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THE WORKS OF
JOHN SMYTH

FELLOW OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, 1594-8

TERCENTENARY EDITION FOR THE
BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WITH NOTES AND BIOGRAPHY BY

W. T. WHITLEY

M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Sometime Exhibitioner of King's College

None of the English Separatists had a finer mind
or a more beautiful soul.

MANDELL CREIGHTON



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The Works of John Smyth

Extract from Preface

THIS edition of the works of John Smyth offers the opportunity for a pioneer to be studied at first hand. He had never been utterly forgotten, for when Americans who preferred to look to New England rather than to Virginia as the formative district of their nation, were telling its earliest story, they glanced casually at the friend of Brewster mentioned by Bradford; and when English Congregationalists were searching into their origins, they caught a glimpse of one who passed through their position. But in comparison with Browne and Robinson, Johnson and Ainsworth, or Jacob, Smyth has been but dimly known, chiefly by reflected light, even to Hanbury in 1839.

Fifty years ago, Benjamin Evans broke new ground and printed many documents long unknown to Englishmen, revealing Smyth's doings in Amsterdam. Further search by John Waddington, Robert Barclay and Henry Martyn Dexter was so far rewarded that a better background was afforded, and then the last named student earned thanks by revealing the "Character of Smyth" as told by himself and his contemporaries, and by exposing a stupid forgery which bade fair to confuse the tale. His posthumous work on the *England and Holland of the Pilgrims* reverted to the earlier treatment of Smyth as an appendage to those heroes, while John Brown and Edward Arber had naturally adopted the same standpoint.

The importance of Smyth's work had been discerned by Mandell Creighton, and when Henry W. Clark wrote the *History of English Nonconformity* to expound ideas rather than facts, a more sympathetic spirit was evinced. More errors were eliminated by J. H. Shakespeare in his study of *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*, all too brief. When Walter H. Burgess prepared to publish on *Baptist Origins*, he not only added to our knowledge of fact by his minute research, but placed Smyth in the forefront, both of the narrative and of the title. Next year, Champlin Burrage in his *Early English Dissenters* treated of him in true perspective with the attention to detail that is so conspicuous in all his work.

All students, however, who desired better acquaintance with Smyth, were seriously hindered by the difficulty of reading his works. Though seven books were published, only seventeen copies in all are known, and no town

The Works of John Smyth

contains more than three works. At the very best, Cambridge, York, and Oxford must be visited; while Amsterdam must be added for manuscripts. Moreover, the typography of most of the books is trying in the extreme. So it has been far easier to read what Smyth's opponents said about him, or to copy some isolated sentence extracted for a purpose, than to consult the whole book and let Smyth speak for himself.

To rescue him from this predicament has long been the hope of the present editor, and means have been provided by the Hibbert Trustees (through the kind offices of Sir W. J. Collins), by Principal Gould and Sir George Macalpine, president and vice-president of the Baptist Historical Society, under whose auspices the edition appears. The librarian of Emmanuel College arranged for a transcript of the *Morning Starre*, a copy of the *Paterne* was lent by Dr Gould, Bodley's librarian permitted the *Paralleles* and the *Character* to be photographed page by page, the editor copied the *Principles* and the *Retractations* at York Chapter library, the *Differences* at the Bodleian, and supplied a slight ~~part~~ in the *Character* from the ~~MS~~

~~the manuscripts at~~ were consulted by the courtesy of Professor S. Cramer, and in their study the editor was aided by Carel J. Ströer, who arranged for transcripts. The archivist of the city of Amsterdam cleared up a long-standing obscurity as to the last home of Smyth, and produced a contemporary map showing its site and appearance; from this the frontispiece has been copied...

The editor has added notes on such points as seemed to need comment, and on such as had special interest for himself. He has also prefixed a study of the author's career. For this he has naturally used the works named, and the contemporary books that alluded to Smyth. He has accepted the assurances of the Registry of Cambridge and the late Master of Christ's that nothing more is extant there than is here incorporated. He has sought at first hand, in both the municipal and the diocesan records at Lincoln, profiting by the aid of W. S. Linton and of the vicar of Welton, as well as of the official custodians. He has consulted the Mennonite and the civic archives at Amsterdam...

Further, in these pages is pointed out, what has escaped serious attention, the time, place, and circumstances when the Pilgrim Church was born...

The Works of John Smyth

Apart from matters of fact, the editor hopes to have presented the subject afresh in three respects; the starting-point of Smyth's career, its consistency, and the permanent result of his work.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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A Glimpse of Old Nantucket

JT was my privilege the other day to stand on the moors near the western end of Nantucket Island,¹ and look over the site of the earliest English settlement.

The high wind swept so strongly from the direction of "the Continent," that even the huckleberry bushes and the short blades of yellow grass all about us leaned away from the northerly gale—"a dry nor' easter," that almost blew us off our feet.

As we looked west from our hill, Tuckernuck and Muskeget Islands were on the horizon, or nearer. North of us, on the cliff, named from a famous Indian chief, rose the pipe of the waterworks of Wonnacomett, and south stretched the "Hummocks" to the ocean. Behind us, in the distance, lay the old town of Nantucket, whence we had come. All about us was hilly ground, with swampy hollows, filled with the wonderful flora for which the Island is famous. Beds of hibiscus, and groups of the exquisite sabbatia, with many others as rare, may be found by the diligent seeker, and there are those who know the haunt of the real Scotch heather, quite at home on the moorland so like its native hills. Some of the many ups and downs, through or around which we passed, are the old cellar-holes of the first English comers on the Island.

Space does not here permit to relate the story of the early settlement by the English. Indian and Norse legend goes far back in date, but fact begins in 1641, when James Forrett, as agent for Lord Sterling, to whom all

the lands between Cape Cod and the Hudson River had been granted by the Crown, sold this Island and the two smaller ones adjoining, to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, merchant, and his son of the same name. Eighteen years later, July 2, 1659, Mayhew, Senior, sold to the nine original proprietors, for thirty pounds and "two Beaver Hatts, one for myself and one for my wife"! The Indian titles were secured, but since the Sachems were given to deeding land owned by a neighbouring Sachem instead of their own, certain titles to property had to be unravelled with much heart-burning later on!

My chief impulse to visit this spot, now deserted by the inhabitants in favor of a more sheltered site for their town, came from an afternoon spent poring over a gift recently made, by a descendant, to the Nantucket Historical Society. This is a priceless old account book once belonging to Mary Starbuck, a woman who deserves to stand in our Quaker annals beside the Margaret Fells, Elizabeth Hootons and Mary Dyers of history.

The old vellum folio measures nine by eleven inches, and the loops for the leather thongs that tied it together are still in place. It is the third in point of age of any document so far discovered bearing on the history of early Nantucket. A memorandum inside the cover declares it to begin in 1662. But the first pages are missing, and the regular entries begin "Sept^r '83," when the Indian "Cannontimuck" was paid for bringing barley, "turnaps," and Indian corn (maize). Much of the pioneer life can be built up from this fascinating old book. Trade with the Indians was lively, and feathers are the means of exchange for powder and shot, and occasionally a bit of old iron. Primitive necessities and worldly luxuries are curiously mingled, as, for instance, "To a paire of purple Collered Shoos, five shillings," and "To a yerling's scin" (yearling's skin) two shillings and four pence! Fish comes from Coatue, Sasacacha and Squam, and Abigail Natane is paid eight shillings "for plowing an acre p^r Josiah," probably a squaw and her son. Some of the Indians, with their picturesque names, are Wannacomet, Cannontimuck, Wattashamonett, Shawoner, Wauwinet, and Winnapo described as "an

Indian from ye uineard" (Martha's Vineyard).² Other Indians have received English names, like "Little Daniel," and "Mycall," and one, who is evidently a well-mannered man, is known as "ye Gentleman."

Doubtless Mary Starbuck, being a capable and versatile woman, helped to fit out her neighbors in clothing, as well as herself, for there are many charges for "making cloakes and trim" "petecotes;" a "duzen" buttons; "scains of thrid" (skeins of thread), and more than one "samar," which was a gown or scarf with its French name askew, *i.e.*, *simarre!* These more sophisticated articles are usually paid for "in Mony."

In 1699, (May 23rd) prices interest us:

A Callimink Jacob [Callimanco Jacket]	..	..	..	2	£
As mony in pay	..	..	..	3	0 0
A stuff peticot, 8½ lb. wool, 12 sh. pr. yard	..	..	..	1	0 0
2 lbs. wool and a bonnet	..	..	..	4	6

Duffels, ozenbriggs, callimanco, are some materials in use. In November, 1686, a "Caster [beaver] Hatt and two yards of ——" [*illegible*] cost £1 3s. 6d. Mary "nets a paire of stokins" for herself, and charges them at two shillings and sixpence. A canno (canoe) is bought of an Indian, and in 1687, "To wool, to pay for the Fraite [freight] of a Horse," fifteen shillings. Another charge is "To a goate, as Mony." The great industry of sheep-raising is foreshadowed by the use of wool as another means of exchange and a spinning-wheel and cards (for wool) appear.

