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WILLIAM RICKMAN (1745-1839)

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Editor: Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2

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Devonshire House Reference Library

WITH NOTES ON EARLY PRINTERS AND PRINTING IN THE SOCIETY of Friends

ROM very early days, Friends felt strongly the importance of the printed statement of their views. The foundation of the present Reference Library was laid as early as 15 vii. 1673, when the Morning Meeting, held at the hospitable home of the wine-cooper, Gerard Roberts, in the first minutes preserved to us, agreed as follows:—

That 2 of a sort of all bookes written by freinds be procured & kept together, & for the time to Come that the book seller bring in 2 of a sort likewise of all bookes that are printed, that if any booke be pverted by our Adversaryes wee may know where to find it.

And that there be gotten one of a sort of every booke that has been written agt the Truth from the begining.

This to be minded by W^m Welch, Ellis Hooks & James Claypoole to send to Nicholas Jordan of Bristoll for such bookes as cannot be gott heere or for a List of what freinds bookes he hath and also to Nicholas Cole of Plymouth.

George Whitehead & William Pen to help to procure

the bookes written agt Truth.

That if any bookes are putt out agt Truth they be without delay brought to this Meeting & considered of, & that the Answers thereon to be dispatched wth all convenient speed.

About ten years later (5 xii. 1682) a further order was made that "printers are to bring in to R^d R^dsons chamber in Lumbard St. at y^e 3 Kings Court there, 2 of a sort of each book of friends y^t they print." To all which the printers present agreed.

The "printers present" would probably be Andrew Sowle and Benjamin Clark, both of whom are mentioned in a minute of the following year; and it will be convenient to say a little of the history of Friends' printing before passing on to an account of the Reference Library.

The care of the Morning Meeting was exercised over the publication of Friends' books, and great part of the weekly meetings was taken up in reading through the works which Friends desired to publish, that such works might bear the *Imprimatur* of the Society. The censorship was strict. At a meeting at Rebecca Travers's (22 vii. 1674) a minute runs:—

Agreed that hereafter A.S., B.C., nor no other print any bookes but what is first read and approved of in this meeting, & that the *Tytle of each booke* y^t is approved of & ordered to be printed be entred in this booke & that A.S. & B.C. & all other who print for freinds receive their bookes of E.H.

"E.H." is, of course, Ellis Hookes, the first Recording Clerk. The common form of minute is:—"A book entituled . . . read & ordered to be printed"; or it may be:—"read to p. 33," read to p. 120," and so on. But all authors did not get through so easily.

At a meeting at Anne Travers's at Horslydowne, 2 ix. 1674:—

Concerning S. Eccles his booke entituled The Soule Saveing Principle, &c., freinds have taken three daies to read it & their sense and judgment is that it is not safe to be published there being many things in it that are to be left out & others to bee corrected, both w^{ch} will require much labour & care and therefore it is referred to G.W., A.P., & W.G., & T.G., or any two or more of y^m to speak with Sollomon the book in y^e mean time to be left with E.H.

Sometimes it was wisest not to put objections in writing:—

7 x. 1674.—Ste. Smiths booke entituled The Baptist Leaders thresht. The meeting doth not judge it convenient to print it, for divers reasons, of w^{ch} he may have a private information, when he speakes with some of the Bretheren.

Even George Fox could not count on the Meeting's approval:—

9 iv. 1677.—A Paper of G. ff's read and ordered to be laid by till G. ff be spoken with about it.

In one case the Meeting seems to have been beaten by the author's hand-writing. There is an amusing minute about a MS. submitted by a Welshman, Thomas Wynne:—

- 24 i. 1678.—Thomas Wynee his booke entituled an Antechristion Conspiracy detected read only to the 12th page, being very difficult to read and to distinguish the matter, by reason it is not right English and yt ye opposers words and ye reply are not distinctly sett down wth breaches between, it is the desire of this meeting that if Ellis Hookes and James Parkes cannot correct it that Thomas Wynee have notice thereof by Letter and his booke returned him from Ellis Hookes; And yt wth the assistance of some freinds in wales & yt way he would see it amended and better composed, and made shorter yt ye opposers words and his replyes be set down distinct with breaches between them.
- "Better composed and made shorter"! Were the Morning Meeting still in existence, it might still find need at times to give the same counsel. One further minute of a similar kind may perhaps be allowed:—
 - 13 i. 1681/2.—Abraham Bonnyfield's book entituled a word of advice to all sleepy virgins, most part was read. And judged not meet to be printed. But to be return'd to him, only if something of the advice remain upon him, of warning to the sleepy virgins, &c. He is left, as ye Ld shall clear his understanding, to abstract out of it what's most clear & pertinent, as briefly as may be, in a sheet or two.

The quaint titles make the minutes curious reading sometimes, as e.g. (Meeting for Sufferings, 4 i. 1698):—"The taking of the Antidotes y^t are in sheets, in Number abo^t 400, to be considered next meet:"

The distribution of books, when printed, was in the care of the Meeting for Sufferings. A proportion of the issue was sent to each county; but this became burdensome, and on 10 iv. 1680 it was agreed that in future Friends' books should not be sent down to the counties unless the particular county writes and asks for the book, and then in such number as the county directs.

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It is evident that this led to a smaller distribution of books, for in 1692 the matter was taken up by the Yearly Meeting, with a resulting order from the Meeting for Sufferings:—

That those that Print Friends Books shall the first opportunity after Printed, within one month at most, send to one of the Correspondents in the several Counties . . . two Books of a sort if under Six Pence for each Monthly Meeting in your County, and but one of a sort if above Six Pence per Book.

Among the reasons given for this decision were:—"For Friends to have General Notice of what Books are Printed," "That they may send for what other Quantities they may see a Service for," "That the Printer may be incouraged in Printing for Friends," and "That one Book at least of a sort that shall be Printed . . . may be kept in each Monthly or Quarterly Meeting, for the service of Friends and Truth." The document, a printed broadside, continues:—

Its tenderly and in Brotherly Love Advised and Recommended unto you, That yee be careful and diligent in the spreading of all such Books that are Printed for the Service of Truth.

There was equal earnestness in endeavouring to circulate books outside the Society. On 10 iv. (June) 1680, the Yearly Meeting having agreed

that the Matter of Books & printing and the methods of Sending them abroad as well within this nation as forreigne parts shold be wholey Left and referred to the meeting for Sufferings in London to do & order as they shall from tyme to tyme see meete and convenient for the Service of the Truth,

the Meeting for Sufferings considered methods, and its minute states that

its further Agreed that the way of exposing of bookes to sale bee for the future by sending them to Market Towns to such ffreinds and shopkeepers as will expose the same to Sale in their shopps and houses.

In xii. 1697 George Whitehead informed the Meeting that "some books of ffrids in High Dutch are bound up in order to be dd [delivered] to the Zar of Musscovy." The following week, William Penn was added to the Friends appointed by the Morning Meeting to make the presentation; but an unexpected hitch occurred, for the minute adds:—

which books being Bound much ffiner than ffrid expected, It's ordered that they be not dd as they are, but anew bound in Turkey Leather Plain.

At the next week's meeting it was minuted:

The Books for the Zar being now brot in plain bound in Turkey Leather, the ffrids named are contd to deliver them as formerly directed.

One wonders whether George Whitehead or the Meeting better estimated Peter the Great's taste, and whether he read the twice-bound volumes presented to him.

But if Truth was to be spread, it was equally important that Error should be suppressed, or at least counteracted. On 22 ix. 1692 £15 was granted for the purchase of a parcel of books brought "into this Port by a Pensilvaniah Ship." The parcel contained books by George Keith, the circulation of which in England might, it was feared, embitter the controversy.

25 ix. 1692.—Friends having under their Consideracon the Buying up the Books from Pensilvaniah among wch are severall Books Relateing to a difference among ffriends there, and Endeavours having been Used for an Accomadation and Some Answer Recd: from them Signifyeing their good liking of our ffriends Letter to them.—Therefore ffriends are willing to Stop them in hope of Such Accomodation, and apprehending the Spreading of them may be agrief to both pties of our ffriends there, If such an Accomodation be, & also will have a Tendency to the reproach of Truth and the ffriends in it, by the ill construction our Adversaries may make thereof. And therefore Leave it to Cornelious Mason and John fframe to Purchase them and ffriends to Reimburse them the charge althô it be more than w^t was Allowed the 22th 9 mo. 1692.

On 28 ix. 1692 the books were reported already "in the Custome House." Friends were authorised to try to get an Assignment upon the Bill of Loading, "and if they cannot get them out of the Custome House without a Review to have them Sealed up and let y^m Lye till further Order."

About a fortnight later £17 was paid to John Frame "for George Keiths Books sent hither from Philadelphia."

In v. 1696 a bill of £10 19s. 9d. was paid

for Papers delivered for the Service of ffriends At Turners Hall, Coffee Houses and Booksellers Shops, vizt 2092 John Penington's Reflections upon G.K.'s Advertizem's; 3225 Reasons & 178 Remarkes on ye aforesd Advertizem^t.

Friends were exceedingly anxious to clear themselves from George Keith's accusations, and three months later an appointment was made

to deliver the books now bound up together being one of a sort of ffrids answers to Geo. Keith's &c. To ye Late Mayor and the Bp of London, and one of a sort of the Churchmans [i.e., "The Churchman's Letters"].

In 1697 three Friends were appointed

to bring an acco^t w^t Book sellers Shops doe sell Adversaries Books, &c. in order y^t 2 of a sort of ffri^{ds} Answ^{rs} may be left at y^e said shops.

Two months later:—

Henry Gouldney Reports y^t in some places in Cornehill he found on Book sellers Stales y^e following Books of Adversaries viz^t Sathan Disrobed, A Book of G.K.s Retractions and another abo^t Baptizme. Hen: Gouldney is desired to lodge at these places 2 books of a sort of w^t ffriends have writt in answer to y^m.

One such answer was "a late Book of Jos. Wyeths Intituled Primitive Christianity."

On 14 xi. 1697/8 "Report is made yt Tace Sowle has dd the hundred of Jos. Wyeth's late books to ye Mercury Women to distribute to ye shops, &c." a

Before leaving the seventeenth century, some notice should be taken of the printers and correctors of the press in these early days. Friends were not free to submit their books to the Government Licenser, and consequently it was a business attended with personal risk.² From 1662-1680 there is seldom any imprint on this account. Thomas Brewster (not a Friend) "at the three Bibles by Paul's" was in 1659 pilloried, fined, and imprisoned during the King's pleasure. Henry Boreman died in prison in 1662, whither he had been committed on a charge of selling Friends' books. Giles Calvert published and sold Friends' books from 1653-1659, "at the Black Spread Eagle at the west end of

Women seem generally to have been employed in the sale of books in the streets. As early as c. 1660 we are told that Friends' books were placed for sale at such bookstalls as would take them, and "Some of the women cry them about the streets." Antiquarian Researches among the Early Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books. John Harrison, Manchester, 1844.

Paul's," and in 1655 we find that there was a bookstore in the Bull and Mouth building. But the most interesting of all these early printers is Andrew Sowle (1628-1695). The testimony issued after his death states that he was

a printer by trade, and engaged himself freely in the printing Friends' books, when he had large offers of advancing himself in the world . . . if he would have desisted therefrom. For several years together he was in continual danger . . . his house being often searched, and his printing materials, as presses, letters, &c., as often broken to pieces, and taken away, as any Friends' books were found printing by him; and this they did for many years together.

At one time about 1,000 reams of printed books were seized, yet he was never heard to complain, but he would say he was glad to have anything to lose for truth, and that the Lord had made him worthy to be a sufferer for it.

A. Sowle probably printed from about 1670, and his imprint is found from 1680:—"In Devonshire New Buildings without Bishop's-gate." In 1683 he removed to "The Crooked Billet in Holloway Lane, Shoreditch," and he also carried on business at his residence at "The Three Keys in Nag's Head Court, Gracechurch St."

About the year 1679 the names of Benjamin Clark and John Bringhurst occur as printing for Friends. B. Clark was the London publisher of the original Latin edition of Barclay's Apology, and John Bringhurst, who had learnt his trade in A. Sowle's employ, suffered the pillory and imprisonment for reprinting a book of George Fox's.

Although greatly respected, Andrew Sowle was sometimes involved in misunderstandings with the many masters he served. On 15 ii. 1680 William Shewen was appointed to act as umpire to compose the differences between Ellis Hookes and A. Sowle. His award satisfied Ellis Hookes, but Andrew Sowle declined to comply and was ordered to attend the next Meeting for Sufferings. In iv. 1680 the Meeting proposed to

Andrew Soule, Benjamin Clark & Ellis Hooks all joyntly together or any two of them together to undertake the printing & disposeing all frds Books for the future, web undertaking they all of ym absolutely refused,

and the meeting thereupon offered its business to Thomas Rudyard. The next week, when the matter came forward, Andrew Sowle

left the meeting without giving any answer to Friends, but Benjamin Clark declared that

he was willing to serve ffreinds & serve Truth in undertaking the printinge as ffreinds shall Agree—upon w^{ch} it was Agreed that he shall have y^e printing & publishing of ffreinds bookes And that this meeting shall & will stand by him in this Affaire y^t he shall not be a Looser therein. Its also Agreed that If Andrew & Ellis will & can Agree wth Ben: Clark to be concerned joyntly in the Manageing the psee & publishing ffreinds bookes This meeting doe Agree thereto. And if Andrew Soul will Agree to be partner therein wth Ben. Clarke this meeting will approove thereof.

After this, Friends' books were often printed by Benjamin Clark, but Andrew Sowle did not lose the custom of Friends. One thinks the Meeting was perhaps not always easy to satisfy. John Bringhurst had to apologise to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in xii. 1680 for having printed "an ungodly & pernitious booke," and about the same time persons concerned in printing Friends' books were ordered

to bring in perticular specimens of bookes to be printed with Number of Lines, Letters & largnes of pages—And kind of paper.—As also what they desire or expect from each other in writeing.

Competition from without the Society had also to be faced. On 4 xii. 1680, the following minute was brought in from the Six Weeks Meeting:—

It being proposed to this Meeting, by Geo: Watts That there is a Compl^t That ffriends doe imploy some of the world in printing & binding ffriends Books, It is upon Consideracon of this Meeting desired that henceforth such as print ffriends bookes doe for the future employ only ffriends in printing & binding, provided it be by the said ffriends done as well & as reasonable, as the worlds people will doe it.

A committee was appointed to hear complaints and report to the Meeting for Sufferings "next Sixt-day att Ellis Hookes Chamber."

"Next Sixt-day" the committee advised in regard to the "Friend" printers

that they all severally claiming aright to print bind and sell Bookes, It concernes firiends of ye Meeting for Sufferings, To see that they be as well, & reasonably done,

as other people do, both as to good paper, Letters & Inke, & yt printing & binding ffriends bookes, be only done by ffriends, they doing them as well & as Cheape as others.

There follow strict directions as to the various types to be used and the number of letters in a line. The paper employed was to be "not under 3^s—4^s per Reame."

It is fair to state, however, that the Meeting paid Andrew Sowle in 1685 over £30 "in consideration of his Loss of books printed for National Service." In 1690 John Bringhurst "desires ffriends out of Charity" to take over a parcel of books value £61 16s. 11d., so that he may have something towards discharge of his debts, but after some bargaining, he seems to have had to be satisfied with a payment of £15.

