleased to take & read the substance of it was a Warning to him to sett open the prison doores, w^{ch} when he read he said it would bee a good way indeed. Then the freind asked him if he would doe it he said he would consider of it, he hath alsoe been pleased through the desire of some heere (by y^e Master of requests²⁵) to grant an order to release G. ff. which J Whitehead²⁶ hath vsed great dilligence in procureing the order & wee think to lay the rest of ffreinds sufferings before the King speedily. Soe J am in hast at present who am thy Lo: freind,

E.H.

London, 2^d 6 Mo. 1666.

J. W. is gonn downe wth the order. J would haue thee keep it private at present for wee know not what obstructions may be mett wth but J doe not much question his release.

The letter occupies the centre of the first page of a quarto sheet. It is addressed: "For my Lov: ffreind M ffell. Leaue this wth Thomas Green at his shopp in Lancaster," and endorsed by G. Fox: "e hovkes to mff 1666," and by John Abraham: "Ellis Houkes his Letter to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother. Hee was a brave Seruiceable man In those Days for Truth."

VI.

THE SAME TO THE SAME, 1666.

Portions of this letter, with various errors in transcription, are printed in *Fells*, p. 243.

A letter written on the 2nd of the previous month, printed in *Fells*, p. 242, original in **D.**, should be read in

²⁵ Sir John Birkenhead, see Camb. *Jnl.*

²⁶ For John Whitehead, see Camb. *Jnl.*

connection with this letter. Later information is here communicated, relating to the Great Fire; and other occurrences in the City are reported for the benefit of the distant correspondent.

Deare M ff.

My deare loue is vnto thee in the truth w^{ch} changeth not J received two letters from thee since J wrote but J haue been in the Country and soe could not Conveniently write to thee; J suppose thou may ere this haue received E Stubbs²⁷ letter wherein she hath given thee an Account of what she hath donne both as cleereing her selfe heere & in spreading thy papers amongst the Rulers. concerning thy great booke²⁸ W. W. hath it but has not donne any thing in it as yett: but J think he intends to doe it in a short tyme; Wee expect G ff. heere very shortly; concerning what thou desired to know how it was with freinds where the fire was; there was very few but lost a great deale yett not soe much J think as the people of y^e World lost because freinds were helpfull one to the other; Thomas Coveny²⁹ lost most or all his bedds & goods by reason they prest his Carts for the king's vse & the Mayors; ffreinds are pretty well settled againe, and will gett tradeing again in a little tyme; The Parliament are about makeing an Act against the Papists that none of them shall beare any office in the kingdome & that all that are souldiers shall be turned out except they will take the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy, & goe to the Steeplehouse & take the Sacrament. last 7th day heere was another fire broke forth in

²⁷ Elizabeth Stubbs was the wife of John Stubbs (*Camb. Jnl.*). She died in Clerkenwell, London, in 1710, aged ninety years.

²⁸ It is not yet evident which of the two books written by M. Fell, longer than the others, is here referred to, whether *The Standard of the Lord Revealed*, or *A Touchstone*. This "bigg booke" is also mentioned in earlier letters (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 103, 402; *Fells*, p. 243, where report is made that the MS. was saved from the Fire and handed to William Warwick, the printer).

²⁹ Thomas Coveney is mentioned several times among prominent London Friends. In concert with Gerard Roberts and others he wrote two or three papers. According to the London Registers, Thomas Coveney of Newington Green died from a fall from his horse and was buried at Checker Alley, 18. v. 1670.

Southwarke neere Mariovers³⁰ steeple house in a hay loft at a Brewhouse but being in the day tyme & many watermen & seamen being neere did labour hard & soone putt it out ; Jt is Judged by most people that it was fired by some treacherous body ; that would have fired that place alsoe for noe body in the house could tell how it came, J am nott as yett settled in a place since the fire but J am about takeing a chamber in Aldersgate Street ; J am at present at Anne Travers³¹ at Horslydowne ; Thou may write to me at John Staploe³² neere the 3 Cuppes at y^e further end of Aldersgate Street. Anne Travers rememberes her deare loue to thee. Soe wth my deare loue to thy daughter Margrett and the rest of thy children & family when thou sees them & to Leo: ffell, J. Stubbs, & Tho: Rawlinson when thou sees them J remaine thy Lo : friend

E H.

London 6. 9th Mo.
1666.

This script occupys one side of a single leaf, which is much discoloured by age. It is endorsed by John Abraham : " Ellis Hookes Letter (who was a very Serviceable and Good man, In Early Days) to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother."

VII.

CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE OF GEORGE FOX AND
MARGARET FELL, 1669.

The text of this Certificate is printed in *Fells*, pp. 254n, 429, but a selection only of the signatories, numbering *nineteen* names, is given. The Certificate also appears in *The Irish Friend*, for 1841, and appended to

³⁰ St. Mary Overies, now Southwark Cathedral, situate near the south end of London Bridge.

³¹ For Anne Travers, see Camb. *Jnl.*

³² John Staploe or Staples was a grocer. In 1682, his address was the Harrow in Aldersgate Street. He was a representative Friend of Peel Monthly Meeting. (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, MS. in D.) He died in 1717, aged seventy-nine years.

this transcript is a list of *ninety* names, several being incorrectly transcribed. A certified copy from the register of the marriage now deposited at Somerset House³³ is in **D.**; after giving *twenty-two* names the words are added "and many others." The copy of the Certificate preserved among Thirnbeck MSS. in the handwriting of Sarah Fell, has *ninety-four* names attached to it. These names are here printed.

[First column.]

JOHN ROUS³⁴
 WILLIAM YEAMANS³⁴
 THOMAS LOWER³⁴
 GER: ROBERTS³⁴
 GEORGE WHITEHEADE³⁴
 EDW : PYOTT³⁴
 CHARLES LLOYD³⁴
 THOMAS GOULDNEY³⁴
 DENNIS HOLLISTER³⁴
 JOHN MOONE³⁵
 JOHN WILKINSON³⁶
 MORGAN WATKINS³⁴
 FRA: ROGERS³⁷
 THOMAS NORTH³⁸
 AMOR STODDART³⁴
 THOMAS BRIGGS³⁴
 THOMAS SALTHOUSE³⁴
 ROB^T WIDDER³⁴
 LEONARD FFELL³⁴
 CHARLES JONES³⁹
 JOHN LOVE⁴⁰
 NATHANIELL DAY⁴¹

[Third column.]

MARGRETT ROUS³⁴
 ISSABELL YEAMANS³⁴
 MARY LOWER³⁴
 SARAH FELL³⁴
 SUSAN : FFELL³⁴
 RACHELL FFELL³⁴
 BRIDGETT HOLLISTER⁵⁹

[Second column.]