Some of the handwriting of the old folio is more masculine, and is probably that of Nathaniel Starbuck,³ Mary's husband. Their account runs to 1715, when their son, Nathaniel, Junior, carries it on. The whaling industry, to which volumes might be devoted, and which made of Nantucket in the eighteenth century a great and important port, is here shown in its beginnings. Indians help the natives "lay out" the oil from whales cast up on the shore, and the first entry of the Indian into the trade may be perceived in this book. In 1730, Nathaniel Starbuck, Junior, writes:

by ½ bbl. oyl. formerly gott by lying on shoar	..	..	1	5	0
By oyl and bone gott with Tristram [Coffin] along shoar in ye					
winter 1730	..	..	2	17	0

There is a mine of information in the old book—but we can only hope that it will soon serve as a text for a historian.

Who was Mary Starbuck ?

Born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 2, 1645, she was the seventh child of Tristram and Dionis Coffin.⁴ The superstitious have pointed to this fact, in following her later career ! Tristram Coffin was one of the original purchasers of Nantucket, and his daughter Mary, at the age of seventeen, married Nathaniel, son of Edward and Catharine Starbuck, also of the proprietors. Mary Starbuck was a woman of rare intellect and ability, of strong character, and a domestic economist of a high order. In the absence of the men of her family she administered justice, and was loved and respected by her fellow townsmen, exerting an influence over them almost unparalleled in colonial history. She was known as “the Great Woman,” and her prototype is Deborah, among the Hebrews.

Such was the position of this remarkable woman when the first Quaker preachers appeared on the Island. Earliest came Thomas Chalkley, in 1698. Then followed John Richardson, who paid a tribute to Nantucket housekeeping when he had his meeting in her “bright-rubbed room,” and then came Thomas Story, in 1706. Under the powerful influence of a man whom Mary Starbuck must at once have recognised as a scholar and lawyer, as well as preacher, she embraced Quakerism with ardor and enthusiasm. Tradition asserts that Peter Folger⁵ had once baptized her as a Baptist ; but she cast aside all forms and became an eloquent preacher, making many converts to the new faith. For several years meetings were held in the great “fore-room” of her home, known as “Parliament House,” and she brought up her ten children to follow in her steps. Her eldest child, Mary, is said to have been the first white child born on Nantucket. Her husband recognized her very superior endowments, and aided her in every way in his power.

Mary Starbuck died September 13, 1717—her husband outliving her by two years. Quakerism on Nantucket was destined to an enormous growth, and a decline

complete. Its records are kept in Lynn, Massachusetts. Not a member of the Society now resides on the Island, where thousands once dwelt.

On the moors on which we stood that September day was the site of Mary Starbuck's home. Somewhere here, in the unmarked Quaker graveyard, in what for a time was Sherburne, lie her remains. Even the town has disappeared totally from the hill, and only the grave of John Gardiner, one of the earliest settlers, and a monument to his companions, mark the burial place of so many.

As we came away on the boat next day, with the silhouette of old Nantucket town clear cut against the sky, we could only hope that someone in the near future would give us a just tribute to the memory of Mary Starbuck.

NOTES

¹ NANTUCKET: called *Nanticon*, according to early tradition, by Leif Erikson, an explorer from Norway, A.D. 1000-1. Sir Ferdinand Gorgas (*circa* 1630) calls it *Nantican*. Dr. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, in his recent book, *Nantucket: a History* (p. 25), says, "In all likelihood the name *Nanticon* was merely a Norse approximation to the original Indian name of the Island, viz., *Natocket*, meaning "The far away land." Many Indian names in Southern New England end in *et*, signifying usually some approach to water.

Nantucket Island is situated twenty-eight miles south of the Peninsula of Cape Cod, having a sandy soil, and is fifteen miles long and from three to four miles wide. In shape it is triangular. From earliest days it was inhabited by Indians, who were more friendly with the first white settlers than many historians have given them credit for.

[See Lydia S. Hinchman, *Early Settlers of Nantucket*, 1901 (in D.).—EDS.]

² MARTHA'S VINEYARD.—The name has been ascribed to Bartholomew Gosnold, who probably landed there in 1602. Captain John Smith, however, whose *General Historie of Virginia* was published in 1624 (see *Works*: Arber Ed., p. 333), says "And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of strawberries, resperies . . . etc., which made us call it *Martha's Vineyard*."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that *Martin's Vineyard* "appears on some maps as late as 1670." This name has never been in common use, and appears to be a later form, and, probably, incorrectly used.

This island lies west of Nantucket, and nearer the mainland, nineteen miles long, and some five miles in width, less sandy than its neighbor, and in certain parts very productive. The last Indians on "The Vineyard" have only disappeared in comparatively recent years.

[A novel by Agnes Harrison picturing life on this Island, entitled *Martin's Vineyard*, appeared in 1872 (see THE JOURNAL, ix. 124).—EDS.]

³ The names of EDWARD and NATHANIEL STARBUCK in connection with Nantucket first occur February 2nd, 1659, at Salisbury, Massachusetts, as Associates of the original Nantucket owners. The first house on the Island was built by Edward Starbuck, who died in 1691. Nathaniel Starbuck married Mary, daughter of Tristram Coffin, and their ten children have perpetuated the name to the present day. Mary Starbuck died 1717, Nathaniel, her husband, in 1719. The Starbuck account book after 1715 contains no entry in the earlier hand. After 1734 it was kept by Nathaniel Starbuck, Jun., who died 1753. The Starbucks from the first settlement were chief traders with the Indians, and the place of exchange was at one or other of their houses.

Edward Starbuck is supposed to have accompanied Thomas Macy, his wife and five children, to Nantucket, in the autumn of 1659, and they are usually regarded as the first settlers. There is documentary proof that Macy had been fined by the General Court of Massachusetts for "harboring Quakers," but the actual circumstances of Whittier's charming poem, "The Exiles," must not be seriously taken as history.

⁴ TRISTRAM COFFIN, a resident of Salisbury, Massachusetts, where dwelt most of the associate owners of the Island. He was the pioneer among the purchasers of 1659, and his favorable report, after a preliminary visit, is supposed to have led the first group of proprietors to undertake the settlement of Nantucket. He had five sons—Tristram, James, Peter, John, and Stephen. One daughter married Stephen Greenleaf, and another Nathaniel Starbuck. Tristram Coffin was one of the most prominent men on the Island until his death in October, 1681. His descendant, Lucretia (1793-1880), daughter of Thomas Coffin, of the town of Nantucket, married James Mott, of New York, and became a well-known leader in the Abolition Movement and the early political Suffrage cause.

Mary Coffin, Tristram's seventh child, shared in a belief common to many primitive people, that a fortunate star presided over the birth of a seventh son or daughter, and still more, the seventh of a seventh.

⁵ PETER FOLGER.—Born in England, 1617. Came to America with his father about 1635, and was living on the Island of Martha's Vineyard in 1658. He appears to have gone to Nantucket as interpreter of the Indian language for the first group of settlers. He took a half share as proprietary and removed there in 1659. Peter Folger was probably the best educated man among the settlers, and at once became very influential. He was the town miller, and a weaver and blacksmith, besides filling the offices of surveyor and keeper of the records. After 1673, he was made Clerk of the Courts, and wrote *A Looking Glass for the Times, or the Former Spirit of New England Revived in this Generation*. He died at Nantucket in 1690.

Peter Folger was the maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, whose mother was his daughter, Abiah. She married Josiah Franklin, tallow-chandler, who was of a Northamptonshire family. Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, January 6th [O.S.], 1706, was the fifteenth of their seventeen children.

Haverford, Pa.

AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

Where the holy sense is lost, possession of the highest truths cannot preserve against the enemy's assaults.

WILLIAM PENN, *Tender Counsel and Advice*, 1695, p. 6.

A Quaker Courtship

THE character of the [second] wife of Isaac T. Hopper was extremely modest and reserved; and he took mischievous pleasure in telling strangers the story of his courtship in a way that made her blush. "Dost thou know what Hannah answered, when I asked her if she would marry me?" said he. "I will tell thee how it was. I was walking home with her one evening, soon after the death of her mother, and I mentioned to her that as she was alone now, I supposed she intended to make some change in her mode of living. When she said yes, I told her I had been thinking it would be very pleasant to have her come and live with me. 'That would suit me exactly,' said she. This prompt reply made me suppose she might not have understood my meaning; and I explained that I wanted to have her become a member of my family; but she replied again, 'There is nothing I should like better.'"

The real fact was, the quiet and timid Hannah Attmore was not dreaming of such a thing as a proposal of marriage. She supposed he spoke of receiving her as a boarder in his family. When she at last perceived his meaning, she slipped her arm out of his very quickly, and was too much confused to utter a word. But it amused him to represent that she seized the opportunity the moment it was offered.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper* [1771-1852], 1853, p. 370.

