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## THE JOURNAL

OF THE

#### FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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### Our Quotation—10

"Peace will be your companion, and success will crown your labours. May the SUCCESS as well as the PEACE be kept in view, for, if we judge from what some ministers say, their object in preaching and other religious services appears to be almost exclusively to relieve their own minds, as if with very little view towards the benefit that the visited ought to reap thereby."

JAMES MOTT, of New York, to Hannah Field, then on a religious visit in Europe, 1817, printed in Comly's Friends' Miscellany, ix. 364.

Among articles in preparation for future issues are:
Hands Across the Sea, or Correspondence between
Carletons in Ireland and America, with copious notes.

Some Account of the Society of Friends in St. Austell, Cornwall.

The Brewin Brothers of Cirencester.

The Usshers of Co. Waterford.

Joseph Sams, Schoolmaster and Antiquarian Book-seller.

Priscilla Green's Visit to Lord Mount Edgcombe.

Letters from Joseph Gurney, of Norwich, to Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, 1772-1776, descriptive of the youthful and gay life of prosperous Friends.

Love-making in Ireland. A letter from James Carroll in 1825.

## The Kirst Publishers of Truth

#### A STUDY<sup>1</sup>

E are accustomed to think of the First Publishers of Truth virtually in terms of their missionary service only—as Seekers who became Finders, as men called to and sustained in great enterprises by the Divine Spirit, as those who spread the Truth through severe but joyfully accepted suffering.

In some instances the daily lives of these Publishers—their occupations, their financial resources, and the extent to which they were dependent upon the contributions of others whilst travelling or in prison—have been presented to readers in great detail; but, speaking generally, no such study has yet been made of this heroic band of missionaries. It is the object of this essay to indicate some of the material likely to be of help to the future historian. For this purpose the writer has used information placed at his disposal by the Librarians at Devonshire House, by individual Friends with a first-hand knowledge of farms once occupied by some of these Friends, and the published writings of Quaker and other historians.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to decide finally either the exact number or the personnel of the first Publishers of Truth, but we can distinguish fairly accurately between those itinerating Friends with the gift of ministry living in the North West of England whose gospel service had begun by the Spring of 1654,3 and the main body of Publishers whose names and work are described in that invaluable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Being portions of the presidential address given to the Friends' Historical Society in 1921.

The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell, 1920 (Penney); Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, 1919 (Clark); Seventeenth Century Life in a Country Parish, 1919 (Trotter); and Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, are specially helpful books in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> Beginnings of Quakerism, 1912 (Braithwaite), 132. Camb. Journal, i., 141.

record The First Publishers of Truth.<sup>4</sup> The first named, from sixty to seventy in number, will be referred to here as the Seventy. The whole body of Publishers, amounting to two hundred and eleven persons (one hundred and seventy-eight men and thirty-three women), I shall speak of as the Publishers.<sup>5</sup>

A list of the Seventy follows, giving the chief page of reference in F.P.T., with the place of residence and the occupation so far as discoverable (any subsidiary occupation being given in brackets).

The questionnaire of the Yearly Meeting contained a direction that the trade should be recorded, but this information was not always supplied.<sup>6</sup>

		THE SEVENTY.7		F.F	P.T.]
Airey, Thomas	• •	Yeoman (Husbandman)	Birkfield	• •	266
Aldam, Thomas	• •	Yeoman	Warmsworth	• •	320
Atkinson, Christoph	ner	• •	Kendal		250
Audland, Ann	• •	<b>*</b> *	Preston Patrick	• •	244
Audland, John	• •	Linen <b>Dra</b> per (Farmer)	Preston Patrick	• •	254
Banks, John	• •	Glove Maker (Fell-mor	<u> </u>	nan)	486
Bateman, Miles	• •		Underbarrow	• •	245
Benson, Dorothy	• •	Wife of Yeoman	Sedbergh	• •	<b>25</b> I
Benson, Gervase	• •	Yeoman (Husbandman)	Sedbergh	• •	251
Bewley, George	• •	Yeoman (Gentleman)		• •	48
Birkett, Miles	• •	Miller	Underbarrow	26	55-7
Blaykling, Anne	• •	Sister of Yeoman	Drawwell	• •	254
Blaykling, John	• •	Yeoman (Husbandman)	Drawwell	• •	250
Braithwaite, John	• •	Shorthand Writer	Newton-in-Cartn	nel	222
Briggs, Thomas	• •	Husbandman	Newton, Cheshir		222
Burnyeat, John	• •	Husbandman	Crabtree Beck	• •	38
Burrough, Edward	• •		Underbarrow	159	,263

- 4 "The First Publishers of Truth," being Early Records (now first printed) of the Introduction of Quakerism into the Counties of England and Wales. Edited by Norman Penney, with Introduction by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, 1907, 410 pages.
- 5 According to list in F.P.T. In 1658, George Taylor of Kendal mentioned seventy-three Publishers (Beginnings of Quakerism, 155).
  - <sup>6</sup> See Preface to F.P.T.

<sup>7</sup> This list was discussed with the late W. C. Braithwaite, who, whilst approving generally, said: "There must be a considerable doubtful margin." The late John Handley, of Sedbergh, supplied the writer with a list of seventy-four Friends, used in the preparation of the present list.

Camm, John	• •	Yeoman (Husbandman)	• •	Preston Patrick		256
Camm, Mabel	• •	Wife of Yeoman	• •	Preston Patrick		254
Caton, William	• •	Secretary	• •	Swarthmoor Hall		138
Clayton, Richard	• •	Yeoman	• •	Gleaston-in-Furn		97
Dewsbury, William	• •	Shepherd (Clothie	r)	Allerthorpe	• •	197
Farnsworth, Richard	d	Yeoman (Gentlem	•		• •	274
Fell, Leonard	• •	Husbandman	• •	Baycliff	• •	30
Fox, George	• •	Shoemaker (Sheph	nerd)			-25I
Goodaire, Thomas	• •	Yeoman (Gentlem	an)	Selby	• •	239
Halhead, Miles	• •	Husbandman	• •	Underbarrow	• •	263
Harrison, George	• •	Gentleman	• •	Sedbergh	• •	250
Holmes, Thomas	• •	Weaver	• •	Kendal	• •	257
Howgill, Francis	• •	Tailor (Farmer)	• •	Grayrigg	• •	265
Howgill, Mary	• •	Sister of Tailor	• •	Grayrigg	• •	263
Hubbersty, Miles	• •	Husbandman	• •	Underbarrow	• •	263
Hubbersty, Stephen			• •	Underbarrow	• •	263
Hubberthorne, Rich	ard	Yeoman (Soldier)	• •	Yealand Redmay	ne	160
Kilham, Thomas	• •	Gentleman	• •	Balby	• •	120
Lancaster, James	• •	Husbandman	• •	Walney Isle	• •	<b>33</b>
Lawson, John	• •		• •	Lancaster	• •	234
Lawson, Thomas	• •	Gentleman (Scho	ool-			234
		master)				
Leavens, Elizabeth						260
(who married Th		<b>▼</b>				
Nayler, James			•	•	• •	10
Parker, Alexander		Butcher	• •	Bolton Forest	• •	227
Patrickson, Anthon				Cumberland	• •	33
Pearson, Anthony		Gentleman	• •	Rampshaw Hall	• •	88
Pinder, Richard		<b>~</b> .•		Wath	• •	272
Rawlinson, Thomas	• •	Gentleman	• •	Graythwaite	• •	247
Rigge, Ambrose	• •	Schoolmaster	• •	Grayrigg	• •	265
Robertson, Thomas			• •	Grayrigg	• •	266
Robinson, Richard			• •	Countersett	• •	311
Salthouse, Thomas	• •		• •	Dragglebeck	• •	28
Scaife, John	• •	Day-Labourer	• •	Hutton	• •	269
Simpson, William	• •	Husbandman	• •	Sunbricke	• •	235
Slee, John	• •	Husbandman	• •	Mosedale		51
Stacey, Thomas	• •	Yeoman	• •	Cinder Hill Proston Potriols	• •	5
Stubba John	• •	Husbandman		Preston Patrick		256
Stubbs, John	• •	Husbandman (Sch master & Soldie			1	37–8
Stubbe Thomas				Pardshaw		20
Stubbs, Thomas Taylor, Christopher	• •	Schoolmaster	• •	Carlton	• •	39
		0 1 1 / 70	••	Carlton	• •	291
Taylor, Thomas	• •	ficed Minister)	116-	Carron	• •	214
Tickell, Hugh	• •	Yeoman (Gentlem	an)		• •	45
Waugh, Dorothy	• •	Servant	• •	Preston Patrick	• •	258
Waugh, Jane	• •	Servant	• •	Preston Patrick	• •	255
Whitehead, George	• •	Schoolmaster(Gro	cer)		• •	252
Whitehead, John	• •	Soldier	• •	Holderness	• •	297
Widders, Robert	• •	Husbandman	• •	Over Kellett	34	4-36
Wilkinson, John	• •	Husbandman	• •	Preston Patrick	• •	269

Of the Seventy (actually sixty-five Friends) fifty-seven were men and eight women. Of these men Friends the occupations of fifty-three are fairly clear, as follows:

Gentlemen	• •	• •	• •	• •	5
Yeomen (or States	men)		• •	• •	14
Husbandmen	• •	• •	• •	• •	16
Wage Earners	• •	• •	• •	• •	2
Millers	• •	• •	• •	• •	I
Craftsmen	• •	• •	• •	• •	4
Shopkeepers	• •	• •	• •	• •	3
Schoolmasters	• •	• •	• •	• •	4
Soldiers	• •	• •	• •	• •	2
Other Professional	Men	• •	• •	• •	2
Not ascertained	• •	• •	• •		4
				•	
					57

Thus, it will be seen that of the men members of the Seventy band, thirty-eight were closely connected with agriculture, seven with trade, and eight with the professions. Of the two soldiers no other occupation is recorded.

Of the eight women two were wives of yeomen and one a sister; one wife of a shopkeeper; one the sister of a craftsman; two serving maids (at Camsgill); and one is described as of "the lower ranke."

Taking into account women Friends, we may therefore say that forty-three of the sixty-one whose occupations are known belonged to the land, leaving nine only to the trading class, eight to the professions, and one doubtful.

This conclusion is confirmed by many general statements in early Friend writings. Thus, William Spurry, referring to the happenings in London in 1654,8 says that the popular view was that the City was invaded by "Plaine north Cuntry Ploughmen." Ellwood thought Nayler looked like a "plain, simple Country-man."9

If these general descriptions err it is in their lack of recognition of the good education possessed by many of the Seventy. Specific mention is made of this in individual cases, whilst the writing of the missionaries is a rough indication of the same fact.

Penn's Rise and Progress of the Quakers states that the first Friends were of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, "many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men. . . . Some of them wanted not for parts, learning or estate, though then, as of old,

<sup>8</sup> F.P.T. 163.

<sup>9</sup> History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, sub anno 1659.

'not many wise or noble, etc., were called'... because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity."10

In the larger number of Publishers the occupations are clear in one hundred and twenty-five cases as follows:

Gentlemen	• •	• •	12
Yeomen (or Statesmen)	• •	• •	17
Husbandmen	• •	• •	28
Day Labourers (men)	• •	• •	6
Women connected with the la	nd	• •	II
Merchants, Craftsmen, etc.		• •	17
Shopkeepers	• •	• •	II
Schoolmasters and Ministers	• •	• •	10
Soldiers and Sailors	• •	• •	8
Other Professions	• •	• •	5
Not ascertained	• •	• •	86
			21 I

Thus, of the Publishers whose occupations are known, seventy-four were engaged in agriculture, twenty-eight in trade, and twenty-three in the professions.

If we may assume that these proportions would hold in the whole body of Publishers, we have this interesting comparison between the Seventy and the larger band:

The	Seventy	The Publishers
Connected with the land	68%	59%
Connected with trade	13%	22%
Connected with professions	12%	18%

In other words, the Seventy were drawn more exclusively from the land than were the Publishers, a considerably larger proportion of whom were actively engaged in trade.

These pioneers of a new way of life, the earliest of them resident mainly in Cumberland, Westmorland, North Lancashire and West Yorkshire, experienced a remarkable release of spiritual, intellectual and physical powers as they received God into their hearts, and, impelled by His spirit, left their homes and occupations in journeys perilous throughout England, then an open country, one part a wilderness of heath, turf or marsh, the other part unenclosed ploughed fields like those of France to-day. The cities were

<sup>10</sup> Penn's Works, v., 228.

<sup>11</sup> Beginnings of Quakerism, xxxvii.-xxxviii.

so small and isolated that they scarcely affected the lives of the majority of Englishmen. The development of agriculture (common cultivation giving way to individual responsibility for enclosures) brought to the front the tenant farmer and yeoman, and the advance in methods at this period was due chiefly either to the yeomen, or to gentlemen, who, like Cromwell, worked their own land. The social standing of the yeoman was in advance of that of the ordinary tenant-farmer, who in the Stuart period "was neither wealthy, independent, nor interesting."12 Whilst the labourers were very poor the general body of farmers were prosperous, but the fact that men knew one another better then than now mitigated those ills which followed this faulty economic condition. The records of the Publishers as a whole contain many concealed references, and some open ones, to the operation of the Law of Parochial Settlement (1662), the effect of which was "not only to annex the labourer to the parish of his residence and to make him a serf," but "also to enable the opulent landowner to rob his neighbours and to wear out prematurely the labourer's health and strength."13

Industry was conducted under what is now known as the "domestic," or "home-system," as distinguished from that of the factory.

The whole of the North West of England was in a backward state. Cumberland was the poorest county in the country, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire coming next, in this order. Middlesex was the wealthiest county.<sup>14</sup>

Carlisle and Kendal were two of those provincial capitals which formed social as well as trading centres. In 1617 Carlisle is described as "a simple, honest and independent Community who helped one another, were fond of simple pleasures and kind to the poor," but this, of course, was before the Civil War came with its disrupting influences. <sup>15</sup> Seven of the English turnpike roads in Westmorland passed

<sup>12</sup> Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, 1904, 38.

<sup>13</sup> Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages, 1908, 434.

<sup>14</sup> Traill, Social England, 1893, 384.

<sup>15</sup> Ferguson, History of Cumberland, 254.

through the old town of Kendal, spread out "like a windmill Saile," remarked a traveller in 1634.16

Gregory King, the chief authority for the vital statistics of this period, gives the population during the century as about five million persons, and adds information regarding the different grades of society and their incomes from which, after comparing with other figures given in Six Centuries of Work and Wages, and Social England, I give the following table:

1. Engaged in Agriculture (or deriving main	inco	ome from	land):
†Esquires, income of £450 †Gentlemen, income of £280	}	16,600	•
Yeomen, income of £50—£90	• •	160,000	
Husbandmen, income of £42 10s. od.	• •	150,000	
Farm Labourers, income of £10 8s. od.	_		
£15 12s. 0	d.	364,000	
Cottagers, income of £6 10s. od.	• •	400,000	
a Tunda and Commence .		1,090,600	(21.8%)
2. Trade and Commerce:  †Merchants and traders, £200—£400	• •	8,000	
Shop-keepers, £45	• •	50,000	
Craftsmen and Artisans, £38	• •	60,000	
a Desafassians .		118,000	(2.3%)
3. Professions: Office-Holders, £120—£200	••	10,000	
Lawyers, £154 Naval and Military Officers, £60—£80	::}	5,000	
Arts and Sciences, £60	• •	16,000	
Clergymen, £45—£60		10,000	
	_	41,000	(.82%)

Note †Thorold Rogers thinks under-estimated.

Having now surveyed the position in society of the Seventy and of the Publishers, and having glanced at the general condition of the country and its people in the seventeenth century, we are in a position to return to the Quaker missionaries in order to consider additional information affecting their economic position.

The classification of the Seventy and the Publishers connected with the land, made on pages 69 and 70, cannot be exact, the terms used in records not being uniform, even throughout the history of one individual.