WILLIAM TAYLARD⁴²
 THOMAS CALLOWHILL³⁴
 ERASMUS DOLE⁴³
 JOHN WEAR⁴⁴
 NICHOL: JORDAN⁴⁵
 CHARLES HARVORD⁴⁶
 DAVID SYMMONS⁴⁷
 JEREMIAH HIGNELL⁴⁸
 GEO: GOUGH⁴⁹
 JOHN HIGGINS⁵⁰
 JOHN DANDO³⁴
 CHARLES MARSHALL³⁴
 MILES DICKSON⁵¹
 WILLIAM ROGERS³⁴
 JOHN BAKER⁵²
 JOHN WATTS⁵³
 THO: BOURNE⁵⁴
 JOHN DOWELL⁵⁵
 GEORGE PHIPPS⁵⁶
 THOMAS JORDAN⁵⁷
 JOHN HARDIMAN⁵⁸

[Fourth column.]

JANE ROGERS⁷⁰
 ELIZABETH MILNER⁷¹
 ELIZABETH SHEWAR⁷²
 MARY WASTFEILDE⁷³
 MARGARETT THOMAS³⁴
 JOYCE WARREN⁷⁴
 ANN SPEED⁷⁵

³³ Register no. 1509.

[Third column.]
 MARY GOULDNEY⁶⁰
 MARY PRINCE⁶¹
 HESTER VICKRIS⁶²
 ANN WHITEHEAD³⁴
 MARGRETT BISSE⁶³
 MARTHA FFISHER³⁴
 ELIZ: ROGERS⁶⁴
 SUSANNAH PEARSON⁶⁵
 BARBARA BLAGDEN⁶⁶
 MARY MORGAN⁶⁷
 ELIZABETH PYOTT⁶⁸
 JOANE HILEY³⁴
 ANN JONES⁶⁹
 HANNAH SALTER³⁴

[Fourth column.]
 SARAH MOONE⁷⁶
 MARY NORTH⁷⁷
 MAGDELEN LOVE⁷⁸
 ANNA JORDAN⁷⁹
 JOANE DICKSON⁸⁰
 MARY FFOARDE⁸¹
 ANNA CALLOWHILL⁸²
 LIDDIA JORDAN⁸³
 ANN GANICLIFFE⁸⁴
 JANE BATHO⁸⁵
 ELIZABETH DOWELL⁸⁶
 SUSAN: FFREEMAN⁸⁷
 REBECA JENINGS⁸⁸
 SUSANNA PEARSON Junior.⁸⁹
 KATHEREN EVANS³⁴
 MARY BALDWIN⁹⁰
 SARAH GODBY⁹¹
 ELINER MAIDE⁹²
 REBECKAH HOWELL⁹³
 DEBORAH WITHER⁹⁴
 SARAH CANN⁹⁵
 FFRANCIS MAYNARD⁹⁶
 RUTH MARSH⁹⁷

It is noticeable that of the daughters of Margaret Fell, Bridgett is the only absentee, from which it has been inferred that her death had already taken place (*Camb. Jnl.* i. 467). The remaining six daughters appear in age order⁹⁸, except in the case of Sarah, where she gives her married sister, Mary, the precedence. In order to balance this, however, Sarah inscribes her name on this copy three times as large as the rest, and underlines it in a determined way!

Of the other signatories it may be noted that about fifteen are well-known Friends from other parts of the country, while the remainder appear to be local Friends.

³⁴ For these Friends, see *Camb. Jnl.*

³⁵ There is considerable difficulty in tracing John Moone, owing to his supposed changes of residence. Joseph Smith states that he was first of Carhouse near Garstang, Lancs., later of Bristol, and lastly of Pennsylvania.

He is addressed with other Bristol Friends by George Fox in 1678 (D. Swarth. MSS. trans. v. 17).

³⁶ No information is at present forthcoming which would enable us to state whether the Friend who witnessed this marriage was John Wilkinson of Cumberland (see *Camb. Jnl.*) or John Wilkinson of Westmorland, one of the leaders in the subsequent separation. The latter was in Bristol on religious service in 1662 (*Suff.* i. 43).

³⁷ Francis Rogers (-1693/4) was a Bristol merchant. He gave forth a "testimony" in favour of the Fox-Fell marriage (MS. in D., cp. *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 416). He was a member of the Committee to examine William Penn's Preface to *The Journal of George Fox* (Morning Meeting Minutes, ii. 35). His daughter, Elizabeth, married into the Champion family (THE JOURNAL, vi. 4).

³⁸ Thomas North was committed to Bridewell, Bristol, in 1663, for attending a meeting in the street when the meeting-house doors were shut and guarded. He was among the Bristol Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1664 (*Suff.* i. 45, ii. 637). Children of his died in 1672, 1673, 1674, 1676 and 1678.

³⁹ Charles Jones was a soapmaker in Bristol in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 69, etc.), and a prominent Friend. With George Whitehead and others he appeared before Charles II., to seek liberty for Friends imprisoned in Bristol (*Christian Progress*, pp. 504ff). It is not easy to separate the two Friends of this name, father and son.

⁴⁰ John Love, grocer, of Bristol, to be distinguished from John Love (Luffe) who died in Rome in 1658 (*Camb. Jnl.*) and John Love, of Canterbury. "Though having legally served an Apprenticeship in the City, yet because he could not Swear John Love was refused his Freedom, had his Shop several Times shut up, and his Goods taken from him: At length being summoned to the Mayor's Court, and appearing there with his Hat on, he was committed to Prison, 1657." (*Suff.* i. 42, etc.) It was, perhaps, the same John Love, of Bristol, who, from the Bridewell Prison, sent a letter to "the Proud, unstable, passionate Mayor of Bristoll, Nath^l Day," in 1706 (Swarth. MSS. v. 100).

⁴¹ Nathaniel Day was a hosier, of Bristol, 1683 (*Suff.* i. 68). His wife's name was Anne (*ibid.*). He died in 1691. In 1706, there was one of the same name Mayor of Bristol (see previous note).

⁴² William *Taylor* is mentioned several times by Besse in connection with Bristol. The Bristol Burial Registers for 1670 contain the name William *Taylard*, of Temple Parish.

⁴³ Erasmus Dole (-1716), of Bristol. His wife, Joyce, died in 1674. In 1683 he is described as "Pewterer," and his wife's name given as Sarah. Sarah Dole died in 1711.

⁴⁴ John Ware (Wear) is mentioned by Besse in 1656 (*Suff.* i. 42) and by G. Fox in 1678, among Friends in Bristol (Swarth. MSS. trans. v. 17).

⁴⁵ Nicholas Jordan (-1681) is mentioned by Besse as a sufferer in Bath, 1658 (*Suff.* i. 584). He was one of the "Dispersers of Quakers' books" (*Extracts from State Papers*, p. 228).

⁴⁶ Charles Harford (1631-1709) came of an ancient and highly-placed family of Marshfield, Glos., and was the first of this family to join the followers of George Fox, which was soon after his marriage with Mary Bushe in 1656. From this marriage the Harfords of Blaise Castle and Stapleton are descended (*Annals of the Harford Family*, 1909). In 1683, he is described as a "sope maker" (*Suff.* i. 68).

⁴⁷ David Simonds was one of the Bristol Friends on whom sentence for banishment was passed in 1663-4.