Isaac T. Hopper and his Quaker Library

NO man in the country [America] had such a complete Quaker library. He contrived to pick up every old rare volume connected with the history of his sect. He had a wonderful fondness and reverence for many of those books. They seemed to stand to him in the place of old religious friends, who had parted from his side in the journey of life. There, at least, he found Quakerism that had not degenerated; that breathed the same spirit as of yore. . . . His Quaker library was left in the care of his children, with directions that it should be kept where members of the Society of Friends or others interested could have ready access to it.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper* [1771-1852], pp. 380, 404, 477.

Where is this library now?

It is related by Sewel, the historian, that the havoc and spoil which Friends in Ireland underwent, about the year 1689, was enormous; the losses sustained by them, in one year alone, being estimated at £100,000.
Select Miscellanies, 1852, i. 141.

John Bright

J B . . . t 1826

By the kindness of Ernest E. Taylor we are able to present our readers with above reproduction of the carving by John Bright [1811-1889] of his initials on a form in the Meeting House at Newton-in-Bowland, in the year 1826. We are informed that many years later, about 1870, when John Bright revisited Newton, he looked at the carving and acknowledged it as his work.

When I reflect on the deep mysteries of our religion - when I remember my own doubts and my own frailty, - when I think upon the awful & unknown future, - what can I that I should judge another in religious things, & condemn a fellow man to exclusion & persecution on such grounds as these?

London

April 30. 1851

John Bright

Postscript of a letter addressed to Isaac Sharp [1806-1897] at "Sydney, N.S.W." from 132, Piccadilly, London, in the possession of Isaac Sharp, nephew of the above.

John Bellers in Official Minutes

Concluded from page 127

THE years 1693 to 1699 have been described as “the seven years of famine,” and a study of the period leads to the conclusion that the title is an accurate description. Among the torrent of literature containing suggestions for the relief of the prevailing distress, one pamphlet is worthy of more attention than it has heretofore received. It came from the hand of John Bellers and was entitled *Proposals for Raising A Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth*. This was first published in the year 1695, and reprinted in 1696. Since then it has been reprinted several times. In 1790 it appeared as an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Plan of a Public Charity, with some former Plan for the same Purpose*; then again, by John Morton Eden in his *State of the Poor*, issued 1797, and also by Robert Owen in the year 1817. Owen, according to his biographers, owed a good deal to Bellers. He tells us that Bellers “furnished the actual model for the villages of co-operation and unity”; certainly the influence of Bellers can be traced in Robert Owen’s method and ideas.⁵

Bellers’s *Proposals*, in common with other material intended for publication, was submitted to the “Second Days Morning Meeting,” and a Committee was appointed to consider the MS. in conjunction with a Committee of fifteen appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings, including Daniel Quare and William Meade. The full minute of the Meeting for Sufferings reads as follows and is under date of the 5th of Fifth Month, 1695.

Jn^o ffield signifyeing y^t he and Theodor Eccleston were desired by the 2^d dayes Morning [Meet :] to acq^t this Meet : of a proposall of Jn^o Bellers’s Relating to the poor (which he proposed to be Recommended to the severall Quarterly Meetings in the Counties) and y^t Meet :

⁵ See THE JOURNAL xi. 93.

166 JOHN BELLERS IN OFFICIAL MINUTES

desireing y^t some ffriends might be Nominated by this Meeting to meet the ffriends appointed by them to Read and consider the same.

This Meet: therefore Referrs the Consideraçon thereof to the ffri^{ds} following [fifteen in number] or any 4 of them, with any other ffaithfull ffriends y^t are ffree to Meet at the Close of the 2 Weeks Meeting at Devonshire house and B. Bealing to give the ffriends absent Notice to be there.

At a meeting of the Second Day's Morning Meeting held the 26th of Sixth Month, 1695, it is recorded: "Jn^o Bellers Manuscript is left to him to doe with as he sees meet."

No doubt this pamphlet was read widely by Friends. In order to emphasise the importance of the social problem the Yearly Meeting of 1697 made an appointment of eight to consider a scheme suggested by John Bellers for employing the poor. In reporting to a later sitting this Committee recommended that Monthly and Quarterly Meetings should be consulted. The Committee's detailed suggestions are embodied in the following epistle⁶:

To the ffriends and Brethren of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England and Wales.

Dear ffriends

Jn the love of the powerfull holy Truth which hath gathered us into one body and Reduceth all things into y^e best order We tenderly salute you: hereby signifyeing That for as much as severall Members of our last yearly meeting and others of the Brethren here, have expressed their Deep and Weighty concern for the better Education of our Children and Youth in an Early Jnstruction in the way of Truth, and also in the acquirements of usefull Languages and Sciences, and in necessarie Jmployements of labour and Jndustry, suitable to their age ability and strength

It was proposed to y^e meeting to consider of the most proper methods and means for effecting of things soe necessarie and Jmportant both to y^e poor and Rich. To w^{ch} end and for the Receiving of all proposalls on this subject a select meet: was appointed by the Yearly Meet: whose Report being Returned the matter was at last assigned unto us to Receive further proposalls, and to Recommend unto your serious Consideraçon. The substance whereof followeth.

As to y^e printed proposall of John Bellers for a Colledge of Jndustry for y^e better Maintenance of y^e Poor and Education of Children. We think fitt to Reccommend the same to your farther consideraçon how farr it may answer the ends by him proposed and how much you may

⁶ Sundry Ancient Epistles, p. 154 (MS. in D.).

be willing to Jncourage it by a Voluntary Contribution. ffor if one House or Colledge for a begining were set on foote by a Joynt stock by ffriends of Estates throughout y^e Kingdom (severall having subscribed considerably already) it might by Right Managem^t be of Use to the Ends intended and of good Report and Example to the Naçon.

For the better Education of the youth of ffriends there is a concern on Us tenderly to Reccommend to you that care be taken to have such schools in your respective Countyes wherein your Children may not onely be Jnstructed in Languages and Sciences in the Way of Truth, but likewise in some profitable and commendable labours or Jndustrious Exercise, w^{ch} may prevent many Temptations attending idleness and instill principles of Jndustry with Literature both in rich and poor, which may also contribute to y^e poor Childrens Maintenance and take away the occasion of the Reflection of the Dutch Proverb on our English viz^t That they keep their Children to work to make things for ours to playe withall—and this also will no way be Irksome to Children, when put upon it in a loving way.

3 To which end that care be taken in every County to allow a Competent Maintenance to Masters or at first 2 or 3 Countyes may Joyne and have the use of some Convenient House or Houses Rent free—and any suitable and Jncourageing sune Borne by the County or Countyes, and that in Consid^{ra}çon thereof a Competent Number of the Children of Poor friends or such as cannot well bestow Education at schooles be Taught free cost or if Boarded to be assisted therein by y^e Countyes.

This with w^t might be added by ffriends that are able to pay 'tis hoped will prove a comfortable subsistance for such as shall fitt themselves for y^t Jmploye.

4 That in order to Breed up school Masters it be considered by Monthly or Quarterly Meets^s w^t poor Children of ffriends are of a proper Genius for Learning that they may be Qualified for y^t Jmployem^t at such meet : or meet^s cost.

5 And its Reccommended to your Respective meet^s : to take care some Weighty suitable ffriends goe and inspect Schooles and the ffamilyes of ffriends in the severall Countyes, and to see y^t the advice of ffriends be duly answered in this great concern and y^t w^t care possible may be had by all ffriends not to Receive into their Houses as servants any but such as are well disposed. That the Manners of their Children be not corrupted by their evill Communication nor Taught Evill in Word or Deed by their Example ; for Children and servants converse much together, and the Children when Tender are very subject to Receive Jmpressions from such as they converse with.

6 That special care be had that such Children as are fitt for apprentices be put unto honest ffriends that they may be preserved in the way of Truth—in Habitt and Language—and encouraged to goe to meet^s the contrary practice haveing been often seen to be of very ill Consequence.

7 That whereas there may be divers young Men among ffriends that

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are already in some degree Capable of Teaching Children if any such come Reccommended from Monthly or Quarterly Meetings Rich^d Scoryer of Wansworth near London offers freely to Jnforme and direct such in his method of Teaching and to take some Pains in compleating them in Writting or Arithmitick They providing for themselves Meat Drink and Lodging.

Signed on behalfe of the 2^d days morning meet : and meet : for sufferings, Lond^o the 2^d 5 mo. 1697, By

BENJAMIN BEALING.

Postscript.

And its desired that the ffriends of the Monthly and Quarterly Meets^s Report back to y^e meet : for sufferings their sense of the foregoing Propositions. Jf any ffriend desire Jn^o Bellers Printed Proposals Tace Sowle the Printer can supply them.

Following out the Yearly Meeting's suggestion the "Proposals" were referred to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for consideration, and from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings it is possible to get some idea of the opinion up and down the country. On the 29th of Eighth Month, 1697, a letter is read from Cornwall Quarterly Meeting, reporting that "they look upon the designe of John Bellers as reasonable and Charitable," but distance prevents them from doing very much. The "City Monthly Meet within the Walls" on the 9th of Twelfth Month, 1697, write that "they had Considered of Jn^o Bellers proposition for settling the poor at Work—and desire it may be Encouraged—and are Endeavouring to answer the severall propositions for Erecting and Regulating of Schooles." Gloucester Quarterly Meeting reports approval of the proposals to the Meeting held 4th of First Month, 1697/8, which Meeting directs Benjamin Bealing "to get the act for Jmployeing the poor at Bristoll agst next Meeting." On the 25th of First Month, 1698, it is recorded:

Jn^o Bellers bro^t in the Minutes of the Bristoll Act And an Abstract of a Bill for the Jmployeing y^e poor. Jn^o Bellers and Rich^d Hawkins are desired to help ffri^{ds} to y^e Bristoll and Colchester Acts or any other for Jmploying the Poor.