Usually "gentleman" may be taken to represent a small to medium "rentier," living on income generally

<sup>16</sup> Curwen, Kirkbie Kendall, 12.

derived from the land, but not himself farming, and possibly in a profession. With this definition should be compared the description of Cromwell by Trevelyan, 7 and that of the Publishers, Richard Farnsworth, and Thomas Goodaire—"Yeomen or Gentlemen." Mr. John Fell has pointed out that the gentry in Lonsdale North of the Sands were principally employed in agriculture 19; and Mr. Brownbill has noted that in the same district all engaged in agriculture were a compact body. 20

A yeoman was a small landowner—one of a "body in antiquity of possession, and purity of extraction, probably superior to the classes that looked down upon it as ignoble."<sup>21</sup> In the seventeenth century yeoman was a common description of testators, and esquire rare.

Of these yeomen some were freeholders, others copy-holders, or customary freeholders.

The copyhold estates, held by the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor, had acquired the essential quality of ownership in Elizabeth's reign.

The customary freehold was a species of copyhold tenure, but, unlike it, was not expressed to be at the will of the lord. Yet being according to the custom of the manor, the holder had to perform certain duties and services to his lord, who in some cases (e.g., in the manor of which Richard Hubberthorne was a tenant) exacted from his tenants far more than was their due.<sup>22</sup>

A special type of tenure (known as "Border Tenant Right"), varying in important particulars from those just defined, prevailed in North Yorkshire, Lancashire Over Sands, the S.W. portions of Durham and Northumberland, and over the whole of Cumberland and Westmorland—in fact, wherever moss troopers and marchmen had been bound to Border Service. The services of these tenants were fixed,

<sup>17</sup> England under the Stuarts, 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> F.P.T., 274-5.

<sup>19</sup> Illustrations of Home Life in Lonsdale, 1904, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Swarthmoor Account Book, xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Stubbs, Constitutional History, vol. iii.

Yealand, 1909. The Customary Tenant-right of the Manor of

and certain of their estates varied by ordinary deed of conveyance, the name of the tenant being placed upon the court roll for purposes of registration only, and not to complete the conveyance. The rents were small, but the holders were under an obligation during forty days in the year to provide horsemen, bowmen and javelin men for war against the Scots if so required. Fixed payments were made by them on the death of the lord, and there were regulations designed to prevent the breaking up of the estates. These customary estates were considered equal to freehold.<sup>23</sup>

Generally speaking the statesman was the equivalent of the customary freeholder. His tenancy, however, was probably allodial—not feudal—(e.g., freehold, without being subject to any rent, service, or acknowledgment to a superior).<sup>24</sup>

An outward and still visible indication of the relative positions of those early Quakers who were connected with the land is afforded to the present-day visitor who looks over carefully such Quaker homes as those of Swarthmoor Hall (Margaret Fox), Camsgill (John Camm), Drawwell (John and Thomas Blaykling), Low Brigflatts (James Baines), and High Thackmore Head, Grayrigg (almost identical with Francis Howgill's house of Todthorne, which now is only represented by a portion of one wall).

The circumstances of the Swarthmoor Hall household are fully described in *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, which shows that the family income was derived from several and varied sources; that Margaret Fox and her daughters shared the tasks of the house and farm; and so forth.

Probably, at any rate, nine of the whole band of Publishers belonged to the group of which the Fell family stood at the head, namely Isaac Penington, William Penn,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ferguson, History of Westmorland, 1894, ch. x.

In Former Social Life in Cumberland and Westmorland, the author argues that these estates were mainly held by "customary tenure," adding that several statesmen could trace what was virtually ownership back to the time of Richard II. In 1603, James I. laid a claim to all small estates in the two counties on the plea that the possessors were tenants of the Crown, not of a feudal lord, on which they met near Kendal in large numbers to protest that they had "won their lands by the sword and felt themselves able to defend them by the same means."

John Crook, Christopher Holder, George Harrison, Thomas Lawson, George Bewley, and Thomas Rawlinson.<sup>25</sup>

It was from this class that Justices of the Peace were selected.<sup>26</sup>

The yeoman, or statesman, was not in so good a material position as that occuped by Judge Fell; yet the prosperous member of this class was of real account in the community. "He wears russet clothes, but makes golden payment, having tin in his buttons, but silver in his pocket," wrote Thomas Fuller.

As a rule the statesmen were remarkable for independence of thought and action—" people of good repute and esteem."<sup>27</sup>

Adam Sedgwick, writing of his native dale of Dent (once peopled by Quakers), said: "The Statesmen, it must be understood, were the aristocracy of the dale; they stood somewhat aloof from their fellow dales-men, and affected a difference in thoughts, manner and dress. It used to be said of a lad who was leaving his father's home: 'He's a deftly farrand lad and he'll du weel, for he's weel come, frae statesmen o' baith sides,' i.e., 'He is a well-mannered lad, and he will prosper for he is well descended, from statesmen on both sides.' "28"

To this class belonged the Camms of Camsgill, the Blayklings of Drawwell, Richard Hubberthorne, and several other members of the band of the Seventy.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Consult Household Account Book of Sarah Fell; Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, ch. ii.; and for a delightful picture of how a gentleman should spend his time, A Quaker Postbag, 1910, 1-7.

<sup>26</sup> See History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, 13, 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Testimony to John Blaykling.

that "a statesman's house in Dent had seldom more than two floors, and the upper floor did not extend to the wall where was the chief fireplace, but was wainscotted off from it. The consequence was, that a part of the ground floor, near the fire-place, was open to the rafters; which formed a wide pyramidal space, terminating in the principal chimney of the house. It was in this space, chiefly under the open rafters, that the families assembled in the evening." This assists us to picture the groups of "Seekers" helped by George Fox.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The original address proceeds to give descriptions of houses and farms (the latter averaging 50 acres with large extent of fell land suitable for sheep) of these statesmen farmers.

The Husbandman<sup>30</sup> was the most numerous class among respectively the Seventy and the Publishers. He possessed a small holding at a fixed customary rent and with rights of grazing on the common, and could maintain a position of independence.<sup>31</sup> As a matter of fact the husbandman might be better off than a landowner in the same district. The holdings generally varied from about half an acre to seven acres or more, and when cows were kept the family was definitely above the poverty line. The husbandmen I am describing were among the most prosperous of their class and might possess an apprentice; the smaller ones had to depend for their living partly upon wages paid by neighbouring yeomen which probably averaged 4s. per week.

The wife of the husbandman did a labourer's work on the holding whilst her husband was working for others.<sup>32</sup> In spite of this toil, these wives were the type selected by the wealthy to act as wet nurses for their children.<sup>33</sup>

As already noted, this husbandman class contains the greatest proportion of the whole body of Publishers engaged in agriculture, thus differing from the general position in the country in which the freeholders were still more numerous. On the other hand, whilst there were said to be twice as many farm labourers as husbandmen in England and Wales, the Publisher husbandmen were almost five times as numerous as the labourers—a fact confirming the view that the early Quaker leaders were substantial men.

It is also a significant thing that few of the Seventy or of the whole body of Publishers were ordinary labourers or servants. John Scaife was one of these "being of low estate in the world, so for a livelyhood was a servant or day labourer."<sup>34</sup> Probably Edward Edwards, who lived

<sup>3</sup>º The term "husbandman" was applied in early times in the North to a manorial tenant—the villein of other districts. Occasionally he was a peasant owning his house and land, and it would appear that in our Quaker records many men assuming this title, or given it by others, were substantially of statesmen rank. According to some authorities, "husbandman" meant originally a holder of "husbandland," a manorial tenant who held two ox-gangs or virgates, and ranked next below the yeoman.

<sup>31</sup> Working Life, 50.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 305.

<sup>34</sup> F.P.T., 269.

for a time with Gervase Benson, was another; and Thomas Lorrimer a third. The petitions to Magistrates and Parliament and Justices infer that the main body of Friends contained many labouring men, and it is possible that three or four of those Publishers I have referred to as husbandmen might with equal correctness be included in the lower class.

As regards women, two serving maids living at Camsgill in 1652, Jane and Dorothy Waugh (eventually Jane Whitehead and Dorothy Lotherington), are the most interesting examples of this class to be found among the Seventy, indeed among the Publishers as a whole. Helped from the Kendal fund, they went on Gospel journeys, and endured imprisonments. Dorothy was one of the passengers in the Woodhouse on its voyage to America in 1657.

In the space at my disposal it is impossible to deal with those of the Seventy who were shopkeepers, and those who practised crafts. Interested readers may be referred to the autobiographies of William Stout of Lancaster (1665-1752), and Roger Hebden of Malton (d. 1695) for the former class; and to the Journal of John Banks (1637-1710) for the latter. The Swarthmoor Account Book and Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century give valuable information regarding women's work in crafts.

Only eight of the Seventy can be reckoned as members of the professional class, although among those who received the Publishers several more are to be found, including a doctor, 35 physician 36 and publisher. 37

The different professions represented among the Seventy are these: Minister, Schoolmaster, Soldier, Shorthandwriter, Secretary, Commissary.

As further affecting the economic position of the Seventy, it is important to note that of the amounts granted by George Taylor and Thomas Willan, 38 treasurers of the Swarthmoor Fund, it is clear that some went to the Seventy—not to supply their own personal needs or expenses, but for them to dispense to others. Thus Thomas Rawlinson ("gentleman") received 13s. for Friends in Scotland, and various

<sup>35</sup> F.P.T., 220.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 274.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 318.

<sup>38</sup> THE JOURNAL, vi., 49, 82, 127.

amounts for Alexander Parker and others (another 10s. on his going southward); John Camm, £2, "to himselfe or others as he sees cause."

The following among the Seventy were helped personally by the fund: Christopher Atkinson, John Audland, James Lancaster, Edward Burrough ("a Kase of Knives"), Francis Howgill ("cariage of cloake"), John Lawson, Alexander Parker, Miles Birkett ("a pair of stockings"), Anthony Patrickson, William Caton ("a paire of shoes"), Thomas Holmes ("a paire of britches & showes"), Thomas Taylor, Richard Hubberthorne, George Whitehead, Richard Clayton (elsewhere described as "the owner of a small estate"), William Simpson, John Slee, James Nayler, Jane Waugh, Miles Halhead, Thomas Salthouse, Dorothy Waugh, John Scaife, John Stubbs ("ffor Cloathes"), John Story ("ffor Cloathes makeing and furniture and mendinge"), Elizabeth Leavens ("Clotheinge"), Thomas Lawson ("Wch he sd hee wanted").

This list reveals that fourteen of the Seventy (two being women) I have listed as being connected with the land required assistance in their travels or imprisonments, four connected with trade (one woman), and five with professions.

When money was given to help in maintaining the families of those of the Seventy who were imprisoned, we may conclude either that the wife was unable to "carry on" satisfactorily alone (from incapacity or ill-health) or that the business had declined. C. Atkinson's mother "being sick" received 6s. in 1654; T. Taylor's wife 15s. in 1655; and later T. Taylor's wife and children 10s.

The writings of the early Friends contain little if any information regarding their married life, but in the few cases in which such information is given, this bears directly upon the subject now under review. Thus, the reader of John Banks's Journal will feel that the wife's share of the partnership in material things was too heavy for her to bear, what with the business of fellmonger, the small farm and the bringing up of the children; but it is easier for us to see the importance of these things than to feel the power of the concern which compelled the husband to labour away from his home. To Banks, his wife was a careful, industrious

woman, "a good support to me on account of my travels, always ready and willing to fit me with necessaries . . decent for me in Truth's service." 39

Some of the Publishers, whether they wished it or not, much improved their economic position by their marriages, although it will be remembered that George Fox was a conspicuous example of those who took measures not to profit personally by such an event. William Caton, in the original and fascinating account of his courtship of Annekin Derrix, in Holland, began by submitting three questions for Annekin's consideration, the first of which was "whether she would condescend to the thing, he having little or nothing as to the outward." To which she replied: "She did not look upon means but upon virtue." The proceedings went forward, but not without a wonderful amount of consultation with other people, which the modern Quaker would think anything but romantic! Annekin Derrix belonged to a family possessing considerable means, and their short married life was a happy one. When Caton was in prison at Yarmouth in 1664 his wife wrote to him "to buy 20—30 lbs. worth of red Herrings" (presumably for trade), which the turnkey allowed him to do !40

In the married life of Thomas and Elizabeth Holmes, the time came (1655) when a baby was born and the mother and the child were lodged in one room in Cardiff where, her husband stated, "shee Labores with hir hands and is not chargable, and as much as in hir lyes shee will keep from being borthensume to any. . . . Nether shee nor hir child must perish." He added: "It was never in us to ly the charg of a child upon A company of new convinced Frinds." As the grey story of the lives of these two young people develops we find that the little child was given up to others, in order to save expense and to allow of its mother continuing her ministerial work. This fact preyed upon the father so much that he appears to have almost hoped that the call to the ministry which his wife had received would cease to exist. Both parents died young. 42

<sup>39</sup> Journal, 1712, 129.

<sup>40</sup> Swarthmore Mss., iv., 264.

<sup>4&</sup>lt;sup>I</sup> Ibid., i., 203.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., i., 196, and Brailsford, Quaker Women, 1915, 149-156.

Thomas Ellwood, a friend of many of the Publishers, explains in his *Life* that he and his future wife did not hasten marriage, but went on "deliberately," adding that he did not use those "vulgar ways of courtship by making frequent and rich presents," not only because his outward condition would not bear the expense but because he did not like to attempt to offer a bribe for his friend's affection.<sup>43</sup> After marriage, Thomas took care to secure to his wife what money she had as well as what he himself possessed, "which indeed was but little, yet more by all that little than I had given her ground to expect with me."<sup>44</sup>

The spirit of perfect comradeship in spiritual as well as material things evident in the biographical records of, for instance, John Banks, John Camm, and John Audland (all of the Seventy), and their wives, is truly delightful. Their mutual respect, their common aim, the way in which they upheld one another throughout life's vicissitudes constituted a relationship which may be described in the ancient words: "Love is an excellent thing, a great good indeed, which alone maketh light that which is burdensome and equally bears all that is unequal. For it carrieth a burden without being burdened, and maketh all that is bitter, sweet and savoury."

#### Conclusions

This study of the First Publishers of Truth leads up to certain conclusions, of which I submit the following:

- 1. The great majority of the Seventy (namely sixty-eight per cent.) were connected closely with the land either as proprietors, tenants or labourers, or as the wives of these.
- 2. Next to these in number came the merchant and trader and then, very closely, the professional class, the respective percentages being thirteen per cent. and twelve per cent.
- 3. Eight of the Seventy were women. At the time of their setting forth on missionary service half were married and half unmarried, two of the latter being maid-servants.

<sup>43</sup> Life, 216.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 223.

- 4. Over half of the Seventy may be described as being in a good material position in life, as having a superior education, and as possessing widespread influence in the districts in which they lived.
- 5. Many of the Seventy and of the Publishers, with their families, followed "secondary" occupations, which proved exceedingly useful to them, especially during those times when the husband was travelling or in prison.
- 6. The effect of the persecution of the Publishers as a whole (including imprisonment and the spoiling of furniture and stock) was to place some families in a position of economic difficulty. This difficulty was, however, lessened in the case of married men owing to the efficiency of their wives in agriculture and trade, in accord with the general position of women in industry in the seventeenth century.
- 7. There is evidence to show the special effort made by individual Publishers to maintain themselves and their families in spite of long absences from home; also of the readiness with which the Publisher returned to his daily work after a period of Gospel service in order to provide the material means necessary to support his family, and to engage in further service should he be called to this.
- 8. A great effort was made by the Publishers who were in prison to maintain themselves and so avoid making any demand upon the funds raised by Friends.
- 9. Many of the Seventy (about thirty-eight per cent.) received help from the Kendal fund, in order to buy such personal belongings as breeches, shoes, clothes, hats, stockings knives; also Bibles. (In some cases this assistance was given to the wives. Certain members of the group received grants for service-expenditure in the course of travels in Ireland, Scotland, Holland and elsewhere.)
- joys of the early Franciscans were reproduced among the simple-hearted statesmen of Westmorland," and in surveying the economic position of any one of the Seventy or of the Publishers, it is necessary to remember that the spirit of practical helpfulness animating the whole body contributed to the material as well as to the spiritual welfare of each individual Publisher.