⁴⁸ Jeremiah Hignell (-1702) was a prominent Bristolian Friend. He expressed approval in public of the Fox-Fell marriage (MS. in D.). He wrote *Loving and Friendly Advice and Counsel to the Inhabitants of Bristol*, which was printed in 1698 on a folio sheet, in which he urges his fellow-citizens and neighbours to deal plainly with the Lord and their own souls and to see how their lives are squared by the Truth, which search will not hurt any of them. Alice Hignell, wife of Jeremiah, died in 1690. His sister, Temperance Hignell, died in Newgate, Bristol, in 1655.

⁴⁹ George Gough was one of the many sufferers under John Knight, Mayor of Bristol, 1663, "who pursued the Quakers as earnestly as if the Prosecution of them had been the chief Business of his Office" (*Suff.* i. 45). He died in 1685.

⁵⁰ There was a John Higgins, of *Bristol*, who is mentioned in THE JOURNAL, iv. 121. There was a John Higgins, of *London and Kent*, and another of *Lancaster*.

⁵¹ Miles Dixon (Dickson), "An Antient Friend," died in 1672.

⁵² There were several local Friends named John Baker, and without further evidence we cannot be sure which of these, or what other Friend of this name, affixed his signature to this certificate.

⁵³ There was a John Watts, of Clifton, Bristol, who died in 1688.

⁵⁴ Thomas Bourne's name appears in *Besse* (ii. 637), among those of Bristol Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1664. He died in 1690.

⁵⁵ There were *Dowells* as well as *Doles* in Bristol Meeting. John Dowell, Senior, died in 1676.

⁵⁶ George Phipps, of Bristol, died in 1677.

⁵⁷ Thomas Jordan (-1688) was a Bristol grocer, of Maryport parish.

⁵⁸ John Hardiman was a tailor of Bristol (*Suff.* i. 68).

⁵⁹ Bridget Hollister (-1671) was wife of Dennis Hollister.

⁶⁰ Mary Gouldney was the wife of Thomas Gouldney.

⁶¹ Mary Prince, widow, of Bristol, died in 1679. Her daughters apparently married into the families of Bisse and Marshall.

⁶² Hester Vickris was perhaps the same as *Esther Vickaris*, who died in 1721/2. Richard Vickris (-1700) was a noted Bristol Friend.

⁶³ Margaret Bisse, of "James Parish," Bristol, died 1700. Her name appears in the Box Meeting MSS. in D. M. Webb reads *Besse (Fells, p. 430)*, but this MS. is quite clear.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Rogers appears in *Besse's* list of Friends "convicted for Banishment" in 1663, 1664 (*Suff.* ii. 638). She was, perhaps, the same as Elizabeth, wife of William Rogers, of Bristol.

⁶⁵ Susannah Pearson, the elder, is mentioned by *Besse*, under years 1664 and 1670 (*Suff.* i. 53, ii. 638).

⁶⁶ Barbara Blaugden (-c. 1691), lived in Bristol. She is described as "widow" in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 68). She travelled extensively in the ministry and suffered heavily in body and estate. In 1655, she was in Ireland twice, on the latter occasion barely escaping death by drowning (*ibid.* ii. 458-461).

- ⁶⁷ Mary Morgan has not been identified.
- ⁶⁸ Elizabeth Pyott was, perhaps, the wife of Edward Pyott. See *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 384.
- ⁶⁹ Several Friends named Anne Jones lived around Bristol City.
- ⁷⁰ Probably, Jane, wife of Francis Rogers, of Bristol.
- ⁷¹ Elizabeth Milner, widow, of Castle Precincts, Bristol, died in 1690.
- ⁷² Elizabeth *Shewar*, not identified—clearly so written. The Bristol Burial Registers contain the names *Sheward*, *Shea*, and *Shore*.
- ⁷³ Perhaps, Mary Wastfield, who married John Hartnel (Hurtnell), of Bristol, in 1675, and died in the following year. Maria Webb's reading of this name—Mary *Wakefield*—(*Fells*, p. 430) has caused much confusion.
- ⁷⁴ Joyce Warren, not identified.
- ⁷⁵ Perhaps, Ann, wife of Thomas Speed, formerly Yeamans (cp. *Camb. Jnl.* i. 461, 464).
- ⁷⁶ Sarah Moone was, probably, the wife of John Moone.
- ⁷⁷ Mary North, of Bristol, was one of the many Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1663 and 1664 (*Suff.* ii. 638). She was probably the wife of Thomas North.
- ⁷⁸ Magdalen Love was the wife of John Love, of Bristol. She died in 1680.
- ⁷⁹ Besse mentions a *Hannah* Jordan, widow, in 1682 and 1683, in Bristol (*Suff.* i. 64, 69, ii. 638). *Anna* Jordan died in 1700. She *may* have been the wife of Nicholas Jordan.
- ⁸⁰ Joan Dixon, widow, of Bristol, was fined in 1683 for non-attendance at church (*Suff.* i. 69, cp. ii. 637). She was probably the wife of Miles Dixon.
- ⁸¹ The Bristol Burial Registers record the burial of Mary, wife of William Ford, of Keynsham, 1685, and also of Mary, wife of John Ford, of Bristol, 1703. The name *Foord*, with variants *Foorde*, *Foard*, also appears.
- ⁸² *Hannah* Callowhill, wife of Thomas Callowhill and her daughter Hannah, later *Penn*, are both mentioned in *Camb. Jnl.*
- ⁸³ Lydia Jordan (-1685) was the wife of Thomas Jordan, of Bristol.
- ⁸⁴ Ann Ganniclift (Gunncliffe) is described on the Bristol Burial Registers as "An Antient Friend"—died 1673. In 1655, she had accompanied Sarah Goldsmith on her peregrinations through Bristol "clad in a Garment of Sackcloth, reaching to the Ground, with her Head uncovered, and Earth or Ashes laid thereon and her Hair hanging down about her . . . as a Sign against Pride" (*Suff.* i. 41). Both women were committed to Bridewell.
- ⁸⁵ Jane Batho was one of the Bristol Friends sentenced to banishment in 1664. At her death in 1673 she was described as "wife of John."
- ⁸⁶ Elizabeth Dowell, widow, is mentioned by Besse in 1683. She was probably widow of John Dowell, Senr., who died in 1676.
- ⁸⁷ The Bristol Registers contain the record of the death of Susannah Freeman, of Trinity Parish, in 1688.

⁸⁸ Besse mentions a Rebecca *Jenkins*, of Bristol (*Suff.* ii. 637). There was a family of the name *Jenings* residing in Bristol, but a Rebecca has not been found on the Registers.

⁸⁹ Susannah Pearson, Junior, is recorded by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 637). The name "Susanna Peirson, Junior, of Worcester" appears among "Dispersers of Quakers' Books," see *Extracts from State Papers*, p. 228.

⁹⁰ Mary Baldwin, wife of William Baldwin, of Bristol, died in 1675.