The consideration is referred to twenty-two prominent Friends who were asked "to meet at y^e Chamber next 3^d day at 5th hour in the Evening to prepare Heads suitable to our Case for y^e Jmploying of our poor."

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At the meeting held on the 1st of Second Month a copy of the "Herefordshire Bill" was brought in, while at the next meeting on the 8th of Second Month, Friends on the appointment are requested "to consult members of Parliament re drawing up some Heads proper for a Bill for the Jmployeing our poor." This was done and on the 12th of Third Month Friends were able to record "A Bill bro^t in drawn up by a Clerk in Parliam^t in Relation to the better Jmployeing and Maintaining of our poor."

Progress is reported eight days later.

A Draught of a Bill for the better Maintaining and Jmployeing of our poor of London, Westm^r and Midx Read and Referred to Joseph Wyeth, Hen : Gouldney and Dan^l Quare to assist B. Bealing in getting it made more pfect ags^t next Meeting.

Under date 21st of Eighth Month, the three Friends above named "are desired to get the Draught of the Poors Bill finished with all Expedition ags^t the setting of the Ensueing Parliam^t." It was finally produced at the meeting on the 2nd of Tenth Month, 1698.

It is sad to relate that all the labour spent on the perfecting of this Parliamentary Bill was rendered useless by the dropping of the proposed measure! But not to be daunted, the Friends were continued to inspect Bills then before Parliament, especially to obtain a copy of "the Bill Relateing to the Conveying of Lands to any Colledge or Schoole for the Education of poor Scholars or any other Charitable Uses."

On the 20th of Eleventh Month, 1698/9,

John Bellers, Theodor Eccleston, Dan^l Quare or any Two of them are desired to consider of a General Clause y^t may be proper to Jncert in the Bill for Charitable Uses or any other Bill y^t they think meet, for the Jmployeing and otherwise Provideing for our Poor And y^e Draught of y^e Poors Bill Is at p^rsent laid bye.

Although Friends' own particular Bill was "laid bye," they still held a watching brief for the distressed poor during those trying years. On the 26th of Eleventh Month, 1699, the Meeting for Sufferings minuted:

The votes yesterday mentioning a Bill being bro^t in for the better Providing for the poor and seting y^m to work Theodor Eccleston &c to take out a Coppy of s^d Bill if they see cause.

At the same meeting Friends, including John Bellers, George Whitehead, Daniel Quare and William Meade, are desired to petition Parliament for a Bill to be brought in for the purchasing of lands and erecting of workhouses. By the 14th of First Month, 1700/01 it was reported to the meeting that permission must be obtained from Parliament before Friends could employ their own poor, and a Committee was appointed to go through the various Bills which had previously been before the meeting, and report "what they think proper to be done therein." A week later they present the following report:

After divers Considerations It was first agreed that John Bellers, John Danson, Hen: Gouldney, Theodor Eccleston or any 2 shall goe to Counsell upon the stat. 39. Eliz: Chap^r 5 to enquire whether or no y^t will not secure ffriends in their Jntent of Work Houses and stocks to Employe and support our poor seeing we want not the Powers of a House of Correction as is much the Purpose of divers of the late Acts for the Poor.

John Bellers is desired by the meeting to "attend the Parliamt upon a Gen^l Clause Relating to y^e Poor to be put in y^e Poors Bill."

On the 27th of Fourth Month, 1701, the opinions of Counsellor North and Counsellor King are brought to the meeting and Benjamin Bealing is ordered to enter the same in "the book of Presidents,"⁷ and also "to search to see w^t Monthly Meetings have omitted to Returne their Answers to this or the six Weeks meet: w^t they will doe in Relation to y^e Jmploying y^e Poor." The following minute is entered:

This meeting upon due Consideraçon of said Councells opinions Is satisfied that ffriends may Jmploye their Poor with safety. And it's agreed y^t the Quarterly Meets: be acquainted herewith in order for their Reccommending it to the Severall Monthly Meetings if they see meet to appoint two or 3 out of each meeting wth Direction to them to meet and Consult for the Managem^t of the s^d affaire and y^t they come Provided with an acco^t of the Poor and their sever^l Capacities.

The story of the negotiations for the establishment of the Clerkenwell Workhouse, and the early

⁷ Book of Cases, ii. 74 (MS. in D.).

history of that Institution, would require a separate article for its presentation, but it is clear that even before Counsels' opinion had been taken and legal difficulties settled, arrangements were well in hand for the establishment of the Workhouse.

The decease, in the early years of the eighteenth century, of the parents of Frances, wife of John Bellers,⁸ required him to give closer attention to his wife's estate at Coln St. Aldwyns, of which place he became Lord of the Manor. The property was held on lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.

The death of John Bellers took place in London on the 28th of Second Month, 1725. A full transcript of his will was printed on pages 103 to 108.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

⁸ Mary Fettiplace died on the 4th of First Month, 1700/01, and Giles Fettiplace on the 20th of Ninth Month, 1702.

The Preacher and his "Tools"

On the return voyage of Isaac T. Hopper [1771-1852] from a business visit to Europe, there was among the passengers a clergyman, whose acquaintance he made. At the Custom House in New York this clergyman was in some perplexity about a large quantity of books he had brought with him, on which it was proposed to charge high duties.

"Perhaps I can get them through for thee," said Friend Hopper. "I will try."

He went up to the officer and said, "Isn't it a rule of the Custom-house not to charge a man for the tools of his trade?" Hereplied that it was.

"Then thou art bound to let this priest's books pass free," rejoined the Friend. "Preaching is the trade he gets his living by, and these books are the tools he must use."

The clergyman, being aware of Quaker views with regard to a paid ministry, seemed doubtful whether to be pleased or not with such a mode of helping him out of difficulty. However, he took the joke as good-naturedly as it was offered, and the books passed free, on the assurance that they were all for his own library.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper*, 1853, p. 313.

Stranger Friends Visiting Scotland, 1650:1797

Continued from page 145

1700

GEORGE DIPLIDGE of Norwich, who “had som testimony in the oppen streat [at Edinburgh] for which he was putt in the tolboth,” JOSHUA MIDDLETON of Newcastle, JOHN DOUBLEDAY of Alnwick Abbey,¹ JOHN HIND, MARTIN BOUSTIN [Bowstead] of Cumberland,² THOMAS BAKER, RICHARD LATTIMER.¹ MARY ELLERTON of York and “her companion” were at Aberdeen Yearly Meeting, also at Hamilton, where, with other Friends, she was imprisoned “wpon the account [of her] declairing hir mind to the peopell when they ware coming out of the stepelhouss in the greav yaird She wrott appeper afterwards for the toune of hameltown which was read at this meeting,” says the Clerk of Edinburgh Yearly Meeting, “and this meeting had unity with it.”¹ Another English Friend who this year penned “a good and savoury paper” which met with the approval of Friends of Aberdeen and Edinburgh was THOMAS HICKS, but it seems doubtful whether he himself had been in Scotland.^{1, 2} “Two honest English Friends,” ANDREW GRAHAM of Cumberland and HENRY ATKINSON of London.²

In addition to the above, the following Friends are stated to have visited Scotland, probably towards the close of the seventeenth century:—JOSHUA BARBER of Yorkshire, JOHN CLOSE,³ JOHN ESTAUGH, ROGER LONGWORTH,³ RICHARD RANSOM of Norfolk,³ WILLIAM RIGG of Lancashire,³ SAMUEL WALDENFIELD of London.