In v. 1689 the following minute occurs:—

Friends do condesend to pay Andrew Sowle forty shillings for 1100 Yearly Meeting Papers, And it is the sence of the Meeting That he prints no more Books or papers that this Meeting is to pay for without an Agreem^t with the Friend or Friends, that deliver ye Coppye. . . . The Reason of wch Minute is because that wn ffriends have come to pay him for some things he printed, he hath demanded more then they could have it done for. And therefore Direct yt Agreemt be 1st made with him.

This minute was pretty much repeated next year, but it can hardly have suggested to Friends at the time quite what it would convey to us, for the last reference we find to Andrew Sowle, in a postscript to the broadside already referred to, sent down after the Yearly Meeting of 1692, is altogether friendly in tone. This postscript says that in matters concerning books and printing Friends might apply to

Our Ancient Friend, The Printer's Name is as followeth, to whom direct thus, For Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked Billet in Holywell Lane in Shoreditch, London, Who hath long Served Truth and Friends, and suffered very great Losses, and gone through many Hazards and Difficulties, with sore Prosecutions for the same; is now Ancient and Dark-Sighted, but his Daughter, Tace Sowle, who understands the Business very well, Carries on his Imploy.

Or, To Tho. Northcott at his Shop in George-Yard in Lumbard Street, London; One that served his Apprentice-ship with one that Bound, and sometimes procured Books for Friends, and hath now for some Years past, in like manner been Imployed.

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Tace Sowle had charge of the business from about 1691, and in 1694 opened a store in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. Dunton³ (a fellow bookseller) said of her in 1704, that she "understands her trade very well, being a good compositor herself." Andrew Sowle's death marked the close of an epoch, and a sub-committee of the Meeting for Sufferings appointed iv. 1709 to consider the purchase of books of "Antient Friends" reported: "By Antient friends books we unanimously agree to include all books printed in the life time of Andrew Sowle, who dyed in the 10th mo. 1695."

After this Tace Sowle's name frequently occurs on the minutes. On 22 vi. 1699, "Tace Sowle's Bill for 600 Switches in Answer to the Snake in the Grass" comes to £123. In 1700 she was desired "to take effectual care to spread ffrids books in Answr to adversaries," as advised by a committee of Friends. In 1701 she agreed to print 1,500 copies of Barclay's Apology in French, for which she received £225.

In the year 1706 Tace Sowle was married to Thomas Raylton, a hosier, but the old name was kept for many years, the imprint being at first "J. Sowle" (Jane, Tace's mother), and after 1712" Assigns of J. Sowle." (It is interesting to note that Tace's sister, Elizabeth, married William Bradford in 1685, who settled in Philadelphia and printed Friends' publications there.) Thomas Raylton died in 1723, but T. Sowle Raylton continued to print for Friends and was succeeded near the middle of the eighteenth century by Luke Hinde, and after his death by his widow, Mary. In 1775 we come to James Phillips, successor to Mary Hinde; and the work of his son, William, brings us up to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The interesting little pamphlet on Early Friend Printers, which I have freely used for the above information, states that between 1650 and 1708, 2,678 different publications were printed by Friends, from a quarto of 4 pp. to a folio of 900, many of these passing through several editions.

John Dunton (1659-1733) was apprenticed as a printer at the age of fourteen. His first wife was Elizabeth Annesley, sister of the mother of John Wesley. Dunton was editor of the Athenian Gazette, and Mercury (1690-1696). His principal work was The Life and Errors of John Dunton, published in 1705 and re-issued in 1818, in which are frequent references to London booksellers and printers, including, doubtless, a notice of Tace Sowle.

See D.N.B.

One other name deserves to be mentioned in connection with the technical side of Friends' publishing. In iii. 1679 an agreement was drawn up regulating the functions of the Morning Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings, which tended to overlap. It was agreed:—

- (1) That all bookes read at Second days morning meeting be presented to ye meeting of sufferings who are to order and direct ye manner and number of bookes & ye printer thereof.
- (2) That Marke Swaner the German friend bee the Correcter of friends books printed by friends order & have ye usuall and Customary allowance for ye same.

Mark Swanner had already done work for the Morning Meeting. In vi. mo. some books of George Fox's were to be printed, "And Mark Swaner is to see to correct ye same as friends Agreed." He was to have "the Usuall Pay and allowance for the Same."

Richard Richardson succeeded Ellis Hookes as Recording Clerk at the beginning of 1682, and a few years later a committee of about twelve Friends, of whom George Fox was one, reported concerning arrangements between him and Mark Swanner. R.R. was to have £20 as formerly, and to be chief, and £10 to pay a helper for six months, and M.S. to have £30 a year "if ye Meeting of 12 judge M.S. deserves it."

In 1694 M. Swanner was being employed in bringing out an edition of G. Fox's works. On 22 xii. 1694, he asked ten shillings a week for 27 weeks

for having attended the ffriends appointed from time to Time to Read G.ff's printed books and Manuscripts. It's Referred to [six Friends] or any 3 of them to Agree with the said Marke for the Time past as Cheap as they can, as also for the Time to come, & make Report.

The Meeting succeeded in beating Mark Swanner down. On 27 xii. 1694,

Friends agreed with Mark Swanner for 8/- a week but could come to no agreem^t with him for Time to come, he insisting to have more then ten shillings a Week because of the great care and Labour he suggests it will now shortly be.

A few days later, Friends agreed with M.S. for ten shillings a week, and he signed the minute to say he was satisfied.

The meeting probably had very little comprehension of the difficulties of the work he was doing. It seemed to them to proceed slowly, and in 1696 Friends were appointed to inspect his work, and at last he was justified. The Friends appointed to inspect his work reported:—

There hath been great care and paines taken, and a very great progress is made therein, and the work reduced to an Extraordinary method, to a Regular proceeding—most of the Epistles and Doctrinal Writings and Books are gone through, and not much remaining, save controversies, &c.

The printing of George Fox's Epistles proved a great anxiety to Friends:—

8 i. 1696/7.—Tace Sowle desires the meeting will Incourage her in the printing G.ff's Epistles, w^{ch} is by Advanceing money for buying paper.

She asked for £100, "upon the Consideration (as she saith) that the Books will come the Cheaper to friends." The payment was recommended to Yearly Meeting.

In i. 1698 the work was definitely placed in the hands of Tace Sowle, who promised to print at a price not exceeding one penny per sheet. "And if she can afford y^m Lower, she promiseth she will." Friends were appointed to supervise the work, "to see it be well and Truly done," and "to take their Turns by 2 at a Time, and Marke Swan^r to attend y^e Press."

At a succeeding meeting Tace Sowle was called up and inquiry made how many sheets she could print a week. The answer was ten.

And this Meet^g advises That wⁿ any manuscript of G.ffs comes to Taces hand y^t she cannot Read it or any part or Passage therein—That then she Repaire to one or two of the ffri^{ds} appointed by this meet^g to puse the Sheets as they are printed off—y^t they may take care to have soe much of y^e s^d Manuscript as they see needfull—to be Transcribed soe y^t y^e Work may not be delayed.

8 ii. 1698.—This meeting orders y^t Marke Swanner don't delay the Coppy by Ittallick Caracters, or otherwise, and not to put any Ittalick in the Coppy y^t appears to this meeting or the supervisors to be unnecessarie.

A week later Friends calculated that Swanner's work "comes to ffive shills p sheet for the sd Correcting and Revising." The Meeting debated how this great charge could be lessened, "considering that he has had abot Ninety pounds already, least the

Yearly Meets should blame this meets." (Each week report was made to the Meeting how many sheets were printed off.) Later Mark Swanner was asked to correct at four shillings a sheet, but dissatisfaction still existed, and at last:—

10 iv. 1698.—This Meeting being disatisfyed with the long delay and great charge of continueing Marke Swanner in Collecting George ffoxe's Epistles, did appoint some ffriends to Inspect his method, to consider if any way could be found to dispatch the business and lessen the charge, did make report As followeth:—

"The Meeting for Sufferings having referred to us the Inspection of Marke Swaners Method of proceedings abot Dear G: ffs Epistles and ordring them to the Press Do unanimously agree y^t all the Books and papers be Immeadiately taken into ffriends hands and from this week he be

discharged of his former sallary.

"And if ffrids have any Occasion for Marke Swanner for the future to Employe and satisfye him as they have occasion."

The Minute and the above Report being Read to Marke Swanner he declared he was satisfyed.

But it is not till more than a year later that a final payment of £7 was made to him "to end the matter," for which he gave "a full Dische to ffriends." And so we leave him.

Meanwhile, on 17 viii. 1698 the Morning Meeting asked the Meeting for Sufferings to appoint some Friends to draw up an Index to G.ff's Epistles "but hope there will be no need of an Errata." And, at last, on the 25 ix. 1698 the Epistles were reported printed.

There was much activity in printing and distributing Friends' books throughout the eighteenth century. Grants were constantly made to the various Circular Yearly Meetings, to Scotland, "to the Foreign Ministers now at this Court" (1766), to "some libraries in N. America," to Libraries on the Continent, to French prisoners, etc. In 1760 Barclay's Apology in English and Latin, Sewel's History, George Fox's Journal, William Penn's Works, and the Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland, were suggested by a committee as suitable for presentation to the newly-opened Library at the British Museum, and the Meeting added John Crook's, Stephen Crisp's and Isaac Penington's Works. Perhaps the most interesting point to observe is the large number of

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books printed in foreign languages. I have elsewhere noted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Friends were able to distribute books in French, German, Danish, Italian and Latin; and there were books or tracts available a little later in Spanish and modern Greek.

Arrangements were also made with provincial booksellers to expose Friends' books in their shops.

All this time details of price of paper and estimates were brought to the Meeting for Sufferings itself. On 5 ix. 1794, a committee was appointed "to consider the present method of printing the Societies Books, and whether some plan of having them printed nearly on one sized paper in future might not be advantageously adopted." No Act of Uniformity, however, was passed, the committee next month recommending that in future books be printed on demy paper in 12mo. for smaller tracts, and 8vo for larger, "& that the size of the latter be at the time of printing, determined by the Circumstances of the Case."

It was not until the early part of the nineteenth century that the Meeting for Sufferings appointed a committee to prevent time being occupied with detail as to prices of paper and printing arrangements. On I viii. 1828, "The subject of the consideration of the most proper and advantageous mode of conducting the Printing business of the Society" was referred to a strong committee, and at the beginning of 1830 (Ii.), it was recommended and agreed:—

That a small standing Committee be appointed, termed the Printing Committee to attend to the Printing of Papers, &c., for the use of the Society, and to obtain Proposals for Printing any new Works.

The committee consisted of Josiah Forster, William Hargrave, John Eliot, Paul Bevan, Abram Rawlinson Barclay, Joseph Talwin Foster, and George Stacey. Almost their first business was "to take measures for the inspection, arrangement & better preservation of papers in the Record room & the Clerk's office," but their work mainly consisted in arranging for the printing and publication of Friends' books. The distribution of Friends' books was not in their hands, but in those of the Library Committee, which had been appointed by the Meeting for

⁴ See Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1919 (no. 43).

Sufferings in 1799. There was, naturally, a good deal of overlapping, and in 1847 the Library Committee was merged in the Printing Committee.

The minutes of the Committee are mostly of little general interest, being of necessity occupied with matters of routine. But occasionally there is a reference to the wider world. Thus, in iii. 1851, George Stacey and Robert Forster were asked to consider the

most suitable mode of bringing under notice of foreigners who may be in London at the forthcoming Exhibition in this Metropolis in the 5th mo. next works illustrative of our religious principles.

It was decided to advertise in the French, German and English Catalogues of the Exhibition four depôts where Friends' books could be obtained. Similar measures were taken in connection with the 1862 Exhibition.

In iii. 1856 James Bowden and Robert Alsop reported the collection of evidence to refute Macaulay's charges against William Penn in the third and fourth volumes of his *History*. The documents were given to William Hepworth Dixon to include in a third edition of his William Penn.

In 1858 information about the lives of Friends was sent to the editor of the Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography, and in 1859 the publishers of the Encyclopædia Britannica were asked to substitute another article on QUAKERS in the eighth edition in place of one "in which the principles and testimonies of our religious society are much misrepresented." The editor, however, refused to accept the article which had been prepared by "a person."

For some years a good deal of time was given to the superintendence of the Depository of Friends' books at 84, Houndsditch. This had been set up by leave of the Yearly Meeting in 1841, "the subject of providing a public depôt for the sale of Friends" Books near these premises" having been brought before it by minute of the Meeting for Sufferings. Edward Marsh was appointed Superintendent, and the Printing Committee drew up a careful paper of regulations as to the conduct of the business, and a catalogue of books to be sold. The Depository was to be open in Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Months till eight o'clock, and during Yearly Meeting till nine o'clock; but in the remaining

months it might be closed at six o'clock. It was also closed during the week-day meeting at Devonshire House, and during Monthly Meeting. The duties of the Superintendent included seeing Friends' works through the press, and his remuneration was fixed at £130 and house rent, and twenty per cent. on the sales. For the year 1842, the sales amounted to £327 3s. 7d. In 1845 the sales amounted to £545 6s. 4d., and the Committee noted that sales "to casual purchasers" were apparently increasing. The Depository existed for some thirty-five years, after which (in 1876) the stock of bound books was transferred to Samuel Harris and Co. In 1890 a new arrangement was made, in conjunction with the Friends' Tract Association, which had formed a depôt at 14, Bishopsgate Street Without, under the care of Edward Hicks, Jun. In 1896 Headley Brothers became booksellers to the Society of Friends, until, in 1916, the Society decided once more to have a bookshop of its own. Plenty of work was found for Edward Marsh in connection with the cataloguing of the books in the Library. He had an office in the yard, and after his death, at the beginning of 1884, the Committee's Report to Yearly Meeting spoke "with feelings of affection and regret" of the service he had so long given to the Society.

It was in this year, 1884, that the Printing Committee was definitely entrusted with the care of the Library, and was ordered to "meet regularly in the middle of each month in the Upper Strong Room." This room was also to be opened and prepared for use on days when the Meeting for Sufferings sat, and was to be ventilated and warmed about once a fortnight,

in addition to occasional duly authorised resort thereto by Friends or others for the purpose of consulting the Books, &c., in either of the two rooms which contain the Library of the Society.

After two meetings the heading "Printing and Library Committee" changed into the now familiar "Library and Printing Committee" (17 vi. 1884). It is time, therefore, to return to the beginnings of things and to trace the way in which the Reference Library has grown up to its present value and importance.

ANNA L. LITTLEBOY.

To be concluded

The Death and Gurial of Sophia Hume

N article by the late George Vaux, of Philadelphia, which appeared in volume vi., stated that the will of the husband of Sophia Hume, dated 1736, referred to his wife, Sophia, and his son and daughter, Alexander and Susanna, and made bequests to seven nephews and nieces.

The following letter¹ gives some further information respecting the children of Sophia Hume:

"Extract of a Letter from William Forster to Robert

Dudley, dated Tottenham, 8th of 2 mo., 1774:

- "Our valuable and much esteemed Friend, Sophia Hume, died suddenly on 4th day week, being seized as some thought with a paralytic stroke. She languished but a few hours, and was not able to speak, nor hardly sensible during that time. She was buried last 6th day from Grace Church Street meeting, at which was the largest concourse of People I ever saw (except at Yearly Meeting). Isaac Sharples² and Mary Brooke³ came to the funeral. They each had an acceptable time. The latter spoke in the highest terms of the deceased . . . chiefly directing her discourse to the relations . . . in what affecting moving manner the deceased had expressed herself to her that her near connections might be made acquainted with Truth; how it had redeemed her from the follies and sins of the age. . . .
- "Her son and niece were there; she appeared to be much affected.
- "She made her will about two months before her death, and signified to several that she might perhaps go suddenly, and chose to be in that prepared state. Her son and daughter are left executors, to whom she has left

From a copy in the possession of Samuel J. Alexander, of Bournemouth, 1920. Another copy is among MSS. in D.

