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OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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Quaker Women

1650—1690

BY

MABEL RICHMOND BRAILSFORD

A PICTURE OF THE WORK AND IDEALS OF
THE FIRST QUAKER WOMEN OF ENGLAND

MISS BRAILSFORD, in these studies of Early Quaker Women, deals with an aspect, both of the woman's movement and of the struggle for religious liberty, about which very little has been written. The Quakers were the first Christian body who admitted by their practice as well as their teaching that women were the equals of men. The women contemporaries of George Fox showed a curious parallel to the enduring side of what is called the "militant propaganda" of to-day. They gave their message in the teeth of the most virulent opposition, they went to prison and suffered the severe hardships of the prison life of the time, they were hunger-strikers, and they endured many forms of oppression, but their message was peace, and their protests were their sufferings, and not their violence. Miss Brailsford writes about these great-hearted women from the beginning of Fox's work to his death, and the reign of William and Mary, when the Quaker was accepted and ceased to be an outcast. One of the most strange and picturesque figures in the book is the Quaker daughter of James II., who, after the Revolution, lived obscurely by her own handicraft in a quiet eastern port.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Editors' Notes

MANY members of the Friends Historical Society will have heard of the long and serious illness of the Editor of THE JOURNAL, Norman Penney.

The good wishes of the membership of the Society will follow him with the desire that he may soon be restored to health and be able to resume his duties as Librarian and Editor.

Editors pro tem.

The Annual Meeting of the Friends Historical Society will be held in The Library at Devonshire House, on Fifth-day, the 20th of Fifth Month, at 2 p.m.

On another page of this issue we print the Will of John Bellers, Quaker Philanthropist (1654-1725). It is hoped in the next issue of THE JOURNAL to include an article by Charles R. Simpson, embodying official minutes connected with John Bellers which have been gleaned from many sources.

Sir Frederick Wedmore concerning Robert Charlton

Sir Frederick Wedmore, in the closing chapter of his *Memories*,¹ gives the following interesting account of Robert Charlton²:

“In a Sketch of some of the great English speaking preachers I have had the privilege to listen to, it would have been a folly indeed, much more—it would have seemed to me not loyal—to have left out the name of Robert Charlton.

“In that profound and reverent gravity—and in much besides—David Wright [Incumbent of St. Mary Magdalene, Stoke Bishop] was at one, absolutely, with an occasional, a frequent preacher, whom I think he did not know: an elderly Friend, Robert Charlton, whom I—I am glad to say—had great chances of hearing when I accompanied my Father, driving into Bristol, to the Friends’ Meeting House, in Rosemary Street, on Sunday mornings before 1870, and, sometimes, after it. . . . I forget what Robert Charlton was, exactly—I think a manufacturer or merchant, on a scale not large. I am certain that in his secular work Robert Charlton added to the unblemished honour that is exacted of Friends—generally—that which is also of course encouraged, but cannot in the nature of things be exacted, a treatment rather specially kind and generous, of every servant or subordinate with whom he had to do. Between Robert Charlton’s daily life in business and his life of the spirit, there was, I am sure, no discord; so that, without difficulty—but fortified no doubt, by thought and reading, and the practice of a charity which began, it may be, but never ended with alms-giving—he came from the affairs of the week into the atmosphere of a Sunday which, with Friends, has at no time been puritanical, into the silence of the Meeting: a silence which is not the barren silence of the superficial but a silence that Maeterlinck has fathomed, and set forth the fruitful depths of, in the first essay in *Le Trésor des Humbles*. Many there are, as Maeterlinck remarks, ‘qui n’ont pas le Silence.’

“For a while one would see Robert Charlton—in the Ministers’ slightly raised gallery—sitting in reverent quietude. Deeply, more deeply, was he immersed in thought. That was revealed to one, as time passed on, in the workings of his face. His soul was in travail. What was to be the upshot? It might be, he said nothing. Much likelier, however, after some further wrestling, he would remove his hat suddenly; then rise; grasp the firm gallery balustrade, in front of him; and with a countenance altogether inspired, with a voice extraordinarily melodious, pour out the burden of his meditations—of his solitude—of his encouragement—in a spirit that was pure poetry and in a form that was the very best of English prose.”

¹ Methuen & Co. [1912].

² Robert Charlton (1809-1872), pin manufacturer in Bristol.

MS. Documents at Cork

THE racy anecdotes culled from Waterford archives, and presented by Ernest Grubb in his Presidential Address at the last Annual Meeting, turned the attention of members of the Council to the little known or exploited store of manuscript evidence in Ireland. It does not seem that much use has ever been made of this, or a great deal written about Irish Friends, beyond what is to be found in John Rutt's *History of the Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland* (1800).

At the request of our friend Francis C. Clayton, I spent a couple of weeks in Cork in the autumn, and examined the very fine collection preserved in the capacious premises of the Meeting House there. The books are well bound, are stored in a roomy fire-proof safe, and have been catalogued recently by members of the Meeting. They are under the care of Henry H. Beale, the Monthly Meeting Clerk, from whom, during my work at the Meeting House, I received the most kind help, as also from many other Friends of the Meeting.

The premises comprise a large Meeting House, two smaller ones, lobbies, a library, and, fronting on the street, a roomy dwelling-house, with rooms above, let to a Friend. This part was originally used as a day-school, many interesting references to which may be pieced together from the MSS., for later use in THE JOURNAL if desired. The date of the first Meeting House cannot be exactly stated, but in 1677 Friends decided it was "insufficient," and "committed the care of purchasing a plot of ground to build upon" to five Friends, of whom Francis Rogers was one, and they were ordered "to proceed immediately." The sum to be spent on "finishing the worke according to the Moddle prescribed" was "adjudged by computacon to require £500."

The earlier minutes of Cork Six Weeks Meeting, beginning 28 x.1675, and of the Three Weeks Meeting, dating from 24 iii.1676, are full of interest. They present a very active picture of a colony of merchants, ship

owners and others, many of them prosperous, and all busily engaged in watching over their neighbours, both as to conduct and for opportunities to give advice and help. No one was to suffer poverty or want without assistance from those better off. No one could take a false step, financial or otherwise, without a warning. They seemed ever ready to lend small sums of money to the deserving and thrifty, and to look diligently after the aged or ill, or even those who were in no need of assistance. The earliest minutes are very largely taken up with hearing applications and giving consent to "joyning in marriage in the Order of Truth." The Society must have been large and steadily growing at this time, and although there was a frequent testimony against drunkenness, against marriage by a priest, and against parents giving consent to the marriage of their daughters with "one of the world's people," the constant reiteration against fashions, periwigs, keeping of dogs, drinking tea, and other harmless trifles which later occupied the business meetings, had not then begun.

A wholesome and admirable oversight was kept that integrity in trade and no sweating should prevail. Friends were appointed in 1678 in each Meeting

to speake with y^e friends of the Cloathing or Spinning trade that they take care in all theire dealings with spinners & other work folkes, to pay either mony for their worke or Such goods as they shall fully agree for before hand, & to desire if they pay goods it may not be vallew'd above y^e Currant price.

As time went on this inquiry into the business affairs of fellow-members became almost inquisitorial, and preoccupation with the internal machinery of their own sect to the exclusion of other matters necessarily resulted in a period of formality fully revealed in the minutes. Many instructive points may, however, be dwelt on, by quoting and putting together short extracts relating to special subjects, as relief of the poor, distribution of Quaker books, conduct in Meeting. The School I have indicated above; the way in which the wars and rebellion affected Friends, and the use of the Meeting House for soldiers, are other topics.

The principal items of the catalogue are given below. The omitted numbers are those of lists of members,

proceedings of various committees, marriage registers, certificates, testimonies and epistles, certificates of removals, account-books, maps, and similar documents preserved in Meeting Archives.

1, 1A, 3A-5	Cork Three Weeks and Six Weeks Meeting	1675-1756
6	„ „ „ „ „ (Women)	1763-1784
7-12	Munster Province Meetings	1694-1798
13	Charleville Men's Meeting	1698-1720
14	Bandon „ „	1677-1700
15, 16	Quarterly Meetings	1798-1865
17	Yearly Meetings	1798-1839
19-21	Provincial School Committee Proceedings	1796-1855
22	Historical Narrative of Ministers' Visits	1708-1871
23, 24	Account of Sufferings, Munster Province	1750-1863
29	Provincial Register of Families	1655-1868
37	Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland	1664-1765
46	Provincial Female Bounty Fund	1775-1833
53-56	Cork Monthly Meeting	1807-1885
57, 57½, 58	„ „ „ „ (Rough)	1826-1874
59	Cork Preparative Meeting	1839-1872
60	„ „ „ „ (Rough)	1855-1872
65	Sundry Proceedings, Bandon Meeting	1680-1714
68	Letter from Prince William, afterwards King William IV., to Friends in Cork	1787

Isabel Yeamans

ALL fresh information coming to light about the Fells of Swarthmoor Hall is sure of a welcome, for that remarkable family of noble Quaker women, Margaret Fell and her seven daughters, always remained the ideal example of a seventeenth century Puritan household of means and education, birth and good breeding. Their industrial and economic activity at home was quite as remarkable as their evangelical campaigning at large.

While recently examining the records of Munster Province, at Cork, I came upon facts which throw a sidelight on a point in the life of one of the seven, which so far as I know has never figured in their history.

Isabel, the third daughter of Judge Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall, near Ulverston, in 1664 married William Yeamans, or Yeoman, a merchant of Bristol.¹ He was then aged twenty-five, while his wife was about twenty-three. About the time of the marriage Margaret Fell, who had then been six years a widow, was committed to Lancaster Gaol for permitting meetings to be held in her house, and for refusing to discontinue them. With only one short visit home at the end of nineteen months, she was kept at Lancaster in a damp, noisome cell for four years. It is possible, therefore, that the first visit she was able to pay Isabel in her new home at Bristol was in the late summer of 1669, when an important epoch in her life occurred. George Fox arrived from Ireland (whither he had gone on his release from Lancaster Gaol) and his marriage to Margaret Fell, the friend and co-worker of many years, was accomplished. In his own words :

I had seen for a considerable time before that I should take M.F. to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishment of it then. . . . Being at Bristol and finding her there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished.

By his wish she sent for her children and her sons-in-law, and asked them if they had anything against it. All asserted that their mother had performed her husband's will to them, and they would not lose by her second marriage. They desired George "to speak no more of it." "I told them," he says, "I was plain and would have all things plainly, for I sought not any outward advantage to myself." In the Men's Meeting, when permission was given to proceed, Isabel Yeamans said "I have long desired to see it accomplished, and now rejoice in its accomplishing." The marriage took place from Isabel's house, and the certificate was signed by six of the seven daughters and three sons-in-law, who were all present. The absent daughter was Bridget Draper.

¹ Son of Robert and Ann Yeamans. The father, Royalist sheriff of Bristol, was hanged by the Parliamentary party in 1643, in front of his own house, for being implicated in a movement for delivering the city to Prince Rupert. *Camb. Jnl.* i. 464.

The tie that already subsisted between the family at Swarthmoor and the man who had been coming and going in their household since 1652 (six years before Judge Fell's death) was a very strong one. The daughters invariably speak of him in letters as "dear and honoured father," and Isabel, at least, was still more closely associated with him in travel. She seems to have possessed a gift in the ministry, and to have visited Meetings in England to some extent, although the care of a delicate husband and children in her short married life cannot have left her much opportunity for public service. At any rate, in May, 1670, she is named in the Information of a gentleman of Whitby, taken upon oath before Sir Thomas Gower, Bart., a Justice of the Peace in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as having been present at a conventicle or meeting at Whitby, held in "a house bought and erected by the quakers."²

She is mentioned by Besse as one of "those women of excellent endowments, adorned with all the Virtues of that sex, very serviceable to the church in the office of the ministry, for which they were peculiarly gifted and esteemed by their Brethren as Fellow-helpers in the work of the Gospel of Christ," who "at the hazard of their Estates, Liberties and Lives continued preaching in meetings in London in the faithful discharge of their duties,"³ in the stormy years of persecution before 1686.

William Yeamans died ten years after his marriage, leaving three delicate children, a fourth, the oldest, having died in infancy. One, Margaret, died in the same year as her father. Another, Rachel, survived him only a couple of years. The only child to attain manhood was William, born in 1669, who was early sent away to the care of his aunts at Swarthmoor. Here, in the bracing moorland air, his constitutional delicacy disappeared for a time. He, however, only attained the age of twenty-seven. In the account-book of Swarthmoor Hall, "little Will Yeamans'" childhood can be traced between the years 1674 and 1678. A primer was bought for him in 1674, when he was five, and, soon after, Richard Gowth, the schoolmaster, was engaged to come and teach him. This

² *Extracts from State Papers*, 1913, p. 304.

³ *Sufferings*, i. 484.

arrangement did not last long, for six months later we find his careful Aunt Sarah paying "Jane Marshall for little Will Yeamans dinner when he went to Penington School, 16 dayes, 2s." Articles of clothing and adornment (shoe-buckles and silver buttons exchanged for silk ones) are entered on his account, also medicines. The little sister Rachel seems to have died at Swarthmoor, and was buried 24 June, 1676, according to a note of money given to the poor at her funeral, viz. : £2 7s. 3d.⁴

The child's mother was perhaps in Bristol then, although she afterwards lived near London, and at Stockton-on-Tees. In 1677 she went with George Fox to Holland; she had been a widow for three years. Penn and Barclay were also of the party, and the former has detailed his extensive journey in his *Account of Travels* (1694).⁵ Isabel remained at Amsterdam until George Fox finished his visit to Frederickstadt and Hamburg, going to meet him in Friesland on his return. Her part was evidently one of companionship and care of her stepfather, and throughout the three months abroad, all seemed to go well.

Then follows the second short romance of Isabel's life, an episode which brings into strong relief her own tender and affectionate, yet self-reliant nature, as seen against the very prosaic and calculating self-interest of an elderly Friend of the opposite sex.

In Bristol she had known one Francis Rogers, some time of Cork, where he had married, in 1660, Elizabeth Erbury, daughter of a widow of the same name. In two or three years the wife died, leaving a daughter, born in Cork, 24 vi. 1662.⁶ In 1666 he married Jane Dring, of London, and settled at Bristol, where five children were born to them before 1674. The fourth, a

⁴ There is a curious entry in the Swarthmoor Account Book, three weeks before, of 9^d paid for a pint of brandy "for cousin Rachell Yeamans when she was not well." The use of "cousin" for niece or other relationship is not uncommon.

⁵ Croese says she went to visit the Princess Palatine with Penn, but we prefer to follow Penn's own narrative as the more truthful. Croese confuses her with George Keith's wife, Elizabeth, who was the only other woman of the party from England.