1701

ELIZABETH JACOB of Limerick,⁴ THOMAS BRAITHWAITE and JOHN THOMPSON both of Westmorland,¹ SAMUEL BOWNAS, accompanied by ISAAC THOMPSON,

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“ a young man who had a fine gift ” ; when ! near Dumfries they fell in with JAMES DICKINSON and RICHARD and ROBERT LATTIMER all of Cumberland, and after they had had some refreshment at the inn in that town, Samuel Bownas relates : “ James said to us ‘ Lads, I find a concern to go into the street, will you go with me ? ’ ” They caused quite a sensation, “ for,” says Samuel Bownas, “ the Quakers were seldom seen in that town so many together. . . . James lifted up his voice like a trumpet among the people who were very quiet and attentive. When he was clear, we retired back to our inn, and divers followed us, who were very rude and wicked, but were not permitted to hurt us.”⁵ JOHN FOTHERGILL again visited Friends throughout Scotland :

Being in many Places truly comforted with Friends, and they encouraged and glad in a living Sense of the continued fatherly Regard, and Extendings of the Love of God toward them in that Nation, amongst a hard, self-conceited, and in some Places an envious People. . . . But a Case happen'd at Glasgow, when I was there, somewhat remarkable ; on a First-day of the Week, the People had very much disturbed us, in the afternoon Meeting especially, in their usual wicked and vain manner, and followed Friends after Meeting along a large open Street, where their Number increased, some shouting and scorning, others throwing Stones and Dirt ; one Stone of some Pounds weight passed with great force very near one of my Legs, which if it had been hit, must, I believe have been broke by it ; yet we were preserved from much harm : Whilst the People who were gather'd in great Numbers about their Doors, and saw what passed, seemed rather to be pleased with the abusive Behaviour of the Mob towards us, than to offer any Discouragement to them : Whereupon a Soldier, an Englishman, began to cry aloud three times, as if he had some publick Proclamation to make ; and when he had thereby drawn the Peoples Attention to him, he called aloud again, “ Behold the godly Town of Glasgow, how they entertain Strangers ! ” and repeated it three several times. Which Reproof made the People so ashamed, that they mostly took to their Houses and got out of sight.⁶

ALEXANDER SEATON and RICHARD MERSER from Ireland.²

1702

JAMES HALLIDAY, MARY LUPTON and ELIZABETH SCRIPPER.¹ JOHN CHALMERS from Ireland,^{1, 2} THOMAS WILSON from Kendal.³ KATHERINE [Frost] STORRS visited Scotland probably during this year.⁷

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1703

BENJAMIN HOLME of York, and WILLIAM BALDING: "At several Places we declared the Truth in the Streets." In Glasgow they were put in prison by "the Provost or Mayor (as he said) for travelling on the First day."⁸ JAMES DICKINSON and JONATHAN BURNYEAT, AMOS HIDLEY,¹ PATRICK HENDERSON of Dublin: when at Kinneil, near Linlithgow, he penned what the Records term "a weighty paper" addressed to the different Meetings in Scotland, and which would appear to have been soon afterwards printed.^{1, 2} JAMES BATTS [Bates] "of Wirginie." CHRISTOPHER STORY,¹ JANE FEARON of Cumberland, who is said to have been in Scotland twice this year. (It was probably on one of these occasions, when in company with James Dickinson, that she experienced those gruesome adventures at the lonely inn which used to thrill us juveniles.)⁹

1704

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG and THOMAS SCOTT,^{1, 2} WILLIAM WILLIAMSON of Westmorland and ISAAC [? John] THOMPSON.⁷

1705

JOHN CHAMBERS from Dublin, JOHN DOUBLEDAY, RICHARD FROST,¹ ESTHER FROST and RACHEL STORY,² JAMES HALIDAY, JOSHUA MIDDLETON.¹

1706

SAMUEL BLAIN, JOHN BOUSTEAD, JOHN CARLISLE, JAMES GILLESPIE, JOHN GRAHAM were all at Edinburgh Y.M.¹ THOMAS RUDD "for declairing his mind, preaching repentance in the Strits" was imprisoned at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and "in the thives hole" at Kelso.¹ THOMAS WILSON.³

1707

JAMES HALIDAY, JOHN HUGGALL, ANTHONY STURDY, CALEB TENNANT, JOHN "WRUING" [? Urwen or Irwin of Cumberland] were all at Edinburgh Y.M.¹

1708

JONATHAN BOWMAN, JONATHAN BURNYEAT, JOHN DOUBLEDAY,¹ JOHN FALLOWFIELD and DAVID HUDSON,²

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JAMES HALIDAY,¹ "Honest" BENJAMIN HOLME,² JOHN HUDSON, JEREMY HUNTER of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, JOSHUA MIDDLETON, JAMES WILSON of Westmorland.¹

1709

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, PETER ALISON, JOSEPH ATKINSON, HUMPHREY DOUBLEDAY, JOHN DOUBLEDAY, JOHN FALLINFIELD [? Fallowfield], DANIEL FORENESS [or Furnish], WILLIAM GLOSTER, RICHARD GRAHAM, JAMES HALIDAY, DAVID HODGEN [? Hodgson of Carlisle], WILLIAM HODGSONE, BENJAMIN HOLME, ROBERT HUNTINGTOUN [? of Carlisle], JONATHAN OSTELL of Cumberland, JOSEPH PATERSON, JOHN ROBBE, CHRISTOPHER STORY, THOMAS WAIK "from the Englishsid," RICHARD WATT.¹

1710

SAMUEL WILKINSON and WILLIAM WATTSON from Ireland attended Aberdeen Yearly Meeting.²

1711

DANIEL BELL [? of London], THOMAS FOSTER of Cumberland, ISAAC HADDEN [? Hadwen, of Yorkshire], ARCHIBALD HETHERINGTON of Cumberland.¹ ELIZABETH JACOB travelled in Scotland this year or next.⁴ JOHN LOWDON from Ireland.² SAMUEL SCOTT of London, GILBERT THOMPSON of Lancashire, THOMAS "URUIN" [? Irwin] of Cumberland.¹

1712

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, MUNGO BEULY from Ireland.¹ PETER FEARON from West Jersey, America.² JAMES GRAHAM, SAMUEL HOPWOOD,¹ JAMES STIRRAT from Ireland.²

1713

JOSEPH "ÆESWAY," JOHN ARMSTRONG,¹ JONATHAN BARON of Yorkshire, and ROBERT THOMPSON of Westmorland.² DANIEL FURNISH, THOMAS GRIER and WILLIAM HENDERSON of Ireland, JOHN SANDERSON, DANIEL STENHOUSE, THOMAS WETHERHILL.² Most of these Friends attended the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh in Third Month.

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1714

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, JOHN BELL, WILLIAM GRAHAM,
ISAAC HUNTENTON of Carlisle, CHRISTOPHER STORY.¹

1715

RICHARD BULLMAN,¹ JAMES GREIR of Ireland,^{1, 2}
ROBERT JACKSON,¹ JOHN TURNER of Ireland.^{1, 2}

1716

SAMUEL BOND, GEORGE GIBSON, JOSEPH GILL,
JOHN GRIERS, of Ulster, JO: NICHOLSON, JOHN
PARKINSON, EDMUND PECKOVER, STEPHEN SEDGWICK,
JOHN WALTON.¹

1717

ABRAM GOYMER, CALEB GRANGER,² JOHN IRVING
[? Irwin], DANIEL STEVENSON.² These four Friends were
at Edinburgh Yearly Meeting and signed the Epistle ad-
dressed to London Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ Lydia Lancaster of
Lancashire, who is said to have visited Scotland twice,³
seems to have been at Ury this year, " 07 : : 07 : : 0 "
having been paid to a Friend of that Meeting " for con-
voying JO: THOMSONE and LYDIA LANCASTER South."²

1718

HENRY ATKINSON, JO: GRAHAM, THOMAS STANNIX¹ :
probably this is the same Friend as " Tho: Staimrock "
who is said to have attended Aberdeen Yearly Meeting
with MARY HEY.²

1719

ISAAC HUNTEN Elder [? Huntington],¹ WALTER
NEWBERRY of Boston, New England,² RICHARD
PARTRIDGE, RICHARD WAYT, " ANA WOLSON with her
Companion " were at Hamilton Monthly Meeting this
Summer."¹

1720

HENRY ATKINSON,¹ SAMUEL BOWNAS and his com-
panion JOHN BLAMORE, a young man from Sedbergh.
" I found friends in that nation," says Samuel Bownas,
" very much decreased in number, above one half, and
sundry meetings quite dropt, unless when a friend

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came to visit them. I spent about six weeks in that nation, but nothing extraordinary happened."⁵ WALTER NEWBERRY and his companion RICHARD PARTRIDGE.²

1721

THOMAS ERESKIN of Allendale [afterwards of Edinburgh], HENRY SMITH of Northampton, WILLIAM FRANCIS, MARGARET WILLIAMSON [probably *née* Jaffray].²

1722

JAMES MILLER.¹

1723

JOSEPH BLACKBURN, THOMAS JOHNSON of Thorn, CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR.