² Isaac Sharples (c. 1702-1784) lived at Hitchin.

³ Mary Brook (c. 1726-1782), née Brotherton, was the wife of Joseph Brook, of Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire. She became a Friend about 1753, and married in 1759. She is noted for her one piece of writing, Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, first printed in 1774, and many times reprinted.

all her books and writings; 4 and in her will particularly desires that for her sake they will at times look into them. She also ordered to have a plain elm coffin unpolished, no ornaments on the hearse, no wine or strong liquors

handed about—which was strictly complied with.

"She had attended the Morning Meeting on second day before, was then very particular in advice to ministers and elders. On the 3rd day afternoon she was at Peel Monthly Meeting, which was on account of a committee attending, it lasted several hours. She spent the evening at Thos. Corbyns and next morning breakfasted with usual health and spirits, and just as she was preparing for meeting was seized as above.

"Her daughter and family are now in France. She often expressed much uneasiness at their wintering there, at which no doubt they will be concerned, as they were all affectionate children to a very affectionate parent."

4 Among these were: An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina, 1748; A Caution to such as observe Days and Times called Festivals; that they spend them not in Rioting, Revelling, Wantonness, etc. no date; Extracts from Divers Ancient Testimonies of Friends, etc.; A Word of Advice and Warning to Handicrafts-Men, Labourers, Carmen, Coachmen, Chairmen, etc.

Glaisters of Scotland and Cumberland

In vol. xx. N.S. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, dated 1920, there is a long article with above title. In it are several notices of Quaker Glaisters. There were burials of the family in the burial-ground at Allonby. "In the Minute Books [? Registers] of the Society of Friends in Cumberland there are at least seventy-seven entries. The earliest, a burial, is dated in 1681, and the latest in 1839. These entries comprehend members who attended the meeting-houses at Beckfoot, Wigton, Moorhouse and elsewhere."

The Theatre and Garclay's "Apology"

Woods, under date of 3 mo. 1805. Copied from a manuscript sent up in 1920, by Mary Hannah Foster, of Scarborough, grand-daughter of Richard F. Foster, mentioned in the MS.

"The day after the Quarterly Meeting held at Leeds, breakfasted at a friend's house and on enquiery of a certain young man I had particularly noticed at meeting, that his name was Richard Foster², that he came out of the South and settled at Scarborough, that he joined the Society by convincement, and had appeared acceptably in the ministry, and withal related the following occurrence which I have put down as near as I can remember:

"Dr. Southam, of Buckingham, a man eminent in his profession, by which he had acquired considerable property, took a journey of pleasure with his wife to London. During their stay there they attended the play, in which was acted The Quaker4 with which the Doctor was very much affected. At the close thereof the principal manager observed to the company that if any one was desirous to know more of this singular body of people he would recommend them to read Barclay's Apology. Accordingly the doctor, before he left London, privately purchased it, and when he got home secreted it in his study where he employed his leisure time in diligently perusing it. His wife very soon perceiving a visible alteration in him and having taken notice he spent more time in his study, wondered what was the cause; whereupon taking the opportunity when he was from home she carefully examined the room and found the Apology there, which she began to read, and continued to do so at such times when he was absent. The consequence of which was by turning their minds to that Divine principle of Light and Life, which comes by Jesus Christ and is placed in the secret of every heart, they were both convinced of the truth as professed by the people called Quakers and in

time they found strength to make public profession thereof.

"About the same time Richard Foster's brother Oswald5, who was an apprentice with them, was out of his time and was gone to London for further instruction. The doctor having a great deal of business had proposed at his return to take him as a partner; before he reached home he heard they were become Quakers at which he was very much surprised, but being determined to let them know that he was not one, he began to whistle and sing when he entered the house and passing through the lobby by the sitting-room door, went directly into the kitchen where he was very much struck with the visible alteration he observed in the countenance of the servant girl, and thus accosted her: 'What, Betty, are you all turned Quakers? but I will not be one, however.' But in a short time he was also favoured with a precious visitation and became clearly convinced of the Truth.

"The said Richard Foster, hearing that his brother was turned Quaker, lightly said: 'I shall quake also when cold weather comes,' but the same Divine power soon after reached unto him and caused him to bow thereunto, bringing him into a state of willingness to confess Christ before men; and about the same time another brother, John,6 resident at some distance, was convinced of the Truth. Thus, without having any previous conversation one with another, were six persons in a remarkable manner convinced and brought to the acknowledgement of the Truth and became valuable

members of our religious Society.

"N.B.—The above narrative was sent to R.F.F., of Scarborough, and confirmed by him as substantially correct."

NOTES

I Joseph Woods (1738-1812) was a woollen-draper of White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. He married Margaret Hoare (1748-1821) in 1769. (THE JOURNAL, xiv. 42; xvii. 40.)

^{*} Richard Fiennes Foster (1778-1857) was born at Newton Purcell, Oxon. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to the drapery business. In 1794, he removed to Leicester where "he appears to have been. . . effectually brought to the knowledge of Christ "(Testimony). He joined Friends in Leicester, and in 1798 he removed to Scarborough, where he resided for the remainder of his life. He began to preach about 1805; was recorded a Minister in 1827 (ibid.); and travelled frequently in the ministry. In 1802, R. F. Foster married Mary Procter (c. 1772-1851).

- 3 Considerable investigation into minute books respecting John Southam, M.D. (1756-1845) and Ann (-1847), his wife, in which we have been assisted by the clerk of Warwickshire North M.M., has revealed some information respecting these Friends and their family. Their reception into membership is thus officially presented in the books of Buckingham M.M. (in D.):
- 30 i. 1793. "Friends appointed to pay John Southam and Ann his wife a visite have had an oppertunity with them, and their report gave good satisfaction to this Meeting of the Sincerity of their Convincement. Theirfore this Meeting Receives them with their children into membership."

In 1817, a daughter, Sarah, married Joseph Cash, of Coventry, and in 1818, another, Elizabeth, married Josiah Cash, and this connection probably decided the family to remove to Coventry.

Bucks M.M., 19 i. 1820. "John Southam, Ann, his wife, and four of their children (Mary, Eleanor, Henry and Ann), removed to Coventry (Middle M.M. for Warwickshire)."

Early in 1821, they were joined by John Southam, Junr., with certificate from America, who removed to Nottingham, 1 mo. 1831.

Of the children certified with their parents to Coventry—Mary resigned her membership in 1833, and Henry moved to Nottingham in 1825, to Banbury in 1826, and to Loughton M.M. in 1833.

Richard Southam removed to Coventry from Hitchin M.M. in 1823,

and Hannah from Nottingham in 1826.

Ann Southam declined appointment as Elder in 1822.

John Southam and his wife, Ann, and their two daughters, Hannah and Ann, removed to Guernsey, 8 mo. 1834.

- 4 This probably refers to *The Quaker: A Comic Opera*, by Charles Dibdin (1745-1814, see D.N.B.). From the various editions in **D**. of this play we find that it was produced at Drury Lane Theatre in 1777, the time taken being about one-and-a-half hours. In an edition of 1815 we read:
- "There is no instance (except where furnished by the author of this opera) on the English stage of any musical piece, the music and words composed and written by one person, being honoured with so much well-merited success, as that which attended the first appearance of The Quaker, has continued to attend its every succeeding repetition, and while a taste for simplicity of fable and genuine melody prevails, will doubtless attend its frequent future performance."

The Play was running at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1838.

Steady, the rich Quaker, is of philanthropic bent—"he does so much good all about and he gives a portion every May-day to a damsel as a reward for her sweetheart's ingenuity," and as a consequence of this annual gift he loses a girl whom he wishes to marry.

- Solution of John and Alice Foster, of Newton Purcell, in Oxfordshire (non-Friends). He was a surgeon and apothecary at Hitchin. He married, in 1800, Mary Benwell (c. 1774-1851).
- John Foster (1781-1864) was apprenticed to a chemist at Basingstoke. He joined Friends as the result of the ministry of Thomas Shillitoe, at the marriage of his brother Oswald, at Whitchurch in 1800. About 1805 he settled at Luton and in 1812 he married Hannah Wallis, of Basingstoke (1785-1815). He travelled in the ministry—at times with his brother, Richard F. (Annual Monitor, 1865)

"Kirst Publishers of Truth" in Morwich!

A BOOKE OF YE SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD CALD QUAKERS IN THE CITTY OF NORWICH

Preface.

ORASMUCH as we are sencable (by ye Light of ye Lord) there will be Longeinge desires in the harts & mindes of many (in Generations yet to Come;) And that the Childeren yet unborne will be Jnquireing of their ffathers; How and after what maner the Lord raysed up his seed in his people in these parts &c whom he hath Cald & Choosen to hould forth A Testemony to his Truth in this or Age we Could not forbare takeinge in hand, to give A relation, how and after what maner the word of God Came to some; And how they Suffered for the Word of God, and Testemony of Jesus; And how the Lord was wth them in their Sufferings fillinge them wth his peace & spirit of Glory; [later hand] & Carried ythrough; & lifted up their heads, & set them over theire Advercarys.

From hence followeth an Account of the first Appeareinge of Truth in ye people of god (in this age) Cald Quakers in this Cittye of Norwch & County of Norfolk. 1654.

Jn the year 1654 at the tyme Cald Sturbridge ffaire one Thomas Simonds (who was formerly a loose liveinge man, given formerly to Assosiate himself wth those people Cald Ranters or Libertines (who taketh liberty

From a typed copy of the original sent by Arthur J. Eddington, of Norwich. In *The First Publishers of Truth*, published by the Friends' Historical Society in 1907, there is a long account of what is known as "the Norwich Case," in 1682-3; the above account, of earlier date, would have been more suitable for inclusion in the volume, but was not known to the editor and did not have a place among the MSS. in Portfolio 7.

to licentiousness) went to Sturbridge ffaire to take his pleasure there as he ust to doe, and hearinge of some of the people Cald Quakers in Cambridge prison he went to scoff at them (as he hath since saide himself: But the Lord Mett wth him there; And After a tyme of Silence, the Spirit of god Moved in one of them² to speake to him w^{ch} did Convince him of his ungodly life that he had lived; And the Word of god was very powerfull to him even sharper then a two Edged sword peircinge even to the devideinge a sunder of soul & spirit & of the Joynts & Marrow beinge a deserner of the thots & Jntents of ye hart; by wch word he was made very tender & much brought downe beinge made willinge to become Conformable thereunto; And not to the Coustomes and ffasions of ye world any longer; but became transformed by the Renewinge of his Minde and Endured the Cross & dispised the shame; (wch indeed was very grate in that day) And was made a gazeinge stock & a spectacle to men; & he was a Wonder to the people of Norwch the Citty where his outward dwellinge was; And his ffreinds & Relations stood at a distance from him, And many were the Reports that went of him, some people sayinge he was madd, others that he was bewitched yea many were the lyes that were Raysed of him. But the Lord was wth him, & kept him in truth & soberness, whereby he became a Wittness Against that vaine & ungodly life that he had formerly lived in, And a preacher of Righteousness, And shined as a light in ye midst of a Crooked and perverce Generation of people Amonge whome he dwelt outwardly.

And After his Return from Cambridge and that he had been at his outward dwelinge in ye Cittye of Norwch aforesd some tyme; Some of the Lords people Came (who were Ministers of the Everlastinge gosple, wch the promise was should be preached againe;) viz. Richrd Huberthorn for one who, as he was Comeinge thorough the towne of Wimondham aboute 6 miles off Norwch was moved to goe to a steple house & speake there, some words, at wch ye Preist whose name was John Mony, & Ralf Wollmor Cald a Justice (beinge both Professors were offended, & ye sa Ralf Wollmor sent him to Windham

² "w^{ch} was Anne Blacklin" (added in margin).

Bridwell, in w^{ch} towne the Lord stirred up the Spirit of a Maide named Alc Kinge, to give Testemony in y^c behalf of y^c Spirit of god that appeared in him who became a disiple of y^c truth & doth remaine soe to this day wthout spott & blameless, and from thence the saide Richerd was sent by a Warrent from the saide Ralfe Wollmor to Norw^{ch} Castle there to be kept prison^r, but y^c Wittness of god rose in y^c saide Ralf & Tormented him soe that he Could not have peace in what he had done; and therefore he sent a discharge for Richerd, but that was not Availeable for his Release then but though Jt seemes he had repented him of what he had done (like Judas) And would have had him set at liberty, yet it Could not be, by all that he Could doe; And soe he Remained there psnor, till severall Sessions; And Afterward was set at liberty.

And there Came Alsoe others who; some for declareinge Agst deceipt in ye marketplace and some for declareinge Agst ye Preists in ye Steple houses were sent to Norwth Prison by Thomas Toft then Mayor, But afterwards, at Sessions, were set free from their Jmprisonment by the Rulers; but the Goaler whose Name was [sic] Hunt kept some of them in Prison for fees; but ye Lord Laide his hand upon him And tooke him awaye by death And soe they were delivered out of prison. And these things were done in the days of Oliver Cromwell (Cald by them) Lord Protector. [In Margin.] Rich Sale, Rich: Clayton, Ja: Lancaster, Dorothy Waugh, Eliz: Court, G: Whitehead, Tho: Bond, ffra: Howgill, Ed: Borroughs, Anne Blacklin, Humphery Norton.

The names of some of y^m that were Jmprisoned as aboves^d were George Whitehead, James Lancaster, Thomas Simonds, Dorithy Waugh, Eliz Court, & some others.

George Whitehead aboves^d went (wth a ffreind whose nam was John Lawrence upon a day that ythe Proffessors Cald Jndependants had Appointed to Cast John Lawrence out of their Church (for he had been formerly a Member thereof) To Georges of Tombland Steplehouse in Norweh, And there speakeinge Agst false profits, Timothy Armintage, (who was Cald their paster) Cald to his Members to pull him downe, wth Accordingly they did, & some pul'd George downe, & some struck him; But George spoake

to them in ye power of the Lord & the spirit of Prophesie to this efect; that the lord would Confound them:

The first that Entertained friends in this City or received them & their Testimony was Thomas Symonds, Thomas Buddery, Anne Whitlock, Lore Gosse Robert Greene, Margret Dousen, & Margret Hebbs, Tobias Roe & Catherine his Wife, John Gold, Mary Jary, David Read, & Anne Read his wife, Thomas Allen & Margret his wife, Alice Cock, Alice Dye, Thomas Money, John Money, Margret Money, Thomas Deney, Edward Mason, Mary Beaumont, Abigail Garrod.

"The Hertfordshire Spy"

By Nicholas Robinson, 1707.