ERNEST E. TAYLOR.

## Ministry in Metaphor

old pedlar is moving about, all weathers, from house to house, and from one meeting to another; frequently offering his goods at public sale. And although he had a very small pack when he left home, it was so unaccountably heavy that he could not walk straight under it; but thus far, as he has continued faithful, he has parted with a great quantity of goods, and also it must appear admirable [strange] that he cannot perceive his pack is in the least diminished, but considerably more goods in it, so that he judges he has as good an assortment of goods as almost any in his occupation, and although not so flashy, yet proved to wear as well.

Whether it is the profit from the sale of his goods or whether he has grown stronger he must leave. However, his pack being much larger and fuller of goods, he says he can carry it along with ease and walk straight up without groaning or being in the least weary. And as the old pedlar does know most certainly that the goods are not his own, but a living profit is allowed him in the sale thereof, he is anxious to make what he can to himself.

But the poor pedlar is much disappointed in the sale of his goods, for his Master will not suffer him to carry the key of his pack. When he comes to the market among his customers, he must there wait in stillness until his Master gives him the key, and He sometimes stays long and sometimes comes not at all. The poor pedlar is then low, seeing his customers out of patience, laying all the disappointment upon him, and saying, "Why did he call us here to buy and not offer his goods for sale?" Truly, from the reasonings of man it is provoking—truly the poor pedlar cannot help it, he is so little, so unlearned, and so ignorant that it is not worth his while to attempt to make a temporary key that he might open his pack when he pleased.

From a letter from Abel Thomas (c. 1737-1816), from Providence, R.I., in 1813, printed in Comly, Misc. iv. 285.

## On Gehalf of the King, 1745

HOMAS SAVAGE (1675-1754) was a son of Thomas Savage, of Clifton, Westmorland, and succeeded to his father's farm at this place. He married Alice Hadwen, of Kendal, in 1699; she died in 1718. He was buried at Penrith, "a Minister about eighteen years."

There are several copies of the following letter, the original of which is in the possession of Gilbert Gilkes, of Kendal, and there is in **D** a letter dated 11 mo. 22, on the same subject addressed to Samuel Fothergill. In 1746, a pamphlet was published, entitled A Summary Account of the Marches of the Rebels, from the time of their coming into England, to the Re-taking of Carlisle by the King's Forces, under the Command of the Duke of Cumberland, probably written by Thomas Savage, whose name is given as "T—s S—ge" (copy in **D**).

The event so vividly described occurred during the retreat of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788). He landed in the Hebrides, defeated the forces of King George II and advanced as far as Carlisle and Derby; then retreated and was crushed by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden in 1746. The battle of Clifton, described by Savage, was the last fought on English soil. It took place on the 17th of December (Tenth Month), 1745.

#### Clifton 11mo. 29, 1745/6

Esteemed Frd,

By this know thine I rec<sup>d</sup> and shall hereby give thee hints of y<sup>e</sup> Affair here, as it was from y<sup>e</sup> beginning to y<sup>e</sup> end. I being both Eye and Ear Witness of y<sup>e</sup> truth thereof, but in y<sup>e</sup> first place I cannot easily omit acknowledging y<sup>e</sup> great Favour and protecting hand of Providence to us manifested in so great a danger as thou by y<sup>e</sup> following Acc<sup>t</sup> mayst understand.

First as to ye rebells, when they came south we did not Suffer much, they seem'd to have a great assurance that

Now known as Town End Farm. See Trans. Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc., new series, vol. xii. (1912), p. 141.

they would proclaim their King in London upon the 24th last mo. and crown him on New Year's day, and then they would send Geordy (as they call'd him) to Hanover, and they should tread down his turnip Garth dyke, highly disesteeming our Noble Duke<sup>2</sup> (calling him Geordy's Lad and Geordy's Wolley with many more opprobious Speeches). But in their return North they were Cruelly Barbarous and Inhumane when here, for their heads gave them Liberty to plunder for 4 hours, and then to burn Lowther, Clifton Bridge and Penrith, and some say for 6 miles round, but thanks to ye Most High, whose Power is above the Power of Man often preventing ye Wicked from ye prosecution of their designs which certainly was ye Lord's doing in bringing forward our Noble Duke and his Men in ye very hour of great distress; as for my part I must Ever Love and Esteem him as a Man of Worth.

Now I shall give thee to understand ye Beginning and End of ye Engagement. First; the Rebels Hussars being gone past to Penrith came riding back to my door in hast between I and 2 in ye Afternoon, and in about I hour after came back again, driving up ye rear of their Army with Whips to my door, and then some others took their place and they wheel'd and set themselves in Ambush against my Barn side, being so enclosed wth cross houses that our King's men could not see them till upon them. But we, not knowing their design, yet, firmly believed it to be Evil and so went into my house, but could not long be easy but ventured forth again, and looking about I Espy'd ye heads of ye King's men appearing upon a Hill, abt 400 yds south of my house, for wch my heart was in pain believing that a great numbr of them might be cut off before they were aware. So our Care was great to get ye King's men Notice, for web my Son ventured his Life and gave them Notice abt 300 yds before they came at ye place when in ye meantime they laid a second Ambush abt 100 yds nearer ye King's men, and ye King's Men with some Yorksh<sup>r</sup> hunters came down and so soon as they were opposite to ye 1st ambush ye Rebels Fir'd upon them but did no Execution, and then issued out of ye Ambush at my doors, and a furious Firing they had, the King's Men Acting ye nimblest and quickest yt ever my Eyes beheld, not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765), third son of George II.

one of them receiving any harm; some Horse followed ye former so that in a few minutes ye Rebels ran away like Madmen, and close by my doors one of ye Rebels was brot down and taken, and another of them was also taken at ye same time, who was their Capt Nam'd Hamilton, both web were brot up to ye Duke, then all was still for abt an hour in w<sup>ch</sup> time I abode in my house, the King's men still standing on ye Common, in wch time my Son3 went over a Little Green to see if he could get ye Cattle brot into their houses, but seeing it was in vain came homeward again when 4 Rebels on horseback seiz'd him, calling him a Spy, and had him down under their horses feet, Swearing desperately many times they would shoot him, and 3 of them commanded ye 4th to shoot him wch he first attempted wth his gun then pistol, but neither would fire, so he Escaped and came in. A little after wch I was grown uneasy to go out wch I ventur'd to do, and looking abt me I saw ye King's Men standing upon ye Common as before, and turning me about I saw ye Rebels filling ye Town Street North of my house, as also running down and lining ye Hedges and Walls, even down to my house on both sides; then I was in great pain for ye Duke and his Men, it beginning to grow darkish, but I ventur'd my Life and stood a Little off and wav'd my hat in my hand w<sup>ch</sup> some of them discovering, One came riding down towards me, and I called to him and bid him cast his Eyes abt him and see how ye Town was fill'd, and ye hedges lined, after w<sup>ch</sup> he return'd, then a party was dismounted and came down to meet ye Rebels, and in ye time of Stillness as above they had sent off a party with their Horse to plunder and burn Lowther hall and was also plundering our Town leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks and make ruinous work even to our Victuals and little Children's cloaths of all sorts.

Now it beginning to grow darkish and ye Rebels so thick abt my house that we had no hopes of saving our lives, we concluded to leave ye house and get into ye fields if we could, but in ye middle of my Orchard we were parted by ye Rebels, one part of us drove into ye fields and the other part into ye house severely threatened wth take our lives, never expecting to see one another any more alive, and we were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Probably Jonathan, who appears to have been the only surviving son, b. 1712.

not only so, but a Son-in-Law4 and his Family were under ye like circumstances, for they seem'd more severe upon us than upon others. Now to come to ye matter above again we were not all got to our fireside, before ye firing on all hands was dreadfull, wch continued abt half an hour, in wch time was kill'd of ye King's Men 10 and 21 wounded, and ye Duke's Footman taken Prisoner who was retaken and of ye Rebels was killed 55 and many wounded, and that night and early next morning there was 70 in Custody and after ye heat of firing was over all seem'd still a little space, after wch some came and broke in at my Court Doors, then came to ye house Door calling Sharply to open, but we believing it to be you Rebels, I would not open, when they began to be sharp and orders were given to fire (they supposing ye house to be full of Rebels) but I call'd and said I would open as fast as I could, and ye first words said to me were Can ye Duke lodge here this Night to wch I answered wth pleasure. Yes. And pleasant and agreeable Company he was, a Man of good parts very Friendly and no pride in him; much more on this head I could say if it would not be tedious to thee, but am like to think I'm already tedious, Yet I shall mention one thing more, very remarkable, wch was, our Cattle were all standing among the Slain Men, and not any of them hurt, as also those that were banished from our house and came in again next morning, wch ye Duke's men said was a Wonder they were not all killed: our next Neighbour being shot at ye same time. Thou mayst know also that I had ye Duke of Kingston<sup>6</sup> and Duke of Richmond<sup>7</sup> w<sup>th</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 100 Men and as many horses.

One thing I have not yet mentiond w<sup>ch</sup> was a thing erected by y<sup>e</sup> Rebels, like a Scaffold behind a wall at y<sup>e</sup> corner of my house, as we believ'd to cut off any that might come in at my Court, w<sup>ch</sup> if it had not been so that they fled, y<sup>e</sup> Noble Duke had stood a Bad chance there. But I am afraid thou canst scarcely read this, if thou thinks of showing

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Savage's daughter, Mary, married William Sutton in 1730 and his other daughter, Hannah, married Josiah Walker in 1733. For their son, Thomas Walker, b. 1735, see below.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that the tree under which the Rebels were buried is still standing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evelyn Pierrepont, second Duke of Kingston (1711-1773).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond (1701-1750), lieutenantgeneral, 1745.

it to any I would have thee copy over what thou thinks proper and then show it to whom thou wilt, Even if it be to ye King I shall be easy because I know it to be truth.

I conclude thy friend

THO. SAVAGE.

In the diary of the travels in England of Samuel Smith (1737-1817) of Philadelphia, printed in Comly, *Misc.*, vol. ix. (1837), p. 127, we read, *anno* 1790:

On our way to Kendal, we stopt at Thomas Walker's at a place called Cliffton, where the rebel army in 1745 and some of the King's troops had a skirmish. Thomas Walker was then a lad, and being sent on an errand before it began, was in some danger; but running off in a fright, he did not get home till next morning—to the great anxiety of his parents.

## Obituary

#### WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE (1862-1922).

Although numerous obituary notices have appeared respecting the life and work of W. C. Braithwaite, it is due that a brief reference to the value of his services as an historian should be made here—in a publication in which he took much interest, to which he was a valued contributor, and from which, for his historical work, he obtained a considerable amount of information.

W. C. Braithwaite's death will for long be felt as a great loss to Quaker historical research, for he readily placed his wide knowledge at the disposal of other workers, and his assistance was never sought in vain.

He was President of the F.H.S. in 1905-6.

In the Annual Report of the Library and Printing Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings is the following:

Only as time goes by shall we fully realise the loss to our work by the death of William Charles Braithwaite. He was one to whom the most difficult and varied questions could be addressed with the certainty of receiving a wise answer. His histories will remain a testimony to his scholarship, and their value is the greater because the historical facts have been interpreted in the light of the inner spirit of Quakerism.

## Jacob and James, or Strength in Weakness

HILE Jacob Ritter resided at Springfield, Pa., he accompanied James Simpson on a religious visit. On their return home, James appointed a meeting at Easton; they put up at a public house and Jacob undertook to make arrangements for the meeting; for this purpose the court house was obtained though not without opposition from one influential individual.

"James, who was probably aware that there had been some difficulty about the meeting, and seeing the people assemble in crowds, became very much depressed. He sat for a while in the chimney corner, questioning the rectitude of his proceeding in appointing the meeting; in this state of feeling, he ordered his horse to be put to the carriage, and, like the prophet Jonah, was going to flee from the word of the Lord.

"At this critical juncture, Jacob arrived and inquired of the ostler, 'What does this mean?' The reply was, 'The gentleman ordered his horse.' 'Well, I order him back again,' said Jacob. The horse was put away, and when Jacob walked in, he found James, who was under a great weight of exercise, preparing to go. He was very glad to see Jacob and wished him to take charge of the meeting.

"Jacob said, 'That wont do, James, but thou must go to the meeting thou has appointed, and I will go with thee.' James said, 'Thou must do the preaching then for I cannot.' Jacob replied, 'Never mind about the preaching, nobody has asked thee to preach, but let us go to the

meeting; that is the first thing to be done.'

"James went in great fear and trembling, and Jacob felt brotherly sympathy, with him. For some time James sat with his head bowed almost to his knees, but at length light sprang up and he was enabled to proclaim the truth in the demonstration of the Spirit and with great power and the meeting concluded under a solemn covering.

"The individual who had thrown difficulty in the way of appointing the meeting was now so changed in his feelings that he gave the Friends a pressing invitation to dine with him, but Jacob said, 'No. Thee throwed cold water on this concern in the beginning and now we must go to the public house for our dinner.'

"After dinner they passed quietly away, 'rejoicing for the consolation' which they felt for this little act of dedication; and when they had ascended an eminence out of sight of the people but within full view of the town, James stopped his carriage, and, looking back, exclaimed, 'Oh! Easton, Easton, thou hast had a broadside to-day.' Jacob replied, 'Ah! thou can brag now but remember how it was a while ago in that chimney corner.'"

Jacob Ritter (1757-1841) was of Dutch extraction and born at Springfield, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He was a soldier in the War of Independence, was taken prisoner and released by intervention of a friend of the British general, Lord Howe. In 1778 he was married to Dorothy Smith; they removed to Philadelphia, and attended the Lutheran church. But a while after he began to attend Friends' meetings and was later joined by his wife. He felt it right to visit among the sufferers from the yellow fever of 1793 in Philadelphia, and one day as he was going along the street he saw a corpse brought to the Friends' burying ground and only one Friend following. He joined and they stood one on each side of the grave while the corpse was buried. Each went his way home and both were taken ill with the fever. The other Friend, the eminent Minister, Daniel Offley, died.

After years of widowerhood, he married, in 1802, Ann Williams of Buckingham, and after settled at Plymouth, in Montgomery Co., Pa. He did not travel much in the ministry and was more conversant with Dutch than English. A little book of his *Memoirs* was edited by Joseph Foulke and published in Philadelphia in 1844 (copy in **D**).

James Simpson (1743-1811), of Philadelphia, was a prominent Minister, who travelled much in his own country. Robert Sutcliffe, in his Travels in North America, 1804-6, describes Simpson thus:

"He follows the occupation of a broom-maker, and frequently comes down to Philadelphia in a handsome little carriage, loaded with his manufactures. Although a broom-maker, yet few pastors stand higher in the estimation of their flocks than he does.

"In his external appearance, he is thin, and upwards of six feet high; his visage is very long and nearly of an Indian complexion, with small, quick eyes corresponding. In the gallery he commonly wears a dark coloured cotton cap, fitting close to his head, and over his shoulders a long dark coloured cloak. He is not less remarkable in his manner when exercised in the gallery. He uses considerable action and gesticulation, and his testimonies, in general, are almost a continual exposition of the Mosaic Law with references to the counterpart in the Gospel dispensation, which he explains with a volubility of expression and quickness of recollection that are astonishing to a stranger " (pp. 248, 250 and cp. p. 83—" J.S.").

A pen-picture of J. Simpson, in the Fourth and Arch Streets Centennial, 1904, p. 44, concludes with the words:

"Guiltless of writing rhymes, he was yet a poet and throngs of bright images, carrying forcible conviction and Christian instruction, flowed from his lips" (see also pp. 53 ff).