1724

JOHN BLAIR, JOHN FOTHERGILL, WILLIAM IRWIN, RICHARD ROBISON.² JAMES PILLAR and JOHN TURNER from Ireland.²

1726

RALPH CRIFTER, JOHN DOUBLEDAY. Twelve pounds Scots were paid by Edinburgh Meeting "for guiding TABITHA HORNOR of Leeds and HANNAH DENT to Montross": and a similar sum "for guiding BETTY WILSON & her Companion"¹ [probably ELIZABETH WILSON of Ireland, and her companion, ELIZABETH PEASE];⁷ whilst £6. 4. 0 Scots was expended "in conveying JOHN YEATS of Yorkshire to Kelso, & shoeing & bleeding his Horse."¹

1727

WILLIAM GRAHAM, JOHN HUDSON, PETER HUDSON of Cumberland, JOHN TATE.¹

1728

JOHN BLAIN. THOMAS SCOTT and THOMAS STORY, who both spent some days in Edinburgh as we learn from the Meeting Accounts of money paid for their horses.¹ Thomas Story gives some interesting particulars of the good meetings which were held in various parts of the South of Scotland, although, he remarks,

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the number of Friends had greatly decreased. At Linlithgow, where there were only about half-a-dozen Friends left, there came to the Meeting "a wild-looking sort . . . but we sitting under some Concern and Sense of the Grace of God towards them, they grew more solid, and we had a good Time among them; and they went away very grave and sober." The public meeting at Glasgow was crowded "not with a rude Rabble, as in Times past, but an intelligent People, looking reputable among Men."¹¹ THOMAS WILKINSON of Cumberland,² BENJAMIN HOLME, "having had Drawings for some Time to visit Friends in North Britain," left his home in York in Eleventh Month and journeyed as far North as Elgin, returning by Aberdeen and the east coast, "having several Meetings amongst People that were not of our Society." His labours seem to have been continued throughout the winter and following spring.⁸

1729

BENJAMIN HOLME, ROBERT JORDAN from America, who took charge of the Epistle addressed by Edinburgh Yearly Meeting to London, JAMES MILLER.¹

1730

THOMAS BLEMIRE, DANIEL GLOSTER, ARCHIBALD HETHERINGTON, JOHN HUNTINGDON, HENRY IVISON, ROBERT LATIMER, THOMAS STORY and CHRISTOPHER WILSON, all Cumberland Friends, attended Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.¹

1731

CHARLES ALSOP, JOHN FETHERSTON, JOHN FOTHERGILL, JOHN HETHRENTON, "JOSS" JACKSON, RICHARD WAITT, THOMAS WETHERELL, ROWLAND WILSON of Westmorland.¹

1732

JOSEPH BLACKBURN, JOHN BROWN, JEREMIAH HUNTER. EDWARD WALTON and LANCELOT WARDELL, both of Sunderland.

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1733

JOHN ASHTON and JONATHAN BARNES from Ireland.⁷ JOHN BROWN, JOSEPH MILNER, DAVID SAUL.²

1734

DANIEL BADGER of London, JOHN BROWN, JAMES COTTON, JAMES MILLER. JOHN SHAW [? of Lancashire] and his companion.

1735

BENJAMIN HOLME. In the course of his journeyings throughout Scotland he reached Frazerburgh, where he "visited him called Lord Pitsligo, who received me kindly; and that Night I went to Lord Salton's, so called, who likewise received me kindly; I had a Meeting there, his Wife being a pious tender Woman."⁸

1736

THOMAS ANDERSON, THOMAS CARR [of Settle].²

1737

THOMAS COLDWELL of Darlington.² BENJAMIN HOLME paid another general visit to Scotland.⁸ MATHEW MELLOR and WILLIAM TAYLOR [both of Manchester].² JOHN TURNER and THOMAS TRUEMAN from Ireland.^{1, 2} DAVID HALL of Skipton in Craven, and JEREMY WHALLEY were probably in Scotland this year.¹²

1738

ISAAC SHARPLES of Hitchin, probably this year.³

1740

This year MOSES ALDRIDGE, of New England, probably visited Scotland, accompanied by ABRAHAM FULLER of Dublin¹³ (Moses Aldridge was certainly in Ireland this year¹⁴).

1741

SARAH BIRKBECK of Settle.¹⁵ "BETTY" SMITH [? of Norfolk] and "MOLLY" STORRS.²

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1742

“BETTY SIMKIN” [? Elizabeth Simpkins of Northamptonshire] and her companion. This was not improbably ALICE FETHERSTONE of Northumberland, who is said to have visited Scotland before her marriage in 1743.³

1743

THOMAS CHAPMAN from Yorkshire,² HENRY HAMMOND.¹

1744

JOHN BELL [? of London] signed the Epistle from Edinburgh Yearly Meeting in Third Month to London Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ ELIZABETH SHIPLEY, from Pennsylvania, probably visited Scotland this year.¹⁶ She was in Ireland in Third Month.¹⁷

1746

One of the last entries for this year in the very imperfectly kept accounts of Glasgow Meeting is the following:—“1746 paid for Sam fudergill and his wife o. 6. 4.”¹ (Probably SAMUEL and SUSANNAH FOTHERGILL of Warrington.)

1749

SUSANNAH HATTON, from Ireland. ELIZABETH HUDSON from Philadelphia, “who had NELLY REBANKS, daughter to Thomas Rebanks of Kendal for her Companion, but she did not appear in Publick.” PETER HUDSON and RACHEL SAUL, both of Cumberland. SAMUEL SPAVOLD of Folkestone, HENRY TRUEMAN of London.¹

1750

JOHN BEVINGTON of Warwickshire, SARAH CRAWLEY of Hitchin, and SARAH GOODWIN of Essex. JOHN KENDAL of Colchester, JOHN LEWIS of Pembrokeshire, DANIEL STANTON of Philadelphia.¹

The following Ministering Friends are also stated to have visited Scotland, probably during the first half of the eighteenth century:—JOHN ADAM of Yorkshire,⁷ RUTH ALDERSON of Ravenstonedale, who is said to have

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laboured diligently in Scotland,³ WILLIAM BACKHOUSE of Lancashire,¹⁸ WILLIAM BROWN of Thirsk,⁷ THOMAS CHALKLEY of Philadelphia,¹⁶ ELIZABETH DENNIS of Essex,⁷ THOMAS GAWTHORP of Cumberland,³ MARY GRIER of Ireland,⁷ ARCHIBALD GILLESPEY of Newcastle,⁷ SAMUEL HOPWOOD of Cornwall,¹⁹ ELIZABETH KENDAL of Essex,² SUSANNAH MARTIN of Sussex, ANN PARSON of Pennsylvania,¹⁶ MERCY RANSOM,⁷ ELIZABETH RAWLINSON of Lancaster,⁷ THOMAS WHITE of Norwich,⁷ RACHEL WILSON of Kendal.³

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

To be continued.

- ¹ MS. Records of Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.
- ² MS. Records of Aberdeen Yearly Meeting.
- ³ *Piety Promoted.*
- ⁴ Wight & Ratty's *History of Friends in Ireland*, 1751.
- ⁵ *Life of Samuel Bownas*, 1795.
- ⁶ *Account of the Life and Travels of John Fothergill*, 1773.
- ⁷ *A Collection of Testimonies*, 1760.
- ⁸ *Works of Benjamin Holme*, 1753.
- ⁹ *The Annual Monitor*, 1816, p. 125.
- ¹⁰ Document in **D**.
- ¹¹ *Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747.
- ¹² *Memoirs of David Hall*, 1799.
- ¹³ *Life of James Gough*, 1832.
- ¹⁴ *Journal F.H.S.* x. 242.
- ¹⁵ *Journal F.H.S.* viii. 9.
- ¹⁶ *American Memorials of Friends*, 1788.
- ¹⁷ *Journal F.H.S.* x. 245.
- ¹⁸ *Memoirs of the Backhouse Family*, 1831.
- ¹⁹ *Journals of Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson*, 1847.

Burton Burial Ground, South Yorkshire

IN THE JOURNAL, vol. iii. p. 19, appears an article by the late Charles Brady, of Barnsley, on "Disused Burial Grounds in South Yorkshire," in which there is a reference to Burton and the curious inscription once affixed at the entrance to the Burial Ground.

The inscription (not included in above article), said to have been composed by Richard Farnsworth, is as follows :¹

ANNO DOM. 1657.

Though superstitious minds doe judge Amisse of this Buriall place, yet let them know hereby that the scripture saith, the Earth it is the Lord's, And I say soe is this, therefore being soe, and by his People also sett Apart for the Churches use or A Buriall place, it is as holy or conuenient and good for that use and seruice as any other Earth is : And it is not without scripture warrant, or examples of the Holy men of God to Burie in such A place : for Joshua a seruant of the Lord, and Commander in cheife, or Leader and Ruler of the People of God, when he Died was neither Buried in A steeplehouse now called A Parish Church, nor in A steeplehouse yeard, but he was Buried in the border of his jnheritance, And on the north side of Mount Gaash : as you may read, see Joshua the 24 :th Chapter and the 29th and 30th : verses : And Eleazar Arons son, who was Called of the Lord, when he Died they Buried him, not in A Parish Church nor A Steeplehouse Yeard, but they Buried him in the Hill of Phinehas his son : wich was giuen him in Mount Ephraim, as you may Read Joshua the 24 :th the 33 :^d And these were noe superstitious Persons but the beloued of the Lord, and were well Buried : And soe were they in Abrahams bought field, Geneses the 23^d Chp^{ter}, the 17 : 18 : 19 : and 20th verses : Though superstitious minds are now unwilling unto the truth to bow : who are offended at such as Burie in their jnheritance, or bought field Appointed for that use :

An inexact transcription of above is given in *South Yorkshire, i.e., The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1831. The Author states the "inscription . . . was placed there by the first Gamaliel Milner of Burton Grange." This statement having been submitted to William E. Brady, of Barnsley, he has kindly looked into the question and written as follows :

Regarding the statement in Hunter's *Deanery of Doncaster* that the brass plate was placed at Burton Burial Ground by Gamaliel Milner. This may be correct, but I have never heard it so attributed by Friends here. I note Hunter gives no authority for the statement.