ESCRIPTION of Michaelmas Fair, at St. Albans—a coarse account: "My Friend and I having sufficiently diverted ourselves with the Frolicks of this Company, discharg'd our Reckoning, in Order to ramble once more thro' the Fair: As we were thrusting in the Crowd, an Honest Draper of our Town takes me by the Arm and leads me into his House, where there was a Table richly furnish'd, bidding me eat and welcome. I percev'd he did not grudge it, and therefore would not give him the trouble of inviting me twice. Let the World say what they please of these Quakers, 'tis my Opinion that some of them are Flesh and Blood, as well as other People. Nay, 'tis a Fundamental Article in my Religion, that a generous Man is in a fair way to be sav'd. When I had feasted myself on delicious Food, he brought out two bottles of humming March-Beer, and would not let me stir till they were both empty'd.

Thus did he ever bind me to extol

The gen'rous temper of a Quaker's soul:

Whoe're henceforth throws dirt in Quakers Teeth

I'll Satyrize th' inhumane Dog to death.

"Returning a great many thanks for his kindness, I quitted the House, and began to look about for my Friend."

A. Neave Brayshaw,

Copied in John Rylands Library. 18 vi. 1920.

Public Friends in Gusiness'

LETTER FROM DAVID HALL² TO JAMES WILSON,³
OF KENDAL

HERE send thee one of my Little Paper Messengers, the Convoy of true Love, to thy whole self Children & Friends, also to Inform thee that I am well, & that takeing my knapsack once abt 5 or 6 Weeks agoe, I set out from Home towards London, in the Way to which City, I Exposd my Wares abt 10 Times. I got as much as supported me to the City, when I came there, I found a Confluence of Brave Tradesmen both Inland & Outland Merchants, & great Plenty of Curious Cambrick, fine English Cloth, Holland Cloth, Irish Cloth, &c., so that Poor I Expos'd my Brown Linnen but twice in that Metropolis, for what signifies Lighting a small Candle in the sun shine, There was then at said City, one Samuel Bonas4 a Wealthy Mercht out of Dorsetshire, a very fair and Honourable Tradesman, both in the wholesale & retail Way, a Punctual Payer of the Kings Customs & detester of the Smugling Trade. He delivers Vast Quantities of Excellent Goods, gives large Measure & Good Pennyworths too, and was but a Blacksmith somewhere about Sedber in his Younger Years, not then worth Five Pounds p Annum, but really I think he has been at the University Since he Left the Anvill, for even whilst he is Exposing his Traffick, he talks like a Philosipher, & returns as much In a Week as some doe in 7 years. He is now very able & rides like a Parliment Man.

There was also then & there Present, one Iohn Willsons of Kendall, Clerk to the Merchants Company, & to the Whole Body of Tradesmen, who also has a Considerable share in Trade himself, but in a Private Way, scarce ever keeping open Shop, or Stall in Publick Fairs or Marketts. Please to tell him from me, that I think if he would keep open shop & not Deal so like a smugler, he would get gain apace, & gain I knoe he likes Well,

but as saith the Proverb, The Catt Loves Fish but likes not to Whett her Feet. I observe that when Tradesmen & Merchants are met on the Royal Exchange to adjust affairs, to Confer abt Trade & the rules of it, he is of a singular service, being of sincerity good Parts & the Faculty, not inferior To W. Pool, & Poultry. Methinks I see in the Man a Peculiar Tallant of Cutting out Work for other Persons, Being one of the Directors for the Honourable Company of Merchants yet I think not too forward but rather too backward, I love him much. His Wife has also been in this Country, & her & Companions Wares & Conduct were Such as added reputation to the Bussiness, & they have left a Good report behind them. We hear one of I. Willson's Daughters is sett up lately, shall I not Conclude, Father, Mother & Daughter being all Merchants, the Family must in time be very rich, I wish them Good Success.

We find, Dear Friend, there's some stirings & revivings of Trade amongst the Young People & Elders in London, in this Country there is a Brave appearance of ye Young Generals, I hope many may be made willing in Time to take up the Cross Daily, & follow the Captain of our salvation.

Haveing Visited the Inland Parts of Hampshire, pretty thoroughly, I found freedom to Cross the Herring Pool into this Little Isle, & perhaps may either Personally or Litterally in due Time let thee know the state of affairs on this Isle, Touching the Trade I have been speaking of, Mean while my Honoured Friend, Farewell, & pray for thy Poor, but I hope thy True Friend,

D. HALL.

Newport in the Isle of Wight, ye 24th Day of ye 4th Month, 1738.

NOTES

This letter was printed in *The Irish Friend*, vol. iv. (1841) p.111. There are several manuscript copies in **D** with variations in wording. It is valuable as shewing the business side of the life of well known Ministers—a phase of their life little dealt with in their biographies. It also illustrates the Quaker principle with regard to the ministry—that it is not detached from business or professional life.

² David Hall (1683-1756) was a schoolmaster residing at Skipton, in Yorkshire, of which occupation he writes: "Though I have had a

Boarding School thirty-two years, I never buried any besides five, nor had any so much as a Bone broke in all that Time." In 1716, he married Mary, daughter of William Storrs, of Chesterfield; in 1725 he married Anne, daughter of Christopher Foster, of Rillston, by whom he had nine children, six of whom died before their mother; in 1740, he married Deborah, widow of Thomas Atkinson, of Ashes in Westmorland, and daughter of Daniel Story. He travelled extensively in the ministry. See his *Collected Works*, published in 1758.

- 3 There was a James Wilson, of Kendal (1677-1769). "James and John Wilson of Kendal" had charge of the printing of The Journal of Thomas Story, 1747.
- 4 Samuel Bownas (1676-1753) was the last of the "early Friends." He was a prominent Minister and was clerk of London Yearly Meeting in 1741. The Account of his Life and Travels appeared in 1756, and has been several times reprinted.

See The Journal, vols. i., iv., v., vi., vii., x., xi., xii., xv.

John Wilson (1692-1752), of Kendal, married, in 1715, Deborah Wilson (1687-1754), daughter of Thomas and Rachel Wilson, of Stramongate, Kendal. They had two sons and five daughters. John Wilson was clerk of London Y.M. in 1726, 1729, 1738, 1743.

In a testimony respecting Deborah Wilson, it is stated: "She was a constant attender of meetings, tho' much engaged in Business in which she acquired a good character and was instrumental in supporting a numerous poor." She travelled in the ministry, "gaining much respect where she came . . . being always content with the meanest Entertainment, she met with, though when at home had Plenty of the good Things of this Life, whereof she communicated to her Friends with openness of Heart."

It does not yet appear which daughter was the one referred to as engaged in business. Rachel (b. 1720) married Isaac Wilson in 1740 and became the noted Minister of that name. Deborah (b. 1722) would be sixteen at the time. She married William Birkbeck in 1744. It would be interesting to think that Rachel had had some commercial experience in her youth. Other daughters were either married or still too young.

⁶ That is (as in other copies), Horace Walpole and William Pulteney.

A "Conservative" Wiew of London Y.M., 1846

"Everything had been cut and dried by the Table Friends prior to our coming together. . . . George Stacey was Clerk, and Robert Forster and John Hodgkin, assistants, with Josiah Forster at one side, backed by Samuel Tuke, James Backhouse and company; and William Forster and Edward Pease on the other, all of whom were much supported by the eloquence of John Pease."

JOHN HARRISON, of Manchester, to William Hodgson, Jr., of Philadelphia, 2 vi. 1846, printed in Letters and Memoirs of William Hodgson, 1886, p. 95.

The Third Marriage of William Allen, F.R.S., 1827

Allen with Grizell Birkbeck and the feeling aroused in many minds by the proposal thereto has been accumulating in **D**. and may here be referred to as an episode in the life history of a well-known Friend and a side-light on the various views of Friends in the early nineteenth century respecting marriage.

William Allen (1770-1843) married firstly, in 1796, Mary Hamilton (1771-1797), who had an only daughter Mary (1797-1823). He married, secondly, in 1806, s.p., Charlotte Hanbury (1762-1816); and, thirdly, in 1827, s.p., Grizell Birkbeck (1757-1835), who was the second wife and widow of Wilson Birkbeck (1754-1812), of London, and daughter of Samuel and Grizell (Gurnell) Hoare, of Stoke Newington.

Concerning ourselves with the third nuptials, we read in the Life of William Allen (ii. 437):

About this period he mentions in a letter to a friend that a new epoch was opening in his eventful life. For years, he and Grizell Birkbeck had been upon terms of friendship;

"It was not, however," he writes, "till after I lost my beloved child who was, as it were, my last earthly prop, that a more intimate union than that of friendship opened to my view; and now the time appears nearly come for its completion. . . Should this step appear singular let it be remembered, that the dispensations through which I have had to pass, have been singularly afflictive."

The proposals referred to here appeared more than "singular" to many Friends up and down the Society.

The following letter will declare the matter. It is from John Grubb, husband of Sarah (Lynes) Grubb, to his brother Joseph, of Clonmel:

Chelmsford 22nd of 1 mo. 1827.

Dear Joseph,

The report about William Allen and Grizell Birkbeck intending to marry each other has been confirmed, but they did not pass the monthly meeting on the day first spoken of; the matter had been kept very private, and when it was divulged, it caused such a general sensation, or as a friend said in a letter, such an Explosion, and I believe general disapprobation, that the ardour of the Lovers seemed rather checked, and they let that monthly meeting pass over without publickly declaring their intentions. G.B. has several nieces (daughters of the late Thos. Bradshaw, who lived near Belfast), whom she has reared and educated from Children, I believe, and are like her own Daughters (having no child of her own). I understand they were much hurt when they heard of the matter, but that things have since been arranged to their satisfaction; the great agitation seems to have a good deal subsided, and I suppose the (not young) Couple will proceed at next mo: meeting—I have heard of two Women friends thrown ill in consequence of hearing of it. I apprehend, from what I consider pretty good authority, that the Bride elect is in the 70th year of her age—her Admirer is thought to be not more than in the 58th year of his age.

I am thy affect. Brother

JOHN GRUBB.

Shortly after—6 ii. 1827—the same correspondent wrote:

If thou knew the torrent of disapprobation that W. Allen & G.B. intended Match has excited in this Country, probably thy astonishment might be even greater than it now is. When thou goes about to defend the matter, perhaps thou hadst better not bring G.F. & M.F. [George Fox & Margaret Fell] as an example of the propriety of this case. I believe the former, at the time of their marriage was about 45 years of age & the latter about 54—very different from 56 and 70, so the cases are not at all similar.

It was not Sus^a Corder or Elizth Dudley that were so deeply affected with this matter, but two married Women, Mothers of families, well acquainted with W.A. & G.B., and who wish well to the reputation of the Society & the consistency of its Members.

We have seen a Copy of Verses written on the occasion, which has been printed in this new way called Lithography & circulated in various places. It is very severe, entitled Friend-ly Scandal. G.B. has a great property; it is said about £3,000 a year.

The report having reached the South of Ireland, Mary Watson wrote off at once to G. Birkbeck:

Not believing the report respecting my much valued friends W.A. & G.B. I discouraged its circulation as derogatory to both, & forebore any expression to either of them on the subject, deeming it unnecessary—but contrary to my expectation and hope it appears now too much authenticated to leave room for doubt and it seems as the I could not rightly refrain from attempting to add my mite in that scale wherein I must believe much weight has already been thrown by the friends attached to both parties and to that precious Cause which I cannot doubt they have been called & qualified in their respective measures & stations to advocate. My dear friend G.B. long known and loved I have rejoiced in thy preservation & increasing dedication & usefulness.

Heartfelt would be my sorrow should any thing be permitted to obstruct that usefulness or obscure the brightness of that example which I believe has been productive of benefit to many. My highly esteemed friend W.A. stands in a still more awfully conspicuous point of view not only as a minister in our own Society but the more public Theater of the world as an active promoter of religious & moral rectitude among man. Anything like a swerving from consistancy in his steppings might extensively opperate to retard that work, whereunto he was seperated & has been made instrumental in promoting. It would afflict me, that from any cause the weight of his services should be lessened; in this land, where he has so recently & acceptably laboured, I am jealous lest it should be so, the rumour exciting general regret.

Suffer me then, my dear friends, to entreat your renewed close investigation of the subject in sincere desire that by the wittnessings of that light, which is the true light, you may be enabled to discover the enemy, if he has been permitted to approach you in this way to detect him in his transformations, resist him in his insinuations & become strengthened to turn from those things which tho they may appear lawful, nevertheless may not be expedient for you. I cannot conceive, my dear friends, why you should not continue to enjoy the benefits & comforts of religious & social intercourse & fellowship as you have done for some years, independent, especially at thy time of life, of any view to a closer union. I have no objection to thy communicating the whole or any part of this to W.A. & hope by both it may be accepted as a proof of deep and sincere regard

& attachment wherein I remain thy affect

friend, M.W.

Grizell Birkbeck replied:

Stoke Newington 2nd mo. 12th 1827.

My dear Friend,

I have many times thought of taking up the pen to acknowledge thy kind letter, but have hardly felt strength to enter upon the subject, but we have for so many years known & loved each other, that I am not easy to pass it over in silence if it were only to tell thee that I accepted it as a token of thy affectionate solicitude on our account for which I am obliged.

My dear Friend has entered so fully into our views and circumstances in reply to some kind letters sent us by our honourable & highly valued friend Sarah Grubb that I think I cannot do better than refer thee to

that letter which thou mayest probably have already seen & if not, I have no doubt she will willingly communicate, and I may now add that after weighing the matter as well as we were able, we concluded it best to declare our intentions at our Monthly Meeting last fourth day, and with Gratitude & thankfulness to the Author of all Good I may acknowledge that I thought we had a favoured Meeting, in which my beloved cousin Anna Braithwaite was engaged in Solemn Supplication, John Shipley pretty largely in testimony, Sarah Harris shorter, all very acceptably, and I.S. paid a very satisfactory visit to our women's Meeting afterwards & my mind was clothed with precious calm & peaceful feelings, and however different the opinions of some of our friends may be from our own, the affectionate interest that many have evinced has been very gratifying, & I hope that nothing will diminish that love which I so highly value, & in the the feeling of which I subscribe myself

thy affectionate Friend,

GRIZELL BIRKBECK.

P.S.—Cousin W^m Allen desires his d^r love to thyself, & thy daughter & my Nieces, who are at home, request to unite with me in the same message.

Mary Watson, Waterford, Ireland.

The marriage took place on the 14th of Third Month, and William Allen took up his residence in his bride's house in Paradise Row, Stoke Newington.

In the Life and Letters of Maggie Benson (1865-1915), London, 1917, there are two references to Friends:

Page 239. Haslemere, 17th July, 1897. "I think we may take a very charming house near here. It's compounded of two old houses, a Quakers' meeting house, a small farmstead, partly turned into school-house and part gymnasium."

Page 340. Falmouth, 26th Feb., 1905. "I like the Quakers so much; I have been to their meeting this morning; and also round Mr. Fox's garden and had robin after robin told to come to my hand for crumbs; each eyed my fur coat, and obeyed his voice."

FRIENDS AND ROYALTY.—In the life of Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, London, 1885, p. 126, we read: "Our Quaker acquaintances have sent me a great deal for the Bazaar, and an old gentleman who heard of it, 100l. I could not believe my eyes. They are always so generous; and, hearing of my undertaking a work of this sort, they sent me this spontaneously. Is it not kind?"

The Acts of the Rebels

WRITTEN BY AN EGYPTIAN

being an Abstract of the Journal of Mr. James Ray, of Whitehaven, volunteer under His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland.

Reprinted in facsimile for John Arkwright, Preston, 1881.

CHAPTER I.

Now it came to pass, that in the Nineteenth Year of George the King, and in the Fift Month of the Year, 1745. . . .

CHAPTER XI.