Rebecca Jones describes his death:

"After the short illness he made a peaceful and happy close. Lying down with his clothes on and requesting to be turned on the other side he said: 'It is done,' and ceased breathing." (Memorials, 1849, p. 339.)

#### Changed Letters, an Anecdote of Stanley (Pumphrey (1771-1843)

In the "Journal of William Robson" (see page 105) we read the following:

"8 mo. 24. 1817. Spent the evening in the company of Stanley Pumphrey, a friend from Worcester, a traveller in the glove line, an extraordinary account of whose late wife is given in the 10th Vol. of Piety Promoted. He appears to be a very agreeable friend. . . . He is very full of anecdote, one of which was rather a singular one:

"During the time he was a bachelor he had occasion to write to a woman friend at Liverpool on business. About the same time it appears a woman friend of Worcester wrote to the same female to request her to procure her a young woman for a servant. The Liverpool friend answered both the letters, but unfortunately directed the one addressed to Stanley Pumphrey to the female and that to the latter to S.P. What was Stanley's surprise on receiving a letter to this effect:

"'Dear friend. I think I have found a young woman that will just suit thee. I have spoken to her parents respecting it. They consent, and the young woman herself is quite agreeable.

"'I remain, etc., Thy friend."

<sup>&</sup>quot;Joshua Dawson (the great quaker) was buryed in a field, Dec. 29, 90, aged 73, has been a sp. court man before the warre"
OLIVER HEYWOOD, Diaries, ii. 157.

## The Journal of a Self-Obberver

the Spiritual Diary of Dr. John Rutty (1698-1775), "the most extraordinary and unique Quaker document for a study of excessive fear of the creature' and for an exhibition of a life-long battle with self."

In the first volume of *Friends' Miscellany*, edited by John Comly (Philadelphia, 1834), there is a record of another Friend's soliloquies and reflections which may be placed along side those of John Rutty.

James Hamton, son of Benjamin and Ann Hamton, of Wrightstown, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, was born in 1764.

In the year 1784 he commenced school-teaching in his native place. He wrote:

Being young, and naturally diffident I found myself ready to sink under the labour. My anxiety to discharge my duty among the pupils in a proper manner was, for some time, so great that I scarcely could sleep, or get from under the solicitude day or night.

Two years later Hamton accepted the position of head of the Montgomery Free School, which he found "very large and troublesome, being composed of almost all sects and denominations."

He was much helped and his spirits cheered by association with Dr. Charles Moore and his wife, Milcah Martha, who treated him with great kindness. But even here he could write:

All nature seems reviving this morning. The fruit trees are blossoming, the woods thicken with the opening buds, and among the branches the winged choir, sweetly melodious, warble forth their morning hymns to the benevolent Father of the Universe. Why, then, O my soul! Why art thou so languishing? Why, amidst all this profusion of gaiety, art thou so dejected?

When his friends, the Moores, removed into Philadelphia, James quitted Montgomery and followed them, though his arrival in the Quaker city did not tend to any mental uplift.

R. M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, 1921, p. 65. John Baldwin's Diary or Journal of Time (1794, etc.) is another example (Comly, Misc. v. 249).

Since my arrival here, which was but a few days ago, my mind has been in a low, abased situation. Being among strangers, I have felt as a poor pilgrim, wandering much alone in this wide world.

On 2 mo. 1, 1787, he recorded:

Mental poverty hath been much my portion of late, and I have seemed to myself as a poor deserted wanderer in this wide and wicked world.

Somewhat later in the same year, James Hamton returned to Wrightstown, and began again, though reluctantly, the keeping of school. Here again he committed to paper many of his pathetic lucubrations.

Through unwatchfulness and the depravity of my heart, have this day been guilty of much vain, unworthy behaviour.

Of what this unworthy behaviour consisted we have hints in the following:

At a public examination of my school, evinced rather an unbecoming solicitude to display my children's literary improvement.

Accepted an invitation to go into the water and bathe. It was, as often heretofore, productive of much levity and folly.

A game of ball at noon; lost ground by unwatchfulness.

Relapsed:—a game of ball, attended with unseemly mirth. Alas! unworthy me!

Through a lamentable degree of weakness was led to repeat yester-day's folly at ball.

A return of weakness—a game of ball.

A game of ball, attended with noise and folly.

Further games of ball are recorded and regretted, also other forms of amusement.

A spell of play with the boys. Often heretofore induced to this, through a sensible want of corporal exercise; but always feel a strong conviction for it, and find that even health, the most valuable of all outward blessings, is not to be purchased at the expense of the least virtue.

At noon, took a game or two of hand-ball with boys, at which I was full of laughter and folly.

#### Other remarks at this period are:

In discourse with a person laughed indecently.

Mind in darkness.

Comfortably regular.

Nearly fifty children to take care of to-day.

Preserved comfortably, steady, laboring for patience and a faithful discharge of duty among them.

A poor dull meeting.

Nearly a vacuum.

In Seventh Month, 1789, James Hamton resigned his post once more, turning from teaching boys to sharing with Joseph Inskeap a school for girls in Philadelphia, and again boarded with his friends, Dr. Moore and his wife.

References in his soliloquies to the girls under his care are fewer and there is no mention of their games.

Deeply exercised in the school. Endeavoured to ease my mind by seriously addressing those children whose conduct was improper. Much good, I have no doubt, would have been the consequence had the manner been as unexceptional as the matter.

We close with an extract from a "Eulogium on a very amiable Pupil, Anne Anderson, daughter of William Anderson, of Philadelphia, written chiefly to benefit her surviving companions":

Dear, lovely maiden! how can we but lament the loss of thee! So some fair floweret of the vale, scarce beginning to unfold its fragrant foliage on the mild bosom of spring, torn from its native stalk, is cast forth to rise no more. But restrain your tears, ye sorrowing relatives. Amanda is happy. Pleasant thought! Even now, perhaps, numbered among the beautiful spirits, a smiling seraph, she exults in glory, forever separated from the temptations, the sorrows, and vicissitudes of human life.

Ye dear and tender companions of Amanda, who loved her when living, and at her death, dropped over her the tear of commiseration, remember her and be instructed.

James Hamton died, somewhat suddenly, on the 7th of Eighth Month, 1792, unmarried and only twenty-eight.

We see Friend Hamton in another light when we are told that he compiled "an excellent compendium of English grammar."

OLIVER HEYWOOD, Diaries, ii. 299.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Jonathan Lacock near free school at Halifax, a quaker, and his wife—their eldest son going to cut a tree fell down on Thursday, Dec. 16. 80 was taken up almost dead, since then his lower parts from middle downward are indeed really dead, he hath no sense or feeling of them at all, strike, prick, punch them he cannot feel, there he lyes still as a sad spectacle—this is Decemb 26, 80, he dyed and was buryed in their own garden Jan. 8, 168%, Lord sanctify it—two quakers spoke"...

## 2. M. Hoag on the Death of his Wife

Lines written by L. M. Hoag in Thomas Maw's summer-house at Needham Market, on the second anniversary of the death of his wife, 6 mo. 17, 1845:

Oh gloomy Morn! two lonely years have passed Since death's dark shadow o'er my way was cast; Whose ruthless hand tore from my arms away The lov'd companion of my youthful day. Tore from my arms away! Shall I repine? The blow was ordered by a Hand Divine. He lent the treasure—with it I was blest; He took the gift to crown with endless rest. Oh! gracious Father all whose ways are kind, Oh! sanctify the chastening thus designed. Now that this dear, this blissful bond is riven, Lead up my soul and fix my love in Heaven. Be Thou my guardian, Thou my constant friend, That when my pilgrimage is at an end, I may unite with all the ransomed throng Who in Thy praise pour forth their soul in song. Beyond all pain—in deathless climes above, May I unite with her, my sainted love, In telling of Thy mercies and Thy grace, Rejoicing ever in Thy glorious face. But while I tarry in this vale of tears Guide me by faith and chase away my fears. Whatever thing I ask, if ill, deny— And though unasked, whate'er is good, supply.

Lindley Murray Hoag (c. 1808-1880), of Wolfsborough, N.H., visited the British Isles in 1845 and 1853. His first wife, Huldah (Varney) Hoag, died 17 vi. 1843, aged 42. See *Memoir*, 1845; The Journal, xiv. 72; and elsewhere.

## Daniel (Ricketson (1813:1898)

of New Bedford, Mass. By the kindness of his son, Walton Ricketson, of New Bedford, who has sent over on loan his private copy of Daniel Ricketson, Autobiographic and Miscellaneous, edited by Anna and Walton Ricketson (New Bedford, Mass.: Anthony, 233 pages, 1910), we have been able to learn more of this Quaker family.

Daniel Ricketson's ancestors were Friends for several generations. His grandfather, Daniel (1745-1824), "always wore the dress of the Society of Friends, which was usually a light drab coat of good English broadcloth, long dark velvet waistcoat and silver buttons, and velvet or cloth breeches, silver knee-buckles, and silver shoe-buckles, or top boots in cold weather; a broad-brimmed black beaver hat, and a handsome silver mounted cane with ivory head completed his dress, except in cold weather an overcoat of drab" (p. 7).

His wife, Daniel's grandmother, was Rebecca Russell (c. 1747-1837), daughter of Joseph Russell and Judith Howland.

Her father was in his time the most wealthy person in the place and the first who engaged in the whale fishery in New Bedford, or Bedford as it was first called. The place received its name from a suggestion of Joseph Rotch, who early removed from Nantucket to Bedford, the family name of the Duke of Bedford being Russell, and the old man was sometimes called 'the Duke.' He gave the lot of land, about \(\frac{1}{2}\) an acre, on which the large brick meetinghouse of the Society of Friends stands, the present \([1858]\) worth of which must be nearly \\$8000. Joseph Russell was probably descended from John Russell, who came from Pontipool, Monmouthshire, England, and established an iron forge at Russells Mills, Dartmouth (pp. 8, 9).

Joseph Ricketson (1771-1841), father of Daniel, married Anna Thornton (1786-1827), of Smithfield, R.I.<sup>1</sup> and the son, Daniel, married, in 1834, by non-Quaker ceremony, Louisa Sampson, of Plymouth, Mass., and secondly, at the Friends'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> She was a daughter of Elisha Thornton (c. 1745—1815), "a tall, venerable-looking man, in the old dress of Friends, whose memory has ever been held sacred by his family and a large circle of friends" (p. 11).

Meeting House, Apponagansett, Angeline, daughter of Philip and Eunice Kelly Gidley, of Dartmouth, Mass.

D. Ricketson lived on Elm Street, New Bedford, till 1845; later he lived at Brooklawn, three miles from New Bedford, in the grounds of which stands the Shanty, where he meditated and wrote, and received many of his friends.

Much of the book is occupied with correspondence between D. Ricketson and many noted people—among them J. G. Whittier, L. Maria Child, William and Mary Howitt and their daughter, Anna Mary Watts.

There are numerous illustrations, including portraits from busts by Walton Ricketson.

Whittier wrote to D. Ricketson, under date 10 mo. 13, 1887:

My dear Friend.

I am glad to get a letter from thee. I always think of thee as a true lover of nature and retirement from the noise and push and greed of the world.

I find it difficult to avoid strangers who seek me out and occupy my time, and sometimes greatly weary me, as my health is very delicate. They prevent me from seeing and writing to my real friends with whom I have much in common. . . . .

With love and sympathy,

Thy old friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The letters to and from William and Mary Howitt and their daughter, Anna Mary Watts, are interesting. In July, 1869, D. Ricketson wrote also to William Howitt's brother, Richard, but he had died (5 ii. 1869) before the letter arrived. William Howitt replied:

Probably, you may have wondered that he had not yet replied to it, but some months before your very friendly communication, he had passed the narrow gate which leads to life eternal. He departed this life in February last at Edingly, near Southwell in Nottinghamshire. You wish him in your letter ("a kind heaven's best blessing")—he has received it in the invitation to heaven itself. My dear brother's life and principles had prepared him for the advancement to a higher life. He was, like me a spiritualist, and the knowledge therein desired had taken away all the terrors of death, and made easy that transposition which to the mere lover of this material existence is commonly so hard. . . .

He loved poetry. His life was a poem, the poetry of peace, nature and independence. He made one adventurous step, a visit to the Antipodes, but this was through the attraction of the company of our youngest brother who settled there.

#### Mrs. Watts wrote from London in August:

Richard Howitt breathed his last painlessly in a fainting fit shortly before attaining his 70th birthday. My sister [Margaret Howitt] attended him in his last illness and placed around his beautiful, venerable head as it lay in its coffin, bunches of his favorite flowers, purple violets, and at his feet a bunch of for-get-me-nots as a symbol that his footsteps on earth shall not be forgotten. His mortal remains were laid to rest in the burial ground of the Friends at Mansfield, where his grave is amidst those of his early friends and kindred, shaded by a group of trees which he loved.

He printed a little volume<sup>2</sup> about two years since, containing a few poems from his earlier volumes, together with later poems, some of which we think very charming. He never married. He divided his time between agriculture and poetry. Wandering about his fields his poems were matured and hummed over to himself.

In 1869 D. Ricketson issued a volume of poems entitled *The Autumn Sheaf* (a copy of which has been on loan in **D**), and later he wrote a History of New Bedford.

#### Friends Reepe the Ancient Principles of Truth

- 1. Att a word, in all yor callings & dealings, without oppression
- 2. to ye sound Language, thou, to everie one.
- 3. yor testimony agst ye worlds fashions
- 4. Agst ye old Mashouses & their repaireinge.
- 5. yor testimony agst ye priests, their tythes & maintenance
- 6. against ye world joyninge in marriage, & ye priests & stand upp for gods joyning.
- 7. agst swearing & ye worlds mañers & ffashons
- 8. & agst all lousenes, pleasures & profanenes whatsoever
- 9. & agst all y worlds wayes, worpps & religions, & to stand up for gods
- 10. And see y<sup>t</sup> everie one y<sup>t</sup> hath done wrong to any one y<sup>t</sup> they doe restore
- II. And yt all differences bee made upp spedily,
- And y<sup>t</sup> all bad things bee judged spedily, y<sup>t</sup> they doe not flie abroade, to Currupte peoples mindes
- 13. And that all Reports bee stopped to y' defameing of any one.

G. ff.

From the Minute Book of Swarthmore M.M. 1674, in D.

<sup>2</sup> Copy in **D**; also his Impressions of Australia.

Vol. xix.—226.

OSHUA EVANS was a native of West Jersey, being born at Evesham in 1731. He was a man of directly religious views and born at Evesham in 1731. times. He took up the cause of temperance and decided that the use of spirituous liquors during time of harvest was pernitious. He is mentioned in Anthony Benezet's work, The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, printed in 1774:

He offered sixpence per day more than other farmers, to such labourers as were willing to assist in bringing in his harvest, on condition that no spirituous liquors should be used in his fields.

Joshua Evans was also concerned to promote peace and goodwill among men and he conscientiously refrained from the use of articles the duty upon which was appropriated to promote warlike measures. He abstained also from the use of animal food and of leather made of the skins of beasts that had been killed. "His dress was of domestic fabrication, altogether in its natural colour, and clear of superfluous appendages."1

As other Friends had been known to travel in a path almost as narrow, Joshua Evans' progress thus far does not appear to have excited doubts in the minds of his brethren generally. But when he permitted his beard to grow, many of his friends became uneasy, apprehending he was running beyond the motions of truth into unprofitable imaginations.

The matter of the beard was taken up by the Select Q.M. of which Evans was a member, and a committee was appointed to visit him, "on account of his wearing his beard and other singularities." The committee had a good time with him, but "they left him with his beard on, much as they found him, none having power, or a razor to cut it off."2

In the Y.M. the beard was such a cause of offence that the seats around near where he sat were avoided by all his friends save one, William Blakey, who, under a sense of duty, took a place beside him, "much to his mortification," as he stated when he related the circumstance many years afterwards.