⁹¹ *Sarah* Godby has not been identified, There were several Friends named Godby or Gotby in Bristol, among them a *Susanna*.

⁹² "Ellioner Maid, An Antient Friend," died in Bristol in 1674. (Bristol Registers.)

⁹³ Rebecca Howell, of Bristol, appears in *Besse*, in 1663 and 1664 (ii. 637).

⁹⁴ According to the Bristol Registers, Deborah Pyott married John Wither, of Bristol, in 1666, the latter dying later in the same year. In 1676, Deborah Wither married George Hawes.

⁹⁵ Sarah Cann, spinster, was fined £60 for three months' absence from the National Worship, in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 68). Her death took place in 1711.

⁹⁶ *Frances* Maynard is not known. There were Friends of this surname living in Bristol at this time.

⁹⁷ Ruth Marsh, wife of Richard Marsh, died at Limehouse, London, in 1684. See *F.Q.E.* 1907, p. 481.

⁹⁸ See THE JOURNAL, vi. 162.

VIII., IX.

GEORGE FOX TO MARGARET FOX, 1669.

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1669.

These two letters appear in modernized form in *Fells*, pp. 256-260.

The second letter contains important information of the attitude of several members of the family towards the recently accomplished marriage of Margaret Fell with G. Fox—"brother and sister Fell" and "uncle Richardson" are mentioned.

Both letters are written on one folio leaf. The address is: "To Rachel ffell for M. ff this at Swarthmore. To be left with John Higgins in Lancaster," and the leaf is endorsed by John Abraham: "my Honourd Grand ffather ffox's Letter to my Honourd Grand Mother, together with one from uncl^e Rous both writt by uncl^e Rous 1669." They are dated from Enfeild, 23rd and 25th of Tenth Month, 1669, respectively.

X.

THE WILL OF GEORGE FELL, 1670.

This Will has been printed *in extenso* in THE JOURNAL, viii. 2.

The copy among Thirnbeck MSS. is ancient. It is endorsed: "A Coppy Georg ffells Esq. Will."

XI.

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1672.

After referring to an item or two regarding money matters, the writer goes into full particulars of a murder recently taken place in Holland. It has been said that George Fox shews little sign of being interested in the happenings around him—the same cannot be said of his wife, although it is not evident why this recital should have been sent her by her son-in-law.

Dear Mother

J rec^d thine yesterday & doe pretty much strange how y^t mistake happened about y^e mony, but since further advising wth Thomas Yoakley⁹⁹ J find the busines is as thou writes, thy bill drawne on Thomas Yoakley payable to Thomas Green⁹⁹ for 50^{li} is paid, & had been paid sooner if thou had required it; J have spoken with Thomas Yoakley about the 150^{li} behind on the bond, & we have concluded to pay it at the time called Michaelmas being my sisters occasions require it, but it would have stood much more with my Conveniencie y^t it had all been p^d at y^e end of 3 months as J expected; here is very strange news from holland, w^{ch} thou may see at Large in the Gazet, but least thou should not meet with it, J may give thee a short acc^t therof the 20th instant their stile, Cornelius de wit for suspition of having a designe to murther the Prince of Orange was banished the province of holland on paine of death, & his Brother y^e pentionarie John de wit going to see him & being in the prison, vpon some dissatisfaction among the burgers & common people they forced the prison doores open, some fired on y^m & some runne y^m & being

⁹⁹ For Thomas Yoakley and Thomas Green, see Camb. *Jnl.*

dead trampled on y^m, haled y^m to y^e gallows where they stript y^m starke naked cut of their fingers & toes & flesh of their bodies & sold them at severall prizes, w^{ch} many bought vntill neer their whole bodies were Consumed, & this was done in the face of the Burgers & Magistrates at y^e Hague & noe body asked why they did soe, J hear y^e commonality threaten in divers places if their Magistrates will not agree to their tearmes, they will deale with y^m as wth the de wits¹⁰⁰: J desire my sister Sarah will let Robin Crookes mother know y^t he was well when y^e last ships came away. my wife with our little [ones] were well yesterday, my very dear love is remembred to thy selfe my brother Lower & sisters J rest

Thy dear son JOHN ROUS.

London y^e 24th of y^e ^{6th}/_{moth} 1672.

The half sheet on which this letter is written is much worn at the folds and barely holds together. It is directed: "ffor Sarah ffell this at Swarthmore. To be left wth John Higgins at Lancaster," and endorsed by G. Fox: "j: r: to m ff of the dvich defiryng ther magrastats," and by John Abraham: "Dr Uncle Rouse Letter to my Dr & Honor^d Grand Mother In 1672."

XII.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO THE FELL SISTERS, 1676.

This letter (written from Aberdeen Prison, 27, x. 1676), and the copies of letters from the Princess Elizabeth and from the Countess of Horne added to it, are to be found in *Fells*, pp. 301-306.

The writing occupys three pages of quarto letter paper. The sheet is endorsed by J. Abraham: "The Excellent Rob^t Bartley Letter to three of my Aunts and to my Dear and Tender Mother."—Isabel, Sarah, Susanna, and Rachel (afterwards Abraham).

To be continued.

¹⁰⁰ The horrible murder of the brothers Cornelius and John de Wit is narrated at large in histories of the period. See, e.g., Barker's *Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, 1906; *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. chap. vii., 1908; also woven into a novel, *I Will Maintain*, by Marjorie Bowen, 1911.

Elisba Tyson, Philanthropist and Emancipator (c. 1749-1824).

Although George Fox and the early Friends seem to have fully recognized "the negroes as equal objects of our Heavenly Father's regard with themselves," acknowledged their right to liberty, and advised their liberation at some stated time, still, strange to say, many of our American Friends were, or became, slave holders—a sad blot on the otherwise fair pages of our Quaker history.

The first attempt to liberate a slave of which we have knowledge was made in one of our southern Meetings.

1684. "William Dixon having a mind to sell a negro his freedom, desires this Meeting's advice. This Meeting refers him to the Yearly Meeting for advice." (Third Haven Monthly Meeting.)

At this time, what is now Baltimore Yearly Meeting was held alternately at Third Haven, on the Eastern Shore, and at West River, in the "tenting field" on the Western shore of the Chesapeake bay, and our little handful of Friends were in the midst of a slave-holding community, with the law of the State prohibiting the manumission of slaves. It was a brave proposition to make, and doubtless the Yearly Meeting hesitated about putting itself on record at this time in regard to any such action; indeed, even later it was slow to act, and it was almost 100 years (1772) before it recommends that its subordinate Meetings "keep under the weight of a concern that had arisen in the Society some time ago in regard to members holding slaves"; and in

1826 "deliberated on the subject with much earnestness of concern, but that way does not open to recommend any specific movement at present except that of continuing it on the minutes for further consideration next year." However, in

1840 "they bear a faithful testimony against slavery," etc.