Now behold when William appeared in Scotland the Countenances of the People became chearful, and more especially the Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, and many of the Tribes thereof; for they were accustomed to loyalty from their Infancy; yea and from their childhood they were taught to Honour the King of England

- 2 And it came to pass, that he tarried not long with his Army at Sterling, but marched then streightway until they came to the Land of Aberdeen, when they halted many days; for there was much snow about that time, insomuch that they could not travel
- 3 But nevertheless the People called Quakers had administered great Warmth unto the Army before they left England; hearing that the Soldiers were often exposed to lie upon the Cold Earth in the night season.
- 4 Yea and they were exceedingly troubled in Spirit, that a Stranger should go to infest the Land, for they hate all things whatsoever that savoureth of Popery.
- 5 But nevertheless they drew not the Sword neither did they contend with the Arm of Flesh, for their Principles are Peace altogether.
- 6 Howbeit they found out means to aid the King, yea and their Elders gathered themselves up together and said unto the People; oh Friends! let us now Walk circumspectly, for this is a time of Tryal.
- 7 Let us take heed to ourselves, that the Sword be not unsheathed among us, but let us contribute abundantly unto the King's Fighting-men, not of the Weapons of Darkness, but Vestments of warm Raiment that their Earthly Tabernacles may be covered with a warm covering, and it was so.
- 8 And moreover they said unto one another, Peradventure William may put on him one of those Garments, for it is meet that he should be highly esteemed amongst Men and moreover his Father is our King whilst we remain in the Flesh.
- 9 Now from that time all the Soldiers were covered as with a shield against the Weather, and as the Snow fell in the Scotch Mountains; yea all the Night Season did they greatfully acknowledge the Benefit of the Quakers Covering.

Vol. xviii.—214.

- ro Thus the Quakers assisted without spilling the Blood of any Man; yea and they found favour in the sight of William and all his Host.
- II Now it came to pass that as soon as the Weather and the Roads grew better William marched his Army forward and on the 12th Day of the Month called April they came to the River Spey, where the Rebel Army were assembled, in Number about four Thousand to dispute the Passage.
- 12 Nevertheless William gave Orders for the Duke of Kingston's Horse to Advance, and they immediately cross'd the River, yea, and Ray the Volunteer, was in the Front Rank, but behold the Scots were smitten with great fear, insomuch, that they set Fire to their Barracks and fled towards Inverness
- 13 But nevertheless the English sustained no loss in the Spey saving a Dragoon and his Wife that fell off Lovingly together and were lulled to sleep in the midst thereof.
- 14 And it came to pass when the English were over the Spey, they Pitched at Nairn on the 14th and rested on the 15th being William's Birth-Day.
- 15 And on the self-same Day the Rebels burnt Fort Augustus and murmured greatly, that Lewis should withdraw his Golden Rays from amongst them, and as Famine began to appear they were obliged to hazzard a Battle with the English; and it was so.

From a copy sent by Robert Muschamp, of Radcliffe, Lancs., 1920.

"Quaker Principles from Rome"

- "I have often been afraid that popery may again overspread England. I am now pressed in spirit (after serious thoughts and prayer) to write down the grounds of my fear this evening, being Jan. 26, 1689."
- "6 That strange spirit of delusion of the Quakers, whose principles, practices, have issued from Rome, and tend to it, its popish points though in another dresse, greedily suckt in."

OLIVER HEYWOOD, Diaries, ii. 216.

"A Parcel of English Jews"

"When the love of money is added to spiritual pride we may deserve the apellation that I once heard us called after, on the river Thames, we being pretty many Friends in a boat, 'There goes a parcel of English Jews.'"

Memoirs of Nicholas Naftel (1762-1842), p. 56.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

2 ARGELY owing to enquiries at Herford in Hanover, instituted by M. Christabel Cadbury, of Sutton Coldfield, a fresh interest has been evoked in that district in the life-history of the Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate (1618-1680), abbess of Herford from 1667 to 1680, and friend of many noted religious leaders, including William Penn and Robert Barclay. In Das Blaue Kreuz, Oktober-Dezember 1920, appears the first portion of an article from the pen of Pastor Wöhrmann—" Aus dem Leben der Herforder Abtissin Elisabeth von der Pfalz," with a reproduction, as frontispiece, of the portrait of the Abbess, by Gerard Honthorst, now in the National Gallery in London. Chapter V. is "Ihr Verhältnis zu den Labadisten und Quäkern."

The Bulletin, No. 11, May, 1920, of the Indiana Historical Commission, State House, Indianapolis, Ind. (Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, a delegate to recent All Friends' Conference, Secretary), contains the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, held 11th December, 1919. On that occasion Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke read a paper on Wayne County and the Inward Light. This is a useful summary of the work of Friends on the eastern border of the State of Indiana, Wayne County being largely settled by Friends from North Carolina. Among the first immigrants was Andrew Hoover, great-grand-father of the writer, who arrived in the spring of 1806. Referring to the anti-slavery secession in 1843, when the "Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends" was formed at Newport (now Fountain City), Wayne County, Mrs. Clarke writes:

"It is a significant fact that it was among those very seceding Quakers, and in that same little village, that the Indiana branch of the famous Underground Railroad had its chief depot. The old Levi Coffin house in Fountain City is one of our most notable historic shrines, happily preserved in its original form, and yearly visited by throngs from all parts of the world."

The writer concludes:

"We see how Quakerism persists and writes its principles in our national consciousness and institutions. Other churches have been forced to lay hold of its vital elements because they were in the direct path along which the churches must travel in order to fulfil their mission."

Mrs. Clarke is not a Friend, but comes from a Quaker and abolitionist family. Her father was George W. Julian and his mother was a member of of the Hoover family, the first Quaker family to settle in Indiana. On her mother's side she is a grand-daughter of Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, one of the leading anti-slavery men of his generation. She married Attorny Charles B. Clarke in 1887 (note by Professor Harlow Lindley).

The life of Joseph Gundry Alexander (1848-1918) has been written by his youngest son, Horace G. Alexander (London: Swarthmore Press, 7½ by 5, pp. 225, 7s. 6d. net). Despite a few illustrations of what the author describes in his Preface as "not quite the same faith that my father had," the son writes very sympathetically of his father's life and work, and takes the reader through his "Early Days," "Student Days and Marriage," and "Study of International Law," to his great work in connection with anti-opium and peace, and travels in France (where he was much at home), India, China, Belgium, Scandinavia, Japan, United States, Switzerland, Italy, Palestine, and elsewhere.

In connection with work for Congo Reform, he was in Rome in 1906, and wrote thus of his interview with the Pope:

"Notwithstanding the difficulties between a convinced Protestant like myself and the fervent Catholics by whom I was surrounded, there was a profound unity in our motives of action. I was made to feel this throughout . . . in fact the Pope shook hands with me and accepted a pamphlet on the Congo question with the utmost cordiality." His biographer adds: "This casual reference to the Pope's handshake caused quite a sensation among some of his relatives and others who heard of it. One of them declared that only one other man had ever done such a thing, and some of his friends used to tell him that the Pope must have held out his hand to be kissed, not to be shaken, but he was never convinced of this: he had explained his scruples to one of the cardinals beforehand, and this man introduced him to the Pope with some words of explanation" (page 163).

Walter J. Kaye, B.A., F.S.A., of Pembroke, Park View, Harrogate, has transcribed and edited and will shortly publish *Harrogate* (Christ Church) Registers, 1749-1812, with Harrogate and Bilton entries at Knaresborough (c. 1560-1750) and noteworthy extracts from the Pannal Parish Accounts (c. 1660-1760), with illustrations, price one guinea. The parish accounts of Pannal contain "searches for arms, for conventicles, for Quakers and Papists."

The twentieth volume of the new series of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, (Kendal: Titus Wilson and Son, 287 pages, 1920), contains several items of Quaker interest, especially in supplying the name of the Walney Island "preist," who had not the courage to face George Fox (Camb. Inl. i. 49; bi-cent. ed. i. 121)—"Mr. Soutwerke, a Presbyterian (1649-1657)."

The portion of *The Harvest of Ruskin*, by John William Graham, which interests us specially is in chapter iii., "To What Fold?" where the religious views of the great thinker and writer are found to come, all unconsciously, into close alliance with those of the Society of Friends. "We find to our surprise that without knowing it, Ruskin was a real and very completely furnished Quaker" (p. 71). He had a testimony against a paid or professional ministry and his attitude towards Baptism and the Lord's Supper was thoroughly Quaker. He objected to mourning garments and he described oaths as "disobedience to the teaching of Christ." His views on war cannot be easily and briefly stated, so the author has to

devote a whole chapter to this subject—chapter viii. However, he is able to conclude that "Ruskin is to be found amongst the Peace advocates" (p. 219).

A recent book by Edward Grubb is The Bible, Its Nature and Inspiration, published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by the Swarthmore Press, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.I.

M. Christabel Cadbury has brought out a new edition of her monograph on Robert Barclay, which first appeared in 1912. The principal features of this new edition are a very attractive coloured frontispiece by F. Caley Robinson, illustrating Whittier's poem, "Barclay of Ury;" this poem given in full; the story of "L. M. Hoag and the Ghost of Ury;" and fresh information respecting Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate. Some of the sheets of the first edition, including apparently the title page, have been used—a puzzle to future bibliographers.

There has recently been published in the "Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education," as No. 105, a volume by Thomas Woody, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Education, University of Pennsylvania, entitled, Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania (New York City: Teachers' College, Columbia University. 9½ by 6½ pp. 287 \$3.00). After a brief survey of the principles of Quakerism, especially as regards education, Dr. Woody deals with education in Philadelphia, and then in several counties. Chapter ix. describes "School Support, Organisation and Curriculum," followed by a most interesting chapter on "Masters and Mistresses," and closing with "Education of Negroes and Indians."

Minutes of Friends Meetings have been diligently consulted, a valuable list of these being given in the Bibliography, as also a long list of "Printed Sources," "Newspapers," and "Secondary Materials." The Index is disappointing. There is much reference to Robert Proud, Anthony Benezet, George Keith, F. D. Pastorius, Enoch Flower, and other instructors of youth. Robert Willian should in every case be Robert Willan. ("Dr. Robert Willan, unmarried," was certified from Scarborough Monthly Meeting to Philadelphia "in order to undertake the keeping Friends' School" 12 mo. 2. 1747–8—A. C. Myers, Quaker Arrivals at Phila., 1902.) We should prefer also Roberts Vaux to Robert Vaux, William Sewel in place of William Sewell, and Norman Penney rather than Norman Penny!

The book is sure to become a valuable work of reference.

In the twenty-first issue of the Almanac and Year Book, 1921, of the First National Bank of Woodstown, N.J. (William Z. Flitcraft, cashier), there is a considerable account of the life and work of John Fenwick (1618-1683) who is described as "John Fenwick who introduced William Penn into America colonization." The narrative is based upon a sketch of Fenwick's life by John Clement, published by the Friends' Historical Association of Philadelphia in 1875. After passing through law studies

Fenwick became a major in the Parliamentary Army, 1648. He later became a Friend and "at the time of the Restoration he had fully adopted the opinions and practices of George Fox and suffered much in person and estate." About 1673 he became associated with Edward Byllinge (1628[?]-1686) in ownership of land in New Jersey, but lived a troublous life in connection with it. William Penn was appointed arbitrator in various disputes.

The pamphlet contains a view of John Fenwick's house at Ivy Point, Salem, N. J., and a reproduction of a portrait of "Major John Fenwick."

Recent Accessions to D and notes on some of them

"A addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to D during the last few months:

Thomas Edmund Harvey has presented his last remaining copy of the address which he gave in December, 1911, before the London Society for the Study of Religion, on The Journals of George Fox (privately printed, 36 pages, 4to.). The address was delivered at the time when the Cambridge Journal made its appearance, and the writer naturally refers principally to that edition. But there is also a cento of extracts from the Short Journal which has never been printed in extenso—probably longer extracts than any which have yet been seen in print.

By favor of Dilworth Abbatt, of Preston, an issue of the *Tulketh Hall Mercury* (1848, No. 5, vol. ii.) has been added to a few other issues in **D.** Tulketh Hall, on the outskirts of Preston, housed a Friends' Boarding School, commenced by George Edmondson and his brother, and continued by William Thistlethwaite (who resigned the superintendency of Penketh to go to Tulketh) and Dr. Michael Satterthwaite. When the beautiful woods by which it was surrounded were cut down, the School was moved to near Wilmslow.

By the kindness of Mr. Cecil Oakley Naftel, of 20, Eastcheap, E.C. great-great-nephew of Nicholas Naftel (see The Journal, xiv. 188; etc.), Friends' Reference Library has become the possessor of a pamphlet The Beginnings of Quakerism in Guernsey, written by Miss Edith F. Carey (author of "The Channel Islands," a book of 300 pages, published in 1904), and reprinted from the Transactions of the Guernsey Society of Natural Science, for 1918. The lecture is founded on the "Memoirs of Nicholas Naftel" (1762-1842), published in U.S.A. in 1888, by his grandson, Joseph Nicholas Naftel, and now very scarce. We hope to return to the subject when fortunate enough to secure a copy of the Naftel "Memoirs."

The J. J. Green Collection

SECOND LIST OF BOOKS WITH NOTES ON SOME OF THEM

Memorials of an Ancient House, a History of the Family of Lister or Lyster, 1913, 400 pages. On page 285 begins the "Pedigree of the late Lord Lister."

A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw (1831-1886), Fellow of King's College, Cambridge and University Librarian. London, 1888, 447 pages.

Henry Bradshaw was a son of Joseph Hoare Bradshaw, a member of the firm of Barnett, Hoare & Co., bankers, who was by birth a Friend. Henry's great-grandfather, Thomas, married in 1777, Sarah, daughter of Samuel Hoare. The family estate was at Milecross, Co. Down. "Henry Bradshaw himself never lost sight of his Quaker connections and treated any Friends whom he came across as in some sort relatives of his own." On p. 366 there is a long and characteristic letter to Joseph J. Green.

Illustrations of the Influence of the Mind on the Body, by Daniel Hack Tuke, second edition, 1883, 482 pages.

Letters from an Architect, by Joseph Woods, F.A.S., F.L.S., F.G.S. London, 2 vols., 4-to., 1828. Joseph Woods (1776-1864) was a son of Joseph Woods (1738-1812), who married Margaret Hoare (1748-1821).

Ovid's Metamorphoses, translated by Thomas Orger, with the Latin Text. London, 1814, 602 pages, a very rare book. Thomas Orger, LL.D. (c. 1777-1853) was the son of George Orger (c. 1749-1829) of Hertford and High Wycombe, and of Sarah Poulter (1752-1823) of Ramsey, Hants. He was in business as a "mealman" when he married, in 1799, Sarah Johnson (c. 1778-1803). In 1803 he was a printer. In 1804 Orger married Mary Ann Ivers (1788-1849), of the Windsor Company of Comedians, and left Friends.

Groot Wordenboek der Nederduytsche en Engslsche Taalen, by William Sewel. Second edition. Amsterdam, 1708, 608 pages.