I Quotations are from an account of Joshua Evans in Comly's Friends' Miscellany, Philadelphia, vol. 1 (1834).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John Hunt's Journal in Comly, Misc., x. 241.

Joshua Evans brought a concern to travel as a Minister before his M.M. on numerous occasions, but a certificate was as often refused<sup>3</sup> until some of the younger members, usually silent, expressed their approval so strongly that "after thirteen or fourteen years struggle, he was liberated to visit New England. This was in 1794," and apparently he was well received, as he revisited this Northern Y.M. more than once, also other parts of the American States.

While the subject was before Haddonfield M.M. a Friend of Moorestown, N.J., John Hunt, wrote a long letter to a Haddonfield Friend, beginning: "I suppose our friend Joshua's beard is the chief obstruction. . . . To hinder him in his religious services on account of his beard, I cannot see to be right."

Then follow pages of pogonological lore to prove that many noted people wore beards—Bible characters, martyrs, "whom William Penn mentions with great respect," "From some accounts the Holy Pattern did wear his beard." George Fox "was a spectacle of wonder to the world."—When John Woolman landed in England many Friends were much straitened with his appearance.

Joshua Evans died in the autumn of 1798. A vast concourse of people attended his funeral, including many negroes and Indians. His death closed the prospect he had entertained of visiting Europe.

In the tenth volume of Friends' Miscellany appears "Joshua Evans's Journal," where it occupies rather over two hundred pages. It reminds us of the Journal of his fellow townsman, John Woolman, being less full than other Journals of names of persons and places, and more occupied with reflections on the condition and manner of life of Friends visited. Like John Woolman, Joshua Evans bore about with him a troubled mind and tender conscience and expressed disapproval of many things he saw, as for instance the system of slavery; the frequent use of spirituous liquor and tobacco; an unnecessary provision of food at times of Quarterly Meeting; "the practice of calling children and others by nick-names, such as Jack, Harry, &c."; "among things superfluous and improper, that of giving children three names."

<sup>3</sup> His father, Thomas Evans, was once refused a certificate to visit Old England, but we do not know the reason for this refusal.

Whilst many of his friends considered his beard as a hindrance to his religious service, he expresses quite different views:

The wearing of my beard, I believe, hath been of great use in the cause I am engaged to promote; for I apprehend thousands have come to meetings where I have been, that otherwise I should not have seen; many being induced, in great measure, to come on account of my singular appearance. And yet many of these have been among the most tendering seasons.

# Gooks Wanted

(For previous lists, see xiv. 88, 121; xv. 119; xvi. 17; xvii. 120 xviii. 94.)

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE REFERENCE LIBRARY:

Ursprung, Fortgang, und Verfassung der Quakergeminden Zu Pyrmont, by Schmidt, Braunschweig, 1805.

Memoirs of John Dalton, by W. C. Henry, London, 1854.

A Summary History of Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, Emporia, Kansas, 1897.

Daniel Ricketson, Autobiographic and Miscellaneous, New Bedford, Mass., 1910.

History of New Bedford, Mass., 1858, and The Autumn Sheaf: a Collection of Miscellaneous Poems, 1869, by Daniel Ricketson.

Memoirs of John Griscom, LL.D., New York, 1859.

Compendium of English Grammar, by James Hamton, Phila., c. 1780. Memoirs of Joseph Parrish, by George B. Wood, Phila., 1840.

The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, by Anthony Benezet, Phila., 1774. Books on Grammar, etc., by Stephen Monson Day, Phila., Pa., and Burlington, N.J., c. 1800.

Please send offers to the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishops-gate, London, E.C.2.

Records of the borough of Northampton 1722 Dec. 12. Anne Hopkins, widow, being one of the people called "Quakers," who was exercising the trade of a maltster in the town, was ordered to be admitted a freewoman upon payment of £10 with the accustomed fees and in case she refused to take up her freedom on these terms she would be forthwith sued for an infringement of the charter. Due notice of this order was served upon Anne Hopkins who treated it with contempt and continued to exercise her trade. A case was submitted to the deputy recorder, Mr. Cuthbert, and he advised action should be taken under by-law 1704 which was duly witnessed in accordance with the charter by two of her Majesty's Judges.

# George For's Leather Suit

In the seventh volume of *The Journal*, p. 78, is a transcript of part of an ancient manuscript in D consisting of notes on the life of George Fox. It is there stated: "He was made to get Lethern Breeches and Doublet," and a note points out that while the fact of Fox wearing leather breeches was well-known, this was, so far, the only known reference to a *suit* of leather. I have now come on another.

There has lately been presented to **D** a large manuscript volume written by Thomas Thompson, of Skipsea in S.E. Yorkshire, who died in 1704, aged seventy-two or seventy-three years. The earlier part is entitled: "Of the Sufferings of God's People, &c," and it sets forth a history of sufferings endured for conscience sake in England and elsewhere during the four or five hundred years preceding the writer's time. The sixth part, beginning on p. 296, is entitled: "Being a Relation of Some of The Sufferings of The People of God Called Quakers." It starts with an account of George Fox, the writer evidently summarising the early part of Fox's Journal as edited by Ellwood, in 1694, but sometimes adding information within his own knowledge. In my Personality of George Fox, pp. 11, 13, I have quoted, from one of Thompson's printed works, passages descriptive of Fox's appearance and habits. On page 299 of the manuscript volume, Thompson tells of Fox coming into Holderness in 1652 (Inl. bicent. i. 96), near to where he (Thompson) lived, and of his own convincement by means of Fox's preaching, he himself having already "had some sense of the working of an inward principle." He adds:

"Shortly after, the name Quakers was in scorn given us in these parts, for when George was here it was not used but He was Generaly Called by the worlds people Leather Coat because he wore Leather Breeches and doublet, though the name Quaker was given Him at Darby, long before he came here." The "long before" was in 1650.

About the time that George Fox was wearing a leather suit, Thomas Traherne (1636 (?)-1674), the writer of devotional meditations, was doing the same in order to live economically. He writes:

"When I came into the country, and being seated among silent trees, and meads and hills, had all my time in mine own hands, I resolved to spend it all, whatever it cost me, in the search of happiness, and to satiate that burning thirst which Nature had enkindled in me from my youth. In which I was so resolute, that I chose rather to live upon ten pounds a year, and to go in leather clothes, and feed upon bread and water, so that I might have all my time clearly to myself, than to keep many thousands per annum in an estate of life where my time would be devoured in care and labour." Centuries of Meditations, ed. Dobell, 1908, second issue, p. 194.

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

# The Cambridge "Journal of George For"

Continued from vol. xvii. p. 130.

73.—Vol. I., p. 452.—In Fleetwood Family Records for January, 1921, collected and edited by Robert Woodward Buss (copy in **D**), there is a reproduction of miniatures of Charles Fleetwood (1618-1692). There is also a notice of the will of Hester Fleetwood, a Friend of Chalfont Meeting (The Journal, vii. 64), widow of the Regicide, Colonel George Fleetwood of the Vache (1622—1674?), witnessed by Thomas Ellwood and proved 13 May, 1714 (P.P.C. Aston, 94). There is also a reproduction of miniatures of Colonel George Fleetwood.

74.—Vol. II., p. 135.—We are surprised to find no note to Henry Jackson, but it is probable that information lacking in 1911 is forthcoming in 1921. There were three of the name in succession. Henry Jackson. primus (1593-1667), lived at Mealhill, township of Hepworth, county of York and was a soldier in the Royalist army. He had one son, HENRY JACKSON, secundus (1633/4-1710), who became a Friend and a Minister and at whose house at Mealhill George Fox held a meeting in 1669. He was a man of influence and wealth and built Totties Hall, Wooldale, about 1682. He was the founder of Wooldale Meeting. He was imprisoned at Lincoln in 1663, Warwick in 1663-6 and later at York. In 1665/6 (apparently during the time of his imprisonment) he married Katherine Cooke ( 1695). Among his eleven children were Elihu (1669-1730), physician, of Mealhill and Doncaster, and also Wooldale Hall, which he built about 1714 (his widow née Katherine Vicars, of Doncaster, sold Mealhill in 1739); Hannah (1675-1682) and Tabitha (1679-1682), who both died of small-pox and whose gravestones have, of recent years, been found in an outhouse adjoining Wooldale meeting house (Sunday Magazine, Feb. 1905); and Henry tertius (1680-1727).

Henry Jackson, tertius, lived at Totties Hall. He was a prominent Friend and travelling Minister in Great Britain and Ireland. He married, firstly in 1703 Barbary Lupton (c. 1684-1717), of Bradley, near Skipton, and secondly, Mary, daughter of Thomas Ellwood, of Kendal. By his first wife he had seven children. His daughters married into the families of Lister, Cowell, Marsden and Arthington. His surviving son was Ebenezer Jackson (1715-1775), who died unmarried.

- F.P.T.; State Papers Relating to Friends; Besse's Sufferings; Biog. Memoirs, iii. 667 and other mss. in D; and esp. The Family of Jackson of Wooldale in the County of York, by C. T. Clay, reprinted from The Genealogist. July, 1920.
- 75.—Vol. I., p. 49.—" I went Into ye Iland of Wana & after ye preist had donne I spoake to him who gott away . . . I went to look for ye preist att his house & hee woulde not bee seene but ye people saide hee went to hide himselfe in ye haymowe . . . & then they saide hee was gone to hide himselfe amongst ye standinge corne . . . but they coulde not finde him."

Mr. P. V. Kelly, of Barrow, has kindly sent extracts from notes made by the late Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, which give the name of the minister of Walney above referred to:

"From the Dalton Parish Registers we find that a Mr. Soutwerke was minister of Walney between 1649 and 1657. He was probably acting unofficially when the Parliamentary Survey was made in 1650 and was not duly appointed till after the grant of £50 a year was made in 1651. Mr. Soutwerke, like other Lancashire ministers of the time was a Presbyterian, the Church in Lancashire being then under Presbyterian government."

Mr. Soutwerke's name also occurs in the History of Northscale by the late W. B. Kendall, printed in vol. xiii. (1899) of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club Proceedings. The name also occurs in the same connection in the mss. of William Close, the editor of the second edition of West's Antiquities of Furness, which are preserved in the Manchester Public Library.

76.—Vol. II., pp. 217, 226n, 244, 426, 437.—The place where John Jay met with his accident was Porback, near Shrewsbury in New Jersey. The house into which Jay was carried was visited in 1786 by Elisha Kirk—a travelling preacher. It was then occupied by William Parker, "the log on which George Fox laid Jay, yet lying there with no more virtue in it than any other log" (Elisha Kirk's Journal in Comly's Miscellany, vol. vi. p. 36).

77.—Vol. I., pp. 359, 463.—Remove figure 5 from last line and erase note 359. 5.

78.—Vol. I., p. 427.—Of Henry Walker, Cromwell's "newsmonger-priest," we glean a few more particulars from *Mercurius Britanicus His Welcome to Hell*: with the Devills Blessing to Britanicus, by Sir Francis Wortley, 1647:

"To Henry Walker I beare much affection, Hee's red-hair'd, of Iscariots right complexion, Like Sheba, Bichri's son, he did rebell, And cried out, to your tents, O Israel, He was an Ironmonger at first, and then He turn'd Bookseller, after that his pen Libel'd against the King, and did incroach So neare him, that he threw't into his coach, For which he should have gone to th' Triple-Tree, But pity, and the Kings high clemency Wrote to the Parliament, that they should spare him, Whose power unto the Pillory did reare him. Since when, to shew his humble thanks the more, Reviles the King worse than he did before. Writes Weekly Newes, and lies egregiously, And oftentimes doth preach most grievously; For which I will prefer him unto thee, When thou com'st, he shall then thy Chaplain be."

79.—Vol. I., p. 458.—For more respecting Col. John Wigan, see THE JOURNAL, xvi. 141.

80.—Vol. I., p. 419.—With the aid of the Index to the First Volume of the Parish Registers of Gainford in the County of Durham, 1889, recently through our hands, we can supply some additions and corrections to the note on Henry Draper, of Headlam, and John, his son. Following Steel's Early Friends in the North, we stated that Henry Draper married Eleanor Birkbeck. According to the Registers, Elliner Byrchbeck married Robart Meriton or Merrington, 12 April, 1631, and on 24 April, 1636, Ellin Merrington, widow, married Henry Draper. They had several children. John, the surviving son, being born 27 Feb. 1639/40.

"Mrs. Ellin Draper" died 22 April, 1649 and Mr. John Draper, Headlam, 13 Jan. 1671/2. There is no entry of the death of John's wife, née Bridget Fell, or of his father.

# The Rowntree History

With the recent appearance of *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, written by Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford College, Pa., in two volumes of xxxvi. + 1,020 pages (London: Macmillan, 30s. net), the history of Quakerism planned by the late John Wilhelm Rowntree has reached its completion. We well remember the visit of J. W. Rowntree to Devonshire House on a return from the United States and the energy with which he presented and explained his scheme to the Recording Clerk and the Librarian.

The first two volumes—Studies in Mystical Religion and Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries discover for us an earlier Quakerism in the lives and writings of reformers and mystics of pre-Foxite periods. Then comes The Beginnings of Quakerism, by W. C. Braithwaite, carrying the history down to 1660. Next we are carried across to the New World and told of The Quakers in the American Colonies, by R. M. Jones. The Second Period of Quakerism (1660-1725), by W. C. Braithwaite, follows, and then R. M. Jones, the general editor, brings down the wonderful story to our days in a series of brilliant and scholarly dissertions.

Now, for the benefit of those who cannot or care not to read the seven volumes, Elizabeth B. Emmott has, in the press, A Short History of Quakerism, which, within the compass of about 350 pages, summarises the contents and revives the spirit of the nearly 4,000 pages of a work which takes high rank in the literature of Quakerism.

# The Zournal of William Robson (1797-1881)

A volume, containing 180 pages of typing, has been presented to the Reference Library. It is a copy of the Journal of William Robson (1797-1881), of Darlington and Sunderland, and later of Stockton, co. Durham, son of Nathan Robson and Rachel Brady. He was educated at Ackworth and then apprenticed at Sunderland to a mercer and shipowner. He became a mercer at Darlington, married Rachel Hutchinson (1792-1868) in 1821 and had five sons and one daughter. He was an Elder. The Journal is very full for the period covered—1 mo. 1, 1817 to 5 mo. 6, 1818. The copy is prefaced by Joseph J. Green, dated 19 iii. 1897.

A large percentage of the entries refers to visits to uncles, aunts and cousins with whom he appears to have been well provided, but at intervals we find notes of the books he read—"Memoirs of Agrippina, the Wife of Germanicus"; Robertson's "History of Charles V," 4 vols.; life of Anthony Benezet; Ussher's "Letters"; "History of the Reign of Catherine 2nd, Empress of Russia." Meetings for Worship and for Discipline received frequent notice and the ministry in the former referred to and sometimes the sermons are reported. Visiting Ministers include Mabel Hipsley and Hannah Broadhead (p. 15), Barbara Hoyland (p. 78), Sarah Abbot and Sarah Hustler (p. 91), Hannah Field of New York, and Elizabeth Fry (spinster) (pp. 122, 124).

This was the day of the woman Minister. Of the local preachers Elizabeth Robson (1771-1843) was the most prominent. "appearances" were very frequent. "My Aunt E. R. was engaged twice' in testimony, and once in supplication—in the former of which she was engaged in an extraordinary manner, to sound an alarm to the lukewarm and negligent ones" (p. 16); "My Aunt Margaret appeared in supplication, my aunt E. R. and Thomas Richardson<sup>3</sup> each twice in testimony" (p. 33). "Mary Brantingham appeared in testimony twice, in which she was engaged to admonish the youth, whom she desired might remember their Creator in the day of their youth that if they were permitted to live until old age, He might not depart from them. I think poor Mary seems to be failing fast, her sentences are often quite unconnected, and she quotes Scripture passages incorrectly" (p. 106). On one Sunday towards the end of 1817, H. Field and E. Fry both spoke and the former prayed. E. Robson also "appeared." After tea at Thomas Robson's some Friends gathered in, when "a great deal of excellent advice was handed," all three again preaching and later H. Field addressed several in the company individually. On the occasion of a funeral Margaret Bragg<sup>5</sup> " could not bring to mind one passage of scripture of a consolatory nature" till she thought of and repeated the words: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin? etc." Solomon Chapman<sup>6</sup> was among the few men Ministers in Sunderland Meeting at that time.