Meantime individuals had not been idle, and the vigorous protest made by our German Friends of Phila-

delphia in 1688 bore fruit. It was a descendant of one of these, Elisha Tyson, who on his removal to Baltimore, about 1780, took up the work that was continued throughout his life, among the colored people of the State. Those who were inhumanly treated by their owners found in him a friend who ever endeavored to mitigate their sufferings, and for those illegally held in bondage he used every effort to procure release.

In 1789, the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed at the suggestion of Joseph Townsend. Of it many of the more influential citizens of Baltimore were members, and Granville Sharp, the English philanthropist, at his request, became a corresponding member. Elisha Tyson was a member—the chief member—of its “acting committee.” During the seven years of the existence of the society, its great work, besides educating public opinion, was the repeal of the law forbidding masters to manumit slaves, which after years of effort was accomplished in 1796. Two years later the Abolition Society was dissolved, and Elisha Tyson continued the work alone—the support he doubtless had of many Friends, and individuals of other denominations, but the great burden of the work was his. It is said that he was instrumental in giving liberty to 2,000 slaves, many of whom were illegally held in bondage. In some cases, alone and unarmed, he made his way to the vile dungeons where slaves were confined, guarded by desperate men. “Shoot if thee dare,” was his answer when a cocked pistol was aimed at his heart, “but thee dare not, coward as thou art, for well does thee know that the gallows would be thy portion.”

One of the last acts of his life was the rescue and liberation of eleven Africans, who had been kidnapped on the African coast, and were held on board a Colombian privateer calling at Baltimore for supplies. The President at this time was appealed to, and after much effort the Africans were liberated. They desired to return to Africa, and the agent of the Colonization Society came and took charge of them. It was a society of which Elisha Tyson had never fully approved, and he anxiously awaited news of their arrival in Africa. He was seriously ill at the time. “If I could only hear of their safe arrival I

should die content," he said, and again, "that he had prayed to the Father of Mercies that He would be pleased to spare his life till he could receive the intelligence." The news of their restoration to their families in Africa at last reached him, and shedding tears of joy he exclaimed, "Now I am ready to die. My work is done." Two days later, on February 16th, 1824, aged seventy-five years, this great and good man passed away from many works to rewards.

Probably the last one of the Africans liberated by Elisha Tyson died at the "Shelter for Infirm and Aged Colored People," in 1890. A six months voyage had brought a vessel to our coast after 1808, when the lawful slave trade was abolished, and this gave Elisha Tyson the legal opportunity necessary for the release of a kidnapped child. It is said that he never went beyond the law in his efforts to procure liberty for the negroes. In her old age, Mary Wilson, as she was called, would tell of her memory of her African home, "a house and yard *swept clean*, but no upstairs and no bed," and of the short struggle on the sands when she, a little girl, was torn from her mother's arms, and of the latter's wild grief.

There are many interesting anecdotes preserved of the philanthropist, but no adequate biography of his life has been written.¹

Through his efforts the first African Church in this city was established, and, it being near his home, when their meetings became noisy, as was sometimes their wont, he would seize his hat and cane, and "stride into their midst, and rapping them to silence, ask if they expected to take Heaven by storm." If this did not answer, he would not hesitate to put out the candles and drive them home!

He is said to have been a large and powerful man, and once when assaulted by a bully did not return the blow, but grasped his assailant and "held him *so uneasy*" that when he was released he was quite willing to be civil.

Shortly before his death he caused to be announced

¹ In 1825, a small volume appeared in Baltimore, entitled, *Life of Elisha Tyson, the Philanthropist*, written by John S. Tyson, a nephew of Elisha Tyson, with portrait. A copy is in D., presented by Lucy Tyson Fitzhugh, Westminster, Md.

his desire to meet the colored men of the city. At the appointed time a great audience greeted him with every mark of reverence and affection. He began by saying, "I am now old and weak, in a few days I shall be gathered to my fathers—the great portion of this audience will perhaps never see my face again. I know not who will befriend you after I am gone, unless you become friends to one another."

He then proposed that they form a society, and raise and deposit money for necessary emancipation work in future, in the hands of certain white persons, named by him, in whom they could have the utmost confidence.

He also left behind him a "Farewell Address to the People of Colour in the United States of America."² It was written a few days before his death, and read afterward in the African churches of this city, and also generally in their churches throughout the United States.

The day of his funeral the colored people of the city endeavoured to show their love and gratitude by attending his funeral in a body. To the number of more than 10,000, they met in their various churches and the immense dusky throng followed the funeral procession on foot to the grave in the Friends' Burying Ground at Aisquith Street.

But great as was the work of Elisha Tyson among the colored people, he had time also for other good works. He was much interested in the American Indians, and in 1801 was one of the two Friends appointed by the Yearly Meeting to make the fourth visit to the Indians northwest of the Ohio river, but the account of this long journey is too full of interest to come within the limits of this paper.

His interest in the Indians had brought to his knowledge the ill effects of intoxicating liquors, and with them he would have nothing to do. They were not even allowed storage room in his warehouses. This was his practical protest against one of the evils of the day.

As a "merchant miller" he had become a wealthy man, but he lived simply, despising ostentation either in dress or furniture. He was "a progressive and leading

² Copy in D.

citizen, and used his wealth with liberality and public spirit." Anyone looking into the eagle face of the fine old lithograph that hangs in the Swarthmore Library can readily believe that "he possessed wonderful strength of understanding, quickness of perception and readiness of reply," and that

"Wherever wrong did right deny,
Or suffering spirits urge their plea,
His was the voice to smite the lie,
The hand to set the captive free."

WHITTIER, *Garrison*, slightly altered.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

Baltimore, Md.

American Friends in Dunkirk.

Paris, Oct. 23. Letters from Dunkirk announce the almost immediate arrival of fourteen vessels from North America, having on board one hundred Quakers and Baptist families. These good people mean to settle in Dunkirk, where they are to be established in the possession of every liberty of conscience; they will experience in Flanders all the protection and encouragement due to the pacific disposition of their sect and the meakness of their manners. This asylum was pointed out to them by M. de Calonne, the chancellor of the Exchequer; he thought it the properest place on account of its contiguity to England, and the similarity of the inhabitants manners to those of their British neighbours. It is a pity that these honest Americans come amongst us to witness our vices, and perhaps to catch the dangerous contagion. Their chief trade will consist in the whale fishery in the Northern seas.¹

Newscutting in *D.*, dated 1786.

¹ Numerous references to this immigration are in *D.*, mostly connected with the Rotch family of Nantucket Island. See life of William Rotch, 1734-1828, by Augustine Jones, 1901.

Art thou shapely, comely, beautiful—the exact draught of a human creature? Admire that Power that made thee so. Let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holiness, the ornament of the beloved of God.

Art thou homely or deformed? Magnify that goodness that did not make thee a beast; and with the grace that is given unto thee, for it has appeared unto all, learn to adorn thy soul with enduring beauty.

WILLIAM PENN, *No Cross, No Crown*, pt. i., chap. xi., sect x.

Journal Supplement No. 9.

“ Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends,” second series, 1658 to 1664 (transcribed from the original MSS. by Charlotte Fell Smith, and edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.), pp. 105 to 200 and Index.