⁶ This daughter, Elizabeth, m. 5 June (4th mo.), 1682, Joseph Pike, had fourteen children, and d. 16 September, 1733. Three of her daughters married Beales.

daughter, born 5th July (5th mo.), 1671, was named Isabel (?) after his friend Mrs. Yeamans, who, when his second wife, Jane, died in 1679, had been five years a widow. The friendship was apparently renewed, with (on his side) the interest cautiously tempered with anxiety as to the state in which the widow's husband had left his financial affairs. After due consideration, and the lapse of two or three years, these were not found to be sufficiently promising, and the worthy Friend Rogers desired to draw back from the advances already made. With the very strict supervision exercised at the time by the Society over marriage contracts, this could not be done without the concurrence of the Meeting at Cork, of which Francis Rogers was now a prominent member, a trustee of the Meeting House property, and appointed to oversee the schoolmaster who was employed to teach a small school on the premises.

The following documents will now speak for themselves :

MINUTES OF CORK SIX WEEKS MEETING.

27 vii. 1684. Francis Rogers having proposed that he have something relating to Marriage to offer w^{ch} he thinks not convenient should be debated at Large in the Meeting, Its assented to that the following friends in behalfe of this Meeting may goe aside wth him to heare and determine the Matter w^{ch} is assented to to be as Effectuall as if the same had been spoaken in the whole Mens Meeting, viz. :—

George Deeble	Thomas Devonsher
George Harrison	Thomas Alley
John Haman	Samuel Tauernor
John Fennell	Richard Berry
George Baker	Thomas Weily
Phillip Popplestone	W ^m Edwards
Tho Wright	Samuel Abbott
Thomas Campion	Daniel Sauery
Jasp ^r Tregoes	George Griffiths
Rich ^d Brocklesby	W ^m Pegg

in all twenty psons.

According to the above request of Francis Rogers Friends Met in the vpper roome of the Meeting house the same day & the Matter w^{ch} Francis Rogers Laid Before vs, related to Certaine Obleiging letters & passages w^{ch} happened in time past betweene himselfe and Isabell Yeamons tending to Marriage, &c., wherein he Mençons in Severall letters to her that nothing should put a Stop to him except her husbands Debts, w^{ch} was Desired to be advised of wth Councell, & the opinion was there was Danger, after w^{ch} he could not wth any sattisfaction. pceed further, but declined his former Course of Writeing to her vpon

that Subject only, he thought fitt in regard he could not get ouer that feare of her husbands Debts to desire her to Cleare him of what was past & leaue him to his liberty w^{ch} hitherto she haue refused to doe. Wherevpon he haueing in consideraçon to Marry wth another, have desired vs the foregoing psons to Judge Whether he be cleare from the sayd Isabell or not, and haueing had before vs the state of the case and Severall letters or Copies of Letters w^{ch} past betweene them vpon that acc^t, Wee finde in one of her letters Dated 17 1^{mo} 168½ in ansuare to his of the 2^d of the same Month (wherein he mannefested his great dissattisfaction desireing her answare to it), the following words viz. :—

“Thou desires me to consider well of it and giue thee my answeare w^{ch} is as ffollowes, my loue & respect and hon^r is such vnto thee & for thee, that what Euer I Suffer for want of the Enjoym^t of [thy company *erased*] thee, Ile bring no reflection vpon thee, nor blame thee, neither will I put thee vpon anything that thee art not freely willing to doe, whatsoeuer I suffer in my selfe.” In w^{ch} wordes the Major p^t of vs cannot perceiue but vpon the consideraçon of the whole matter in all its Circumstances since the matter hath so long depended and she hath not Cleard him, that he is Cleare from her, and accordingly a letter is to be written to the sayd Isabell, to be directed to W^m Mead to giue intimation hereof ; the sayd letter to be signed by as many of vs the Meeting aforesayd as agreed therevnto who are as ffolloweth :

Thomas Campion	John Fennell
Jasper Tregoes	Rich ^d Brocklesby
John Haman	Thomas Alley
Samuel Tauernor	Thomas Devonsher
George Baker	Richard Berry
William Edwards	Phillip Popplestone
George Deeble	

It appears, therefore, that seven persons present did not take this view of Francis Rogers' withdrawal “without honour” from the engagements he had made, and this is scarcely surprising in view of Isabel's letter.

I have not ascertained if the lady he had in view, Katherine Dowlen, of Youghal (with whom, about a month later, he “passed the meeting,” and was married to her 8 January, 1685) was wealthy or not. He himself undoubtedly had means, and was not infrequently called upon to advance money for the use of the Meeting until subscriptions came in at the next meeting. By his third wife he had five children, several of whom died young. He removed to Bristol from Cork and there died.

Isabel Yeamans married, secondly, in 1689, Abraham Morrice, of Lincoln, a widower ; they both died in 1704.

CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH.

Certificate granted to Daniel Wheeler, Jun., by Emperor Nicholas J., 1840¹

I HAVE learned from your letter transmitted to me by the Councillor of state Mr. Djunkovsky your desire to retire from the direction of the operation of drainage and cultivation of the environs of St. Petersburg, which you as well as your late father and brothers have continued with full success and great utility to this country during the period of 23 years.²

However painful it is to me to hear of your determination, yet having considered the reasons brought forward by you for joining the remnant of your family and for endeavouring to prolong its endangered existence,³ I had the happiness of laying before the Emperor your wish, and of presenting to Him your letter.

His Imperial Majesty has been most graciously pleased to allow you to withdraw from your appointment, and as it is contrary to the usage of the religious society of Friends to which you belong to accept of the decorations usually bestowed as tokens of the Imperial satisfaction, the Emperor has ordered that this Certificate should be given to you with the expression of the Imperial approbation and acknowledgement of your zealous and faithful service and of the honesty and devotedness with which you and your family have fulfilled your obligations, and of His Majesty's estimation of the benefit, which your exertions have produced to the agriculture of this Country.

I may farther inform you that His Imperial Majesty has on your recommendation most graciously appointed

¹ This document has been presented recently to D. by William Stephens and Helen Bright Clark. (Margaret Priestman, aunt of Helen B. Clark, married Daniel Wheeler in 1846, and married secondly Arthur Tanner in 1855.)

² See *Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler*, 1842.

³ For letters referring to the ill-health of the Wheeler family while they were resident in Russia, see THE JOURNAL x. 64.

your present Assistant John Müller in your stead, and according to your desire the English overseer of the Okhta farm will receive an additional salary of 1,000 roubles ass per ann. :—Moreover the Emperor as a testimonial of the useful services rendered to this country by you and by your family and in compliance with the desire expressed by you, has been graciously pleased to order: that the inclosed space of ground, situated in the private domains of the Emperor in the Tsarsko-Selo district, in which your late mother and sister were interred, should from this present time for ever be called the Burying ground of the Society of Friends and used as such.⁴ This Imperial order has been communicated to the competent authorities and to the British Consul.

I feel a real pleasure in transmitting to you these undoubted proofs of the Imperial good will and I hope that even in your absense you will not refuse to communicate to your successor any information he may require and in case [of] your ever returning for a time to Russia that you will not fail to visit our Establishment for the drainage and Cultivation of boggy lands nor withhold at the same time any advice which your long experience may enable you to give.

⁴ This is a piece of ground situated in the Zarsko Selsky district, within the private property of the Emperor of Russia, about ten miles from the centre of Petrograd in the grounds of the Shusharsky Farm.

In 1890 a certificate was procured from the Department of Appanages and Domains, from the translation of which certificate the above particulars are extracted.

The plot was granted by the Emperor of Russia on the 15th of September, 1840, in accordance with the wish of Daniel Wheeler, to be from that time a cemetery for the Society of Friends forever.

From the plan made in 1890 for the Meeting for Sufferings, when, on the suggestion of the late Thomas William Marsh, the Meeting ordered the repair of the burial ground walls, etc. (which work was carried out the following year at a cost of £34), it appears that there are two graves. On the headstone, placed four feet from the two "sarcophagi," is the following inscription—"Here rest the remains of Jane, wife of Daniel Wheeler, born A.D. 1773, died 1832, also of Jane, daughter of the above, born A.D. 1816, died 1837." One of the sarcophagi bears the inscription, "Jane Wheeler, died 1832"; the other "Jane Wheeler died 1837."

In First Month, 1915, the Meeting for Sufferings recorded the presentation by William Stephens and Helen Bright Clark, of Street, of the original Deed of Gift of the above-named burial ground, signed on behalf of the Emperor Nicholas I. by Prince Alexander Galitzin, under date 20th of September, 1840.

In conclusion I have only to express my wish that our Almighty and All merciful Lord Jesus Christ may pour out upon you His grace and if this be His Divine Will, that the health of your family may be restored.

Done in St. Petersburg the 30th of September 1840.
Of His Imperial Majesty
my most gracious Sovereign, Actual
Privy Councillor, High Chancellor
of all the Imperial orders, Post
Master General, Member of the
Council of the Empire, Senator,
Knight Grand Cross, &c., &c.

PRINCE ALEXANDER GALITZIN.

Imperial Councillor of State and
Director of the Prince's Chancery
Alexander Djunkovsky.

To Daniel Wheeler, Esq.,
of the Society of Friends in England.

George Fox to Elizabeth Hearbey, 1687¹

Edmuntun y^e 13 : 4 : mo :
1687.

Dear ffriend Eliz : Hearbey,²

J Received thy Letter dat: 6 : 4 : mo, 87 : And J was glad to hear these tender Lines from thee, & my desires are that thou may be p^rserved in y^e wisdome of God & humillity & J am glad thy Letter was stopt that thou shewed me privately at Benj: Antrobuses Chamber,

¹ This letter was catalogued for sale at Christie's in April, 1913, as part of the library of the late Sir Joseph C. Dimsdale, Bart. With five other Quaker MSS. it was withdrawn before the sale, and the six documents have since been presented to D. by the Dowager Lady Dimsdale. The letter is not in the handwriting of George Fox, but has every appearance of being an original. Fox frequently employed an amanuensis.

² The name Elizabeth Hearbey has not been found among the records in D. It has been suggested that "Hearbey" is an early form of "Harvey." From the registers it is evident that a family of Harveys was living at Saffron Walden at the time; Isaac, son of John and Elizabeth, was born in 1688.

for itt might have been a hurt to thyself if it had gone abroad, ffor J understood by some Antient ffriends in y^e Ministry & such as were Mothers; Last when thou was at London thou was a Little too Long in thy testimony & thee must Consider when soe many Antient friends were gathered from all parts of y^e Nation w^{ch} were as ffathers and Mothers & in Christ Long before thee it is good at such times to be swift to hear & slow to speak, for thou must Consider y^t before such thou art but as a Babe in X^t & J pceive that some did give thee some hints when thou were exhorting y^m to y^e Antient truth, that they did tell thee after that they were Established in itt from y^e Beginning & have stood pillows in itt, not that J would have thee to neglecte thy gift, or to quench any good thing or to hide thy tallent or thy Candle under a Bushell but to bee nursed up & Cherished in thy Measure of y^e Grace of y^e word of Life, but in such a great Assembly to take up such a great deal of time Especially in such a great womens Meeting where they have such a Care of Many widows & ffatherless upon them & to practice y^t true Religion in y^e Love of God y^t Beareth all things, & in doeing good & Co^municateing w^{ch} is a Sacrifice well pleaseing to y^e Lord, and if the meeting were taken up with much exhorting it would have hindered y^e practiceing & Exerciseing of their Charity & to see that nothing doth want in all their particular womens meetings in Citty or County, and soe it doth not Lye only in saying well but he y^t doth good & well & this is my tender Care for thee that thou may bee preserved in y^e Love & spirit of God in unity in the ffamilly of God & bee settled upon y^e holy Rock & ffoundation X^t Jesus & grow up & bee Established in him who is the sanctuary & y^e Life in whom thou hast peace with God, Amen:


Remember mee to thy husband & all y^e Rest of friends in the Lord:

[Addressed]

G : F :

This
For Eliz : Hearbey
att Safforn wallden
Jn
Essex.

Bristol Refuge Society

UR Friend Wilfrid Grace, who is Treasurer of the Bristol [Female] Refuge Society, has sent us a copy of the Centenary Report, which contains interesting particulars regarding the foundation of the Society in 1814.

The foundress, Mary Milgrove, was admitted into membership in 1815, but left the Society, by her own wish, in 1835. From 1814 until her death in 1856, at the age of 91, she was the "honoured and beloved" matron at the Refuge, No. 6, Lower Castle Street, Bristol.

Richard Reynolds, the philanthropist, was the first Treasurer of the Society, and his son Joseph filled the office for over thirty-four years. The interest of the Society of Friends in the undertaking was by no means local, for it is evident from the first annual report that the financial support of Friends in various parts of the country was generously given to the Institution.¹ The Committee has issued a facsimile reproduction of the first annual report² in connection with the centenary celebration; probably no one but an expert could detect that this is a reprint.

¹ As proof that the subject of helping the "fallen" was much on the minds of Friends, it is interesting to note that about the same time an unsigned letter, supposed to be by Thomas Sturge, of London, was issued to Friends generally. It is headed "The Attention of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, is respectfully solicited to the following Remarks." Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, one sheet quarto, n.d. There are two copies in D.

After referring to work which had been done among unfortunate women from 10th month, 1812, to 3rd month, 1814, an appeal is made for a larger income, closing with the paragraph—"Thus, then, dear Friends, let not us, who cannot unite with our countrymen in missions to the East and the West, be backward in endeavouring to make use of every exertion to restore to society and to virtue this most wretched part of the Community. . . ."

² Copies may be had, gratis, on application to Wilfrid Grace, 9, Redland Green, Bristol.

The following extracts from the Bristol minute books have been supplied by Wilfrid Grace, and are interesting in connection with the resignation of Mary Milgrove.

FIRST MONTH 6TH, 1835.—A letter, of which the following is a copy, is received from Mary Milgrove. Gawen Ball and Jacob P. Sturge are appointed with two friends to be appointed by the Womens Meeting to visit her thereon and report.

“ To the Bristol Monthly Meeting of Friends.

“ Dear Friends,

“ I can truly say that it is in the way of the cross that I now address you ; but as I have for more than two years, not been easy to attend Friends Meetings, and have lately frequented another place of worship, it becomes needful for me (however painful) to resign my membership with you ; which I now do, desiring most sincerely for you an increase of every gospel blessing in and through our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ 11 mo. 25, 1834.

MARY MILGROVE.”

SECOND MONTH 3RD, 1835.—[Summary of the 4th Minute].—The Friends appointed reported that :

Mary Milgrove declined to enter into a discussion of her reasons for resignation, but had committed them to writing and placed them in a sealed envelope addressed to the Monthly Meeting. The Friends informed her that it was the “ usual course to submit letters to judicious friends to decide on the expediency of reading them. It was not desirable to bring controversial points before the meeting.” They did not discuss the matter further with her, but forwarded her sealed letter³ to the Monthly Meeting. The Meeting declined to read the letter.