On 6 mo. 28 we are informed that Frederick Smith<sup>7</sup> and his family had arrived in Darlington to open a school, "to the no small dissatisfaction

of Joseph Sams "(pp. 33, 55)8. Towards the end of the year our Diarist "drank tea at cousin Fredk Smiths. . . . I think he and Cousin Selfe are quite an acquisition to the Society at Darlington. They have now got 9 boarders" (p. 115). Joseph Sams (whose wife was "Cousin Mary") was not approved of by the Friends of his Meeting. His wife and he called on the Diarist's Mother during her illness. "Cousin Mary" was invited upstairs but not Joseph, though "he desired to be present at the interview as he was afraid he would be the subject of conversation upstairs, if he did not accompany his wife." Nathan Robson took Joseph to task downstairs, and our Diarist, "having the curiosity to hear their conversation and listening at the door," tells us what transpired! (pp. 144, 145).

### Further entries:

- "2 mo. 12. 1817. This evening at 10 o'clock the extensive manufactory belonging to E. and J. Pease of Darlington was discovered to be on fire and in a few hours was destroyed, happily no lives were lost."
- "2 mo. 13. This day was appointed the first for the exchange of the new for the old silver coinage throughout the Kingdom."
- "Took a pipe with T[homas] Robson and D[earman] Robson "—the only reference to smoking noticed.
- "5 mo. 2. The Meeting at Darlington has of late years very much decreased and in all probability will be still less. Many have been removed by death and others by marriage." Years later the Meeting greatly increased.
- "6 mo. 8. Heard of the forgery committed on Backhouse's Bank, but they having apprehended the delinquents before they have had time to circulate many of the notes (Darlington 5 £s), it is hoped no serious consequences to the Bank will ensue."

There are notices of Daniel Wheeler; and a copy of a letter, "dated from on board the *Loft* on his passage to Petersburgh," appears under 7 mo. 31 (pp. 50, 71).

"8 mo. 13. Gathered from Uncle Thomas Robson considerable information respecting the ancestors of my family. . . . My great grandfather was convinced in Ireland." For an account of "Tommy Robson" see xvi. 46.

### Notes.

- <sup>1</sup> For Elizabeth Robson see vol. xiv. p. 75.
- <sup>2</sup> Ministers not infrequently spoke twice in one meeting, sometimes to expand what had previously been presented, at others introducing fresh matter.
- Thomas Richardson (1773-1835) lived at Sunderland. In 1799 he married Elizabeth Backhouse, of Darlington. He was acknowledged a Minister in 1814. He is to be distinguished from Thomas Richardson (1771-1853), of London and Great Ayton, financier and philanthropist.
- 4 Darlington M.M. issued an interesting Testimony respecting Mary Brantingham (1751-1834). She was born of poor parents, and was never taught to write. In her youth "she was particularly fond of dancing

and singing." When about 23 she entered the family of a Friend and was greatly influenced for good. Before becoming a Friend she saw she must use the plain language and alter her dress "which were grievous trials." She married Hugh Brantingham and settled near the city of Durham, later removing to Stockton. "The care of a numerous offspring" required much of her time, but she paid several religious visits in the Northern Counties. She was a Minister about 55 years.

- Margaret Bragg (1761-1840) was the youngest daughter of Isaac and Rachel Wilson of Kendal. In 1790 she married Hadwen Bragg (1763-1820), draper, of Newcastle. "She was endowed with a very superior share of natural abilities and possessing an active mind she was induced to take part in the management of a variety of affairs beyond the generality of her sex" (Testimony). It would be interesting to know more of this line of service. A silhouette of M. Bragg is reproduced in *The Society of Friends in Newcastle*, 1899.
- <sup>6</sup> Solomon Chapman (1750-1838) was born at Whitby and removed to Sunderland in 1768. In 1772 he married Jane Ogden (certificate in **D**). "This Solomon was a person of much consideration in the neighbourhood of Sunderland and a very stern Friend of the old School—a Minister somewhat formal and sententious in speech" (Beck's Family Fragments 1897, p. 47).
- 7 Henry Frederick Smith ( -1862) was a son of the noted Minister and chemist, Frederick Smith (1757-1823), of London and Croydon. In 1804 he married Selfe (Self—e) Pease (1781-1871). Their grandson was the Hebrew scholar, Samuel Rolles Driver (1846-1914). Joseph Foster states that H. F. Smith died in America (Pease of Darlington, 1891, p. 27). The school is described by William Hodgson, of Sheffield and Philadelphia, as "a collegiate school where the sons of Friends could have advantages of a good education without the exposure of University life" (Letters and Memoirs, 1886, p. 8). The school was removed into Essex, according to a circular, without date, mentioned in Joseph Smith's Supplementary Catalogue: "Smith, Henry Frederick, of Darlington—Circular addressed to Friends on the Removal of his Academy from Darlington to Wood House, near Little Ilford, Essex. 4to. No date."
- \* For Joseph Sams (1784-1860), schoolmaster and bookseller, see article in next volume.

# John de Marvillac

See vols. xv, xvi, xviii, xix.

"9 mo. 18, 1795. I went yesterday to Philadelphia, and attended the meeting for sufferings, at which was John De Marselac, a Frenchman, who seems conscientiously concerned for the support of truth upon its right foundation."

Journal of William Blakey (c. 1738-1822), in Comly, Misc. iv. 123.

# Thomas Wells (1799=1879)

BRIEF statement of this ministering Friend, still remembered in this generation, may be placed on record.

He was born at Tewkesbury, Glos., and belonged to the Wesleyan Society before joining Friends. In 1827 he emigrated to the United States. His introduction to Friends is described in a letter from William Procter from Baltimore in Fifth Month, 1828 (ms. in **D**, sht. 4, p. 3; see Inl. xix. 1):

"In the evening a young English man I think named Thomas Wells, called to see Geo. & A. Jones who quarter at I. Pauls but were gone to New York. I. P. tells me he brought his Certificate from England addressed to Washington where he went, but became so dissatisfied with the public communications of Thomas Weatherald & Edward Stabler that he would not give in his Certificate, but returned to Phila. I.P. also informed that this was the individual who appeared at considerable length a short time before the close of the last sitting of the Y.M. [Philadelphia, 1828]."

T. Wells was employed for several years in some industrial schools for the Indians and coloured people under the care of Friends; this was relinquished in the Spring of 1844.

"In 1863, soon after the death of his wife, he returned to this country, since which time he visited every Monthly Meeting and almost every Preparative Meeting in Great Britain and Ireland" (Testimony). He died at Great Ayton, Yorkshire—" an acknowledged Minister forty-five years."

In the Historical Sketch of Kansas Y.M., 1921, p. 47, we read:

"In 1881 Thomas Wells of England bequeathed \$1,000 to Kansas Y.M. to be invested and conserved by Trustees with the direction 'that the annual proceeds of said fund be applied towards the education of younger members of the Y.M. in limited circumstances, at a school under the charge of said Y.M."

Jnº Shaw School Master at Brookside in Yorkshire having been prison wh his Bro near 2 years for their Testimony ags Tythes by when meanes his school came to be broken up, But now writes to B Bealing yhe has a ffriend to supply his place in his school yhe can write better than himselfe and can Teach both Lattin Greek & Arithmitick—If any ffries are minded to send their Child to his school his Bro is willing to Table ym & he hopes they will be suffly Taught—

[ffrom the 2 weeks meet.  $y^e$  28  $\frac{6}{mo}$  1699. to  $y^e$  Mo Meet at Horslydowne Sent p s<sup>d</sup> meet<sup>s</sup> ord<sup>r</sup> by B. Bealing.

Southwark MSS. in D, vol. i.

# Rachel Wilson and George Whitefield

BOUT the year 1764 Rachel Wilson held several public meetings at Bristol. George Whitefield, having been at one of those meetings, applied to the late Joseph Fry to contrive some mode of being introduced (as he expressed it) to this very extraordinary woman: this was done next morning at Richard Champion's, where they breakfasted together and talked for a while on occasional subjects. After breakfast was over, and the servants had cleared all away, George Whitefield informed her of his having sat under her ministry with great pleasure the day before. She expressed satisfaction, but intimated that if she had in any degree edified her audience it was all owing to the bounty or kindness of Infinite Wisdom, who only could give the ability. George Whitefield replied, "I heartily agree, Madam, with what you say, for little indeed can be attributed to the creature. I am at times tempted to envy your preachers for the advantage they almost exclusively enjoy of silently waiting upon God before they stand up to minister. When they stand forth they have nothing to do but to go on, being like clouds filled with water and ready to discharge it; but, according to our custom, as soon as I am seen in the pulpit, I am expected to begin, and must begin with something. It often happens that, although I can observe great willingness to hear the word, and feel a strong desire in myself to preach it profitably, yet I am as a pump, the handle of which must be long used before any water will come. This is very mortifying; but God, who knows my good intentions, sometimes, after long labor of this sort, is graciously pleased to assist me with His Holy Spirit, and then indeed I am as a cloud discharging its rain to the joy and refreshment of the whole heritage."

I understood, says the writer, that Rachel Wilson expressed her surprise and pleasure in hearing a declaration so unexpected from one who had been educated for the priesthood of the National Church, and that they parted with mutual expressions of regard, and best desires for each others welfare.

# The Power of the Press

York prison, in an undated letter now in **D**, in the course of instructions to read and then have printed a book which R.F. sends in MS., says:

"the truth doth spread much abroad by the Bookes that is in Printe, & now there is as many written as is suffitient for the Downefall of Antichrist's Kingdome."

Instruction follows that T.A. do not fail in getting the book printed.

# 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.

Thas sometimes been suggested that a useful method of presenting the story of early Quakerism and especially the life-history of George Fox, would be county wise or district wise. This has been undertaken for the county of Lancaster by the Rev. Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., Litt.D., in his Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire (London: Congregational Union, 8\frac{2}{2} by 5\frac{1}{2}, pp. 220, 7s. 6d. net). The book is divided into three chapters—(1) George Fox in Lancashire, (2) The Witnessing Facts ("Besse's Sufferings"; "First Publishers of Truth"; Conventicle Returns of 1669; Church Papers; and Records of Quarter Sessions) and (3) Steadfast in Suffering. In Chapter 1. G. Fox's incursions into the County Palatine are set out. Referring to a map in "The Beginnings of Quakerism," Mr. Nightingale writes:

"From the Ribble to the Humber, the little round dots indicating Quaker centres are somewhat numerous; and the bit of Lancashire with contiguous Westmorland, which skirts Morecombe Bay, presents quite a cluster of them. Apart from this, however, Lancashire appears almost entirely free."

But, as a result of his researches, the author thus concludes his first chapter:

"Far more widespread was the movement in Lancashire during the first 60 or 70 years of its existence than is generally supposed; and it is this fact which this work is intended to make clear."

Chapter 2 contains many lists of names arranged according to residence. There are notes to some of them—of Friends taken mainly from the Camb. "Inl.," of others from such sources as the same author's "The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland"; "The Commonwealth Church Survey"; and Calamy's "Account of Ejected Ministers." It seems a pity that the extracts from the Church Papers in the Registry Office, Chester, should include many names known to be those of Papist Recusants; it is excusable to insert the names of sufferers whose religious associations are not clear, but neither set of names can be adduced as definite proof of the widespread of Quakerism in Lancashire. Nor can surely the insertion of names of persons presented for "playing football in time of divine service"!

- \* Another book with references to Friends in the early days in the same district is Lancashire Association Oath Rolls, A.D. 1696, edited by Wallace Gandy, and printed for private distribution by the editor,
  - 1 As for instance in Dr. Butler's George Fox in Scotland.

<sup>\*</sup> = not in **D**.

4, Vernon Place, London, W.C.1. The plot against the life of William III., formed in 1695, had failed owing to its disclosure, but it proved of good service to the King by the skilful manipulation of his ministers. Parliament was aroused to enthusiasm and a form of association was drawn up and signed by practically every member of both Houses. The agitation travelled far and wide and county Associations formed; the oath was carried into every county, and Parliament legalised the movement by passing "An Act for the better security of His Majesty's Royal Person and Government," and introducing a form of oath to be taken. A special clause (§ xiii.) was introduced relieving Friends from the oath and substituting a simple form of affirmation, but there still remained the question of military defence.

The list of the names of the signers of the Lancashire Association occupies over fifty pages, the names being given under districts. Many names, apparently Quaker, appear in the lists. Under Hawkeshead there is a list of five names of "Quakers y' will not subscribe: John Walker, Clement Satterthwait, Nick: Tyson, Tho: Dover, and James Braithwait" (page 85). Under Urswick we read: "these be the which doth refuse to subscribe theire names all in bardsye"—John Shoricke, James Ethericke and John Goad (page 81). Under Wenington, Robert Gerces declares: "I am Willing to be a trew subiext but not to take up any carnall weapon," and Will. Carns states: "I am willing to be a true subiext but not to take up any carnall weapon to feught with all." (page 63).

By the kindness of J. Harvey Bloom, M.A., a copy of a document "touching the Present Association" is in D, with names of many Friends of Colchester, dated 1 ii (Apl.), 1696.

Our Friend, Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, has contributed to *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. xlv. no. 179, July, 1921, just out), a copy of a letter written by Johann Christoph Sauer (1693-1758), recently arrived in the New World (1724), to friends in Europe, giving a description of the new country and some particulars of the voyage. Further details of the life of Sauer (Sower) are to be found in the "Genealogical Chart of Descendants of Christopher Sower," Phila. 1887, prepared by Charles G. Sower.

In 1900, the Library of Congress at Washington, D.C., purchased the original French manuscript of the Journal of the Travels of Theophile Cazenove (1740-1811), through New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1794. Our Friend, Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, Ph.D., of Haverford College, with assistance from various experts ("Seldom probably does so small a volume as this one owe its existence to so many craftsmen "—Preface), has caused this Journal to be translated, and printed, as Cazenove Journal, 1794. (Haverford College Studies, No. 13, published by the Pennsylvania History Press, Haverford, Pa., 9 by 5\frac{3}{2}, pp. xvii + 103, \frac{5}{1.80} postpaid.) The voyageur set forth from New York, passed through New Jersey, crossed the Delaware at Easton and called at Bethlehem, Reading, Lebanon, Harrisburg, Chambersburg (called by the financier of the

expedition "Roumetoune"!), and Lancaster, ending at Philadelphia, where, on Market Street, he established himself for several years, entertaining liberally, before returning to Europe in 1799.

There are, unfortunately, but few and casual references to Friends at Reading, Pa., "there is a German church—one of Quakers"; near Reading "Mr. Nicholson has the large farm worked by a Quaker farmer," said, in a note, to be "a Mr. Evans"; in Chester County, Pa., "English Presbyterians and Quakers prevail"; on page 50 of the manuscript there is "a rough diagram in semicircles indicating the author's idea of the various layers of Pennsylvania population"—" first nucleus, Quakers, second layer Germans, third layer, beyond the Susquehanna, Irish and Scotch, fourth layer, beyond the mountains, Irish, Scotch, and New Englanders." We should have been glad of more notices of Friends, especially as, judging by the way the German inhabitants are dealt with, they would be free and frank. But that Cazenove came into contact with many Friends seems evident from what he writes under Morristown, N.J.: "A new Presbyterian church; an Anabaptist; a Methodist; neither a Quaker nor a Catholic [church]." There is a good Index. The copy of the book in D was presented by the compiler. Dr. Kelsey is engaged in research into the history of agriculture in rural Pennsylvania.