Recollections of the Life of Countess Matilda von der Recke Volmerstein, by her daughter, translated from the German, 342 pages, 1873. The author was Maria (-1885), who in 1861, married William Allen Hanbury (1823-1898), only child of Cornelius Hanbury and Mary Allen, who was the only child of William Allen, F.R.S. The Count Adelberdt von der Recke Volmerstein. and his wife, Matilda, Countess von Pfeil (1801-1867), were earnest Christian philanthropists and established a home for poor children at Düsselthal in the Rhineland. They originated the idea of Deaconesses Institutions, afterwards carried out at Kaiserswerth. Later, their residence was at Craschnitz, near Breslau, in

Silesia, where they were visited in 1860 by W. A. Hanbury and his half-sister, Charlotte (who was much interested in the Count's work), and where a year later, the former was married to Maria von der Recke, the eldest daughter. Their only child, Adelbert William Allen de Hanbury, was born in 1863, the only descendant of William Allen, F.R.S. W. A. Hanbury took great interest in the history of his family, which, with the work of others in the same field, resulted in the two fine volumes of "The Hanbury Family." He died in Paris where he had resided for some time.

Mrs. Hanbury, in the Life of her mother, records the visit to Düsselthal [in 1840] of "the pious evangelical members of the 'Society of Friends,' William Allen, with whom she [the Countess] exchanged many letters, Samuel and Joseph Gurney¹ and Mrs. Fry, which afforded her much pleasure. She writes about it:

"'We have had a great pleasure the last few days; the celebrated Elizabeth Fry, who since 1819 has accomplished such an incredible amount of good in the prisons, and who properly speaking gave the first idea for the improvement of prisoners by instruction and employment, was with us here, and we twice with her at Düsseldorf. Her external appearance is uncommonly imposing from her great dignity, with the expression of the deepest humility and the greatest love with which she receives everybody, meeting even the worst criminal with this deep, holy love, and expressing the longing of her heart to see him happy now and blessed here after.

"'She was five days in Düsseldorf, and spoke several times to the prisoners, who listened with great eagerness to her words and were deeply moved. On Sunday evening we attended a very large meeting, which with the help of her dear brother and a venerable friend she made a time of true blessing. After the brother had read the seventh chapter of Matthew with much solemnity and impressiveness, a silent pause followed after which she began to speak, and with great unction admonished us all to live in accordance with the chapter—no word was without value and many were deeply impressed. Then came another pause and then her friend, the venerable Allen, spoke of the happiness of the children of God here below . . . After a pause the worthy Mrs. Fry again rose, and kneeling down, while all, even the great and distinguished people present, knelt with her, she prayed for us all that we might endeavour to become entirely the Lord's own. Oh, it was deeply impressive! and the fruit will certainly not be wanting. It was a wonderful evening in the midst of the bustle of the world, and, certainly, for some present, the first Sunday evening of the kind '" (page 168).

In 1847, Peter Bedford remitted £53 for the work at Düsselthal (page 241).

The Parents of a Quaker Race, being some Account of Isaac and Elizabeth (Maire) Stephenson, of Bridlington Quay, Yorks, and some Particulars of their Ancestors and Descendants. In ms.

Not Joseph John Gurney—he was then in the Western World. William Allen published in 1840 in his Lindfield Reporter an account of Count von der Recke's work at Düsselthal.

Motes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

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

D.N.B —Dictionary of National Biography.

FRIENDS AND KING GEORGE III. 1761. 10 mo. 1. London.

WILLIAM LOGAN to James Pemberton, Philadelphia.

"It was Expected here in the Spring that we should have seen some Addresses among letters from our Assembly, and from our Friends to ye King and It is now thought by Friends here that as it was then neglected, It would now be quite Suitable and Proper that one should come from Friends on the King's Marriage and Coronation, including his Accession to the Throne, & I am quite of their sentiments.

"Friends with us want proper Representatives here and so indeed do our Assembly much. Many of the most knowing and most thoughtful think, and with Truth, that Friends Interest declines at Court, not so much from any dislike the People there have to us, but for want of proper persons Exerting themselves and applying on Particular and Proper Occasions, and I think at this particular time an Affectionate Respectable Address from Friends would be well timed, and as well received.

"Please therefore advise with such Friends as thou may think proper on this head. If it comes I don't know a more Suitable hand it can pass thro than Doctor Fothergill, and John Hunts if connected, or Doctor Fothergill if one Hand should be thought sufficient.

"Please to send this paragraph to Brother Smith."

1761. 11 mo. 14.

WILLIAM LOGAN to James Pemberton, merchant, in Philadelphia.

"In my last I gave thee some hints Respecting some of our Friends Sentiments here of the Propriety of our Friends addressing the King on his Coronation Since and Nuptials. which twenty-four Friends in behalf of the Body (of which I was one) were Nominated to Wait on the King, the Queen and Princess Dowager with Separate Addresses. We were recd in an uncommon Polite Manner, and treated with Great Kindness, and as the list of the Friends Names who were to Wait on the King were sent to him, He sent his Page out to desire Doctor Fothergil to introduce us all seperately to him under our several Names, which

I John Smith, who figures in my Hannah Logan's Courtship.

was done, and we were all received Very Kindly.

"As I was introduced as a Person from Philadelphia, and One of the Governors Councill It occasioned him afterwards to ask the Doctor several Questions respecting Friends wth Us.

"Since this Attendance I was last 2d day (being the Day of ye Procession of Lord Mayors Shew) at David Barclays house, where the King Queen and all the Royal Family were, to see the Procession, from half Past 2 a'Clock till Seven at Night, with the Liberty of being in the Room with them all as I might incline. Here Doctor Fothergil and Jacob Hagen were appointed to attend, and the Doctor to present the King with Neat Edition of Robert Barclays Apology in English, & Jacob another to the Queen in German, which they kindly accepted, & several of the Nobility Requested that David Barclay would send them some more, to the Number I think of twenty, which he has Engaged to do.

"As the King knew the Doctor again, He again asked him many Questions respecting the State of the Society, as also of our Friends in Pennsilvania, their Number in proportion to others &c. &c."

(Pemberton Papers, vol. 15 (1761-1762), pp. 53, 72, in the Collection of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.)

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

For the address to George III. and for the visit of the Royal Family to David Barclay's house in Cheapside, see J. J. Green's Souvenir of the Address to King Edward VII., 1901.

"PETER AND THE ELEVEN."— In Family Memorials, by Mary Ann Harris, 1869, we read:

"Peter Bedford was prominent among these indefatigable workers who were known amongst their circle by the name of 'Peter and the Eleven.' I do not remember the names of all, but Edmund Janson, G. W. Alexander and John Barclay were conspicuous amongst them."

Can any reader suggest others of this philanthropic band?

GRACECHURCH STREET FIRE (vol. i. p. 23; vol. v. p. 203).— The diary of Isabella Tindall, under date 1821, 9 mo. 16, gives the following:

"We have heard this morning of a fire which burnt down Grace-church Street Meeting-house with all the old records and books; four lives were lost, and part of the adjacent buildings was destroyed."—Harris, Family Memorials, 1869, p. 114.

FRIEND BONNET-MAKERS (xvii. 114, 115).—From a little series of accounts for bonnets, etc., presented by J. J. Green, we find that in 1846 and 1847 "Waller and Sparkes" were Bonnet and Cloak Makers and Silk Mercers at 76, Houndsditch. In 1848 the firm was "Sparkes and Pumphrey," and in 1859 it was "S. and M. Pumphrey." The price of a "black ottoman Bonnet" was twelve shillings in 1847 and 1848.

Elizabeth Messer Bray (née Dyne) wrote us in December last from Plymouth (she is since deceased):

"I remember two sister Pumphreys-Maria and Sarah. I learnt what I knew of 'the art' rom Sarah Busby, who succeeded Maria Pumphrey. I heard a boast of the number of bonnets made during the year of the 1851 Exhibition. I cannot remember the number, but I can safely say that it was more than a thousand."

The Three Marriages of Edmund Gurney, given in vol. xvii. pp. 65-71, the surname of his second wife was left a blank. By the kindness of Henry Gurney, of The Orchards, Outwood, co. Surrey, who instituted enquiries for us, we are able to supply the missing name. Sir Eustace Gurney writes:

"I have been looking about for any information with regard to Edmund Gurney's wives, but I can only find Katherine Fry's statement that 'his second wife was Anne, daughter of Hubert van Flierden, of Lynn, cousin of his first wife, their mothers being sisters, daughters of John Hope," of Amsterdam, by whom he had a 'son and daughter, who both died minors."

MARY TANNER (1792-1869) (xvii. 89).—Edward Gregory, of Bristol, writes, under date xi. 1920:

"Mary Tanner's father, Edward Gregory (d. 1831), was a farmer. I

2 "The Hopes, of Amsterdam, and Deepdene, Dorking, were associated with the Gurnells, Harmans, and Hoares (see my account of Jonathan Gurnell in D; Samuel Hoare, edited by F. R. Pryor). Thomas Hope, apprenticed to the Gurnells, became a millionaire."—J. J. GREEN.

have a bundle of his stock-taking sheets for nearly all the years between 1779 and 1827. These sheets would no doubt interest a modern farmer. It is instructive that a farmer of that period should have kept his accounts for so many years.

"With regard to Mary Tanner's birth there is an interesting note or two in Betty Bishop's diary which was kept during the years 1779 to 1801. Betty Bishop, née Gregory, was Mary Tanner's aunt and great-grandmother to Emma Maria Bishop, and my great-great aunt.

Father came from Yatton this morning & brought the sorrowful account of dear sister Molly Gregory being removed about three hours after being delivered. She seemed brave for about two hours, when a sudden alteration took place, which terminated very soon, and I hope her change is a happy one, and that her dear husband and childrens loss will be her great gain. The little dear infant is a remarkable fine child, and likely to live.

Sarah Gillet, E. Bishop & myself set off this morning for Yatton in order to attend dear sister M. Gregorys funeral. She was interred at Claverham where a very solemn meeting was held much suited to the occasion and I hope what was there dropped will be as bread cast on the waters which may be seen after many days. Dear Brother held up better than might be expected.

"'4th mo. 2, 2nd Day. The little dear child had a comfortable night & seemed better this morning."

Dr. Henry Sacheverell on George Fox.—In the tract entitled The Communication of Sin, a sermon on I Tim. v. 22, preached at the Assizes at Derby, August 15th, 1709, by Henry Sacheverell, D.D., Fellow of Magdalen Coll., Oxon, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark, printed in London in 1709, occurs this sentence:

"Who would have thought threescore years ago, that the Romantick and Silly Enthusiasms of such an Illiterate and Wretch Scandalous Fox. as should in the small Compass even of our Memory, gain such mighty Ground, Captivate so many Fools, and Damn 'em with Diabolical Inspiration Nonsensical and Cant? " (page 15).

Henry Sacheverell (c. 1674-1724) preached another sermon, later in the same year, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on "The Perils of False Brethren in Church and State" (2 Cor. xi. 26), which was also printed.³ These two sermons were the ground of his prosecution and trial in Westminster Hall in 1710, which lasted three weeks, it being held by the Government that they favoured the Stuarts. He was suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermons burnt by the common hangman. He was the hero of the populace. In 1713 the Queen gave him the rich living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. (See D.N.B., Recent Accessions to D mentioned vol. xvii. 129).

3 Copies of both sermons are in the posssession of Edward Gregory, of Bristol. The first has been on loan in **D**

Mary Ann Deane.—The inclusion in Maude Robinson's volume of Quaker stories—The Time of her Life—of the account of the visit of Alexander I. to Nathaniel Rickman's house in 1814, has again brought forward the personality of Mary Ann Deane, the writer of the well-known letter descriptive of this visit. The existence at the same time of two Friends of the same name and about the same age has misled some writers.4

Mary Ann Deane, of the letter, was a daughter of Joseph and Ann Deane, of London, born in Southwark in 1794. She was at Ackworth School 1802-7 with her sister Martha (afterwards In D is a letter Swinborn). written in 2 mo. 1807 by Joseph Deane to these two daughters at Ackworth. At the time of the Imperial visit to the Rickmans at Amberstone, she was, apparently, in the position of governess to the Rickman children. The letter she wrote home on the occasion is preserved in **D**. It is addressed: "Joseph Deane, Baker, Cambridge Heath, Hackney, London." Sarah, a sister of Mary Ann, born 1800, married John Hilton in 1819, when she was described as of "Shoreditch, London." Sarah Hilton died at Brighton in 1890. Her brother, Joseph Groom Deane, was living in Shoreditch when he married Rachel Harrison in 1820.

The Registers of Burial record the death at St. Leonards in 1858, at the age of "about 67," of Mary Ann Deane, spinster, "of Shoreditch." It appears probable that

4 As e.g. in My Ancestors, by Norman Penney, where the error on page 100 is corrected on page 236.

this is the writer of the letter, although reckoning from the year of her birth she would be 64 years old at death. Her brother Joseph and sister Sarah are both described as "of Shoreditch."

The other Mary Ann Deane was a daughter of William and Margaret Deane, of Horsham, born there in 1796. She was at Ackworth 1808-10. In 1832 she married Robert Alsop, Jun., and died in London in 1841.

THE EARLY LIFE OF RACHEL METCALFE.—As an addition and correction to the reference to Rachel Metcalfe (1829-1889) in Friends Beyond Seas, the following information, supplied by the late Jane F. Green, of Belfast, will be of interest:

Metcalfe Rachel was a governess (not nursery governess, certainly not a 'domestic servant') for seven years with Charles and Sarah Fryer, then residing near Huddersfield. They afterwards removed to Croydon and took the position of Superintendent of Friends' School there, and R. Metcalfe accompanied them. When the younger children went into the School R.M. took the position of Teacher in the School. Some years later she felt she must leave to go and make a home for her youngest sister, so she opened a business near Huddersfield, near to the late Sarah Robson, who was alway a kind friend.

"It was while she was at Croydon and in a silent meeting there, that it was impressed upon her mind that she must go to India, not then, but some years later."

SUFFOLK LICENCES.— Many licences for meetings held in various houses were granted under the provisions of the Toleration Act of 1689. The following, relating to Friends in Suffolk, are copied from Records of Protestant Dissenters in Suffolk, by Vincent B. Redstone, Woodbridge, 1912:

"Bury St. Edmunds, 7 June, 1749. It was certified by John Drewitt of Bury St. Edmunds that a Meeting House built on purpose for the Religious Worship of the People called Quakers in the Brackland in Bury St. Edmunds, is set apart for Religious Worship," etc.

"Mildenhall, 14 June, 1766. Was certified by Richard Brewster, of Bury St. Edmunds, farmer, that the dwelling house of Elizabeth Adkinson, widow, situate in the Holiwell Row in Mildenhall, is set apart for the Christian Worship of Protestant Dissenters called Quakers."

"Ipswich: 12 April, 1841. It was certified by Richard Dykes Alexander of Ipswich in the parish called St. Matthew that a Meeting House and premises called 'The Temperance Hall,' situate in Ipswich in the parish called St. Margaret and now in the holding and occupation of himself, are set apart 'etc.

SMALL-POX AT WOODBRIDGE, 1719.—From the above book we cull the following records of death:

¹⁹ June, Thomasine Brighting, a Quaker, buried.

¹² August, Robert Evans, a Quaker, buried.

¹ September, Ann Churchman, a Quaker, buried.

- 1 September, Benjamin Freeman, a Quaker, buried.
- 29 September, Lydia Freeman, a Quaker, buried.

Long Service (xv. 160).—Nathan Babcock, of Bolton, Mass., was Clerk of Bolton M.M. 1857-1919, a period of sixty-two years. (Bulletin Fds. Hist. Soc. Phila., x. 38.)