SECOND MONTH 3RD, 1835.—5th Minute.—Upon serious consideration of the case of Mary Milgrove, and of the report of the friends who visited her, this Meeting thinks it right to accept her resignation of membership ; affectionately wishing her grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. The Friends on the appointment are requested to inform her thereof.

³ Many Friend readers will remember how, in their childhood, the Clerk of a Meeting would sometimes announce that he had a sealed letter. Whereupon two Friends of weight were appointed to take the letter out of Meeting, open it, and on their return report whether it was suitable to be read.

Comments on "Military History"

I AM asked by the Editor of THE JOURNAL to make some comments on certain passages in J. W. Fortescue's "Military History."¹ On page 11 we read :

You know that late in the seventeenth century a company of worthy and excellent men formed the settlement of Pennsylvania in North America. They were members of the Society of Friends, who would have nothing to do with war, and consequently bought their lands from the Indians instead of taking them by force or fraud. Frugal, thrifty and industrious, they soon grew wealthy, and extended their borders further and further, until they came into collision with other tribes of Indians, who one day fell upon the outlying settlers with fire and sword. In utter dismay the sufferers appealed to the Government of the province for protection ; but the Colonial Assembly would not do violence to their tenets and ignored the appeal, leaving their unhappy and inoffensive frontiersmen to be massacred. At length, goaded to desperation, the settlers came down to Philadelphia with their arms in their hands, and threatened violence unless the Assembly voted money for supply of ammunition, and other measures of defence, forthwith. Thereupon the Assembly yielded, but still they would not openly pass a vote for the purchase of gunpowder. To save their conscience they voted money only for the purchase of corn or *other grain*, which, as gunpowder is made up of grains, was sufficient warrant for the acquisition of the necessary but unspeakable article. To such contemptible subterfuge are men driven who refuse to face facts.

This statement is very misleading. It was not other tribes of Indians which made the trouble, but other tribes of white men, who had come to the Quaker Province and abandoned the Quaker methods. The Friends lived in the south-eastern corner. The other settlers were the Germans, who got along very well with the Indians, and the Presbyterians from Ulster, commonly called Scotch-Irish. These exasperated the Indians by their pugnacious intolerance. " Why should the Indians have land which Christians want ? " they demanded.

" The settlers that came down to Philadelphia " were a company of these militants, who had just lynched some

¹ *Military History*. Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Cambridge University Press, pp. 207, 6½ by 5, 1s. net.

twenty peaceable Indians at Lancaster, and proposed to treat a group of Moravian Indians, then in Philadelphia, in the same way. The Philadelphians, including some 200 Friends, rose in arms, and the expedition went back without a fight and without accomplishing any other object than extorting from John Penn, grandson of the Founder, and not a Friend, a promise to offer a reward for male and female Indian scalps.

The incident, related by Franklin, of the purchase of gunpowder referred to a different transaction about twenty years before. The Province was asked by England to aid in a military attack upon the French fort at Louisburg on Cape Breton. The Quaker Assembly refused, on the ground that "The peaceable principle professed by divers members of the Assembly do not permit them to join in raising of men or providing arms and ammunition." They, however, appropriated £4,000 for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain." The Governor, not a Friend, on his own responsibility said that "other grain" meant gunpowder, and so expended the money.

Again, on page 105 :—

The pious Quakers of Pennsylvania and Rhode Island used to finance pirates, who at one time nearly swept our East Indian trade off the seas.

There were pirate ships that went out from Philadelphia and from Rhode Island about the year 1700, and returned with spoils. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Friends had nothing to do with financing them. I am sure that if any individual Friends had done so, they would have received the censure of their Monthly Meetings, and the fact would have appeared on the minutes. I never saw or heard anything of the kind.


Haverford College,
Pennsylvania.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

Margaret Pike was expressing her high approval of women speaking in meeting and in public where it appeared desirable. Jonathan Pike remarked : " Well, Aunt, thou knows Paul was not of that opinion." She replied with alacrity : " But thou knows Paul was not a Friend."

From THOS. HY. WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories*.

Obituaries

AVID S. TABER, whose death occurred in his seventy-fifth year on the last day of 1914, has acted as the New York agent for THE JOURNAL since the formation of the Historical Society in 1903. His kind help in this connection, and also in procuring American books for the Reference Library, will be much missed.

He was the son of William C. and Hannah Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., but went to New York before he was twenty-one years of age. For the rest of his life he was, both in his relation with Friends and commercial affairs, a New York man. He was in earlier years a partner in the firm of Augustus Taber and Brother, marble importers, but subsequently he joined the well-known house of William H. Wood & Co., Medical Publishers. He married William H. Wood's sister, Elizabeth, daughter of William and Mary S. Wood, of New York. Akin to his work as a publisher was that of the Friends' Book and Tract Depôt, New York. He was Chairman of the Committee of Management, and took a great interest in the distribution of Quaker literature. This was but one of his many interests, for he was closely identified with the church work of New York Yearly Meeting, and to him Friends and others from all quarters turned for help and counsel. One of his colleagues writes of him: "Careful, painstaking, earnest, cheerful, sympathetic, David S. Taber was an inspiration to us all." Vigorous to the last, he went to his office for the last time the day before his death. He was well known to many English Friends who have met him on this side of the Atlantic, and to still more who enjoyed his warm welcome and generous hospitality on the other side. Of his parents' eleven children who grew up and all married, but two or three survive. His sister, Susan Taber Thompson, wife of William Thompson, of New Bedford, Mass., has, with her husband, paid many visits to this country.

New York Monthly Meeting of Friends, rightly following in this case a time-honoured practice, issued a "Testimony," from which the following is extracted :

For many years he has been a devoted member of this Meeting, active on many Committees, holding positions of the highest responsibility and performing the duties pertaining to them with marked efficiency. A man of unusual intellect, he was able to serve the Society of Friends not only in this country but elsewhere, as a source of knowledge of Friends' literature ancient and modern.

[See issues of *The Friend* of 29th of First Month, 5th of Second Month, and of *The American Friend*, 28th of First Month, and 25th of Second Month, 1915.]

By the decease of CHARLES W. DYMOND (1832-1915) the Friends Historical Society has lost a stalwart supporter, and the Society of Friends an original writer and thinker. He was the nephew of Jonathan Dymond, the linen draper essayist of Exeter, in which city he also was born.

He was by profession an engineer, and when the writer first knew him in the late sixties, was engaged on that portion of the Great Western system then known as the Bristol and Exeter Railway. "What do you think of the new engineer?" an old hand was asked. The reply in effect was: "We don't quite make him out; he never swears at anyone." He himself, in dealing with workmen, differentiated between the workmen he ordered to perform certain work and those to whom he carefully explained what he required. As an engineer he was probably unsurpassed in the scrupulous exactness of his work, subjecting his surveyor's chain to a daily test, and even making allowance for stretching in the later measurements each day, especially when working on rough land.

His extra-professional interests were of two kinds, antiquarian and philosophical. To his antiquarian labours he brought the same exactness of detail that distinguished his engineering. Drawings of druidical and other remains at Stanton Drew and Worlebury in Somerset, of cromlechs or dolmens in Devon and Cornwall, were made to scale, and with an extraordinary delicacy of detail. As he showed his illustrations he would remark,

“ Not the highest style of the art.” Nevertheless, he used to work at times with his pen in one hand and magnifying glass in the other, as he put in the minutiae of his drawing.

His philosophical bent and general interests came out in his writings, the subjects of a few of which may be mentioned here as evidence of the versatility of his mentality. Sanitary Memoranda, 1884 ; Ancient Remains at Stanton Drew, 1896 ; Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold, 1902 ; A Key to the Theory of Linear Perspective, 1910 ; Symbolism, a Lecture, 1886 ; Modern Spiritualism, 1895 ; Memoir, Letters and Poems of Jonathan Dymond, 1907 and 1911 ; a Sketch of the History, Doctrines and Practices of the Religious Society of Friends ; A Synopsis of the Theosophy and Theology of Emanuel Swedenborg (the two last with other papers in MS. only).

In his later life Charles W. Dymond retired to a quiet home in the English Lake district, enjoying to the last the beauty of the scenery of fell and tarn, his retreat favouring the meditations of the philosopher. His courteous manner, genial disposition, and sense of humour added a charm to his intellectual gifts.

ISAAC SHARP.

Friends and the Indians

IN a paper read by Emma Taylor Lamborn, at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of London Grove Friends' Meeting, Pa., 1914,¹ we read concerning Robert Lamborn, who married Sarah Swayne in 1722 :

“ Here was his settlement in early life, early in the cultivation of the wilds of America, as it were on the margin of civilized society. The Indian natives were his nearest neighbors, and his most frequent visitants, of whom my grandfather spoke in high favor of their veracity, hospitality, and social intercourse, all in the

¹ The paper has the heading : “ The Record of an Early Settler in America ” ; it appears with others in the printed records of the bi-centennial celebration at London Grove Meeting House, Pa., 3rd of Tenth Month, 1914 (copy in D.).

greatest harmony and confidence. Their customs were then, as has been their practice since, in their native state, to depend on the chase in the forest for their sustenance and supply of their provisions and clothing.

“ And in their excursions, frequently wet, cold and weary and oftentimes at night, and perhaps almost all hours of the night, they would use the freedom to open the door, rouse up the fire, cook, roast or broil of their venison, regale themselves and then stretch down on the floor, feet to the fire, and were frequently found by the old patriarch, my grandfather, in the morning, sometimes to the number of eight or ten.

“ What native sociability, no fears on either side, all friendship and a benevolent disposition cherished in the fullest confidence to comfort and oblige one another ! If only one was lucky, all shared alike in the remainder of the game, as they frequently took a part with them for present need and left the rest, suspended on a sapling bent downward. Ofttimes Lobat’s horse (Lobat being their name for Robert) must go for the venison, but Lobat was sure to obtain his share with them, freely given, and sometimes, ‘ you Lobat, go bring Indian venison, Indian tired. Go bring ’im up such a run, creek or in yonder hill or valley, find ’im.’

“ Once an Indian asked Robert to go with him and he would show him the best land in the world. He took him to where the city of Lancaster now stands. But Robert did not like the situation, it being too far from Philadelphia. On their return the Indian was taken sick and Robert was his doctor. The Indian’s name was Tom. Sometime after, Tom said : ‘ Bob, when you trace lands with an Indian again, do not walk in front of him, as you did with me. I drew my tomahawk different times to strike you, but something told me not to do it, or you would have been killed.’ ”

James White, headmaster of Ballytore School, was known for his powers of apposite quotation. Once at the dinner table, stirring soup with a ladle in search of solid pieces of meat, he was heard solemnly to murmur : “ Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,” quoting a line from the shipwreck in the first book of Virgil : “ Few appear swimming in the vast deep.”—From THOS. HY. WEBB’S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories*.

Reminiscences of William Forster and Stephen Grellet

AT London Yearly Meeting, in 1845, an epistle received from Indiana Yearly Meeting referred to a separation which had taken place in that body on account of a diversity of sentiment which had arisen among them on the right course of proceeding in regard to anti-slavery efforts.

After serious and deliberate consideration, the Meeting united in an earnest and affectionate appeal to those who had withdrawn from the Indiana Yearly Meeting, and a delegation consisting of William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen, was appointed to be the bearers of the Address, and for such labour in the love of the Gospel as the way might open for.

This delegation reached New York in the Ninth Month of that year (1845). From there they went to Burlington, N.J., to visit their ancient friend Stephen Grellet, and there, according to arrangement, I met them and accompanied them to Philadelphia. It is probable that all of these Friends had met before, but the pleasure of meeting again was most marked in William Forster and Stephen Grellet, who had known each other in sympathy and service in lands beyond the sea.

It was a most grateful privilege which I enjoyed of sitting with them at dinner, where we were joined by Stephen Grellet's wife, Rebecca Grellet, and listening to their very interesting and instructive conversation. Stephen Grellet was particularly entertaining, and related a number of remarkable incidents of his journey, made in company with William Allen, in Russia, Turkey and elsewhere, in 1818.

It was late in the afternoon before we left to take the steamboat on the Delaware for Philadelphia. Stephen Grellet accompanied the party to the wharf, and I remember that, as the boat pushed out into the stream, he took off his hat and waved us an adieu.

Arrived at Philadelphia, we were met by Marmaduke C. Cope,¹ who took charge of George Stacey and John Allen, who were to make their home with him, whilst I accompanied William and Josiah Forster to the house of Hannah Paul, widow of John Paul,² who had invited them to make her house their home while in Philadelphia.

After a few days spent in Philadelphia, these Friends took their way westward, *via* Baltimore. It fell to my lot to accompany them to the railroad station and to see after the checking of their luggage, which consisted of *thirty-two* pieces (not trunks, but valises, bundles and packages). When William Forster was in this country (1820-1825) he travelled in many of the newly and thinly settled parts of the west, where many of the Friends dwelt in log or sod houses of very limited capacity, lacking much in the essentials of comfort and convenience—and in memory of these conditions, and not taking into account the many changes which had taken place in the lapse of twenty years, he had brought with him from England a number of articles necessary for domestic comfort, a couple of pillows, several changes of sheets and pillow slips, towels, etc. The luggage of Josiah Forster, besides personal clothing, was largely made up of packages, Bibles, and other books and pamphlets for distribution.

The Friends stopped long enough at Richmond, Indiana, to attend the Yearly Meeting and to acquaint themselves with the location and circumstances of most of those who were the objects of their mission. In this arduous service the delegation spent about seven months, visiting the disaffected Meetings and communities scattered through the States of Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. On their return to England they made a written report to London Yearly Meeting in the Fourth Month of 1846, in which they modestly state:—"We offer no remarks as to the results of this work of faith and labour of love,

¹ The residence of Marmaduke C. Cope and his wife, Sarah W. Cope, had long been known for its hospitality to Ministering Friends. It was under their roof that John Pease, Benjamin Seebohm, William Robinson, Stanley Pumphrey and others had made their homes while in Philadelphia.

² John Paul, an Elder of the North Meeting in Philadelphia, had accompanied William Forster during a large portion of his religious visit in this country (1820-1825).

committing all to the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom alone it rests to carry out the exercises of the Church for the promotion of His own cause."

Notwithstanding that the committee refrained from taking any credit for what had been accomplished, it is a matter of record that those separate Meetings, of which there were about thirty, were one by one disbanded, and the individuals composing them, with but very few exceptions, returned to their allegiance to Indiana Yearly Meeting. In speaking of this happy result, a member of the delegation said that, while each did his part, in so far as the way opened, for the recovery of those who had separated from their Friends, it was the kindly spirit and gentleness of William Forster that won them back.

In tearful tenderness a child,
A strong man in the right.

On their way homeward the members of the delegation stopped for some days in Philadelphia and attended the Yearly Meeting.