It was a happy thought of the Editor's to give these authentic notices of the doings and sufferings of the first Friends, as written down by themselves and others in contemporary documents now at the Record Office. This series will form a valuable addition to the printed material before readers who are not specialists in the period. It ought also to be of great use to students of local history and biography in many districts, if only for the lists of well-affected persons recommended for the magistracy, and for the notices of men, otherwise unknown, who opposed the movement. But to most of us the wealth of incident will appeal more strongly: the graphic accounts of Reading gaol and the struggles in Bristol “ Tolzy ”; the hard cases of army and navy men convinced of the sinfulness of war; and the ludicrous bewilderment of Cumberland justices at “ such suspicious expressions ” as the monthly meeting and a collection “ for our owen county seruis.” Here and there we light upon curious tributes to the life and character of the maligned Quaker, such as Lord Langdale's honest letter. Indeed, in the first years of Charles II., the cloud almost seems as if it might lift; but the storm begins again in the summer of 1663, and we are hurried onward to the central interest of the story, in the imprisonment of George Fox and Margaret Fell. It is, of course, not intended in this series to elucidate the extracts with comment on the history of the time; and yet, without more than is here given, this painful episode can never be fairly understood. From page 171 to the end of this part one must read between the lines, and supply the story of the Kaber Rigg plot, which, unsuccessful as it proved, was the real reason for the persecution of Swarthmoor. The avowed object of the plot was to do away with taxes

and to restore a Gospel magistracy and ministry. Atkinson, the spy, and the prisoners taken after the rising (autumn 1663), informed Sir Philip Musgrave that the Quakers were concerned. Some, disowned by the Society, seem really to have taken part.¹ But Friends had refused tithes and the oath of allegiance ; they had made recommendations for the magistracy. The "evidence" was against them. What is the value of legal evidence is another matter, but no protests satisfied local authorities so long as the meetings were held. The extract given on page 200 can be amplified from papers in private possession showing the widespread and acute fear of further risings. In the thick of the trouble (January, 1663-4) came Mrs. Fell's letter (p. 187)—an important chapter in the story. Of Col. Kirkby we know that he showed personal friendliness to Mrs. Fell, both before and after her imprisonment. Daniel Fleming was the most intelligent man in the district ; that he acted as he did is only a proof of the far-reaching mischief of the Kaber Rigg plot. We owe much to such publications as these Extracts for their help in clearing up the facts of that tragic misunderstanding.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Coniston, Lancs.

A counterfeit is rather an evidence of a reality than a solid argument against it.—JOB SCOTT, *Selections*, 1911, p. 107.

¹ On this subject we may quote from Nightingale's *Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1911, vol. i., p. 125, "Whether there is any truth in the charge that the Quakers were involved in the rumoured plots and risings, of which the times produced such a plentiful crop, is not certain. Probably some of the reports were fictions, and others grossly exaggerated ; but it is difficult to account for them all except on the ground of complicity on the part of some. 'Apparently, at the time of the plot,' says Chancellor Ferguson (*History of Westmorland*, p. 223), 'the local justices included under the name of "Quaker" every dissentient from their own religion except Papists. Westmorland was also full of Quakers who had been disowned by, or who had seceded from the Society of Friends, for in those days of religious excitement men roamed rapidly from one form of religion to another.' It is not, however, necessary to resort even to such an explanation. There must have been some bearing this name, men made wild and reckless by ceaseless persecution, whose thoughts turned for a remedy in those directions ; and a few such would be quite sufficient in the popular judgment, especially in the excited state of the times, to involve the whole in suspicion." [ED.]

Friends in Current Literature.

A valuable gallery of portraits has been presented to the reading world by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in the handsome quarto volume, *Historical Portraits, 1600-1700*, just issued, price half-a-guinea net (portraits only, 6s. net). Of the 131 persons pictured here, there are about thirty more or less associated with Friends, but only one Friend—George Fox. The Lely portrait is reproduced. Forty-three lines are given to a generally favourable review of Fox. The following remarkable sentence appears, however :—“ The society grew steadily, and the complete silence observed at its gatherings rendered it comparatively immune from the repressive legislation against preaching nonconformity.” The exact opposite is the historical fact—as witness, *inter alia*, a contemporary statement, “ The Anabaptists held out long, as to more publick appearings, & the Quakers held their ground to y^e last and have smarted more then any ” (“ Extracts from State Papers,” p. 169), and the many heavy fines exacted for preaching. One of the compilers of this book received some assistance at Devonshire House, as regards the portrait, but the Librarian is not responsible for any of the reading-matter !

The contributions of Joseph Ward to the “ Oldham Weekly Chronicle ” on Friends in Oldham have been collected into a volume—*A Retrospect of the Oldham Meeting of the Society of Friends, Its Schools and Kindred Societies* (Oldham : Hirst, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 5, pp. 182, 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.). There is an Introduction by Elizabeth B. Emmott ; there are portraits of James and Henry L. Hargraves, Jacob Bright, and several members of the Emmott family, and other illustrations. The author is not a Friend, but writes in a Friendly spirit. To my mind, the book loses by having as frontispiece a reproduction of Robert Spence’s “ George Fox at Lichfield,” and the author errs in thinking that there were other “ impulses ” of Fox of a similar character (p. 9).

WILLIAM PENN AND JOHN TOLAND.—To the Editor of *The Nation*
Sir : One of William Penn’s indirect contributions to the advance of liberal thinking seems not to have been noticed by any of his biographers. In 1705 John Toland, whose “ Christianity Not Mysterious ” had appeared nine years before, and who had since been the object of much consequent abuse for the freedom of his opinions, was in unpleasant pecuniary straits. During the preceding year, Shaftesbury, then exile for economy’s sake in Holland, had failed to pay Toland the customary instalment of his pension. Toland, in some way or other, had formed the acquaintance of William Penn, and there is extant a letter which he wrote to the Quaker on June 26, 1705 (see Toland’s “ Miscellaneous Works,” 1747, vol. ii., p. 337), asking for a recommendation to the lord treasurer, Godolphin. Penn, however, made his appeal to Harley instead, to whom he sent on August 24 another letter from Toland,

with the suggestion that the Deist had been "kept too long upon expectations" (Hist. MSS. Com., Portland, Vol. IV., p. 230). The result of this was the almost immediate engagement of Toland to write "The Memorial of the State of England," and his long—though always somewhat precarious—attachment to Harley's service.

Toland was again in touch with Penn two years later (Hist. MSS. Com., Portland, Vol. VIII., p. 279), although there is no evidence that their relations were ever in any way close.—CARL VAN DOREN, Columbia University, New York, December 8th.—*The Nation*, Dec. 14th, 1911.