ELIZABETH FRY IN WORCESTER. -"On the 17th of March [1824] I had the honour of being summoned to Worcester to meet the celebrated Mrs. Fry. We went first to a public breakfast and afterwards to the jail. In drive to the prison Mrs. Fry kindly selected me for her companion in the carriage. As we drove along, our subject of disdanger course was the celebrity for females especially; and she at once and candidly confessed that she was in a situation of greater temptation than myself, though, as kindly said, a known personage, as her acts and deeds brought her so much into public.

"On arriving at the jail there was an immense crowd to meet her, and many of the principal county magistrates to hand her out and conduct her through the courts and offices. She is a fine, composed, majestic woman, and it was most interesting to hear her address, which she gave from the chapel in the preacher's place, a clergyman of the Church of England standing on each side of her."

From the Life of Mrs. Sherwood, by her daughter, Sophia Kelly, London, 1857. Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851) was a popular writer of that time.

LINDLEY MURRAY HOAG AND THE GHOST AT URY.—The second edition of Robert Barclay, by M. C. Cadbury, 1920, gives in full this story, which appeared in The Journal, x. 187, taken from the life of John Wigham Richardson, published in 1911. Miss Cadbury sent a copy of The Journal to a member of the Barclay family and received the following reply from Robert W. Barclay, of Logmore, Dorking, dated 21st September, 1920:

"With regard to the story of the Ghost at Urie, I must say I had never before heard of it, nor of the missing deeds, and put it down as apocryphal. I learn from my uncle, the Rev. C. W. Barclay, that he had never heard of it before either, and he is the best authority I know of on all family history. Also he has never heard of a portrait of Colonel David Barclay of Urie or of the son, the Apologist."

The editor of John Wigham Richardson cannot give any clue to the provenance of the story, which appears in his book under date of 1849.

L. M. Hoag was in Europe in 1845-6 and in 1853.

Can any reader assist in proving or disproving the story? Was the story current at an earlier date than 1911?

IRISH FRIENDS AND EARLY STEAM NAVIGATION.—A letter, dated Matale, Ceylon, 12 xii., 1920, received by J. E. Grubb, from Joseph Malcomson, states:

"My uncle, Joseph Malcomson, was the moving spirit in the business of shipbuilding at the Neptune Iron Works. It was

said of him that you could turn him away from notning that he was determined on but by persuading him that it would be dangerous to human life. He was the first large ship owner to take up the screw-propeller.

. . . A story is told of him and an old foreman in the works who was a confidant of his. He came one day and said to the foreman:

"'Davy, we are going to put a screw-propeller in the next ship that we shall build.'

"He replied: 'A screw, Sir, a screw is not worth a God's d—mn'

"J. M. replied: 'I don't agree with you, Davy, I think it worth a God's blessing, and with His help we will make it one!'

"I remember very well the launch of the William Penn, the largest ship that had been built in Ireland up to that time. She stuck when she had gone a few feet down the ways; another attempt to launch her failed; finally she was lifted by several of Tangyes hydraulic jacks, which were obtained for the purpose and the ways re-adjusted and she was launched by my youngest sister, afterwards Mrs. J. N. Richardson.

"I do not know whether my uncle and Anthony Robinson went up with the first steamer to St. Petersburgh or not, but I know that the Czar gave a patent or the equivalent for the office in London to be always called the St. Petersburgh Steam Ship Office. There never was a St. Petersburgh Steam Ship Co. The first steamship to St. Petersburgh was not the Sirius."

HENRY TOWNSEND, OF CORN-WALL, N.Y.—In Things I Remember, by Frederick Townsend Martin, London, 1913, p. 3, there is a notice of Henry Townsend, of Cornwall (Hudson River), who befriended the early, persecuted Quakers and at whose house meetings were held. He was imprisoned some months in the Fort at New Amsterdam, at the instance of Peter Stuyvesant, burgomaster of Cornwall, and was cheered by the daily visits of his little daughter who brought him food. After his release he returned to Oyster Bay, the place of his first residence in America.

The Posse Comitatus of 1798.

—The Stowe MSS., Nos. 805 and 806, in the British Museum, are a Register of names, and occupations, of all persons, between the ages of 15 and 60 years, in the co. of Bucks. It was made in accordance with the Precept of Feb. 16, 1798, by John Penn, Esq., the High Sheriff of the county, in the above year.

It gives, under the headings of the various towns and villages, lists of names of males between the ages mentioned, noting the deformed, maimee, and Quakers.

The object of the list was to show the total effective men, supposed to be fit for service. It gives, also, the number of wind, water, and corn-mills, and the number or horses, waggons, and carts, owned by various persons, whose names are given. From Notes and Queries, 18 Dec., 1920.

Fiction.—In Emma Marshall's story, Life's Aftermath, the

author introduces Friends in the Lake District of England about the third decade of the last century. Her Quakerism is very stiff and formal and has not enough life in it to retain the young people, who go off and marry non-Friends but eminently good people. She intended to give the title of her book, "Rachel," but altered to the above from words used by Longfellow to whom the book is dedicated.

Friends are also introduced into The White King's Daughter but before their time. "The garb of a Quaker" and "membership in that body" were not known in the time of Charles I.

In The Breathless Moment, by Muriel Hine (Mrs. Coxon), 1920, Miss Vallance is called a Quaker, though the only sign of it is her strong objection to the late War.

Mrs. Gladstone and Jacob Gright

FRIEND who met Mrs. Gladstone at dinner in the 'nineties relates the following incident. It aptly illustrates her knack of carelessly appropriating to herself the vantage-ground, when quite unmistakably belonging to her adversary. She was seated next to Mr. Jacob Bright, and looked frankly bored. Presently she broke the silence in a desperate sort of way.

MRS. GLADSTONE: "And how is your brother?"

JACOB BRIGHT: "My brother, John Bright, is no more."

- "Oh! I know that of course. I did not mean him. I meant your other brother."
 - "But I never had any other brother, Mrs. Gladstone."
- "Yes, yes, I knew him quite well—fatter than you. He sat for Stoke and resigned his seat on account of ill-health."

(Cheering up and pleased at being mistaken for his brother's son.) "Oh, that is not my brother. I only wish I was not too old to claim a brother so young. The one you mean is my nephew, William Leatham Bright, my brother John's son."

(Smiling complacently and compassionately.) "Ah! I see you make the same mistake I sometimes do and confuse the generations."

Catherine Gladstone, London, 1919.

ELIZABETH FRY.—January 6, 1842. Mrs. Gladstone mentions a city dinner to meet the Prince Consort.

"Peel spoke well and the Prince was evidently affected by his allusion to the dear ties which bound him (the Prince) to England. Elizabeth Fry sat between the Prince and the Prime Minister."

Catherine Gladstone, London, 1919.

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Our Quotation—8

"When the Christian is convinced that the principle upon which he acts is correct, I believe it does not become him to examine too closely his probability of success, but rather to act in the assurance that, if he faithfully does his part, as much success will attend his efforts as is consistent with the will of that Divine Leader under whose banner he is enlisted."

JOSEPH STURGE (1793-1859), quoted in the forthcoming volume, The Later Periods of Quakerism, by Rufus M. Jones.

Reminiscences of Lisburn School

HE following reminiscences were dictated at various times by Mary Tolerton, née Creeth (1792-1884), to her daughter, Jane Tolerton (1833-1917)¹.

My mother took me herself to Lisburn School.² Though it was perhaps twenty miles from Richhill, we set out to walk, for there were no railways in those days, and no stage-coach had ever been seen in our neighbourhood. We hoped, I suppose, for a friendly lift, but whether we got it or not I do not know, but I remember that my feet were so sadly blistered that Mother had to carry me, and that we spent one night on the way, at Sarah English's at Trumra, near Moira.

When mother left me I cried very much, but I soon found kind friends at the school. Thomas and Hannah Barrington³ from Ballitore were superintendent and house-keeper, and the latter took a motherly care of poor little me. She was kind to all, and made pets of the little ones.

I was put to sleep with Mary Wood, one of the elder girls, who was very kind to me, and as I was rather puny she always managed that I should find a piece of bread under my pillow in the morning. There were about eighteen girls at the school and the teacher was Sarah Dickinson.4 The boys were more numerous. Sarah Dickinson was a very superior young woman. When she entered on her post at Lisburn she had many difficulties to encounter. The girls, some of them almost grown up, had united to oppose her, for the school was in a disorganised state, owing [to the] effect of the "New Light"5 opinions, which had penetrated even there. The preceding mistress, Elizabeth Doyle,6 had imbibed these opinions, which she displayed more especially in the crowning act of her extraordinary marriage with John Rogers, a Lisburn Friend, which took place in 1801. Except that they published their intentions in the market at Lisburn, the only ceremony on the occasion was a simple promise made in the presence of witnesses in the girls' schoolroom. I wo of the girls, Alice and Mary Sedgewick, had been very much influenced by Elizabeth Doyle, and afterwards I think they were dealt with by the Monthly Meeting and narrowly escaped disownment. So it may be supposed that Sarah Dickinson found little respect for established rules prevailing. She was kind, but firm, and as some of the elder girls left the school shortly before I was placed there, good order had been restored.

In the course of time Samuel Douglas4 came to be schoolmaster, and after a while he and Sarah Dickinson were married. I remember well seeing them ride off on horseback (the bride on a pillion behind the bridegroom) to Ballinderry Meeting to be married. We were at breakfast, and we all rose to have a peep at them as they rode up the hill. We had no lessons that day, but Hannah Barrington employed the older girls in the granary in filling mattresses with fresh straw. This we thought great fun. When the work was done we were treated to bread

and cheese and probably a drink of beer. Those times were different from the present, for we had beer regularly twice a week at dinner. Vacations were not in vogue then, but we often had a "play-day" or an evening allowed us for recreation. On Seventh Day afternoons we had no lessons, but we had then to see that our clothes were in order, and to tack our tuckers in our dresses for First Day. In the fruit season we were frequently allowed into the garden to gather fruit for ourselves, which was a great treat. At that time the fruit was never sold, but kept for the children. When the blackberries were ripe we had many a grand ramble, often taking home cans full of them to be made into dumplings. On these occasions the mistress always had a bell to collect the ramblers. Once a girl was missing, causing great consternation. After a long search she was found caught so fast in a thicket of brambles that she could not get free. Colin Glen, still famous for its blackberries, was a favourite resort.

A very important event was the birth of our mistress's eldest child. We girls were taken to see the baby, whose grandmamma, Mary Douglas, as we passed from the room, handed each of us a large slice of bread and butter with home-made cheese. Whenever such occasions occurred afterwards the grandmamma always brought us a cheese. She was noted for good cheese-making.

Winter and summer we wore the same dress of dark coloured stuff with short sleeves and low neck. Our tuckers of muslin were very neat and ornamental, being drawn in with a string run in the upper edge. Over this when we went to meeting we wore in summer white "vandykes" of thick muslin, or a white muslin handker-chief crossed over in front. In winter we wore little cloaks. We had gloves of slate-coloured glazed muslin which reached above our elbows; these we made ourselves in sewing class, also our little bonnets of the same material. Our pinafores were of checked linen made high round the neck, but we were not allowed to wear these during lessons; we had to take them off, fold neatly, and sit on them till lessons were over.

Great care was taken as to our carriage and deportment, lest we should contract any bad habit of stooping or shuffling in walking, etc. Those were the days of back-

boards and seats without backs. Sometimes we had to stand up straight with our backs against a wall, sometimes to lie flat on the floor, or our shoulders were held back with bandages in order to expand our chests. Once I remember being tied up in this way, which so distressed me that I began to cry, and as I could not raise my hands another girl was told to take my handkerchief and dry my tears for me. This was a cruel mortification, and I wept more bitterly than ever. I never forgot this, and never again was I bandaged for stooping.

We were taught to sew with great neatness, for Sarah Dickinson was an adept in the art. The Friends who were on the School Committee often sent work to be done by the schoolgirls, for which the school was paid. When Lucia Richardson⁸ sent anything she liked me to do it, as I suppose I was one of her favourites. I remember darning a tablecloth for her in the pattern of the damask. She was very much pleased, and made a pretext of wishing for a drink of milk, for which I was sent to the dairy, whither she followed me, and slipped half-a-crown into my hand. At other times she gave me a pair of long gloves, which being of kid were very much admired, also a white "hair-bine" handkerchief for the shoulders for summer wear, also considered very pretty. I remember Lucia Richardson as a very elegant, lady-like person, of such an erect carriage that, as she told us, she had not for sixteen years leaned against the back of her seat in meeting. When she entered the schoolroom the force of her example made us all involuntarily straighten our shoulders.

The work that I liked best of all was to darn John Conran's stockings. I thought him the best of men, and that if I could only live with him always I should certainly be a very good child. He did not often come to the school except when he accompanied Ministers from a distance. Of these I remember one from America, William Jackson, who visited us in 1802 or 1803, and gave us a sketch of his school days, comparing our more favoured lot with his. He said that the schoolhouse where he had studied had only one room, without any windows, but it had an aperture instead which was stuffed with straw when light from outside was not needed. He gave a penny to each girl and each boy. I think I kept mine at

least twenty years. I seem still to see that Friend as he sat on the steps leading to the master's desk (called by us "the throne") in the boy's schoolroom, where we were all assembled to hear him talk and preach to us.

We were very proficient at marking linen and working samplers; these last, however, were done in our play hours. We also worked lines of poetry on "bolton"? as presents for our friends. We also for the same purpose knit pincushions in sampler patterns, and some of these which I still have in my possession attest the endurance of the colours of the worsted of those days. I very much enjoyed knitting them, and for one girl—Jane Bell—I made nineteen! I was favoured too by Sarah Douglas with permission to knit one, oval in shape, for her to present to Sarah Grubb (mother of the late Jonathan Grubb). These pincushions were always washed after being knit, then when still a little damp were stretched on a ball before being stitched into shape. So devoted were some of us for a while to this work that we often sat up in our beds to knit while the other girls were asleep.

We were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, etc., by the master in the same room with the boys, but not in class with them, and we sat at opposite sides of the room. The taws, a piece of leather cut into narrow lashes to within an inch of the end, was used in a peculiar fashion. The first boy or girl found idling was obliged to stand between the two sets of benches holding the taws till another idler was found, who then went through the same punishment, regarded as a great disgrace. The "black hole," a narrow cellar under the house and entered from the garden, was used as a place of confinement for very naughty children, and for no other purpose as far as I can remember. I think our dread of being shut up here was not caused by its darkness and solitude, but because confinement there was looked upon as the very greatest disgrace.

We were well fed in my time at Lisburn; we had meat three times a week and soup one day with the meat, eggs and butter or potatoes and butter with milk or beer, our food being varied according to season. Our breakfast was always stirabout and milk, and sometimes we had bread at noon according to the dinner for the day. If milk was plentiful we had boiled milk for supper. This was milk boiled and thickened with flour or oatmeal. Sometimes we had strawberries and milk. Tea we never had unless it were given us as a treat by some kind friend, and such occasions were times of great festivity. The bread was all home-made and was of the best quality.