The personal appearance of these Friends is daguerreotyped on my memory. William Forster occupied a seat at the head of the Meeting on the left of the assistant clerk, the same seat which had been occupied in previous years by Jonathan Backhouse, Daniel Wheeler, Joseph John Gurney, John Pease, and Benjamin Seebohm. William Forster was somewhat heavy in person—large head with broad forehead, and a quiet expression of intelligence. As he sat there he seemed to be a motionless figure. For an hour or more I do not think he changed his position in the slightest degree. In striking contrast was his brother Josiah,³ who never seemed to be quite at rest. He gave close attention to all the proceedings, and not infrequently asked questions for further information, or made suggestions to which the clerk or other members courteously responded, and thus he was often the means of increasing the interest and animation of the Meeting.

William Forster spoke but twice during the week, and on one of these occasions, during the consideration of the state of the Society, he made a somewhat lengthy address

³ A Frenchman who had forgotten Josiah Forster's name described him as Monsieur "toujours courant." [Eds.]

which was taken down very nearly in full by a young member, who sent a copy of it to England, where it was reproduced by his biographer.⁴

The Second Delegation

In the year 1849, London Yearly Meeting issued an Address to Sovereigns and others in authority in the nations of Europe, and in other parts of the world, on the cruelty and wickedness of the Slave Trade and Slavery. William Forster, who had the largest share in the preparation of this Address, was also engaged in presenting it at many of the European Courts.

At the Yearly Meeting in London in 1853, it was felt that the time had come for the presentation of this Address to those in authority in the United States, and this important service devolved upon William Forster, Josiah Forster, John Candler, and William Holmes.

In the Ninth Month following, the delegation sailed for Boston, and from thence went to Philadelphia, calling at Burlington, as the delegation seven years previously had done, to see their beloved Stephen Grellet and others.

At Philadelphia the Forster brothers made their home at the house of Thomas Evans (their former hostess, Hannah Paul, being then deceased). John Candler and William Holmes lodged with Marmaduke C. Cope. William and Josiah Forster left the city for a day or so to make a short visit to their friend Thomas Wistar, Jun., at Abington, where M. C. Cope and I found them on the First-day following, and with them attended the Abington Meeting, where William Forster was largely engaged in the ministry, very much to the satisfaction and edification of the small company there assembled. We dined together at "Hilton," the former residence of the late venerable Thomas Wistar, Sen. After dinner, William Forster, taking me by the arm, asked me to have a little walk with him. We strolled together along a winding path through a grove of ancient trees. The converse of that half-hour has a cherished place in my memory. Stopping under a great mossy-cup oak tree beneath which the ground was strewn with acorns, he picked up some of them, and remarking on the curious

⁴ *Life of William Forster*, by Benjamin Seebohm, Vol. II. pp. 207-209.

mossy covering on the lip of the cup, he put a number of them into his coat pocket, saying that he would take them with him to plant in his garden in England. Dear man ! That home and that garden, and the dear companion whom he had left behind, and who was looking with anxiety for every line which came from his hand, he was never again to see.

We returned that day to Philadelphia, and on the day following the delegation set out upon their mission. They stopped at Washington and called upon the President, who received them with much cordiality, and from thence they entered upon the delicate purpose of their mission. They visited most of the governors of the Southern States, and also the governors of some of the States in the North. There was much excitement at this time in regard to slavery throughout the country, and much bitterness between the North and the South, and there was no little solicitude on the part of the friends of the English deputation lest they should meet with some ill-treatment ; but they were so circumspect in all their movements and conversation that, with very little exception, they were received with great kindness and courtesy ; every opportunity was afforded them to present the Address, and much freedom was enjoyed in an interchange of views.

In the early part of the year 1854, having very nearly completed what they had in prospect, they reached Tennessee, where William Forster was taken so ill that it became evident that they could proceed no further. In much discomfort and rapidly failing strength he continued for about two weeks, when, in great tranquillity, the end came, 24th of First Month, 1854.

Under a mound in the secluded gravegard by the little Meeting House at Friendsville, now rests all that was mortal of William Forster.

O friend ! O brother ! Not in vain
Thy life so calm and true,
The silver dropping of the rain,
The fall of summer dew !

How many burdened hearts have prayed
Their lives like thine might be !
But more shall pray henceforth for aid
To lay them down like thee.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

JOSHUA L. BAILY.

The Quaker and the Church Rates—Silent Friends¹

“Some years ago in Boscawen Street, Truro, on the spot where Messrs. James & Sons’ establishment now stands, a Mr. Benjamin Wilkey² kept a grocer’s shop. He was a Friend who, like many of his brethren, conscientiously objected to paying church rates, and annually allowed his goods to be distrained. Having, however, a good eye to business, he never permitted his grocery stock to be interfered with, but by an agreement with the collector of the rate, an old clock which hung up in a lumber room was taken, and Mr. Wilkey would then at once re-purchase the clock for the exact amount of the rate, thus easily satisfying the scruples of his conscience and the church rate collector.”

“Mr. Zaccheus Prater, commonly called Mr. Key Prater, was, next to Mr. Wilkey, considered to be the most silent and reserved man in Truro.³ These two gentlemen were great friends, and although continually walking about together, were never by any chance observed to address each other. It used to be related that they walked to Perranzabuloe, partook of two glasses of beer, and returned to Truro, without either of them speaking a single word.”

[*One and All*, a Cornish monthly illustrated journal newsletter and record of local history. Penzance, March, 1869. Eleven numbers only, May, 1868, to March, 1869; the last number was not printed or offered for sale.]

¹ Contributed by George Cecil Dymond, of Birkenhead.

² In 1756, there lived at Callington, a small town in East Cornwall, eight-and-a-half miles from Liskeard, two members of the Society of Friends named Edward and Mary Wilkey. Their son, John Wilkey, who appears first to have settled at Liskeard in the neighbourhood of the parental home, and afterwards at Truro, married, January 26, 1756, at Looe, Sarah Edey, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Edey of that town. The family of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Edey, who were members of the Society of Friends, consisted of ten children, of whom Sarah was the seventh. She was born at Looe, May 18, 1735, and married John Wilkey at the age of twenty-one years.

Benjamin Wilkey, born at Liskeard, December 27, 1759, about whom the above anecdotes are told, was their son. One does not nowadays quite understand the frame of mind which was satisfied with such a subterfuge as that related, but it was probably a case in which B.W. had no strong feeling about church rates himself, but was in favour of “discipline.”

Benjamin Wilkey died, unmarried, at his residence in Boscawen Street, Truro, on January 8, 1825, aged sixty-five, having retired from business some years previously. “On the morning of the day on which he died, he was as well as usual, and had taken his accustomed walk. In the afternoon he went to a small workshop, which he had fitted up for his amusement, and was shortly afterwards found there quite insensible. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but every effort to restore animation proved unavailing.” [*West Briton*, Truro, January 14, 1825.]

³ The story of a preference for silent companionship is quite consistent with, though perhaps an extreme instance of, that sobriety of manner, and reserve of speech, which is often characteristic of members of the Society of Friends.

William Hobson, of Markfield, Tottenham [1752:1840], the Quaker Builder of the Martello Towers, etc.

WILLIAM HOBSON, of Markfield, Tottenham, was born 9th November, 1752. He married Ann Rickman, and died at Markfield, Stamford Hill, 23 May, 1840, aged eighty-seven. He it was who built the famous Martello Towers on the southern and eastern coasts as a defence against French invasion. They were so called because at Mortella Point in Corsica, a small round tower withstood an immense cannonade from an English fleet under Lord Hood in 1794.

These towers, many of which still remain, especially upon the Kent coast, are about forty feet in height, are situated upon the beach, and are of very solid construction.

William Hobson also built the London Docks and St. Luke's Hospital. He was a clever, handsome man, and died very rich. He had no less than twelve sons-in-law, by all of whom he was greatly admired, which goes to show that he was a man of superior endowments.

William Hobson was buried at the old parish church of All Saints, Tottenham, when some twelve mourning coaches and seventeen private carriages followed the remains down Stamford Hill to Tottenham.

William Hobson was certainly only a nominal Quaker, as he had a box at the opera, and a billiard table at Markfield, in his day considered inconsistent with Friends' principles. He was also fond of sport, keeping hunters in his stable, and is mentioned as hunting in Surrey by Robert Smith Surtees [1803-1864], the sporting novelist, the creator of the inimitable "John Jorrocks."

William Hobson is said to have been upon friendly terms with George III., who wished him to accept a baronetcy, but he had enough of the Quaker in him to refuse that honour.

A bust of William Hobson has been presented to the Brassey Institute at Hastings by his grand-daughter,

Mrs. Ellen Oliver, the widow of the Rev. William Oliver, and daughter of John Austin, of a West country family, by his wife Ellen Hobson. Mrs. Oliver died 26 April, 1906, in her eighty-seventh year, and she, who remembered her grandfather's funeral at Tottenham in 1840, supplied most of this information to her son-in-law, Richard F. Ball, of Theydon Copt, Epping (a great-nephew of the late William Ball), and who communicated it to the present writer.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Richard F. Ball, since seeing the foregoing in type, has forwarded much additional information, from which the following is gleaned.

From particulars in the possession of descendants, the paternal ancestry of William Hobson appears to be traceable from Edward Hobson, of Skipsey [? Skipsea, Yorks], who married, 1664, Ann, daughter of ——— Pilkington, of the same place. Their son, Edward Hobson (Jun.), of Berley, Co. Derby, married, 1706, Lydia, daughter of William Pease, of Fishlake, Yorks. Their son Joshua Hobson [? of Southwark] married, 1750, Martha, daughter of George Holms of Horsham, Sussex. William Hobson of Markfield was a son of this marriage.

A pedigree in the possession of Norman Penney traces the paternal ancestry of Ann Rickman, William Hobson's wife, from John Rickman of Boreham, who married Margaret Edwards in 1680.

By the marriage of William Hobson and Ann, daughter of Caleb and Susannah Rickman, in 1779, there were sixteen children. In 1800, Southwark Monthly Meeting had noted that William Hobson "continues in the practice of paying tithes and encouraging diversions in his house," and in the following year, a formal statement by the offender that he considered it right to pay, in obedience to the law of the land, led to a testimony of disownment being issued against him. Two or three years later the family removed to Tottenham, and upon the question of a certificate for Ann Hobson and her family, a hindrance arose on the ground that she "encourages and approves of her children being taught the practice of music." Notwithstanding frequent "Visits" from Committees, she adhered to her views "on music and dancing at home," and consequently she was disowned in October, 1804. The three sons were disowned in 1803, two stating that they were connected with a military association of "Volunteers." Southwark M.M. forwarded certificates to Tottenham M.M. for the thirteen daughters; subsequently three were disowned for "marrying out," one resigned on her marriage, and nine were disowned for non-attendance at Meeting.

Stranger Friends visiting Scotland, 1650:1797

MOST of the following names are those of Ministering Friends; a few are definitely stated to have been “not publick.”

1650

There seems to be only one name on record, that of JAMES NAYLER. In the autumn of that year, after the battle of Dunbar, one of Cromwell's officers, riding in Scotland at the head of his troop, “observed at some distance from the road a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest.” A soldier who was sent to see what was the meaning of the gathering not returning, a second was despatched, and when he also failed to return, the officer himself rode up to the concourse. “When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself.”¹

1651-1654

For the next four years the records are scanty, and not a little vague. Referring to this period, John Barclay says, “Very soon, however, were the feet of several gospel messengers from England turned in this direction as CHRISTOPHER FELL [of Cumberland(?) in 1653²], GEORGE WILSON [of Cumberland], JOHN GRAVE, GEORGE ATKINSON [? Watkinson], SARAH CHEEVERS, KATHARINE EVANS.”³ The two last-named Friends were in Scotland in 1654.⁴ EDWARD BURROUGH was at Berwick-on-Tweed in April, 1654, “from which place,” writes William C. Braithwaite, “I fancy he may have gone into Scotland.” In that year also JAMES LANCASTER and MILES HALHEAD travelled in parts of Scotland,³ whilst JOHN BOWRON, of Yorkshire, journeyed in Scotland “soon after his convincement in 1653.” “At Edinburgh he preached to

the people as he went through the streets . . . and at the Cross." Some English soldiers were kind to him as he journeyed, "but the priests were in a rage against him, for he was a dread to them."⁵

1655

In 1655 and the two following years there was a wonderful influx of Quaker missionaries from the south.

JOHN BOWRON,⁶ WILLIAM CATON,⁶ RICHARD CLAYTON of Lancashire,⁶ CHRISTOPHER FELL,⁷ JOHN GRAVE, who this year had £4 9s. from the Swarthmoor Fund "at seuerall times for Scotland,"⁶ THOMAS HUTTON,⁶ RICHARD ISMAY (Ihmaide, Esmaid, etc.) had £2 this year from the Swarthmoor Fund, "at his goeing twice for Scotland."⁶ JAMES HARRISON,⁶ THOMAS HOLME and his wife ELIZABETH,⁶ JAMES LANCASTER,⁶ JAMES MOORE,⁷ JOSEPH NICHOLSON,⁷ THOMAS RAWLINSON received from the Swarthmoor Fund thirteen shillings "that he laide for friends in Scotland,"⁶ WILLIAM SIMPSON,⁶ JOHN SLEE,⁷ WILLIAM STOCKDALE of Ireland,⁶ JOHN STUBBS,⁶ THOMAS STUBBS,⁶ GEORGE WILSON received one pound from the Swarthmoor fund "for Scotland."⁶

1656

JOHN BOWRON travelled as far north as the Orkney Isles, taking shipping from Kirkwall for Barbadoes,⁹ MARGARET BRADLEY, to whom five shillings was paid from the Swarthmoor fund "as shee returned from Scotland in her journey towards Yorke,"¹⁰ WILLIAM CATON,¹¹ THOMAS CLIBBORN,¹² CHRISTOPHER FELL,¹² JOHN GILL.

William Stockdaill and John Gill with severall other freinds about Glasfoord being mett at Strathaven and keeping a meetting in the graveyard [6 x. 1656] wer by the rude and crwel multitud from thence expelled and stoned and some of their blood shedd by the multitude of persecutors.⁸ About this tyme [x. 1656] George Wilsone and the said John Gill being moved to goe to the steeplhous of Glasfoord wher George Wilsone did aske the preist a qwestione three tymes, but he uowld not ansswer, then Claud Mershell (called a constable) did lay hands on him and the rude multitud did assist him in stockeing and persecuting of them till some of George Wilsone his blood was Shedd.⁸

JOHN GRAVE was visiting Scotland with WILLIAM CATON in May of this year,¹³ JOHN HALL of Yorkshire, had money from the Swarthmoor fund for a horse, clothes,

etc., when he “ went into Scotland.”¹⁴ ANN HARGROVE,¹⁵ JOHN LANGSTAFF of Durham, and ALEXANDER PARKER of Lancashire,¹⁶ GEORGE REYNALDS,¹⁵ WILLIAM STOCKDALE.