In *Forty Years of Friendship as Recorded in the Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge and Ellis Yarnall, during the Years 1856 to 1895*, the Editor, Charlton Yarnall, writes thus of his father:—

"Ellis Yarnall was born in Philadelphia on June 25, 1817, and died in the same city on September 19, 1905. His life, therefore, exceeded by almost a generation the scriptural period allotted to mankind. His ancestry was of old English families, his father and mother being members of the Society of Friends. He was, therefore, educated in that faith, and although his religious convictions led him in early manhood to enter the Episcopal Church, he retained through life a great respect for the Society, whose philosophy left strong marks upon his character.

"In a fragment of autobiography found among his papers, Mr. Yarnall says: 'My grandfather, Ellis Yarnall, was born in 1757. His grandfather, Phillip, came over about 1684 with his brother Francis, from Claines, Worcestershire, as a part of the Penn Colony of immigrants. Both brothers were Friends. My grandfather was of devout life from his earliest years; his brother, Eli Yarnall, was a minister in the Society, and was held in reverent regard always. I recall as a boy, the some thing almost of emotion, with which his name was mentioned by the elders of my family. My grandfather seemed to me, from my earliest knowledge of him, in such absolute fellowship with the Society of Friends that there was little room in his mind for the presentation of belief of any other religious body. I bethought me of the Dominicans and Franciscans as I looked at his bowed head and noted the gravity of his demeanor.'"

In the same volume (London: Macmillan, 9 by 5½, pp. 340), there are some allusions, by Lord Coleridge, not entirely favourable, to the poetry of J. G. Whittier (p. 103). Ellis Yarnall wrote in January, 1881, of the death of his "dear aunt, Mrs. Lucretia Mott" (p. 190), and of a visit from James Hack Tuke (p. 191).

A valuable contribution to local historical literature has recently been made by Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., Congregational Minister, of Preston, Lancs., in his *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland. Their Predecessors and Successors* (Manchester: University Press, 2 vols., 9 by 5½, pp. xxiv. + 1490, 28s. net). After three preliminary chapters—Brief Summary of the Period, The Area in Question, and The Men and Their Story—the author takes up *seriatim* the various places from the churches of which the Incumbents who could not conform to the new ecclesiastical enactments of the Restoration were ejected, and gives many new facts relating to these noble nonconformists. Of Quaker literature we read (p. xxiv.):—

"A rich storehouse of material will be found in the Quaker literature of the time, even when the student is not dealing directly with the Quaker movement. Fox's 'Journal,' Story's 'Life,' Besse's 'Sufferings of the Quakers,' Sewel's 'History of the Quakers,' Smith's 'Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana,' 'The First Publishers of Truth,' Ferguson's 'Early Friends,' with many other minor works, have been in constant requisition. With reference to Besse and others, one has sometimes been a little disquieted by serious date errors, but in other respects we may take them all generally trustworthy."

Chapter II. concludes with a brief account of the Quaker movement as it relates to this district (pp. 118-129). Of the persecutions which fell upon Friends it is said :—

"The Quakers themselves were responsible for much of this. It was not merely that they indulged in certain harmless eccentricities . . . but that they outraged the common decencies of life. Their practice of going through the streets naked as a 'sign' was an unpardonable exaggeration. . . . The only excuse for all this lies in the fact that in their wildest deeds, and most senseless vagaries, they acted from highest motives."

There is a very full Index, which contains sixty-two entries under "Quakers."

Mr. Nightingale did not come into touch with Friends' Reference Library until after his book was published.

The result of much close work in the Library at Devonshire House on the part of a German student some years ago has now been given to the world in *Sozialpolitik der Nächstenliebe dargestellt am Beispiel der "Gesellschaft der Freunde,"* by Dietrich von Dobbeler. The title may perhaps be Englished thus—"The Social Economics of Philanthropy as illustrated by the Example of the Society of Friends." With commendable industry, Herr von Dobbeler has worked out the story of numerous Quaker philanthropies of a public and private character, and has produced a very readable and useful volume. The first portion narrates the rise of Friends and their principles, and then follow descriptions of Friends' work on behalf of the poor, education, slavery and slave trade, prison reform, home and foreign missions, insane, temperance, and other modern philanthropies. We read of John Bellers's proposed College of Industry, of the Spitalfields Soup Society, of Friends' Boarding Schools, Adult Schools, the Bedford Institute, Friends' Social Union, and many other activities.

But this valuable work is greatly marred by the many mistakes in names, of which it is full, for want of careful examination in proof by some English Friend, e.g., *fierns* for *friends*, *Clyton* for *Ayton*, *Benjamin Flamder* for *Flounders*, *Perkni* for *Perkins*, *Rountra* and *Recontree* for *Rowntree*, *Yarnak* for *Yarnall*.

The production of a book of this kind is an interesting sign of the times.

Champlin Burrage, who came over from U.S.A. some years ago, and who spent some months in research in the Reference Library, has brought

118 FRIENDS IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

out a valuable work—*The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641)*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2 vols., 8½ by 5½, pp. xx. + 379 and xvi. + 353, 20s. net). Though dealing with a period antecedent to Quakerism, there are a few slight references to Friends. The author mentions Robert Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," as "an admirable volume," manifesting "wide and critical reading on the part of the author" (pp. 13, 14).

A. A. Seaton, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was one of two writers to whom was awarded the Prince Consort Prize in 1910. His essay is entitled *The Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts* (Cambridge: University Press, 7½ by 5, pp. viii. + 364, 6s.). In the course of his lucid treatment of the subject of Toleration, the essayist deals fully with William Penn's "Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," 1671, "the completest exposition of the theory of toleration in our present period" (pp. 172-176) and he also epitomizes Penn's "England's Present Interest," 1675, "Address to Protestants," 1679, and "Good Advice," 1687. On page 64 we read:—

"The Quaker movement originated as a reaction from the narrow dogmatism and discipline of the Solemn League and Covenant, and, like most violent reactions, it tended to discredit itself (and, unfortunately in this case, also the cause of toleration for which it pleaded) by the extravagances with which it was associated."

In a footnote to above, the writer gives a Presbyterian description of Quakers, presumably, quoted in Tulloch's "Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy," from two tracts, dated 1647-1648; but there were no Quakers at that time to be described!

The Index is preceded by the words, "An asterisk marks the principal reference to a subject: references of minor importance are bracketed"; but what about the many references which have neither "asterisk" nor "bracket"?!

Chapter iv. of the eighth volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge: University Press, 9½ by 6½, pp. 515, 9s. net), is entitled "The Early Quakers." In fourteen pages Edward Grubb surveys the field of early Quaker literature. Of the Journals he writes, "Though written without pretensions to literary art, they maintain a high level of sincere and often naïve self-portraiture, and the best of them contain a rich store of material for the student of the 'varieties of religious experience.'" The early writers introduced include Fox, Ellwood, Gratton, John Roberts, Penn, Penington, Nayler, Barclay, and Mary Mollineux. Of this literature in general, E. Grubb writes:

"Of this vast output, there is not much that could possibly, by its intrinsic qualities, find any permanent place in English literature; its chief interest now is for the curious student of religious history. Nor can it be said to have influenced in any appreciable degree the intellectual outlook of English-speaking peoples, except in so far as it was one of the unnoticed factors in the evolution of religious thought from the hard

dogmatism of Puritan days to a more liberal and ethical interpretation of Christianity."