Some of the girls were in the habit of going to sleep in meeting. Dorothy Lambii sat on a side seat from which she had a view of us all. One day when we were leaving the meeting-house, she was standing in the hall waiting for us, and she called out: "Girls, if you please to halt." We felt rather alarmed as to what might be coming next. She then gave us a lecture on the impropriety of giving way to drowsiness in meeting, adding an anecdote of how when a girl she had been cured of the habit. She attended Ballintore meeting, where her uncle Thomas Wright¹² sat in the gallery. Like other worthies in the country he carried a heavy staff, and one day he saw her nodding, whereupon he raised his staff, and with it struck a violent blow on the gallery rail in front of him. She was roused up with a sudden start, thus betraying herself to the whole congregation. Her short-comings probably remained in our memories more than our own. It was then fashionable to wear very narrow skirts. Dorothy Lamb was very strict in reproving any approach to vanity in dress, and Samuel Douglas's sister Mary fell under her censure. When Friends were coming out of meeting one day, Dorothy Lamb stopped this young woman, saying: "It's a shame to see thee, Mary: one would think thee hadn't on any petticoat." Whereupon Mary displayed first onethen another—and then a knitted petticoat, this last by the way, fitted her very closely. On another occasion I remember Dorothy Lamb put her fingers inside the bonnet of a young Friend, and taking hold of her cap border at each side stretched it tightly so as to spoil all the crimping, which was then an innovation and considered rather smart. But with all her strictness Dorothy, or as she was generally called Dolly, Lamb, was a kindhearted woman; both she and her husband, Thomas Lamb, were good friends to me, and I often experienced their kind hospitality at Peartree Hill.

I remember the great comet of 1812.13 I was then

assistant teacher, and I remember standing on the lawn with the girls and gazing in wonder at its long tail.

The winter of 1814 is clearly in my mind. A path was made on the frozen snow from the front door all down the hill to the gate. I remember walking down this path to meeting with some of the older girls, all of us wearing boys' shoes to protect our feet. Some of the drifts were said to be twelve feet in depth.

The caretakers of the meeting-house were Jimmy and Matty Bohannan. Jimmy, who was also employed at the school farm, had come from Ballinderry; from his acquaintance with Friends there he considered himself a sort of Friend. He always attended meeting and said "thee" to every one, but his wife made no profession of the kind.

A deep impression was made on us all by the death of little Anna Douglas in the year 1815. She was the fourth or fifth child of our mistress, and she died at the age of five years and three months. She was a beautiful and most engaging child, with wisdom beyond her years, always watchful over her own actions and words. At the time of her death I drew up a little account of her last days, which brings the dear lamb so vividly before me whenever I read it that I cannot realise that sixty-two years have passed since she entered her heavenly home.

I served an apprenticeship of seven years to the school, teaching and occasionally assisting in the work of the house. When this period had expired I remained in full charge of the school for a year or two after Sarah Douglas had left; the Committee meanwhile being on the look-out for a more fully qualified and experienced teacher than myself. At last believing they had secured such a person they summarily dismissed me. I considered this very hard usage, for I had in no way given cause for displeasure or dissatisfaction. I wept bitterly not knowing where to turn or what to do for the best. Then without taking counsel of any one I wrote a letter to the Committee showing what I considered the unfairness of their action. Then I left the school and my never failing friend, Sarah Douglas, invited me to stay with her till the Committee should meet and I should have their reply to my letter. Mary McDonnell, from Cork, the new teacher, had no sooner arrived than she was taken ill, and was

unable to enter on her duties. The Committee met, considered their difficulty, and I suppose, my letter, and requested Lucia Richardson, one of their number, to ask me to return and resume my post. Deeply mortified as I had been, I thought I could never do this, but Thomas Lamb, my kind old friend (also on the Committee), prevailed on me to yield. Fearing I should change my resolution he would not leave me until he saw me received again within the school walls. I was only to stay till another teacher could be found. Shortly after my return Anna Richardson, the member of the Committee who had been the chief mover in this affair, interested herself for me, and procured for me the post of housekeeper at Waterford School. Thither I went in 1817.

NOTES

Prepared by Ida Pim and Thomas Henry Webb.

- The typescript here printed was sent to the editor by the curators of the Dublin Yearly Meeting Historical Collection. The original ms. is in the possession of Emily Creeth, of Rome.
- ² A school for Friends' children was opened in Eighth Month, 1794, by John Gough (1721-1791), who was the headmaster till his death. In 1794 the school was taken over by Ulster Quarterly Meeting. The house stands on Prospect Hill, overlooking the town of Lisburn, co. Antrim, North of Ireland. A centenary celebration was held in August, 1894, when Joseph Radley, the principal, read a paper on the history of the school; the celebration was reported in *The Lisburn Standard* for September 1st.

The editor of The Journal would be glad to secure a list of the headmasters.

- 3 Thomas Barrington (1738-1826) was a son of Nicholas Barrington, of Lambstown, co. Wexford, and Mary Bancroft, his wife. He was a silk-mercer of Meath Street, Dublin, and afterwards of Ballitore. In 1769 he married Hannah, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Roper) Haughton. See *The Barringtons*. A Family History, Dublin, 1917.
- 4 Sarah Dickenson (1773-1855) was a daughter of James and Susanna (Alexander) Dickenson. At Belfast, in 1803, she married Samuel Douglas (1775-1856), son of William Douglas, of Greystone Lodge, co. Antrim, and Mary Bell, his wife.
- New Lights was a nickname given to those Friends who, at the end of the eighteenth century, protested against the increasing formalism of the Society as evidenced by the superstitious reverence accorded to the Bible, and also the numerous and unnecessary formalities to be gone through by those intending to be married. (In some cases application had to be made on twenty different occasions before the Friends were considered free to marry.) This led to John Rogers and Elizabeth Doyle taking the law into their own hands. They, having published their

intention of marriage in the town of Lisburn one month previously, took each other in marriage (4 iii. 1801) at the School House at Lisburn, where Elizabeth Doyle was a teacher, in the presence of sixteen well-concerned Friends. For this rebellion against authority the two Rogers and most of the witnesses were disowned. The spread of the New I ight opinions resulted in many resignations and disownments. All those holding the office of Elder in Ulster resigned their office, and many elsewhere. These Friends did not form any separate organisation, but the result to the Society was deplorable, leading as it did to the permanent estrangement of many able and thoughtful minds from Friends, among them, Hancocks, Christys, Phelps, Nicholsons (to whom General Nicholson, of Indian Mutiny fame, was related) and many others.

See A Narrative of Events in Ireland, by William Rathbone, 1804,

pp. 123-129.

- ⁶ Elizabeth Doyle was daughter of John Doyle, of Ballinamona in the co. of Wexford, and Mary, his wife, née Wright. On the 4th of Third Month, 1801, she married John Rogers, of Lisburn, son of William and Abigail Rogers.
- 7 A "vandyke" was probably a pointed cape and collar. What kind of materials were "hair-bine" and "bolton"?
- ⁸ Lucia (Louisa) Richardson (1747-1825) was a daughter of Archibald and Mary (Fletcher) Shaw. Her first marriage was with James Christy, in 1768, s.p., her second, with Jonathan Richardson (1756-1815) as his second wife. J.R. was a son of John Richardson, of Lisburn.
- 9 For John Conran (1739-1827), a minister, of Moyallon, co. Down, see vol. xv. pp. 5, 11.
- Jackson, born in London Grove Township, Chester Co., Pa. He first appeared in the ministry about 1775. In 1788 he married Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Hannah Seaman, of Westbury, Long Island, where for two years he resided before returning to Pa. He travelled in the ministry in America; during the Revolutionary War he paid extensive visits to Friends in the Middle and Eastern States "in which he sometimes appeared to have his life in his hands" (Rebecca Jones, p. 298n). He arrived in England in 8 mo., 1802, and spent three years in Europe, visiting nearly all the meetings in England, Ireland and Scotland, and some parts of Wales (Testimony; Biographical Sketches; etc.).

Was he the same Friend as William Jackson, of New Garden, Pa., who "deeded to Joseph Preston and others a piece of ground for a school house" in 1794 (Woody: Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania,

1920, pp. 130, 177?

- Dorothy Lamb (1759-1843) was a daughter of Joseph and Anne (King) Wright, of Coolbawn, co. Wexford. In 1794 she married Thomas Lamb (1752-1825), son of John and Sarah (Haddock) Lamb, of Pear Tree Hill, co. Antrim.
- Thomas Wright (1711-1776) was a son of Thomas and Mary (Jones) Wright, of Ballyinabogue.
- 13 The appearance of the Great Comet was in September, 1811, not 1812.

Rochester School

(Vol. XVII. pp. 1-19, 90-93)

Francis C. Clayton writes:

I can fill in a few more details about this school.

My grandfather, Hollis Clayton (1766-1830), was at the school in 1777. He was a boarder but was not at that time a member of the Society of Friends. According to Thomas Marsh's letter (xvii. 90), the school can then have only been opened about two years. There is a print of a curious Diary in **D**, for part of that year, kept by my grandfather's cousin, John Allen, of Ratcliff, from which I ascertained this fact [see below].

In 1787, my grandfather's youngest brother, John, was at the school. See illustration for specimen of his penmanship, about quarter size of original.

In 1887, I received an amusing letter from Frederick Wheeler, of Rochester (1805-1893), about the early history of the school. He wrote:

William Rickman, of Rochester, was recommended by certificate of Horslydown M.M. to Rochester M.M. in 1786 (signed by John Ady and thirty-three other Friends). It recites that W.R. had lately come from "Westbury on Long Island, in the Government of New York, and that there appeared nothing as to debts and engagements to prevent" etc.

Tradition suggests that W.R. was a schoolmaster on the other side of the Atlantic, and effected, as occasion required, a tingling on the backs of his young clients there. I can find no clue to the dates of his recommencing this useful ministry after his arrival at Rochester, but his name soon appears as taking a useful share in transacting the affairs of the Church. I was under his care at Boley Hill, but do not remember that I ever had the advantage of this corporal discipline, or I might have turned out better, that is, not quite so bad.

I have read through twenty-one years of Rochester M.M. minutes and have gleaned some information from them which may be of interest. W. Rickman was largely engaged in the ministry. A certificate was granted to him for a religious visit so far back at 1806, and between

For a biographical note on William Rickman, see xiii. 140. The cost of the illustrations has been met privately.

Tearning and good Education are better than riches

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upnght, for the end of that man is peace.

John Clayton foreput.

15 of 5 Mo. 1707 aged 13 Years

the years 1823 and 1834 no less than twenty certificates were granted him including one to France. He was

acknowledged a Minister in 1793.

The Town Clerk of Rochester informs me that the old Rate Books have disappeared long ago, but that William Rickman appears as one of the Parliamentary voters in 1832, and, for the last time, in 1838-9. I was in hopes of finding from an inspection of the Rate Books if and when the tenancy of Boley Hill changed.

Robert Styles followed William Rickman. See

vol. xvII. p. 18, n. 2.

Richard Lambert Weston's name appears on the Registers so far back as 1804. He was a convinced Friend and came from Newbury, Berks. I noticed in the M.M. books that in 1813 he was appointed as companion to William Forster, of Tottenham, on a religious visit to Berkshire and Wiltshire Q.Ms. In 1822 some extraordinarily beautiful specimens of penmanship were executed at the school by the late Arthur Albright (which are now in the possession of his daughter, R. A. A. King), and the exercises in arithmetic are more wonderful still for they include practice in "Fellowship," "Allegation Medial," and "Direct Position." I have enquired of the Head Master of one of our large Public Schools what all these sub-divisions in arithmetic meant and he said it was the custom a century ago to make them and he mentioned several still more extraordinary names.

In 1833, the school was discontinued and was followed by a girls' school, kept by two of William Rickman's daughters.

As a final word I will quote from A Week's Tramp in

Dickens Land, by Hughes (London, 1891):

"Near Minor Canon Row, to the right of Boley Hill is the 'paved Quaker Settlement,' a sedate row of about a dozen houses up in a shady corner."

The periods during which the four headmasters directed the school are, approximately:

William Alexander, 1775—1785.
William Rickman, 1786—post 1805.
Robert Styles, ante 1815—1820.
Richard L. Weston, 1820—1833.

The mill-owner named Horsnaill referred to xvii. 11, 12, was probably Robert Horsnaill, Junior. He married Eliza Samuda. He was an "angel" of the Irvingite Church and his wife belonged to the same Church.

The diary of John Allen (1757-1808) referred to above was printed under the editorship of Clement Young Sturge in 1905, as Leaves from the Past. The following entries refer to William Alexander and Rochester School:

- 1777.
- 5 mo. 16. This afternoon William Alexander came to town with Hollis [Clayton]. They both lodged at our house.
 - 19. Father went to Grace church Meeting this Afternoon where the business [of Yearly Meeting] is Transacted every year; the Females to Devonshire House Meeting which is their Synod. They returned with the Addition of Ann Fleet & W^m Alexander's wife about eight o'Clock.
 - 20. Rained hard for most of the Night . . . to meeting this fore-noon & was accompanied there with Friend Alexander. His great Coat was wet through, being but thin.
 - 24. William Alexander & Wife & Ann Fleet departed from our Mansion this Morng with a design to return Home.
- 6 mo. 8. Went with Cousin Hollis to take his leave before he goes to School.
 - 9. Went with Cousin Hollis to London Bridge to meet the Rochester Coach . . and put him in.

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Friends Historical Society was held in London on the 19th April. Ernest E. Taylor, retiring president, delivered the presidential address, his subject being "The First Publishers of Truth, a Study from the Economic Standpoint."

Charles Francis Jenkins, of Philadelphia, Pa., was elected president and L. Violet Hodgkin, of Falmouth, vice-president.

Allen C. Thomas, A.M.

Henry Thomas and Phebe Clapp, born 26 xii. 1846, in Baltimore, Md. He entered Haverford College, Pa., in 1861, and later engaged in business life in Baltimore. He returned to Haverford College in 1878, and occupied several professional positions there, being appointed Librarian in 1878 and Professor of History in 1893, which posts he held till shortly before his death.

A. C. Thomas's principal works include a History of Pennsylvania and a History of England, and in collaboration with his brother, Dr. Richard H. Thomas (in the earlier editions), he wrote "A History of the Society of Friends in America."

He was assistant Clerk to Baltimore Y.M., 1875-1884 and 1888-1897, and Clerk from 1897 to his death. He was a Recorded Minister.

When the "Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia" was established in 1904, he became editor of its "Bulletin." His knowledge of Friends' history and literature was unrivalled, and this was most willingly placed at the disposal of students. Especially helpful was he to the Librarians at Devonshire House in giving information on Friends' literature, and in adding to the Reference Library books from his own library and other sources. Had he lived he would have been this year's President of the Friends' Historical Society (London).

A. C. Thomas's neighbour for many years, Amelia Mott Gummere, writes to the editor:

He had been in failing health during the past six months, especially, and led a pathetically lonely and singularly uncomplaining life. My son was one of those with him at the last, and of the little group that bore him home from the hall where Mr. Hoover was speaking to an audience not aware of what was taking place.

Further tributes to the memory of A.C.T. will appear in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

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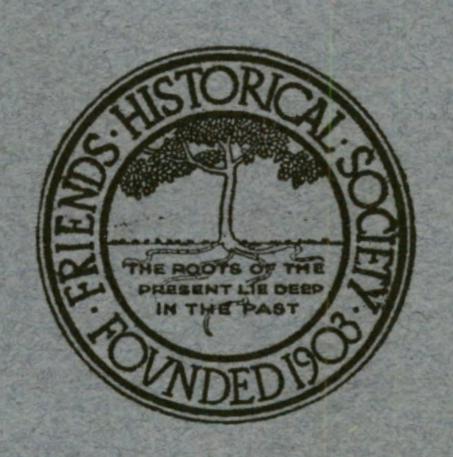
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