William Stockdail and John bourane with some other freinds of truth journeying through a merkat towne called strathaven and declaring the Word of the Lord in the streets were by the inhabitants of the towne and some others crwelly beat with stones and abused with mire of the street [and] shamefully driven out of the towne about the sixt moneth.¹⁷

William Stockdale was a witness to the first Quaker marriage recorded in Scotland in the Tenth Month of this year. HUGH TICKELL “ has good service for the Lord ” at Heads, Douglas, Glasgow, Hamilton, Edinburgh, etc.¹⁸ JOHN WESTRAY of Cumberland,¹² GEORGE WILSON.⁸

1657.

CHRISTOPHER FELL (?), GEORGE FOX,¹⁹ E. GYBSON,²⁰ JOHN GRAVE,²⁰ THOMAS HOLME this year “ went againe for Scotlande,”²⁰ FRANCIS HOWGILL,²¹ ROBERT HUNTINGTON of Carlisle (?),²⁰ RICHARD ESMAID, (probably Ismay) in the Fifth Month of this year was put in the stocks at the Castle of Glasfoord and imprisoned at Hamilton for preaching in Glasfoord steeplehouse, and three months later he was again put in the stocks, gagged, and imprisoned “ for declaireing the Word of the Lord to the people ” on Hamilton Green, the Constable sending “ for the preists fetter Locke to Locke the stockes withall.”⁸ JAMES LANCASTER,²⁰ ALEXANDER PARKER,²⁰ RICHARD PINDER was moved in Fourth Month to go to Kilbride steeple house and speak to the people and was forthwith carried off by the constables and imprisoned at Ruglane, “ where he could scarcely get any strae to lye wpon.” He was then set in “ the stockes at Kilbrid steephous the space of five howres,” and afterwards “ carried from constable to constable furth of Scotland into ingland.”⁸ THOMAS RAWLINSON,²⁰ THOMAS ROBERTSON,²⁰ WILLIAM STOCKDALE in Second Month of this year and other friends were “ apprehended as vagabounds,” and passed on from constable to constable “ till they came to James Campbell of Cesnock, who after examinatione and threatening dismissed ” them.⁸ ROBERT WIDDERS went to a

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steeple house at New Monklands and many other places directing the people to the word of God in their hearts.²² GEORGE WILSON, suffered with other Friends in the West of Scotland, in Sixth Month two Scottish Friends were imprisoned for entertaining him at their houses.⁸

1658

JOHN BURNYEAT of Cumberland, afterwards of Dublin, writes:

About the beginning of the eighth month, I took my journey into Scotland and travelled in that nation about three months; and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and so down west to Lithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Portpatrick; and back to Ayr and Douglas. And our service was at their steeple-houses and markets and other places . . . and sometimes at Friends' meetings where there were any . . . we returned into England and came over the water to Bowstead hill, the first day of the eleventh month.²³

WILLIAM DEWSBURY "alarms" sundry at Aberdeen, when he with other Friends "came thorough this Nation sounding forth the day of the Lord,"²⁴ SAMUEL THORNTON,²⁵ GEORGE ATKINSON (probably Watkinson) joined Dewsbury at Leith in September and travelled North with him.²⁵

1659

JOHN BOWRON,²⁶ STEPHEN CRISP of Colchester, writes:

I got into Scotland in the 9th month . . . I travelled to & fro that winter on foot with cheerfulness. Many straits & difficulties attended me . . . & it being the time of the motion of the English & Scottish armies upon which succeeded the revolution of Government & the bringing back of King Charles 2nd.²⁷

1659-1669

I have found no records of the visits of Stranger Friends between 1659 and 1669, except that of WILLIAM DEWSBURY in 1662,²⁸ but, in addition, very probably there may have been visits from some of the following Friends who are said to have been in Scotland, some of them several times, though no dates are given:— THOMAS ALDAM,²⁹ JOHN BANKS,²⁹ JOHN BLAYKLING,²⁹ WILLIAM CARTER of Cumberland,³⁰ JOHN FELL of Cumberland,³⁰ THOMAS FELL of Cumberland (c. 1624-

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1697),²⁹ ROGER HAYDOCK,³¹ ROGER HEBDEN,³² WILLIAM HORNOLD of London,²⁹ RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE,³⁰ ANTHONY PATRICKSON of Cumberland,²⁹ SAMUEL WATSON of Yorkshire writes in 1699 that he had been in Scotland "about 40 years ago,"³³ ELIZABETH WHEATLEY,³⁴ WILLIAM WILSON of Westmorland (d. 1682).²⁹

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

(To be continued.)

- ¹ *Jaffray's Diary*, 3rd ed., 413.
- ² *Camb. Jnl.* i. 451.
- ³ *Jaffray's Diary*, 195.
- ⁴ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 374.
- ⁵ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 233.
- ⁶ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 51, 85.
- ⁷ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 326, 331.
- ⁸ MS. *Register of the Sufferings of Friends in Scotland*.
- ⁹ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 233.
- ¹⁰ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 128 ; *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 333.
- ¹¹ *Tuke's Biographical Notices* ii. 216.
- ¹² *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 333.
- ¹³ *Braithwaite's Beginnings of Quakerism*, 227.
- ¹⁴ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 476 ; *THE JOURNAL* vi. 127.
- ¹⁵ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 127, 128.
- ¹⁶ These two Friends were expected in Scotland "about y^t time," *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 334.
- ¹⁷ This is the first entry in the MS. *Register of the Sufferings of Friends in Scotland*.
- ¹⁸ *Whiting's Memoirs*, 1715, 52.
- ¹⁹ *Camb. Jnl.* i. 292-310.
- ²⁰ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 337.
- ²¹ *Camb. Jnl.* 336.
- ²² *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 98.
- ²³ *Jaffray's Diary*, 196. *George Fox's Journal* ii. 325.
- ²⁴ *THE JOURNAL* vii. 92.
- ²⁵ *Braithwaite's Beginnings of Quakerism*, 363, 364.
- ²⁶ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 234.
- ²⁷ *Jaffray's Diary*, 414.
- ²⁸ *Jaffray's Diary*, 197.
- ²⁹ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, Vols. I. and II.
- ³⁰ *The First Publishers of Truth*.
- ³¹ *Sewel's History*, 1795, ii. 235.
- ³² *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 464.
- ³³ *Aberdeen Meeting Book* v.
- ³⁴ *Robson MSS.*, T.R. i. 78.

Arthur Lister, 1830-1908

A REVIEW

ARTHUR LISTER, F.R.S., F.L.S., is the subject of an obituary notice appearing in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1915, by his son, Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Arthur Lister was the youngest son of Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S., the London Quaker wine merchant who discovered "the true principle on which compound lenses should be constructed." His older brother, Joseph, the late Lord Lister, was a President of the Royal Society. The brothers grew up in the strict atmosphere of a Quaker home, but with "the breath of a larger and cultivated world in the environment."

From Isaac Brown's school at Hitchin, and Grove House School, Tottenham, Arthur Lister, as was customary with Friends in his young days, was put straight to business. He had, however, acquired literary, artistic, musical and scientific tastes, and was a keen sportsman. The use of gun and rod soon "passed more and more into the background" as the pursuit of natural history became the absorbing interest of the leisure of one whose business life was active. He succeeded his father in 1857 in the firm of Lister & Beck, of Tokenhouse Yard, London, being "a representative of the fourth generation of his family in this firm." He married, in 1855, Susanna Tindall, and soon afterwards settled at Leytonstone, on the edge of Epping Forest.

Throughout his life he was an "enthusiastic ornithologist." It is safe to say that no one had a better knowledge of the birds of Epping Forest. He was ever "alert to the doings and songs of birds," and had an exceptional power, as long as his hearing remained acute, "of recognising birds by their notes." His chief scientific work lay, however, in another direction. Commencing with the study of flowering plants, he passed on to the British mosses, with which he had made some acquaintance in his school days under Isaac Brown. Examining these microscopically, he made "exquisite water-colour drawings" of his specimens "with the aid of the camera lucida," and he habitually recorded the results of his investigations in this way. He extended his work to the study of lichens and then to moulds and other fungi, inventing a means of recording the arrangement of the gills and colour of the spores by placing the fungi under a glass in such a way that the spores fell on blotting paper.¹ Whilst working at moulds and fungi, Arthur Lister entered upon his investigations of the Mycetozoa, then classified with fungi, but now "regarded as a group of Protozoa." For the rest of his life, assisted by his daughter Gulielma, these minute organisms became the chief objects of his careful and skilful research. The results obtained were methodically recorded by "ledger" entries and accurate drawings, and in 1892 he was requested

¹ A similar idea was suggested to the writer of this notice by Till Adam Smith, of Weston-super-Mare, nearly fifty years ago.

by Mr. William Carruthers, of the Botanical Department of the British Museum, "to prepare a Descriptive Catalogue of the Collections of the Mycetoza in the Museum." To this collection were added by presentation "samples mounted on slides of all the species and varieties known to him . . . with beautiful water-colour drawings by his daughter, giving magnified views of the typical specimens of the group."

Arthur Lister's scientific bent did not prevent his giving much of his time during many years to affairs connected with the Society of Friends,² to philanthropic work and foreign travel. He was a "very active member of the West Ham School Board," a diligent magistrate, and an Essex County Councillor. His life affords a record of conscientious application to everything to which he set his hand. He died at his second home, Highcliffe, Lyme Regis, 19th of July, 1908, in his seventy-ninth year, and his funeral took place in the Friends' Burial Ground adjoining the Meeting House at Wanstead, near Leytonstone, the ground "on which he so often looked out as he sat in Meeting."

The Catalogue is entitled "*A Monograph of the Mycetoza, being a descriptive catalogue of the species in the herbarium of the British Museum*, by Arthur Lister, F.L.S." The first edition, 1894, is illustrated with seventy-eight plates and fifty-one woodcuts, and occupies 224 pages of letter-press. There is a brief prefatory note by William Carruthers, and a valuable introduction by the author. The reader need only scan here and there the elaborate and highly technical descriptions of individual species to obtain some idea of the enormous amount of labour expended in its preparation. It is well that some men and women have hobbies and the time and ability to devote to them successfully.

The Catalogue excited unusual interest for so technical a work, and Arthur Lister intended to bring out a second edition. It fell, however, to the lot of his accomplished daughter, Gulielma Lister, F.L.S., to complete his work, and the second edition appeared in 1911, much enlarged, and with 201 plates. Whilst none of the plates in the first edition are coloured, though exceedingly beautiful, a comparison with the uncoloured plates of the second edition shows a marked increase in beauty of production. The coloured plates of the second edition are beyond description; they must be examined if they are to be appreciated at their true worth. Attached to the species described are the names of the discoverers. In this connection the name Lister is of frequent occurrence.

By the kindness of Joseph Jackson Lister, Miss Lister and Miss Gulielma Lister, the obituary notice and both editions of the Catalogue have been added to the Reference Library, Devonshire House, and we commend them to the notice of visitors to the Library.

ISAAC SHARP.

² His educational work for the Society centred especially in service on the Committee of Croydon and Saffron Walden Schools, covering the years occupied by the responsible and anxious work connected with the removal of the school to its new home at Saffron Walden in 1879.

Elizabeth Hooton

EMILY MANNERS is to be congratulated upon the "Life of Elizabeth Hooton," which forms Supplement No. 12 to THE JOURNAL. It is to be hoped that her success will lead to similar work being done for other pioneers of the Quaker movement—for William Dewsbury and Francis Howgill, for Edward Burrough and James Nayler. The renewed interest in historical study could not spend itself better than by revivifying for us the great names of our past, with the help of the rich materials in the Reference Library at Devonshire House.

It is fitting that one of the first of these adequate Quaker biographies should be that of the woman who was the nursing-mother of the Children of the Light who gathered round Fox in Nottinghamshire in 1648. Elizabeth Hooton had "Joyned with y^e Baptists but after some time finding them y^t they were not upright hearted to y^e Lord but did his work negligently and she haveing testified ag^t their deceit Left y^m who in those parts soon after were scatered & gone." This looks as though she had been a Baptist preacher before she became the earliest Quaker woman preacher; and she may be the person referred to in Edwards' *Gangræna*, (1646 edn., Second Division, p. 29) as preaching, or even baptizing, in the low-lying part of Lincolnshire called Holland.

A woman of firm and bold character, she suffered four imprisonments during the Commonwealth period for rebuking "priests." One minister was so enraged at the sight of her that he knocked her down and ducked her as she was passing quietly along the road. Her inside knowledge of prisons led her to make a striking appeal to the authorities as to their condition. "Her protests against strong drink, her plea for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the prisoners reads more like an appeal from Elizabeth Fry two centuries later."

In 1661 and following years, Elizabeth Hooton, then about sixty, paid two visits to New England and deliberately braved the cruelty of the Massachusetts persecutors. The following is but one specimen of the barbarities which she suffered :

Then they there tyed us both to y^e carts taile y^e youngman & J in y^t cold weather & stript us as usual to y^e middle & there whipt us from whence they had us to Medfield, & would fain have whipt us there also, w^{ch} y^e Preist desired & sought much for o^r bloud but could not obtaine it, So y^e Constable wth his long sword went wth anothe^r man to guard us out of their Jurisdiction, into y^e woods & left us to goe 20 miles in y^e night among y^e Bears & wild beasts & wat^{rs} & yet we were preserved & y^e Constable when he saw me returne lift up his hands & said he never expected to see me againe, And allwayes they drive us toward Road Isl being a place of liberty to us.

On one occasion she was moved of the Lord to go in sackcloth and ashes to Governor Endicott's house to bear her testimony against the persecutors ; and at Cambridge, Mass., where they were very thirsty for blood, she cried repentance through part of the town, and was thrown into a dark dungeon without bread or water for two days and nights. A Friend brought her some milk and was fined £5 for his act of mercy. She ends the recital of her sufferings by saying, " had not y^e Lord been on my side J had utterly failed."

On her return to England in 1666, she expostulated with the King for the banishment to which Friends were subjected under the Conventicle Act of 1664. The punishment was devised for a third offence under the Act, and of all the nonconformists, Friends were, I believe, the only ones who braved it out to this last heroic witness. And in their case, though upwards of two hundred received sentence, less than a score were actually transported. The weapon broke in the hands of the persecutors, for the shipmasters had got the salutary notion into their heads that no Englishman should be carried out of his country against his will. Elizabeth Hooton speaks of " an old vissited ship w^{ch} was rotten, & leaked water," in which many had died, and the rest had gone to some uncertain fate, perhaps, she thought, to be taken by the Dutch. The reference is to the *Black Eagle*, into which fifty-five Friends were put in mid-August, at the

height of the Plague. The ship lay seven weeks in the Thames, during which time half the prisoners died, many being buried in the marshes below Gravesend. It did not reach Plymouth till February, 1666, and a few hours after it had sailed for America, it was taken by a Dutch privateer, and reached Holland *viâ* Bergen in Norway, where the Quakers had distributed their books to curious visitors. They were soon set at liberty by the Dutch, and thus, as Sewel says, "the design of their persecutors was brought to nought by an Almighty hand."