In the Transactions of the Cumb. and West. Antiquarian and Archæological Society, for 1921 (vol. xxi. n.s. Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, pp. 316), there is a short article on Greenrigg, Caldbeck, in which we read:

"One of the many farmhouses in the parish of Caldbeck, known by the name of Greenrigg, was for a period of over 200 years the home of the maternal ancestors of John Dalton, the celebrated chemist. . . . I regret to say that Greenrigg, having been unoccupied for some 30 years, was falling into decay, but it is in such an out-of-the-way place that it is difficult to get it repaired."

There is also reference to the Bewley family of Woodhall in the parish of Caldbeck.

The half century of Kansas Yearly Meeting has been brought into view in a Semi-centennial Historical Sketch of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends, written by Henry C. and Melissa S. Fellow (Wichita, Kansas: Friends' Book Supply, pp. 60, with illustrations). This is a record of remarkable work in advancing the cause of Christ in new and unsettled country. The first Friends' meeting was held in Benajah Hiatt's cabin in Second Month, 1856, the place becoming known later as Springdale. Kansas Y.M. was opened at Lawrence, 10 mo. 5, 1872. "Because of this great gathering of Quakers in Kansas, Enos Pray and Verlin K. Stanley conducted an excursion train of sixteen passenger cars loaded with Hoosier Quaker immigrants and visitors from Indianapolis to Lawrence." "Sterling Quarterly Meeting has given to the world the greatest woman Quaker preacher of the West in Mary Sibbitt, a W.C.T.U. lecturer of national reputation."

In our last volume (xviii. 102) we referred to George Philip & Son's series of Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories—Another volume is to hand, being Book I *Primeval Times to 1066*, by J. J. Bell, M.A., pp. 256, thirty-eight illustrations and nine maps, price 3s. net. The General Editor remarks that the books were "written in order to depict, for the young of whatever age, some of the conditions and changes which have marked the lives of ordinary folk in past times." This short book covers a long period—from ? 627,000 B.C. to 1066 A.D.! It is most interesting and instructive reading.

The history of the publication known as "Bradshaw's Railway Guide" has often been the subject of books and papers, but probably none of these has treated the history so fully as the Early Railway Time Tables," written by E. H. Dring and printed in "The Library" for December, 1921 (vol. ii. no. 3), where it occupies thirty-seven pages.

In Wiltshire Essays, by Maurice Hewlett (London: Milford, 63 by 41, pp. 234, 6s. 6d. net), there are two sections relating to Friends—"The One Thing Needful" and "Faith and Works at Present." Maurice Hewlett, a non-Friend, recently visited a number of Meetings to speak on the subject of international goodwill. ("The Friend" (Lond.), 1921, p. 86.)

Mr. Thomas Wright, the headmaster of the Cowper School at Olney, Bucks, has brought out another edition of his Life of William Cowper (London: Farncombe,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. viii + 368, thirty illustrations and genealogical table of the Cowper Family, 12s. 6d. net, edition de luxe one guinea). The first edition was dated 1892 and since then many letters have come to light and incidents relating to the Poet.

From time to time, in Quaker publications, there have been references to Cowper and some of them have found their way into Mr. Wright's handsome volume.

The grandfather of the Poet was Judge Spencer Cowper (1669-1728), about whose trial in 1699 for the murder of Sarah Stout, the Quakeress, of Hertford, there is much information in **D**. Mr. Wright states the case briefly:

"She had conceived for him an unfortunate passion, which he, as a married man, could not honourably return, and had done his best to discourage. She brooded over her infatuation till it obsessed her mind and plunged her into melancholia. He dined (in the afternoon) and supped with her on March 13th, 1699, and before leaving paid her the interest due on a mortgage which he had arranged on her behalf. She earnestly pressed him to stay the night. He declined; but, nevertheless, she persisted in her entreaties, till finally, in order to settle matters and avoid scandal, he got up and left the house shortly before 11 p.m. and returned to his lodgings. Next morning Sarah Stout's dead body was found floating in a mill-stream called the Priory River. In May Spencer Cowper was arrested and charged with having murdered her. The trial took place at Hertford Summer Assizes in July, 1699. The evidence against him was flimsy, and he was acquitted. He was, however, subsequently subjected by his political enemies to continuous persecution."

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The letter from Frederick Smith (p. 304) and the visit by William Crotch (p. 338) are taken from The Journal. There is also a reference (p. 233) to a "Jack-of-all-trades named Maurice Smith," whose wife was a Quaker, and who arranged for Lady Hesketh, the Poet's cousin, to inhabit the Vicarage at Olney. This was Ann, wife of Maurice Smith, of Newport, Bucks., who died in 1804, aged 63. There were several Quaker Smiths at Olney.

In addition to the story of the somewhat uneventful life of the Poet (1731-1800) we have many incidents in the lives of his friends, who were made famous by their association with him, and much interest attaches to the events which are in the background of many of Cowper's poems.

The Cowper Society, founded in 1900, unites the students and admirers of the Poet in a bond of common interest. Mr. Thomas Wright is the Secretary.

This is the day of the index. The latest to arrive is General Index to Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, vols. 1—x (1906-1921). The editor is Prof. R. W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, and the volume can be obtained for \$1.80 post paid from the Treasurer of the Hist. Soc., 142 N. 16th Street, Phila. The Index contains over 5,000 entries. We echo the hope that "this General Index may guide every searcher promptly to his objective and encourage all authors and publishers of Quaker history to make their contributions similarly accessible."

Notes on Yearly Meeting, 1922, presented by A. Neave Brayshaw.

In The Schools Journal, vol. 1. no. 6 (May, 1922) there are notes on the history of Penketh and Wigton Schools—a well managed magazine.

\* The first of the Handful of Stars—Texts that moved Great Minds (London: Epworth Press, 7½ by 5, pp. 255, 6s. net), is called "William Penn's Text." The section on William Penn is a curious production—it begins with his treaty as though the date of it anteceded his Quakerism, and then states: "Strangely enough it was a Quaker who fired the young man's fancy with this proud ambition. Thomas Loe was William Penn's good angel," which is news to us! T. Loe was very helpful to Penn and introduced him to the tenets of his faith, years before emigration to a home in the West was thought of. And as to the text, Loe's words were: "There is a faith that overcometh the world and there is a faith that is overcome by the world," which, though based upon the text: "This is the victory that overcometh the world even our faith," were the words spoken from and not from the text.

In The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (vol. xlv., no. 180, October, 1921) there appears an address by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, delivered before the Hist. Soc. Pa. in December, 1921, on "The

Life and Works of Benjamin West," a twenty-page illustrated article. Regarding West's birth ("October 10, 1738, on what is now the campus of Swarthmore College"), we read:

"There has been a spirited controversy among writers as to whether he was a Quaker or not. Mr. Galt, his biographer, contends that he was a Quaker. Dr. Sharpless... insisted that he was a Quaker, and you will find Dr. Sharpless's testimony to that effect in the West family Bible loaned us by Mr. Howard Edwards. Charles Henry Hart was of opinion that inasmuch as John West himself, the father of Benjamin, was not in good standing in Quaker Meeting, Benjamin could not have been a Quaker.<sup>2</sup>...

"The important thing that is manifest is that West's talent and zeal and persistency were not characteristic of Quakers. . . . yet the story is told of encouragement extended to the boy by Pennington and

Williamson, both of whom were strict Quakers."

An interesting contribution to early Colonial history has been made by Thomas Willing Balch (1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia), a vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in his little book The Cradle of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1921, 41 pp.). Before contracting his historical review to his own State, he surveys the general field of the settlement by Europeans of the Eastern sea-board. Virginia was settled in 1607, Jamestown Island being the first birthplace of the U.S. of America. Then came Massachusetts with the settlement at Plymouth.

Then appeared other European nations—The United Netherlands had settlers on the Hudson River in 1612 and founded "New Amsterdam" in "New Netherlands." Then they crossed over into what is now New Jersey, so that the present States of New York and New Jersey look to Hollanders as their original white inhabitants. This applies also to the State of Delaware, 1631, "but owing to the inability of the Hollanders to live on amicable terms with the red men, the latter rose in their wrath six months after the founding of the Dutch settlement and wiped it out of existence."

In 1638 a Swedish expedition began a Swedish settlement near the present City of Wilmington, Delaware, and succeeded the Dutch settlement.

But what about the district now the State of Pennsylvania? From Sweden in 1642, Colonel Johan Printz was sent out as governor of "New Sweden," the bounds of which he was at liberty to decide as he thought best. He was not satisfied with the district already peopled, but he sailed further up the Delaware River and "decided that the lower end of Great Tene-Kongh or Tinicum Island was the place to establish the site of the capital and government of New Sweden." "This was the first permanent white colony settled within the area of the State of Pennsylvania and Johan Printz became the first executive in the line of governors now represented by the Governor of Pennsylvania." For a short time—from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See *Inl. F.H.S.*, vi. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This statement has been called in question by another Pennsylvanian historian, who writes the Editor:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Calling Printz the first in the line of Penna. Governors is, at least, questionable. The main Swedish settlements were down the river and

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1643 to 1655—the Swedes held sway, the government passing into the hands of the Netherlands at the latter date, till 1664, when the English came into possession by conquest.

The all-absorbing ability of the English coloniser is illustrated by the way, either by purchase or conquest, the colonies from other lands—Holland, Sweden, France, Spain, Russia—came under English control.

The naming of the tract of land granted to William Penn in 1682 as Pennsylvania in honour of the Admiral, Sir William Penn (not named after his son, the Proprietor, as is sometimes supposed), has caused the general reader to think of the history of the Province as beginning at that time. It is well that we should be reminded that the foundations were laid years before Penn's day, and that when Penn arrived he found many settlers of various nationalities along the coastal districts. the prominence given to the treaty of William Penn with the Indians at Shackamaxon, and Voltaire's reference to it, have overshadowed previous treaties with the red men before Penn's time. "It is all but forgotten that the policy of fair dealings with the Indians inaugurated at Tinicum by Governor Printz and the Swedes prevented the breaking out of war between the pale faces and the red men in the area of our State through the Dutch period and the English period until the coming of William Penn. That was a precious beginning upon which the great Quaker statesman knew well how to build and under his leadership peace with the Indians continued for many more years."

This little book was written for the purpose of arousing interest in Printz and perpetuating his memory.

The main authority on the subject of early Colonial colonisation is "Swedish Settlements on the Delaware," by Amandus Johnson, 2 vols., Phila., 1911.

We are glad to find several historical articles in the current Friends' Quarterly Examiner (Seventh Month, 1922). John E. Southall tells us of "Life at Bootham, Fifty Years Ago"; L. V. Holdsworth, in her usual delightful way, places "Mary England's Dream" in a Quaker setting—perhaps not quite sufficiently American; and the life of William Stout (1665-1752), of Lancaster, has a welcome re-telling by J. Aubrey Rees, though he gives no date of either birth or death and does not refer to the printed life of Stout, taken from his manuscript, published in 1851. A few minor inaccuracies are noticeable in the last-named paper.

In last year's volume (xviii. 36) we referred to a book compiled by Walter J. Kaye, B.A., F.S.A., containing records of Harrogate and nearby places. We have now had the opportunity to inspect this volume (*Records* 

not in the present Pa. Also the Swedish rule ended in 1655, and there is a long gap with only the nominal rule of the Dutch and then the English. He is certainly not in the *direct* line of governors, and the later province of Pa., as an entity, was a quite different domain, of which Printz merely happened to touch the fringe for a very brief period."

of Harrogate, etc., 9 by 5½, pp. xxxii. + 237, from Author, Pembroke, Park View, Harrogate, one guinea). It is a remarkable collection of nformation on the history of Harrogate; and the many facts which evolve from registers, etc., throw much light upon the past. As specimens of the contents we print here some extracts relating to Friends.

On page 62, we have the following notice of a marriage:

"1654 Octo: y\* 22". Bryan Wilkinson of y\* towne & pish of Whyxley & Margret Hogg of Harrowgate in y" pish of Knaresbrough wear this day Marryed togeather haveing first been published thre Severall Markett dayes in y" Markett place att Knaresbrough viz. y\* 27th of Septem and y\* tow Market dayes next after & Marryed in y\* \( \text{\text{\text{psence}}} \) of Nicholas Pawson, Katheren Bestt & others & of me [? Arthur Burton, twicar]."

The corresponding Quaker record appears in the Yorkshire Registers:

"Bryan Wilkinson, of Whixley, & Margaret Hogg, at the house of Thomas Taylor, of Brighouse, 1654-8-15. Knaresbrough M.M."

It thus appears that after announcement thrice in the Market Place (the first on Sept. 27), the Friends' marriage took place at Thomas Taylor's on the 15th of October, and on the 22nd a civil marriage concluded the matter.

Among local references in the West Riding Quaker Sessions Records, extracted by Walter J. Kaye, B.A., F.S.A., and printed in his book, Records of Harrogate, 1922, we find the following which refers to Friends:

"1655, 10 July. Skipton. Thomas Warriner of Knaresbrough, dyer, John Hogg, Harrowgate, Linnen Webster, & John Geldart, Rippon, shoemaker, as Idle & disorderly psons resortenge to the pish Church of Knaresbrough, 6 May 1655 beeing the Lords day in the sermon tyme when & where the word of God was preached & taught, & praires to God donne & pformed by Mathewe Booth clerke, minister of the Gospell & preacher of the word of God for that pish, did not onely unreuerantly beehave themselues dureinge praires by standinge before the sayd minister with theire hatts on theire heads, but Imediatly after the sayd sermon & praires in the forenoone of the sayd day was finished, the sayd Thomas Warriner, John Hogg, & John Geldart of theire owne authorities Wilfully Contemptuously & Maliciously & of purpose to scandalize the truth then publiquely delivered & taught to the pshions of the sayd pish, & to scandall & defame the sayd Mathew Booth, did in the heareing of the Congregaçon of the pshions & other good Christian people then & there assembled in the sayd pish Church for hearinge the word of God & praire, speake pnounce & publish with a loud voyce these false & scandalous Words to the sayd Mathew Booth, Stay; thou runnes', runn not, keepe thy place, thou preachest false doctrine, thou arte Antychriste, & preachest: Loe heare loe there (meaneing him the sayd Mathew Booth); & afterwards charged the people psent as they tendered theire owne soules not to heare nor bee Ledd with such blynde guides, hyrelings, false Prophetts & deceivers of the people, & other Rayleinge & revyleinge speeches, To the greate scandall of the word of god then & there preached & taught by the said Mathew Booth, beeing a grave, deligent, orthodoxx, godly preacher of y' gospell of Jesus Christe, Lawfully thereunto authorized & agt the publique peace of the Comon Wealth of England & agt the forme of diverse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A previous entry and a subsequent one have "Arthur Burton, Vicar," after the word "me."

statutes & to the evill example of others phaine & wicked psons to ppetrate the like offence. Traverse not guilty."

Joseph Besse's record of this case of "brawling" is as follows:

"1655. John Hogg, Thomas Warriner and John Geldart were detained in the Castle of York eight weeks being accused of disturbing the Priest at Knaresborough."

A terrible tale of peril on the sea is unfolded in the diary of Charles Edward Smith, published under the title From the Deep of the Sea. An Epic of the Arctic (London: A. & C. Black, 9 by 5\frac{3}{4}, pp. xii. + 288, with numerous sketches, taken from the diary, and two maps, half-aguinea net).

Charles Edward Smith, M.D. (1837-1876), was a son of Charles Smith of Coggeshall, Essex, a Friend well-known in that district. He was a scholar at Ackworth from 1850 to 1852 and a Junior Teacher from 1853-1858. Then he studied medicine in Edinburgh and as it was a common practice among Edinburgh medical students to go whaling he signed on as a surgeon on the Diana of Hull. His diary of his voyage to the Arctic, after being many years in the possession of his son, Dr. Charles Edward Smith Harris, has now been edited by him and given to the world.

The S.S. Diana left Hull in February, 1866, and returned in April to Lerwick in the Shetlands after an unsuccessful sealing expedition. In May, she left again for the North on a whaling expedition. It was another unsuccessful voyage.