¹ A photograph of the plate, supplied *per* William E. Brady, of Barnsley, is in D.

In the Diary of John Hobson of Dodworth (two miles west of Barnsley, Burton being about the same distance east), published in Vol. 65 of the Surtees Society's Proceedings, for 1875, the following entry occurs under date September 10, 1728 :

“ That day Michael Milner, a noted quaker, buried at the buriing place at Burton, in the same grave that his father Gamaliel Milner and his mother were buried, who occasioned that place to be enclosed for that use and she was the first to be interr'd there.”

To this entry there are two editorial notes as follows : “ See the remarkable inscription engraved on a brass plate fixed over the door of entrance by Gamaliel Milner, 1657, in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii. pg. 397 ” ; and “ 1657. Hellen, the wife of Gamalian Milner of Munkbretton abbey was buried the xiii day of August, in the buryinge place at Burton, a quaker.” (Roystone Parish Register.)

This statement by Hobson suggests that in his day Burton Burial Ground and the Milner family were inseparably united in the common mind. This is quite natural ; it appears that most Burton Friends were of very humble origin ; the Milners of Burton Grange were of some local note (when in 1697 Friends proceeded to build a Meeting House, Michael, son of Gamaliel Milner, was the second largest contributor to the building fund), and by Hunter's time had come still further to the front in local affairs, and I suspect it was the tendency to associate everything connected with Burton Friends to the Milner family which led Hunter to ascribe the plate to Gamaliel Milner, as apparently it had led Hobson into the error of stating that this prominent Friend had originally caused the ground to be enclosed. The donor of the ground was George Ellis. From the deed, dated 1658, it would appear that the ground was enclosed, the plate fixed—at any rate prepared—and at least one interment had taken place before the execution of the deed of gift.

On the other hand Gamaliel Milner was financially able to have the plate prepared and fixed, and it might be argued that as his wife's funeral was for some months the only one that had taken place in the graveyard, he had a special incentive to justify himself amongst his neighbours, who would be more or less scandalised at the idea of burial in unconsecrated ground.

The whole matter is, however, of minor importance. Personally I believe the plate is part of the original equipment of the ground and contemporary with the building of the enclosing wall—the corporate expression of the infant Burton Meeting, not the later addition of an individual member. I venture to suggest, however, that for your records, which I doubt not you wish to be distinctly accurate, the ascription of the plate to Gamaliel Milner should not be unqualified.

Thomas Shillitoe refers to Burton and the plate in his Journal, under date of 1807, but he does not mention either Gamaliel Milner or George Ellis.

In the MSS. of Joseph Wilkinson, author of *Worthies of Barnsley*, etc., which were presented by his Executors to the Barnsley Naturalist and Scientific Society, is the following reference to the plate :

“ On the meeting house at Monk Bretton being pulled down, this inscription, remarkable on several accounts, was removed to the new meeting house which was erected at Barnsley, in 1815, and there it was placed in the porch. It is as follows:—[Wording follows.] The person who presented land for this graveyard was Mr. George Ellis of Monk Bretton, a member of a quaker family who long resided there. By deed of gift in 1658 he conveyed to several trustees therein named a parcel of ground at Burton for a burying place for the people called Quakers, on which was afterwards erected a meeting house, etc., but which meeting house was subsequently taken down, and the materials carried away in consequence of a more commodious meeting house having been erected at Barnsley. The death of George Ellis took place, according to the Burton Register, on the 23rd 6 mo. 1676, when he was buried in the graveyard he had presented.”

Friends in Current Literature

THE memory of John Dalton, whether as man or scientist, deserves to be kept green, and we welcome the recently issued treatise by Professor W. W. Haldane Gee, Dr. Hubert Frank Coward and Dr. Arthur Harden, giving the history of John Dalton's lectures: *John Dalton's Lectures and Lecture Illustrations*, from Volume 59, Part iii., of "Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," Session 1914-1915 (Manchester: 16, George Street, price 1s. 6d.). It consists of 66 pages of matter and twelve well-executed plates. The discovery in the House of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society of a roll of diagrams, 150 in number, many of which "were annotated with the unmistakable handwriting of John Dalton," now carefully cleaned and preserved, led to the publication of a summary prepared and elucidated by comparison with the Dalton manuscripts also in possession of the Society. The summary is to be followed by a more detailed description of some of the lectures.

Dalton was but twenty-one years of age when, at Kendal in 1787, he ventured upon a lecturing career in addition to his school duties. No information is forthcoming as to the success of the venture. A framed copy of the syllabus is in possession of the Society. The next syllabus was dated 1791, and the profit and loss account of the lectures with its error in casting is reproduced in Plate II. Among the items are "Candles 4/10½," "Sundry small expenses 1/4½," "Profit and Loss, gained £6 4s. 6d."

In 1793, Dalton went to Manchester to teach Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, remaining there six years. In the winter of 1803-04 he was engaged to give a course on Mechanics, Electricity, Magnetism, Optics, etc., before the Royal Institution, London. His first lecture he wrote out in full—read it to Sir Humphry Davy, who from the furthest corner of the room listened and criticised. Then Davy

read and Dalton became the critical audience. Next day it was delivered before some 150 persons and Dalton was complimented. After this he ceased to write, depending on experiment and verbal illustration. He received 80 guineas for the course. In several succeeding years he lectured at Manchester, purchasing apparatus for the lectures at a cost of £200. The Society is in possession of some of the most important pieces. The lectures of 1811 produced nearly £130, respecting which he wrote to his brother Jonathan that it "exceeded any I have had before." He also lectured in Leeds and Birmingham.

In 1820 he gave Electricity the first place in his lectures; in 1824 he became lecturer on Pharmaceutical Chemistry in the newly established School of Medicine and Surgery. In 1825, when he advertised his six lectures on Meteorology, he stated that he had begun to register his meteorological observations thirty-eight years before, the Aurora Borealis being the "principal cause" inducing him to do so.

In 1835 he lectured at Manchester on the Atomic Theory to a crowded audience anxious to lose no word that fell from his lips, and this was the last public lecture of which any record has been found. In January, 1836, the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution presented John Dalton, D.C.L., F.R.S., President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, with an inkstand, which was bequeathed to the Society in 1851, and has been in regular use at its meetings ever since.

The general sketch of his lecturing career is followed by a brief description of eighty-four Natural Philosophy diagrams, illustrating Mechanics, Heat, Optics, Acoustics, Electricity, Meteorology and Astronomy, and fifty-three illustrating the Atomic Theory. A few remain unclassified.

The plates, besides one already mentioned, present *inter alia* the syllabus of Dalton's lectures at Kendal, 1791; tables of twenty and thirty-five elements respectively with atomic weights, the composition of water, ammonia, carbonic acid, nitrous oxide and various acids; also heat in an atmosphere and *in vacuo*.

We shall await with interest the promised detailed account of certain lectures.

The Mycetozoa and some questions which they suggest (London: Simpkin, 94 pp., 2s. 6d. net) is the title of a delightful little treatise by Sir Edward Fry, G.C.B., and his daughter, Miss Agnes Fry. The appearance of the second edition, bearing date 1915, brings it before us. The prefatory note states that it is "substantially a reprint of the first edition," which appeared prior to the second edition of Arthur Lister's descriptive catalogue of the Mycetozoa, issued by Miss G. Lister in 1911. [For this and other points referred to, see THE JOURNAL, xii. 84, 85.]

It is an interesting coincidence that important works on these minute "living things" should be the result of researches of two eminent contemporary Friends, in each case ably assisted by a daughter.

The book is well worth perusal by the average reader, because in some ninety pages of large clear type, many of which contain admirable monochrome illustrations, he can gain some knowledge of the subject in language not over-weighted with difficult technical terms. The familiar name of "myxies," which "rhymes with pixies," is humorously introduced on the first page in preference to the word "slime-fungus," the anglicised form of the German "Schleimpilz."

Many references appear in the booklet to the works of Arthur Lister and Miss G. Lister, already referred to, to whom "all students of myxies are under the deepest obligations."

In an early paragraph "myxies" are cautiously defined as "living things"; towards the end their position is interestingly discussed, and "the life circle of the myxie" is happily described as exhibiting "a curious alternation of individualism and collectivism—a harmonious solution of the problem raised by the two principles which are found in conflict in other organisms and states of society." The writers on the whole deem it impossible to assign the myxies with certainty to the animal or vegetable kingdom. If there were a "buffer state" between the two, there they would place them. They appear rather to be a "vagrant tribe" wandering like nomads on either side of a border line, seeming to begin life as animals and end it as vegetables, "a life-history not without some sad analogies in human experience." Amongst the concluding paragraphs we commend to the reader those on Isomorphism and the phenomena of death as especially valuable and far-reaching in their bearing upon life, death and immortality.

Afterthoughts, by Mary Openshaw (London: Simpkin, pp. 298, 6s.), describes the life of a society girl, educated in Paris, among a colony of Friends at "Kendale," in the North of England (no doubt intended for Kendal). Her coming amongst Quakers, and the love affair which follows, greatly disturb the serenity of this quiet folk, but in the end they appear to be the better for the various happenings to which we are introduced in a pleasant, readable manner by the author.