Emily Manners gives us other instances of the brave woman's outspoken rebukes to highly-placed oppressors. Nothing could daunt her daring. To the King she says: "How oft haue J come to thee in my old age, both for thy reformation and safety, for the good of thy soule And for Justice and equity. Oh that thou would not giue thy Kingdome to y^e papists nor thy strength to weomen."

She had a great esteem for George Fox. In a paper dated 13th August, 1667, which might have been given at length, addressed to disaffected Friends, she says: "You do not only envy George Fox, whom God hath set as a pillar in His temple because he hath stood fast from the beginning and hath been a faithful steward in God's work, but your enmity is against God and Christ." Some twenty-four years older than the founder of Quakerism, "Goody Hooton," as he calls her, looked on Fox with motherly affection, and, when he projected his visit to America in the summer of 1671, she, in her seventieth or seventy-first year, felt the call to join the party "to doe y^e best that Js Required for him," presumably from mending his stockings to tending him in illness. They reached Barbados, and the last letter we have of hers, addressed to some island magnate, expresses her simple but sufficient Quaker creed: "Soe Returne to the Light in thy Consciene w^{ch} will not let the doe any Wrong to any if thou be Obedient to Jt." They went forward to Jamaica, where she fell ill and died. James Lancaster, one of the party, says:

Shee looked vpon me and J [on] her. My life rose towards her and allsoe her life answered mine again with greate Joy betwixt vs and shee said, It is well, James, thou art come; and fastened her arms aboute me and said, Blessed be the lord god that has made vs partakers

of those heuenly mercies, and more words to the like effecte ; and embraced me with a kisse and laid her selfe Downe ; and turned her selfe on her side ; and soe her breath went weaker and weaker till it was gone from her ; and soe passed away as though shee had beene asleep ; and none knew of her departure but as her breath was gone.

Fox wrote that she died " in peace like a lamb," and asked that her son Oliver should gather up all her papers and her sufferings and send them to London that her life and death might be printed. His sound historical instinct made him recognize the importance of her life in the story of the Quaker movement. We have references, in the " Children of the Light " papers in **D.** (Portfolio 10), to a History by Oliver Hooton, which contained particulars of Elizabeth Hooton's early life, but neither this nor any other life seems to have been printed. Emily Manners, accordingly, for the first time, collects the known facts respecting the first woman-preacher among Friends.

The book has some good illustrations, including the village of Skegby, where Elizabeth Hooton had her home, the photograph of a letter to Fox in 1653, Beckingham Church, one of the churches where she disturbed the minister, and the Gateway of Lincoln Castle, where she was imprisoned for this offence.

WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE.

In conjunction with Eliza H. Varney, an appointed evening meeting in a Union Chapel was about to conclude. John Dillingham knelt in prayer. With much fervency he pleaded for several conditions and several classes, then as if a moment hesitating, his supplication was for " any widow whose husband may still be living." As the meeting concluded, one who sat by the Friend who had arranged the meeting turned to him somewhat sharply with the question, " Why did you tell him that ? " In a moment it was evident to the interrogator that no previous knowledge of the condition thus strikingly pictured had been possessed by any of the Friends, and he confessed his amazement at the distinct leading of the Holy Spirit, in what proved in good measure to have been a healing ministration.

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1912, pp. 131, 132.

John Whiting and Sarah Hurd

THE following extracts throw interesting side-lights upon the matrimonial affairs of John Whiting.¹

Under date 1683 he writes :—

I had drawings in my Mind for some time, towards a young Woman of of good Repute, in relation to Marriage, whose name was Sarah Hurd, of Long Sutton, Daughter of Thomas Hurd, of Somerton, who was a Prisoner with me, for Tythes. . . . I was not hasty but retain'd it in my Heart, near half a Year, before I disclosed it to her. But now in the 7th Month, she having two Sisters going to Pennsylvania, and accompanying them to Bristol, I having acquainted her Father with it, and had his Consent, went after them . . . I accompany'd my Friend and her Sisters on Ship-Board, in King's-Road, where we took leave of them and the rest, and returned with her to the City, and next Day homeward with her, and by the Way laid the thing before her, which she in due time receiv'd and closed with."²

Towards the beginning of 1684, Sarah Hurd and two other Friends of Long Sutton were imprisoned in Ilchester. Sarah was dangerously ill at the time, "being stowed up among others, in a close House."³ John Whiting made a protest to the jailer, with the result that soon afterwards he [John Whiting] was sent at night to "an old dismal Room . . . called Black-Friers, which," he says, "I went down into by a Ladder, and was lock'd down at Night, with a Trap door over my Head," Davis, the jailer, swearing "that we should never come out, or see one another again, all his time . . . and yet in two Weeks time, he let me out again, and her also, both in one Day (the 17th of the 3^d Month) after she had been in Egypt (the Room so called) five Weeks."³

¹ John Whiting, born at Nailsea, 1656, died in London, 1722. He was a scholarly man and will always be remembered for his bibliographical work (see article by Isaac Sharp in THE JOURNAL iv. 7-16). In 1708 he issued a *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. He published an account of his own life and experiences in 1715, under title *Persecution Expos'd*. This is a valuable authority for early Somersetshire Quakerism.

² *Persecution Expos'd*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.* p. 109.

We must next turn to the minutes of Ilchester Monthly Meeting for progress in the romance.

At y^e monethly meeting y^e last of y^e 5th mo 1684 p^rsent at Jvelchester.

John Whiting haveing this day p^rposed a Marriage betweene himselfe & Sarah Hurd, And it being questioned his intimacy form^rly wth Eliz : David this meeting doth see meete y^t y^e s^d Eliz : be spoaken wthhall, to enquire how things form^rly was betweene them, And therefore it is refered to Elias Osborne, Richard Lincolne & Jasper Batt to speake wth her accordingly & give an acot thereof at y^e next monethly meeting.

At y^e monethly meeting at Jvelchester y^e 28th of y^e 6th mo. 1684.

Touching y^e business betweene John Whiting & Eliz : Davies y^e last meeting, referd to Elias Osborne, Richd Lincolne & Jasper Batt & an accot being this day given to this meeting That they haveing talked wth her, doe finde y^t John Whiting did give suffitient ground of expecta^con to Eliz : David to have had him to her husband & y^t upon y^e consider^con of y^e whole matter. y^e meeting doth not see at p^rsent w^t suffitient ground he had to leave her And therefore doth judg y^t therein he hath gone out of truth & don y^e s^d Eliz : great wrong therefore he ought to acknowledge & condemne y^e same, And so do leave y^e whole to Gods witness in his owne conscience.

The further p^rceedings in this matter, is referd to y^e next monethly meeting when Eliz : David is to be p^rsent wth John Whiting, face to face, unless friends can be other satisfied in y^e meane time.⁴

It is puzzling that the foregoing minutes do not appear in the volume of Ilchester Monthly Meeting Minutes 1668-1686/7. John Bright Clark writes : " I have particularly referred to the minutes of the two meetings you name in your letter, viz., 5 mo., 1684, and 28th of 6 mo., 1684, and though meetings were held exactly on those days and John Whiting and Thomas Hurd are recorded as being present at both meetings, yet no such minutes as you quote are recorded, as far as I can see." And yet, from the extracts which follow, taken from the above-mentioned minute book, it is clear that the matter had been before the Meeting at some recent date.

At y^e Monthly Meeting held at Ilchester y^e 26th of y^e 12th Mo., 1684-5.

The business between J.W. & S.H. was moved at this Meeting, but friends judging it better to stay longer from ' permission ' there-of, it was for the present put off.

At y^e Monthly Meeting held at Ilchester y^e 28th of y^e 3rd mo., 1685.

John Whiting having proposed his taking Sarah Hurd of Long Sutton, daughter of Thomas Hurd to wife there having been a stop to

⁴ These two minutes have been copied from a seventeenth century MS. in D. (Dix MSS. G. S4).

the receiving of this proposal for sound reasons formerly : the Meeting do now permit. The proposal as referred to Anne Onsley and Susan Perris and Robert Barton to make enquiry concerning the clearness of Sarah Hurd and its referred to the M. Meeting of the Northern parts of this county to certify in relation to John Whiting in order to their proceeding.

Verily these Friends of the early day had many difficulties to surmount for the accomplishment of marriage with due regard to the maintenance of discipline. But John was not easily deterred, and evidently wished to avoid further delay. The next Monthly Meeting for the North Division of the County was to take place the very next day at Hallatrow, and, as we find from the following minutes that the request was laid before that Meeting, John Whiting probably had to make hasty preparation for a cross country journey on horseback. Are we critical in thinking that *eight* months was an unnecessarily long time to take in making enquiries and granting the desired certificate ?

At a Monthly Meeting at Hallowtrow held y^e 29th of y^e 3 mon. 1685.

An intention of marriage was this day proposed by John Whiteing of Nailsie between him and Sarah Hurd of long sutton Daughter of Thomas Hurd of Somerton & it is refered to Arthur Thomas, Edmond Beaks, Gabriel Daus, Richard Thomas or any two of them to enquire into y^e Cleernes of y^e said John & to giue friends an account thereof at our next monthly meeting.

At a Monthly Meeting at Brisslington y^e 29th of y^e 11th Month [1685].

Whereas formerly at a Monthly Meeting at Hallowtrow John Whiting of Nailsy proposed an intent of Marriage with Sarah Hurd of Long Sutton & friends of this Meeting doe agree to giue him a sertificate that he is Cleare as far a[s] can be found or heard of from all other women in this part of the Country.⁵

Under date 1685 John Whiting summarizes his proceedings with Friends in the following words :

I had intended this Spring, to have proceeded in Marriage with my dear Friend, S. Hurd, having proposed it to the Monthly Meeting she belong'd to, which was then held at my Chamber . . . and went to my own Monthly Meeting (on the North side of Mendip) which was then held at John Dando's, at Hollotrow, the 29th of the 3^d month) for

⁵ From Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Friends in the North Division of Somersetshire, 1667-1688, in D.

a Certificate (which I afterwards had), but the Troubles⁶ breaking out, prevented it one Year longer.⁷

“ The Troubles ” were very real to the Friends of Long Sutton, Sarah Hurd having several relatives (not “ Friends,” John Whiting remarks) in the Duke’s Army. Her house was the centre of a skirmish.

Our story nears a close. John Whiting was again in Ilchester Jail, this time chained to John Hipsley, and suffering great hardship. Under date 1686, he writes :

Being now at Liberty, I proceeded to Marriage with my dear Friend, Sarah Hurd, which was accomplished by taking each other Husband and Wife, in a publick Meeting, appointed on purpose, the 20th of the 3^d Month, 1866.⁸

It is not easy to understand why Somersetshire Quarterly Meeting could not rest “ easy ” with John Whiting’s procedure, which appears to have been so very decorous, but the fact remains that the following minute of censure is recorded in the Quarterly Meeting books, and the marriage entry does not find a place in the Registers of the Society of Friends. Should John Whiting’s “ Paper of Condemnation ” ever come to light, it may explain the situation.

At y^e Qrly meeting at Jvelchester y^e 24th of y^e first mo. 1686/7.

Touching y^e manner of John Whitings Marriage, & his Certificate mentioning its being published at sevrall meetings of y^e people called quakers, and friends signeing of it, as if it were in y^e unity of friends, & y^e occasion of offence & devision thereby given amongst friends, & going to a place at such a distance from y^e place, where y^e s^d marriage had bin long in debate (but neu^r allowed by y^e monethly meeting) friends of this meeting do Judge it all for condemnation And y^t for y^e future no such p^rsident be followed by any friends and Jo Whiting hath given forth a pap to condemne his practise therein, w^{ch} is on y^e fyle And y^t y^e not p^rduceing the s^d Certificate according to y^e order of y^e monethly meeting is for Judgment, & a violaⁿ of thir order, & an evill example for y^e future.⁹

John Whiting removed to London in 1699. The following entry on the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings is evidence of the great esteem in which he was held by Friends at the time of his death:—“ 16th of

⁶ Referring to the unsettlement in the South of England in consequence of the landing of the Duke of Monmouth in Dorsetshire.

⁷ *Persecution Expos’d*, p. 140.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 161.

⁹ Somersetshire Q.M. Minutes, 1684-1716 (in D.).

Twelfth Month 1722. No Meeting for Sufferings on account of the burial of our much-valued and truly serviceable ancient friend, John Whiting."

M. ETHEL CRAWSHAW.

Quakers' Petition re Governor Belcher

Minehead y^e 29th 11^{mo}
(January) 1739.

Francis Whitworth }
& Thomas Carew } Esq^{rs}

We are lately Informed That Strong Endeavours are making with the Kings Ministers to deprive Governor Belcher of his Governments in New England, And as that Gentleman has given demonstrable Evidence on all Occasions of his regards & Attachment to our Friends the People calld Quakers under his Government and more Particulary by his Influence a Law has been past exempting our Friends from Taxes to the Maintenance of the Ministers there, Jn Gratitude we earnestly Request your favour and Kind Interposition on behalf of the Said Governor with the Ministry & especially the Duke of New Castle in whose Province the Affair principally lyes, And we beseech your Indulgence and Countenance to the Bearer hereof our fr^d Rich^d Partridge to whom we refer for further Information in the Affair wherein you willt greatly oblige & Serve

Your Friends

JOHN DAVIS	THOMAS FREEMAN
JOHN DEVONSHEIR	JOSEPH DEVONSHEIR
JN ^s (? JN ^o) DAVIS JUN.	ABRAHAM CLOTHIER
JOHN READ	ROB ^t DAVIS

[Direction]

To

Francis Whitworth }
& Thomas Carew } Esq^{rs}

In

London¹

¹ In Public Record Office, London, C.O.5, 752, No. 336.

Description of a Dinner Party at Woburn Abbey attended by Queen Victoria¹

My dearest Maria,²

Thy very welcome letter arrived on first day morning and truly glad we were to hear about thee—it seemed long since we parted and now it seems such a while since this day week. I am afraid thou wast sadly tired with the walk to Reeds³ after such a day of travelling and fatigue, however I was thankful thou hadst arrived in safety.

After thou had left, I felt very flat, so I persuaded thy Aunt to accompany me to the Park to endeavour to gain another look at our Queen. We had a pleasant walk there but after waiting, I should think almost an hour, we left the Abbey. I felt inclined to see Jas Forbes if I could, but Maria⁴ preferred returning home at once and I could not persuade her to wait with me a little longer—not hardly a quarter of an hour after she had left me I met him and he most politely invited and urged me to stay awhile at his house as the Queen intended taking a ride early in the afternoon, so I did wait and had a capital view of her as she drove off from the vestibule.