Of George Fox's autobiography we read, "It is one which, for originality, spontaneity and unconscious power of sincere self-expression, is probably without a rival in religious literature."

Several new works of fiction have recently made their appearance. A copy of *The Quaker Cross*, by Cornelia Mitchell Parsons, has been presented to D. by David S. Taber, of New York. This story I read on the the Atlantic, amid heavy seas and strong winds, and in some small measure it compensated me for the disappointment of not being able to visit Long Island. The principal scene relates to the old home of John and Hannah Bowne, at Flushing, L.I., but the reader is introduced to Friends and Friendly people in Swarthmoor Hall, Lancaster Castle, London, Germany, etc. Interest in the narrative is well sustained first to last, but the sudden introduction of original material without fitting it into its surroundings is curious, e.g., several letters from Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* are inserted bodily without explanation of the numerous names occurring in them, see pp. 87, 90, 91, 157, 161, 163. These letters were certainly not written on "parchment" as is frequently stated (pp. 64, 90). A little more care to verify names and facts would have prevented blemishes which damage the book—George Fox's mother was *not* a descendant of Anne Askew (p. 31) nor indeed was his wife; *Lancaster* should be *Launceston* (p. 75), *Oldham* should be *Aldam* (p. 76); *five* Friends were put to death in New England, *William Dobson*, *William Robinson*, *Marmaduke Stevens[on]*, *Mary Dyer* and *William Ledd[r]a* (p. 112)—who was William Dobson?; the scene in Lancaster Castle when G. Fox and M. Fell in separate cells talk and read to one another seems very unnatural and unlikely (p. 155); these two friends were *not* married on "the second day of August" (p. 179), Fox did *not* arrive in Bristol from America "on the 4th of March" (p. 194), and did *not* die in 1692 (p. 326). We are told (p. 324) that "James of York did pass the Toleration Act"!

Another item of Quaker romance is *Quaker Ben: A Tale of Colonial Pennsylvania in the Days of Thomas Penn* (Philadelphia: Jacobs, 8½ by 5½, pp. 336, \$1.35 net). The Author, Henry C. McCook, writes in the Preface:

"The period of the administration of Thomas Penn (1737-1742) in the Colony founded by his distinguished father, was one of great historic interest. The infamous 'Indian Walk' which led to the cruel and criminal expulsion of the Delaware Indians by their warlike conquerors and masters, the Iroquois, at the instigation of Thomas Penn, was an incident that led to serious consequences. The attack by Great Britain on the Spanish Main in the unfortunate Cartagena campaign . . . was another incident that sorely vexed the peace-loving spirit of the Friends. . . . The outbreak of the yellow fever in Philadelphia was a third occurrence of the period. . . ."

Quaker Ben, *alias* Ben-Thee, was a frontiersman of Quaker upbringing, but not entirely Quaker principles. The book is well written and betrays considerable knowledge of Friends, especially in connection

with their varying views on defensive warfare. The spiritual experience of one character is modelled after that of Stephen Grellet. In one slight particular the Quaker language has been overdone—"May Heaven bless *thee both, my children*" (p. 269).

The latest novel by Joseph Hocking is *God and Mammon* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 7½ by 5½, pp. 314, 6s.). The title aptly describes the contending claims of goodness and greatness. A young Cornish Quaker, George Tremain, fired with the absorbing desire to make his mark, quits his quiet Quaker home for the world of finance in London. In time he becomes a money-king, but it is at the expense of real happiness, and the outward denial of that which once he taught, and still secretly believes in. But, of course, it all comes right in the end.

A great financier to whom George was introduced soliloquised thus (pp. 120-123):

"It's a dog's life. I work harder than a galley slave. Why do I not give it up? I have more than enough for all my needs; I have reached the summit of my ambitions. But I can't give up . . . I am tired of the whole thing and yet it chains me fast. I have become a money-making machine, and the machine must not stop. . . . And now where am I? I have my house in Berkeley Square, and my country places, but I'm loveless and childless—and this is success."

NORMAN PENNEY.

John H. Dillingham and the Sealed Envelopes.

. . . . While still a member of New England Yearly Meeting, not unlikely while at Harvard, in 1864, John H. Dillingham [1839-1910] had gone to attend a Quarterly Meeting. Some sealed envelopes containing widely advertised literature of an unprofitable, possibly of a deleterious character, were in his pocket. As he retired to his room for the night before the meeting, probably at the home of Benjamin Howland, he found a fire blazing on the open hearth. He sat down beside it with the intention of examining the forbidden literature. As he took the envelopes in his hand a powerful sense of God's restraining grace possessed him. Without parleying long, he put the envelopes unopened upon the burning embers and had a sure sense of peace in seeing them reduced to ashes. In the meeting next morning Eli Jones was engaged in speaking most directly to his condition—drew a plain picture of the doubts that had assailed him, and then in an impressive manner pointed out the door of hope, and the service that awaited the tried soul who would give up and enter this door. In conclusion, and in a manner that brought back the glowing fire and the smoking paper to John Dillingham's mind, he said, "If thou wilt do these things all thy *burnt sacrifices* will be accepted."

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1911, p. 121.

VOLUME 5, 1908.

CONTAINS :

The Westmorland and Swaledale Seekers in 1651.
Friends in Mansfield and District. *Illustrated.*
A Glimpse of Ancient Friends in Dorset.
Quaker Ministers and French Police.
Documents from the Paris National Archives relating
Stephen Grellet.
The Defection of John Scanfield.
Hannah Lightfoot. *Illustrated.*

VOLUME 6, 1909.

CONTAINS :

Quakerism in the Isle of Man.
The Somerby Estate, Leicestershire.
Captain Thomas Taylor of Brighthouse. *Illustrated.*
American Journals of Esther Palmer, 1704-1706.
John Reckless and his Family. *Illustrated.*
Incidents at the Time of the American Revolution.

VOLUME 7, 1910.

CONTAINS :

Correspondence of Lady Conway, 1675.
Henry Frankland's Travels in America, 1732.
On the Track of Old Friends in Derbyshire.
Friends and the Castle of Chambord, France. *Illustrated.*
Records of Friends in Scotland.
Friends in South Carolina.
American Descendants of John Reckless.
A French View of Quakerism.
Friends and Pietists in Germany.

VOLUME 8, 1911.

CONTAINS :

Our Bibliographers—Morris Birkbeck.
Gleanings from the Records of the Yearly Meeting of
Aberdeen, 1672-1786.
Early Meetings in Hertfordshire.
Extracts relating to Friends from the Collection of the State
Papers of John Thurloe.

Each volume contains Notes and Queries, papers on current literature relating to Friends, and numerous articles not mentioned above. The indexes to the eight volumes contain about 22,000 references to persons, places, and subjects.

Five Shillings (\$1.25) net per vol. in parts as issued.



HEADLEY BROTHERS,
PRINTERS, LONDON ;
AND ASHFORD, KENT.