Throughout the book Friends say "thee" for "thou," which is not the way of plain *North-country* Quakerism. A too rigid adherence to "thee" produces some impossible sentences—Matthew Vernon says in Meeting, "Dear Friends, I would ask of thee thy prayers" (p. 178), and his son, John, remarks to his worldly lover and her sister, "Thee must have amused thyself very well at the party"!

Under the title *The Way of the Good Physician*, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, has written a concise and readable account of Medical Missions, which, though primarily intended for use in Study Circles, possesses many attractions for the general reader. The author shows how widespread is the prevalence throughout non-Christian lands of both ignorance of the principles of medical science, and superstitious beliefs which spell cruelty and neglect towards the sick and diseased. Some of the larger problems

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are touched on, such as the relation of medical missions to the development of the Church in the field and to other branches of missionary effort. (F.F.M.A., 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E.C., pp. 136, 1s. net.)

"Cromwell's Quaker Soldiers" is the title of a nine-page article in *The Contemporary Review*, of November, from the facile pen of Mabel R. Brailsford, of Ilfracombe, author of "Quaker Women," published last spring. Miss Brailsford presents a succinct statement of the reasons why the soldier converted to Quakerism while in the army could not remain there—his denunciation of all other religious beliefs, his refusal of salutations and polite forms of address, and his objection to taking an oath. This statement is illustrated from various occurrences recorded in Fox's "Journal," and other contemporary literature in print and manuscript.

A very readable life of *William Penn*, by Rupert S. Holland, has appeared (New York: Macmillan, 7 by 4½, pp. 166), specially intended for young people. It is published in the series "True Stories of Great Americans." There are twelve illustrations. The price is 50 cents, or two shillings.

Most writers of fiction who have ventured to introduce Quaker characters into their books have made some attempt to place them in their historical setting, but Ashton Hilliers (otherwise, Henry Marriage Wallis) brings men of different centuries together in a curious and novel manner, in his latest, *Demi Royal* (London: Methuen, 387 pages). Thomas and Mary Ellwood (married 1669) have been detached from their period and live again in 1805, and in this later period a son has been granted them, and a daughter, but they are as kindly as ever. Isaac Penington (died 1679) has the pleasure of entertaining Stephen Grellet (died 1855), at his house. I. P., "though elderly, was still active and had that day undertaken a long journey" (page 53). The two must have greatly enjoyed this association, as also when journeying together "upon a religious visit to Friends in Lancashire and Yorkshire," and spending a night with Thomas Ellwood *en route* (page 282).

The Diarist alludes not infrequently and very sympathetically to Stephen Grellet and meets him in Sweden and in Spain (pages 96 and 194), but we think that by this time Grellet's diction could hardly be correctly described as "quaint jargon, half English, half French" (page 334).

Later we read of a visit paid to the writer of the reminiscences which form the book by Stephen Grellet, Isaac Penington, and William Allen, and are introduced to that ever-to-be-remembered service to this country rendered by William Allen and others, by whose financial assistance the Duke and Duchess of Kent were able to land again on

British soil ere their child was born—the daughter who later ascended the British Throne and sat thereon for more than sixty years.

H. M. Wallis writes us that he designed a more Friendly picture for the Publisher's wrapper to his book, but was over-ruled.

“Robinson Crusoe and his Lighthouse” is the title of an article in *My Magazine* for October. In it we learn of the wonderfully ingenious electrical inventions of Edwin O. Catford, in connection with the uninhabited lighthouse more than a mile from Platte Fougère, Guernsey. The Editor has made use of two articles prepared by E. O. Catford—one, a popular account of the lighthouse, and the other, of a more technical character, upon the influence of fog on sound.

In graphic language the story is told of a man who can fling power across the water until it reaches the Lighthouse rock, and there does his bidding. For Mrs. Catford's help a telephone is arranged which summons her, if the baby out in the perambulator should cry!

Everyman's Library No. 724 is devoted to *The Peace of Europe*, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and other writings of William Penn (London: J. M. Dent, 292 pp., 1s. net).

Joseph J. Green has an article in *The Essex Review* for October, on “Saffron Walden Local Authors and Authoresses,” an addendum to an article under the same title in the July issue of this year. The original article by R. Heffer contains mention of but one Friend—George Stacey Gibson (1818-1883)—out of the twenty-six authors treated, whilst Joseph Green includes nine Friends in his list of fourteen.

An account of Joseph Smith, Quaker Bibliographer, whose *parents* at one time were resident at Saffron Walden, occupies about a quarter of the article.

Robert Muschamp, of Radcliffe, has contributed four articles to *The Lancaster Guardian* during the month of November, entitled—“Some Lancaster and District [Quaker] Records of the Seventeenth Century.” The experiences of George Fox and other Friends in North Lancashire and adjacent counties are succinctly presented, and extracts are given from the Fleming Manuscripts, published by the Historical MSS. Commission.

Under the heading, *The Mystery of a Sepulchre*, our Friend, William Richardson Nash, of Carke-in-Cartmel, has caused to be printed some notes on the ancient Friends' Burial Ground, Dunnerdale, North Lancashire, accompanied by a plan of the district and a pretty little sketch of the enclosure, full of trees and backed by hills: “About seventy-five years ago the little Burial Ground was an orchard, but did not prove a success and was turned into a vegetable garden, and Mrs. Joseph Gunson (daughter of the Rev. Edward Tyson, Vicar of Seathwaite) found the place in a dilapidated condition, and, with a view of preserving it, repaired the

wall, put up a new gate, and, about the year 1870, planted it with trees and shrubs, since which time it has been the duty of the tenant of New Close Farm to keep the walls and gate in repair. There are stone ledges for seats built into the walls round three sides, on which Friends could rest while funerals were being conducted." No record of burials in this place has been discovered.

Copies of the pamphlet may be had from W. R. Nash for three-pence each.

War from a Quaker Point of View is the title of a small book of 114 pages by John William Graham, M.A., Principal of Dalton Hall, Manchester (Headley Brothers, 1s. 6d. net). That such a book is timely there is abundant evidence round us in this time of war. The author treats his subject under twenty-four sectional headings, of which the following are a few examples: "The Teaching of Christ," "The Early Fathers," "Early Quakerism and Peace," "Is there a Place for Force?" "The Soldier and the Policeman," "War as a Moral Tonic," "Preparing for the Future," etc. He lays emphasis on the claims of the State on the citizen and upholds the duty of national service wherever it is not in conflict with the higher loyalty to the commands of Christ and the enlightened conscience of the individual. J. W. Graham goes to considerable pains to explain difficult passages in the New Testament, such as the two swords passage (Luke xxii. 35-38). He accepts Dr. Moffatt's general interpretation of this passage, substituting for the thought of prophetic "fulfilment" the more natural meaning that Jesus gave utterance to the words, "Enough, Enough," being too weary to continue His teaching at that time. The book has the merits of being concise and suggestive, and this is as it should be, for in matters of morality and ethics the reader is likely to be benefited most surely as he accepts the seed thought and cultivates it naturally in his own life with the Light from above and the implements of his own experience.

To *The Hibbert Journal* for October, John William Graham contributes an article under the title "The War: a Quaker Apologia." He states the Quaker position thus, "Broadly, we believe that it is our duty and privilege to be faithful to the all-conqueror whose name is Love." J. W. Graham illustrates the Friends' idea of national service in time of war by some account of the Friends' Ambulance Unit and the War Victims' Relief Committee. In the latter part of his article he deals with certain New Testament texts which have so often been interpreted as giving Divine sanction to war. The argument all through is pursued with directness and on a high level, and one feels that the presentation of the subject from the Quaker point of view has been well done.

The Atlantic Monthly for November, page 647, contains a story by Marion Pugh Read, entitled, "Namesakes." Her delicate portraiture of the old-fashioned Quaker child, Mary Ann, and the spirit of Quakerism that it breathes, could scarcely have been so correctly and feelingly drawn except by one raised a Friend.

Editors' Notes

WE are sure that our readers will learn with great satisfaction that Norman Penney has resumed work at Devonshire House, and will again take up the editorship of **THE JOURNAL**. While staying at Bournemouth he has been able to give some attention to the preparation of the present issue.

Owing to the absence of the Editor the publication of Supplement No. 13 has been delayed, and it will not appear till 1916. This being so it is concluded not to issue a further Supplement in the year 1916. The subscription list for Supplement 13 ("A.R.B. Manuscripts," see page 45) is still open—three shillings or 75 cents.

The annotation of the Swarthmoor Hall Account Book has also been delayed. The whole of the text, making 510 pages, is, however, printed, and notes to names, etc., with glossary, are to follow. The Editor would be glad to be directed to literature in print or manuscript dealing with conditions in northern England in the later half of the seventeenth century, or referring to Friends resident in the Furness district of Lancashire. Address: Norman Penney, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

YORK MEETING, 1842.—A list of members and attenders of York Meeting, 7th Month, 1842, has recently been added to MSS. preserved in **D**.

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