J. Forbes then told me he could not allow me to return home to tea as he had just rec^d a most kind offer from Mr. Stanhope (brother to the Duchess) to bring four or five friends to the Abbey at 8 oclk to see the Queen and all the nobility at Dinner—and he invited me to be one of the party. This was too tempting to be refused, so I took tea with him & his family and about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we went to

¹ From the original lent by Henry Corder, of Bridgwater. The notes have been compiled from *Micah Corder* by Francis Corder Clayton, privately printed, 1885.

² Maria Thorp (born 1809), daughter of Thomas and Abigail Thorp (*née* Corder), of Chelmsford.

³ "Reeds," the name of the farm-house, at Roxwell, a village near Chelmsford, the home of Thomas and Mary Corder and their family.

⁴ Maria Corder (born 1793), daughter of John and Ruth Corder, and therefore sister to the writer of the letter. She lived at Dunstable.

the Abbey and saw the dinner table set ready, and such a splendid sight I never witnessed before.

There were to be 26 of the party—it was a long table oval at each end—from nearly one end of the table to the other stood a magnificent plateau of silver, most richly chased, on which stood vases of alabaster filled with the most exquisite artificial flowers, between which were interspersed figures of the Graces & Heroes, animals, &c all in alabaster—with small lamps of a most delicate description throwing a pale light over the whole. This plateau occupied so much of the table that only room enough was left round the sides for the plates, glasses &c to stand with one dish at each end.

All the plates, dishes and covers were that night of silver—the evening previous every thing was gold—thou mayst form some idea of the quantity when I tell thee that it occupied the waiters *two hours & a half* to carry the plate for dinner from the butler's pantry to the dining room—and when I saw the room all this was arranged on side tables. There were a great many splendid massive salvers placed round the room, I suppose chiefly for show. Altogether it was far too gorgeous for description. As it was near 8 oclk. we went down to the hall to be out of the way, and when the clock struck, the Band played “God save the Queen” and the party immediately entered the dining room.

When the first course was removing we were allowed to go up, and by standing in the adjoining room we could peep thro' without being perceived. The Queen & Prince sat at the centre of the table on the right hand side, the Duke of Bedford on the left of the Queen and the Duchess by the Prince. The Duke of Wellington exactly opposite the Queen. Many others we could easily distinguish. The Queen was the most simply attired of all the ladies, she wore a black satin dress made very plain—nothing over her shoulders, and round her neck a plain black necklace united by a small black heart—her hair combed quite straight and a wreath of small white roses round her head; she looked very sweet—tho' she is certainly a very plain person. The Prince looked *really beautiful*; I think I never saw a young man look so interesting and handsome.

We were amused to see how all the company seemed to be enjoying their dinner, they ate very heartily and without any ceremony—indeed I thought the Queen took her food almost vulgarly fast, her mouth is not pretty when she is eating. Some of the ladies were much more dressed than the Queen, particularly about the head, the Duchess of Sutherland looked splendid.

I cannot tell thee how I longed for thee to be with me, it was all I seemed to want. After we had staid as long as we thought prudent we were allowed to see the dessert all ready to be carried up. It was most beautiful, every thing, plates, dishes, &c., rich cut glass. The dishes contained pine apples, grapes, melons, peaches, nectarines, preserved fruits and many things we could not tell any thing about. There were sweetmeats of the most fantastic description—standing *a foot* high, of divers colours and as thin as bonnet wire but quite stiff and indeed more like wire than anything else; the fruit knives & forks of gold with jasper handles of the most exquisite beauty. I certainly never imagined any thing could be so splendid as the whole set out was, it is quite beyond my power of description. . . . we hear the Queen was so well pleased that she talks of coming again another year, but many doubt whether the Duke will wish for the honour again very soon—some say it has cost them £30,000, but we think 10,000 more likely. . . . Forbes says there were 150 beds made up at the Abbey. . . .

I remain thy ever tenderly attached

8th mo. 4th 1841

Aunt Lucy.⁵

[Addressed]

Mary Corder,⁶

Roxwell Road,

Chelmsford,

Essex.

M. Thorp.²

⁵ Lucy Corder, daughter of John and Ruth Corder, married in 1836 to William F. How, of Aspley Guise, Beds. She was sister to Susanna Corder, the well-known Quaker writer.

⁶ Mary Shewell married, in 1809, Thomas Corder, son of John and Ruth Corder, and was therefore Aunt to the recipient of the letter, Maria Thorp.

Humphry Smith and his Volume of Tracts, 1658

IN the 10th month 1658 Humphry Smith, of Herefordshire, caused to be bound together a collection of fifty Quaker pamphlets published during that year. At the beginning of this volume, now before us, are seven pages in manuscript, the first four of which are addressed to his son Humphry. He writes :

“ And for thy further derectin in the narrow way of Life, haue J with Care Causid this booke to be bownde vp for thee, in it to reade the etarnel truths of God writen by his saruants and faithful suffringe ministers.”

The concluding paragraph of this letter runs :

“ This writen in tendornies of Love the 23 of the 12^{mo} 58 bing a prisnor of Jesus Christ in this litle stinkinge Lowsy smoke hole at winchister Calid the Comun goale & house of Coretion, where for the truth of my father J haue suffrid bonds this 12 months, who am thy father in the flesh

“ Calid HUMPHRY SMITH.”

A postscript is added : “ And see that this booke be kept safe & not spyld any way that in years to Come, agis may read and see my Loue to the seed.”¹

Humphry Smith's injunction to safe-keeping has been so well regarded that after 256 years the pamphlets are in an excellent state of preservation ; the volume has been sent up to D. for inspection by its owner, Gilbert Gilkes, of Kendal.

Other MS. additions appear in the volume, in contemporary handwriting ; and on the last page is a recipe “ To make Jnke ”—

“ Take one quart of wort, y^e first runn, neere $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of Galls, cut y^e galls in peeces & put them into y^e wort, and let it stand 2 or 3 dayes & stir it together and then straine it, & then put 2 oz^s of gum arabacke, and 2 q^{rs} of Green Coppris into it, & stir it together, and Let it stand 2 or 3 dayes Longer.”

In pencil on the fly-leaf are the words “ Peter Bedford presented by B. G. Gilkes.” The following explanation is kindly supplied by Gilbert Gilkes :—“ The book never went out of our family, but had no doubt come into the possession of my grandfather, Benjamin Gilbert Gilkes, through his having married Marion Bedford, who was Peter Bedford's sister. Peter Bedford was my great uncle. He was the son of Isaac Bedford, who married Mary Smith, the daughter of the Smiths of Felsted and Bardfield. It is through my grandmother, Marion Bedford, that I trace descent from Humphry Smith.”

¹ In Humphrey Smith's Testimony to his father, printed in *A Collection of . . . Writings and Faithful Testimonies . . . Humphrey Smith*, 1683, he refers to “ words he wrote to me in a Volume of Books he caused to be bound for me, ‘ That I should keep that Book safe, and not spoiled any way, that in years to come, Ages may read and see my love to the Seed.’ ”

Friends in Current Literature

The Progress of Eugenics, by Dr. Caleb Williams Saleeby (London : Cassell & Company, Ltd., 1914, 7s. 6d. net).

Dr. Saleeby is not a Friend, yet as he bears the Friendly name of his grandfather, Dr. Caleb Williams of York, his book may well receive a notice in THE JOURNAL of the Friends Historical Society. Apart from this the references to Sir Francis Galton, "the august master of all eugenists," to Lord Lister and Professor Karl Pearson, all of Quaker extraction, afford an additional reason for it. The work is full of interest even for the general reader who may not be able to follow its more abstruse portions, and for its educational value it should be read by all educationists.

"Genetics, the science of heredity," must take the first place amongst the foundation sciences upon which that of eugenics is built. "Nature and nurture" are "the factors that make the individual noble or base, healthy or diseased, wise or foolish, clever or stupid, kind or cruel," and each is essential for "the making of noble individuals." Chapters on positive, negative and preventive eugenics are followed by "The Eastward Window," containing "no real conclusion," but a hopeful outlook for the future.

The chapter on "Positive Eugenics—the encouragement of worthy parenthood" commences with a valuable quotation on "the hereditary transmission of disease" from "Criminal Responsibility of the Insane," published by the writer's grandfather, Caleb Williams (referred to above), in 1856. Elsewhere the writer speaks of his "great teacher, Sir Jonathan Hutchinson," as "a pupil of Dr. Caleb Williams long ago, learning from him to take note of heredity."

The value of the records of the Society of Friends, both cis and trans-Atlantic, as helps to historical study, has again been evidenced by the publication of the December issue of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences—*Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740*, by Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D. (University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., 9½ by 6½, pp. 208, price \$1.05).

Dr. Reed spent some time at Devonshire House a year or two ago, studying the Quakerism of her period in official documents—Yearly Meeting Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, Book of Cases, Epistles Received and Sent, etc., and also availing herself of printed books.

Dr. Reed states in her Preface that the problem of the process whereby the recognition of the Anglican, Baptist, and Quaker Churches came about "has been found in the records of the Society of Friends in New England and in London."

Chapter V.—"The Quakers and their Allies"—consists of sixty pages. Here our author recounts in detail "the assault made upon the ecclesiastical system of eighteenth century Massachusetts by . . . the Society of Friends," and quotes numerous appeals made locally and

also by Friends in England—an influential body—to the Government of their country.

“If the success of the Quakers of Massachusetts was directly due to the sympathy of Governor Belcher and the changed attitude of the General Court, both of these were in turn dependent upon the political influence of the London Quakers under the Walpole *régime*. Belcher recognised their importance and adopted their cause with a view to future support from them; the General Court saw the repeated successes of the Quakers with the Board of Trade, and realized the uselessness of continued resistance” (p. 146).

John Dymond Crosfield writes that incidental references to Friends occur in *English Church Life from the Restoration*, by J. Wickham Legg (London: Longmans, 1914). Perhaps the most interesting reference is that to Charles Leslie (1650-1722):

“In the same strain a Dissenting Non-juror asserts that Leslie’s writings against the Quakers and Deists had brought many of these into the Church of England: ‘And in that very year was born the Reverend Mr. Charles Lesley, whom God was pleased to make His instrument immediately and mediately of converting above 20,000 of them from Quakerism, Arianism and Socinianism.’” (p. 17)

The reference is from “A Letter . . . concerning the validity of Lay Baptism,” by Philalethes [who seems to be the Hon. Archibald Campbell], 1738.

A very handsome volume is “The Pennells’ Philadelphia”—*Our Philadelphia*, by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell, “a book of Personal Experiences more entertaining than a Novel. The story of a Life and of a City of Surprises” (Phila. and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 10½ by 7½, pp. 552, 30s. net). There are, of course, numerous references to Friends, and among the ninety illustrations are several of a Friendly character.

Wilbur Kelsey Thomas, A.B., B.D., Ph.D., has presented a type-written copy of his Thesis written for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is entitled *The Social Service of Quakerism*. After a full bibliography and general Introduction, the subject is treated under the following heads:—Capital Punishment, Education, Indians, Insane, Peace, The Poor, Prisons, Slavery, Temperance, Vice.

Wilbur K. Thomas, whose home is at Boston, spent some time in the Library in the Autumn of 1913.

In My Youth: From the Posthumous Papers of Robert Dudley (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1914, \$1.35 net), is a story of a Friends’ settlement in Indiana, in pioneer days, some seventy years ago. “But yesterday in point of time; in the ways of life as remote as the Middle Ages.”

It is evident that the writer grew up amid the surroundings he describes, and it is just as evident that as he advanced in years he became less attached to Friends. His father—Stephen Dudley—is a fine

character, respected in all the country-side, never at a loss whether it is a house to be built or shoes to be made for the family. With this exception other members of the "New Settlement" are uneducated and appallingly narrow-minded. The setting of the story appears to be near Richmond, Indiana; although the place-names are disguised, it is easy to see behind the veil in such names as "Nopplis" (Indianapolis) and "Sin Snatty" (Cincinnati).

A delightful description is given of hospitality at Quarterly Meeting time:—"Immediately after the close of the first session of the meeting they began to arrive—indeed a few were on hand before. They came on foot, on horseback, in wagons—singly, by twos, by families—and everyone, no matter what his name or condition, was heartily welcomed and provided for." . . . "It was expected that the young women who came would kindly assist in waiting on the table and washing the dishes, and that the married women would attend to the making-up of the beds, and the general care of the house. But further than this, the entertainment was as free as the air and as generous as old Mother Earth herself" (pp. 138, 139).

Benjamin "Seefoam" (Seebohm) was an honoured guest from England, his knowledge of the outside world, and view of life generally, was a revelation to these back-woods people. "He preached no dogmas, . . . his teachings related not to a future life and unfathomable mysteries, but to the duties, the amenities and the possibilities of the life that now is" (p. 146). When asked by Benjamin Seefoam why he did not subscribe to a newspaper and keep in touch with world events, Stephen Dudley replied: "Newspapers, so far as I can learn, have an evil influence. . . . When I and other Friends came here to found this New Settlement, we came with the fixed determination to keep ourselves and our homes unspotted from the world" (p. 146). It is a relief to find later in the book that "The New Era" is subscribed for, and the family sit entranced, listening to the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read aloud as it appeared week by week. This leads the family to give practical help to escaped slaves.

As might be expected, Quaker references abound in *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Oxon (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 9 by 6, pp. 677, £1 1s. net). We shall hope to give some further notice of this book in the next issue of THE JOURNAL.

A volume connected with the West Country has appeared from the pen of the late Francis A. Knight—*The Heart of the Mendip* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 547 pp., 8s. 6d. net).

This book will have a special interest for lovers of Sidcot School and the surrounding country. The account it gives of the History, Archæology and Natural History of various parishes in the vicinity of Winscombe, is the result of careful and extensive research. It contains a number of illustrations and a map of the district.

William Charles Braithwaite, who has done such valuable work as a Quaker historian, shows his versatility as a writer by the issue of *Foundations of National Greatness : a Scheme of Study* (London : National Adult School Union, 1s. net).

In the Preface the author states that "The present scheme of study deals with the permanent factors of national growth in close connection with our history and with the home-problems which confront us, and the world-problems which face our Western civilization."

The book is divided into twelve studies, and a list of reference books is appended.

The Fellowship of Silence, being experiences in the Common Use of Prayer without words (London : Macmillan & Co., 4s. 6d. net). A chapter on "Silent Worship" is from the pen of the late Thomas Hodgkin, and L. Violet Hodgkin writes on "A Friends' Meeting in a Church," "The Surrender of Silence," and "The Colour of Silence." The three other contributors are High Church Anglicans.

Joshua Rowntree, a pamphlet of 24 pp., being a collection of various short articles written since his death (Yorkshire 1905 Committee, Malton, Yorks, 2d.). A reproduction of Percy Bigland's painting forms the frontispiece, and there is a charming picture of Joshua Rowntree's cottage at Stainton Dale, from one of his own paintings.

Fifty Years' Story of the Bedford Institute, 1865-1915, by Alfred Tuke Alexander (Bedford Institute Association and Headley Brothers, 55 pp., 6d. net).

The portraits introduced are of those who have taken a leading part in the development of the work, with the addition of some of the early and less known workers. J. Rendel Harris contributes a "Foreword," in which he says: "But the experiments do not exist apart from the experimenters . . . the record of these years of faithful service is a record of many saintly names . . . of whom we say thankfully that some of them continue into this present, even if others have—as in duty bound—fallen asleep."

The brochure is a revelation of the wide-reaching influence of the Bedford Institute Association.

Quaker Women, 1650-1690, by Mabel Richmond Brailsford (Duckworth & Co., London, pp. 340, 7s. 6d. net). As we go to press we welcome Miss Brailsford's book from the publishers. We must postpone a detailed notice until the next issue of *THE JOURNAL*. Sufficient here to state that it is a scholarly work, showing careful research among the original documents of the early days of the Society. The Author possesses a good style and is in thorough sympathy with her subject. Elizabeth Hooton, Margaret Fell, Mary Fisher, and Barbara Blaugdone are four of the principal figures in the record, which covers only forty years of the Society's history.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.=The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

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

F.P.T.=*"The First Publishers of Truth,"* published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.

H.S.P.=The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

THE WILL OF JOHN BELLERS.¹

—I, John Bellers, late of London Merchant but now of Coln St. Alwins² in the county of Gloucester Gentn being at this time of sound mind and memory but calling to mind the certainty of death and the incertainty of the hour and time thereof do make and declare this to be my last will and testament in manner and form following. And first I commit my body to the earth to receive such an interment as my executors hereinafter named shall in their discretion think fitt or as I may hereafter give directions. And as

¹ Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (169 Romney). Charles R. Simpson called our attention to this interesting document at Somerset House. Our thanks are due to him for much of the information contained in the notes.

² The residence of John Bellers at Coln St. Alwyns had been formerly the home of Giles and Elizabeth Fettiplace, parents of Frances, wife of John Bellers. The estate remained in the possession of their descendants until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was sold to Sir Michael Hicks Beach and others (article by W. C. B[owly] in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1861, p. 176).

to that worldly estate which God hath been pleased to intrust me with I give devise and bequeath the same as followeth. Imprimis I give devise and bequeath to my cozen Anne Bellers of Upton in the county of Worcester forty shillings a year during her life And I give to such servants as shall dwell with me at the time of my decease and twelve months before the sum of five pounds each. Item I give to my daughter Mary³ the wife of Joseph Ingram and to the heirs of her body and for want of such issue to her right heirs for ever all those houses and gardens thereunto belonging at Greenwich in the county of Kent now lett unto Richard Walker and to George Creed Weaver and late in the occupation of Philip Nutt and one piece of ground lately held by Thomas Norman Brewer and now by Captain Medcalfe who married his widow lett for thirty shillings per annum on his or their undertennants I having by deed settled some years since several houses in Greenwich aforesaid in the occupation of the said Thomas Norman or his undertennants upon my said daughter

³ Mary (c. 1689-1751) married Joseph, son of William Ingram, in 1710.

Mary Ingram and the heirs of her body with diverse remainders over in lieu of lands at Little Aulne in the parish of Austin Cantlo in the county of Warwick and lands at Lemhill in the parish of Letchford in the county of Gloucester which she and her husband Joseph Ingram have settled by Deed upon their sister Theophila⁴ and her husband John Eliott Merchant then of Falmouth and now of London and their heirs. And I hereby confirm the marriage settlement which I made at the marriage of my said daughter Theophila the now wife of the said John Eliott in which settlement I am bound to leave in the hands of trustees the sum of one thousand pounds at my decease to be settled on them the said John Eliott and Theophila his wife and the heirs of their bodies.⁵ Item I give to the Committee of Friends Workhouse⁶ that

⁴ Theophila, the second daughter, was born in 1695; she married John Eliot in 1719. Her portrait in oils is in the possession of Henry Howard, of Stone, near Kidderminster, a photographic reproduction, measuring 11 in. by 9 in., has just been obtained for D., through the good service of Eliot Howard, of Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

⁵ John and Theophila Eliot had three daughters, Frances, Rebecca, and Mary, only one of whom married, namely Rebecca, to Sir John Bridges, Kt. (*Eliot Papers*, I. p. 4).

⁶ John Bellers was the moving spirit in the establishment of this institution at Clerkenwell in 1702. After many changes both in locality and purpose, it is now represented by the Friends' School at Saffron Walden, Essex (*Sketch of Two Hundred Years*, by James B. Crosfield, 1902).

are or shall be appointed by the People called Quakers to take Care of the poor amongst them in London the sum of one hundred pounds on condition that my said daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliott or the survivor of them or their heirs or posterity shall and may if they think fitt have the nomination and appointment of one child to be kept in their Workhouse from time to time as one child goes out to have Liberty to put another child in they being in Health and conforming to the Work Orders and meathods thereof and not else Item I give to my cosen Thomas Church⁷ what things I had from Kensington that were my sister Elizabeth Fettiplaces⁸ (the plate only excepted). Item my will is that all my printed Books and papers that have been or shall be by me printed shall be reprinted in one volume whereof some to be printed on good large paper and well bound in Turkey Leather and one of them to be presented to

⁷ According to a marriage certificate in Friends' Library, Arch Street, Philadelphia, Thomas Church married Theophila, daughter of Giles and Elizabeth Fettiplace, in 1693 (Information from George Vaux of Philadelphia, 1906). This would make Thomas Church *brother-in-law* to John Bellers, and not *cousin*, but there may have been some relationship before marriage.

The minutes of the Six Weeks Meeting (1700) show that Thomas Church left money to Clerkenwell Workhouse, and various legacies for the service of Friends. He died in 1699.

⁸ Probably refers to his wife's sister, Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1716. Her grave is in Friends' Burial Ground, Cirencester.

the Envoy of every Sovereign Prince and State in Europe who shall have such Envoys residing at our British Court for their respective Masters perusal and one to every publick library in London and Westminster and to the two publick Librarys of Oxford and Cambridge.⁹ Item I give to my cousin Thomas Church a trunk of linnen or so much as is in it which my sister Elizabeth Fettiplace left at Cowne Allens at the time of her decease And I further give in trust to my Cozen Jacob Harvy Merchant and to my cozen John Mucklow Silkman for the following uses All those mylands tenements and hereditaments being at Poulton in the county of Wilts which are not otherwise by deed already settled on my son Fettiplace¹⁰ And also those my lands lyeing in Kennerton in the county of Warwick And also those my lands and hereditaments which are at Ratcot in the county of Oxford And also those mylands and hereditaments lyeing at Lemhill in the parish of Langford in the county of Berks and also all those my copyhold messuages lands tenements and hereditaments lyeing in Islington in the county of Middlesex which are in the Mannour there belonging to Sir John Austin where I surrendred the estate to the use of my last will And also all my lands lyeing in the Provinces of Pensilvania and West New Jersey in America And also all those my leasehold messuages lands and tenements

⁹ Unfortunately this instruction does not appear to have been carried out. Joseph Smith mentions no such collection of writings, and upon enquiries no copies are to be found in the Libraries mentioned in the will.

with their and every of their appurtenances which are lyeing and being in Cowne St. Aldwins aforesaid and elesewhere in the county of Gloucester held by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester togeather also with all my horses goods utensils and implements of household and other things and coaches and harness or implements belonging to husbandry that shall be there or at Poulton at the time of my decease And also the plate there or at London belonging to me To hold the same leasehold messuages lands tenements and all and every other the freehold premisses and goods and chattels to my said cozen Jacob Harvy and John Mucklow their heirs executors administrators and assigns upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter limited and appointed and subject nevertheless to the payment of my debts and of the legacyes hereinbefore mentioned or shall herein after be particularly mentioned or in any future codicill that I may add to this my will that then all the rents issues and profits as they shall arise yearly off my messuages lands tenements and hereditaments both freehold copyhold and leasehold and all the rest and residue of my estate both reall and personal of what nature or kind-soever shall from time to time be payd to my son Fettiplace Bellers¹⁰

¹⁰ He was the oldest son and appears to have been a person of some note, and a writer on philosophy; his most important work is entitled *A Delineation of Universal Law*. He also wrote a play entitled *Injured Innocence*, produced at Drury Lane in 1732. In addition to being a philosopher and

for and during his natural life and from and after his decease and in case he shall marry a wife and she survive him that then one third part thereof from time to time shall be payd to such wife for and during the term of her natural life and the other two third parts thereof to be payd to his child or children if he shall leave any or leave his said wife ensient or with child of any and which shall be borne within ten months next after his decease for and towards the respective mainteynance of such child or children until he she or they shall attain to his her or their respective ages of twenty one years or day or days of marriage and from and after his her or their arrival to their said respective ages of twenty one years or days of marriage then and in such case my said cosens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow and the survivor of them or the heirs executors and administrators of such survivor shall and will permit and suffer such child or children and his her and their heirs and assigns to have receive and take the same to his her and their own proper use and uses for ever the same to be divided equally between them share and share alike and to take the same as tennants in common and not as joint tennants and my will and meaning further is that my said cosens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow and the survivor of them and the heirs executors or administrators of such survivor shall by and out of my estate be payd and

playwright, he was something of a geologist, came into intimate touch with Sir Hans Sloane, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1711.

satisfied all such costs charges and expences whatsoever that they or either or any of them may sustain or be put unto for or by reason or means of their or either or any of their transacting and managing of any affairs relating to this my last will and testament and they or either or any of them shall not be charged or chargeable with more moneys than what shall actually come to their respective hands or possessions and that if any loss or damage shall happen to them or either of them by putting out at interest any money which may happen to be payd into either or any of their hands for the uses aforesaid then my mind and will is that my said cosens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow or either of them or the heirs executors or administrators of the survivor of them shall not in any wise be charged or chargeable therewith or be obliged or made lyable to answer and make good the same but in case my son Fettiplace Bellers's children shall all dye before they come of age or are marryed or there shall be no such child or children then my will and meaning is that my said daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliott shall have receive and take the same to the use of them and the heirs of their bodyes and in default of such issue to them their heirs executors and administrators to be equally divided between them share and share alike and to take as tennants in common and not as joint tennants. Item I give and bequeath to my said son Fettiplace Bellers one hundred pounds one half thereof to be payd to him within one month and the other half within three

months next after my decease and I hereby appoint that the children of my sister Mason¹¹ shall be payd what is due to them from my said son Fettisplace Bellers as also what is due from him to my friend John Askew¹² by and out of the rents issues and profits of my estate As for my books instruments mapps draughts and letters both those that are at London as well as those which are at Cowne Allins in the county of Gloucester I appoint that they shall be kept in one place for the use of all my children and their posterity under the following rules First that every one that shall claim any use of the said Books instruments mapps draughts and letters shall pay their part towards the rent of the room in which they shall be kept except they can procure such room rent free secondly that my three children shall appoint the keeping of them where and by whom as they or the major part of them shall agree upon And as they dye by their children thirdly no one shall take out above five books at a time and those to be returned again in twelve months at furthest Fourthly none that shall receive any books out shall have any more new books out but as

¹¹ Mary, sister of John Bellers, married Cornelius Mason, of London, in 1690.

¹² His name figures frequently in the Uppertime Minutes (Bucks.). At the Monthly Meeting at Hunger Hill, 5 mo. 1, 1695, he is described as "heretofore servant to John Bellers, having formerly lived sometime in this County . . . did some tyme since transport himself into Pensilvania" (Minutes in D.). The Meeting issued a certificate on his behalf.

they shall return any or all the books which they had borrowed before And I hereby constitute and appoint my said two cozens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow to be the Executors of this my last will and testament And I give to each of them twenty pounds And I revoak and make void all former wills by me made and declare this to be my last will and testament but in case any one or more of my children shall endeavour to break in upon this my will in whole or in part or upon the settlements which I have made on my daughters Ingram and Eliott or either of them that then I hereby disannull and make void what I have given them in this my last will except only on shilling In witness whereof to this my last will and testament conteining with this sheet three sheets of paper I have subscribed my name to each sheet and affixed my seal to the first and last sheet thereof the third day of March in the eleventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George by the Grace of God King of Great Britain &c. Annoq Dui 1724/5 — John Bellers — Signed sealed published and declared by the said testator as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names in the presence and at the request of the said testator after the interlineation of these words (and the heirs of their bodyes and in default of such issue to them) between the fourth and fifth lines of the third and last sheet—Hen : Cock (?Cook) Servt to Mr. Bellers—John Bellamy—Nath Bellamy.

I add this as a codicill to my

will lately made I give all my plate to my two daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliot and what bedds or bedding I have at either of their houses I give to them at whose house they are at Witness my hand this fifth of March 1724/5—John Bellers Witness Henrietta Cook I don't give none of the things given to my cozen Tho: Church in my will to either of my daughters—John Bellers.

16th Aug^t 1725.

Which day Appeared personally Fettyplace Bellers of the Inner Temple London Esquire and by virtue of his corporal Oath deposed that he is the natural and lawful son of John Bellers late of Coln St. Alwins in the county of Gloucester deceased who dyed in the month of April last past and that he is very well acquainted with the manner and character of his hand writing having often seen him write and having now seen and perused the paper writing hereto annexed beginning thus I ad this as a codicill to my will and ending thus I don't give none of my things given to my cozn Tho: Church in my Will to either of my daughters and signed John Bellers does verily believe the same to be totally wrote and subscribed by and with the proper hand of the said deceased

FETTIPLACE BELLERS

Die praed Dictus Fettyplace Bellers juratus fuit super Veritate Praemissorum coram me Gul: Strahan Surr. Prsen Ever: Sayer Norio Pubco.

Proved 27th August 1725.
and Proved 23rd September 1742.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN.—It is due to English Friends, whose assistance has been very fully appreciated, that some statement should be made as to the progress of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal.

The recent decision to incorporate Woolman's Essays in this volume has doubled the labour, and will involve a certain amount of delay in publication. It is wiser, nevertheless, to endeavour to make the work as complete as possible, since the accuracy which is essential must not be sacrificed by going forward too rapidly. It is fully expected, however, that the work will be ready not later than the coming Autumn.

Unfortunately *no* copies of John Woolman's "A.B.C." Book for Children have been found in America, the statement in *Friends' Intelligencer* of October 17th to the contrary notwithstanding. Reference was probably intended to several photographs then recently received, of the unique copy preserved in Devonshire House Library, which, however, is the *third* edition. The search is still going on, with the feeling that some attic in Burlington County or Philadelphia must contain the tiny book among its lumber.

The Editor desires to thank those Friends in England who have most kindly furnished valuable notes and information, and will be very glad to have anything further bearing on the life of John Woolman, however apparently unimportant. — AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE, *Haverford, Pennsylvania.*

ELIZABETH HOOTON

FIRST QUAKER WOMAN PREACHER

(1600-1672)

BY

EMILY MANNERS

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