"Altogether the whaling season of 1866 has been one of the most remarkable for the complete subversion of wind, weather, seas, ice, climate and bad fishing that ever was heard of" (page 44). The Diana "returned from her perilous voyage, broken but not defeated, fourteen months later, having been frozen in for over six months" (page 272).

We would give our readers various extracts from the diary which Dr. Smith, with wonderful determination, wrote at the time the events happened which he recorded, but must be content with the following and commend a perusal of the whole of this recital of marvellous physical and mental endurance:

"February 15, 1867. This time last year I signed this ship's articles in the shipping office at Hull. Now what a change has come over me! Here I am, sitting in the cabin, shivering with cold, my clothes worn out and in rags and tatters, hungry and famished with more than five months privations, with no near prospect of escaping from the ice, with a horrible and certain death staring us in the face should we lose our ship or our provisions run short, men sinking and failing daily before my eyes, myself as weak and feeble as a child, perhaps with my turn to die coming next" (page 189).

The editor closes his Preface with the words: "I might add that my father was a Quaker, which accounts for the somewhat quaint phrase-ology." We think that beneath the wording is abundant evidence of Dr. Smith's religious upbringing in a Quaker family, as for instance when he wrote: "We have need for all our skill, foresight and seaman-ship just now, but far more need for God's guidance and protection, without which all our efforts are in vain"—"We are frozen up now in the ice, drifting to and fro entirely dependent upon the mercy and protection of the Almighty who alone can preserve our frail shelter from sudden destruction" (pages 73, 77).

See inset with this issue.

# Recent Accessions to D

N 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:

J. Frances Mather, of Hobart, Tas., has presented a MS. written by his father, Joseph Benson Mather, entitled "A Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the Society of Friends in Tasmania." It was drawn up in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Society, and read at a meeting held in 1883.

Joseph Sanderson, of Cross Hills, has presented a copy of extracts from the manuscript books of Joseph Brown<sup>1</sup> (c. 1751—1803), of Lothersdale, who died in York Castle and whose death was the subject of Montgomery's poem "Spirit, leave thy house of clay." Brown wrote of his "dear master," Roger Swire, of Conondley, an Anglican, whose sudden death took place in 1778, words of high praise in both prose and poetry. He also wrote, in verse, "A Soliloquy by a Fieldwaller at Work," "musing with myself concerning my solitary employment, walling for Roger Swire, Esq., and being of a Rhyming disposition."

Joseph Brown tells us "As to school learning I have nothing to boast of, for a month or six weeks at most was all the time I ever spent there, and that was when I was very young, so that what I am now capable of performing in the Scholastic Science is what I have gained by private improvement. My early inclinations to poetry, appears from the following rhime which I made when I was very young:

"Each man to something gives his eager mind, And mine to poetry is much inclined."

Consequent upon the death of his "worthy and honoured master," a brother, Samuel Swire, came into the district "who had so far initiated in the offices of a Clergyman as to bear the title of Doctor of Divinity "— and Brown made his acquaintance through his writings respecting his late master. Swire lent him books on the understanding that he would write his views on them for him. He wrote:

"I read the prose works of Edward Young with eagerness and delight... but as to Shakespear I hardly know what to say to it, for I am not convinced how any real benefit can be reaped from the perusal of dramatic performance. I think Young's letters on Pleasure a sufficient antidote against such compositions, for tho' they are diverting and taking with the natural fancy, yet they are according to my apprehension to be calculated more for diversion and amusement than for edification; but as I don't properly understand them, I will leave my farther sentiments undetermined, for 'he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is a shame and a folly unto him.'"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These are in the possession of Mr. Boocock, of Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancs.

For views on Shakespeare of another Friend, John Griscom (1774-1852), of U.S.A., see Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 689.

The letter concludes with further sentiments in rhyme and there is a "P.S. All favours will be gratefully accepted and thankfully acknowledged."

Markham, vicar of Carlton, who caused Brown and other Friends to be interned in York Castle, must have been a man of a different stamp from Samuel Swire, of Coalshill near Farringdon, Berks.

Charles F. Jenkins has presented a copy of Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall of Philadelphia, 1774-1777 (generally known as Marshall's "Remembrancer"), Phila., 1839-1849, vol. i (? all issued), 193 pages. There are numerous references to the corporate action of Friends in this stirring period and to various individual Friends. Christopher Marshall (1709-1797) was active on the Whig side and was disowned by Friends in consequence. See xix. 52.

Francis C. Clayton, of Birmingham, has presented an illuminated genealogical tree of the Marriage Family, commencing with Francis and Mary Marriage, cir. 1650, and continued to the year 1921. This copy is numbered 20.

A. Neave Brayshaw has presented a scrap of the writing of George Fox, the special interest of which being that it is a portion of a Hebrew exercise, the Hebrew written in English characters with the English words opposite. (For Fox's knowledge of Hebrew see vols. vi., xv.)

Some Notes of a Trip from Liverpool to New York, etc., in the Year 1908, by Alfred Newsom. Alfred Newsom (1831-1921) was a son of William and Phœbe Newsom, of Limerick. In 1868 he married Susanna, daughter of Samuel Davis, of Clonmel. He moved to the old family residence of his relatives the Wilsons of Mount Wilson, near Edenderry, Kings Co. in 1887.

The History of Banbury, by Alfred Beesley, London, 1841, 681 pp. with many engravings. Alfred Beesley (c. 1800-1847) was a Friend by birth but joined the Established Church. He was an astronomer and botanist. There are references to Friends on pp. 451, 465, 482, 623, in connection with Samuel Wells (1614-), the Puritan Minister of Banbury, whose "unjust actions" are the subject of a long letter from Thomas Curtis, anno 1655 (p. 624).

By the kindness of Lydia M. Hutchinson of Cransley Grange, Broughton, near Kettering, a copy of a manuscript, entitled "Genealogical Sketches," has been added to the department of manuscripts in the Devonshire House Reference Library. The original was written about 1820 by Mary Bowen.

Section I opens with the marriage of Matthew Mair (d. 1724), son of John Mair, of Rhennish, with Elizabeth, daughter of William Lister, of Tunstall, 12 iii. 1697, both homes being in the Holderness district of South East Yorkshire.

The descendants are worked out for many generations and include the families of Raine, Hopkins, Thorp, Wilson, Hawkes, Petchell, Sutton, Stansfield, Benington, Kitching, Clark, Hutchinson, Bowen, Stephenson, Masterman.

Isaac Stephenson (1694-1783) married Ann Raine in 1719 and Frances Hebden in 1726, and then, many years later, about 1761, Elizabeth Mair (c. 1741-1795). There was issue by the third marriage only—four children, the last of whom was born when his father was 80. It is said that his third marriage did not meet with the approval of his friends,3 but it resulted in the gift to the Society of many valuable members—of the families of Rowntree, Backhouse, Neave, Brayshaw, Grace, etc.—sprung from Isaac, Junr. (1765-1830), Anne (1768-1835), who married John Bowron, and Elizabeth (1771-1843), who married Thomas Robson of Sunderland and Liverpool.

There has recently been deposited at Devonshire House an ancient register with the following title:

### 1659

### watchuen Register:

ffor the people of God (which thare meete togeather in his feare to waite vpon him To Record the Births, marriages and deathes of them and thire children, and alsoe some of the sufferinges which thay have sustained by the vntoward generation (for consience sake) since thay seperated from the worlds waies, worshipes, priestes, temples, tiethes, and customes of the heathen, which are vaine and abominable before ye lord; whose worshipe is in the spirit, and in the truth

HENRY MOORE, Regr

The manuscript is endorsed:

Burnham in Somerset Register Births marriages & deaths

The Register is oblong in form—6½ ins. by 15½ ins. and written on parchment, the cover being an old indenture of 1600.

Henry Moore, of Burnham, the registrar (c. 1619-1685), was a son of William Moore, of Burnham (d. 1629), and Magdalen, his wife (d. 1658). His first wife was Mary Rogers, of Burnham (married 1645, died 1654), his second wife was Mary Gundry, of Street (married 1658, died 1660) and his third wife was Rachel Jobbins, of Backwell (married 1661, died 1685). At the foot of the indenture, in another hand, is written:

"Intention of Marriage betweene H: M: & R: J: published in a meeting at watchven and in a meetinge at y widdow Bryants House at Naylsey, y 28 day of the second moneth 1661 And at a generall Meetinge at Mary Whitinges House at Naylsey y 1st day of y 3d Moneth, And alsoe at Axbridge in y market y 4th day of y 3d Moneth 1661, and Married at Burton y 15th day of y 3d Moneth 1661."

3 "Neither in the Yorkshire Registers nor in the minutes of Bridlington M.M. can I find mention of the marriage of Isaac Stephenson, the Elder—though soon after the marriage begin the entries in the Registers of the births of children."—A. Neave Brayshaw, 1922.

As a preface to the Register, Henry Moore wrote, in 1672, an epitome of Church history occupying 3½ pages in a clear, closely-written hand, on paper, coming down to the times of Quakerism and referring to imprisonment of 250 Friends at Ilchester, also the Acts "one for banishment and the other for confiscation of goods for meeting togeather above fower to preach and pray and worship god." (See xvii. 100.)

On the parchment are 4½ pages of births, 4½ pages of marriages and 3 pages of deaths. There is also 1½ pages of Sufferings. The earliest date is 1648 and the latest is 1731. Prominent among the entries are the names of Moore, Petherham, Wride, Toomer, Hilbert, Clark, Clothier, Gould, Jeffry, Counsell.

Journal of Rufus Hall (1744-1818), of Easton and Northampton in the State of New York (Bybury, Pa., 1840, 176 pages), recently acquired by gift from the J. W. Rowntree, Scalby, Library, is specially interesting as supplying an early reference to the incident made known by the skilful pen of L. Violet (Hodgkin) Holdsworth under the title of "Fierce Feathers," and by J. Doyle Penrose in his painting "None shall make them afraid." Rufus Hall was a son-in-law of Zebulon Hoxsie and brother-in-law of another of the name. Referring to the disturbance caused by the nearness of both the British and the Colonial armies, he writes:

"But the skulking Indians seemed to strike the greatest dread. One day, the Indians came to our meeting, just as it was breaking up, but they offered no violence. Their warlike appearance was very shocking, being equipped with their guns, tomahawks and scalping knives. They had a prisoner, and one green scalp taken from a person they had killed but a few hours before, but they went away without doing any violence." Date given is Summer 1777 (p. 17).

Robert Nesbitt is also mentioned—the Friend who walked the long distance to attend the meeting.

Esther Griffin White, of Richmond, Indiana, has sent over two of her books. One is entitled Indiana Bookplates, a beautiful book from the Nicholson Press of Richmond in 1910, containing many specimens of bookplates, the work of Indiana artists. There is a chapter on John E. Bundy, a Friend, of Richmond, "one of our best-known American landscapists," and for eight years on the teaching staff of Earlham College. Another chapter is devoted to the author's brother, Raymond Perry White (Ray White) (d. 1908)—a wonderful example of the pursuit of work under great physical difficulty—" with a constantly tortured body, he performed prodigies of labor which called for unremitting attention and closest scrutiny, engraving for uninterrupted hours, on his knees before his window-seat, a sitting posture being impossible to him, and walking always with the support of crutches." The work of Olive Rush, a Friend, of Germantown, is also illustrated. "She is one of the best-known among the younger artists of the United States." Miss Rush studied art with J. E. Bundy at Earlham. The book was presented to D by Hannah D. Francisco, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

The other book bears the title In the Orchestra (Nicholson Press, Richmond, Ind. 1915). It consists of verses published in the "Richmond Palladium," for which the writer was then music editor. Each piece is associated with a specified musical instrument.

Temper: or Domestic Scenes, a Tale, by Mrs. Opie, 1st ed., London, 1812, 3 vols., presented by H. Stuart Thompson, of Bristol.

Journal of Richard Jordan (1756-1826), a rare Phila. ed., 1829, presented by Mary Hannah Foster, of Scarborough.

In a parcel of manuscripts, etc., presented by Charles J. Dymond, of Newcastle, handed down to him from the Grace family, of Bristol, is an interesting twelve-page quarto pamphlet "Printed in the Year 1687," entitled: A Letter from Doctor More, with Passages out of several Letters from Persons of good Credit, Relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsylvania. Published to prevent false Reports. This tract was printed, with introduction by Albert Cook Myers, in "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania," etc., 1912. It also appears in Penna. Mag., vol. iv. Of Dr. Nicholas More (1687) A. C. Myers wrote:

"Dr. More was a personage. He was not only the first speaker of the provincial assembly, held at Chester in December, 1682, but he has even the greater distinction of being the first (1684-1685) of the long and illustrious line of chief justices of Pennsylvania. . . . He was a non-Quaker, out of sympathy with members of that sect."

William Penn wrote the following Preface:

"Divers false Reports going about Town and Country, to the Injury of the Province of PENNSILVANIA, I was prevailed with by some concerned in that Province, and others that desire the truth of things, to Publish such of the last Letters as made mention of the State of the Country; to serve for answer to the Idle and Unjust Stories that the Malice of some invent, and the Credulity of others prepare them to receive against it; which is all the part I take in this present Publication. "WILLIAM PENN."

Dr. More's letter to his "Honored Governour" occupies four pages. This is followed by letters from the "Governors Steward," who was James Harrison (c. 1628-1687); from the "Governors Gardiner," whose given-name (James) only is known; from "Robert Turner, a Merchant in Philadelphia, and one of the Councel" (1635-1700); from "David Lloyd, Clerk of the Peace of the County of Philadelphia" (1656-1731); from "Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General" (1624-1695); and from "James Claypole, Merchant in Philadelphia and one of the Councel" (1634-1687). The letters are full of reports of the productiveness of the Province and the prices of various products. Building operations are also described. Dr. More adds: "We are wanting of some more good Neighbours to fill up the Country."

# Concerning the Supplements

JN our twelfth volume (1915) we announced that "Supplement No. 13" would consist of extracts from the A.R.B. Manuscripts, and we invited purchasers at the subscription price of half-a-crown. Favourable replies were received and the money sent was allocated to this purpose. The cost of printing and scarcity of paper prevented the carrying out of our plan. We shall be glad if subscribers to this proposed Supplement will be willing to allow the money sent to be placed to the general account for the printing of the Journal itself. The finances of the Society are in considerable need of help.

The presidential address, delivered last May, by Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, on the history of Friends in the Island of Tortola, will appear as a separate publication early next year.

# "The Household Account Gook of Sarah Jell of Swarthmoor Hall"

HIS work which has been referred to as in preparation in volumes x., xi., xii., xv., xvii., has now been published by the Cambridge University Press in a book of over 600 pages; we propose to adopt the same method, carried out since 1912 in connection with the Cambridge edition of The Journal of George Fox, and insert, from time to time, additions and corrections which have reached the editor.

- 1—Page 161, line 7 from foot, cross out the 2 as there is not any note at the end of the volume corresponding with this figure.
  - 2—Page 555, line 8 from foot, for Fishlake read Fishwick.
- 3—Page 589, column 2, the following further references to Fox, George, may be noted, 227, 249, 261, 273, 287, 2913, 2952, 297, 303, 307, 315, 3312, 333, 335, 3472, 3492, 361, 373, 3752, 397, 4112, 459.
- 4—Page 528, John Kirkby, of Coniston. In the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, N.S. XX., 1920, p. 177, there are references to papers preserved at Hill Top, Crosthwaite. "The papers have principal reference to John Kirkby who lived at Coniston Hall, his sister Alice being the wife of William Fleming, of Coniston. He appears in these letters in an amiable light as earning the gratitude of his kinsfolk for his attention to their affairs."

No. 1. A letter to J. K. from Col. Richard Kirkby, dated London, 12 Jan., 1663-4, containing a list of "Quakers committed last Sessions"

> George Fox Thomas Davenport Cheshire men. James B—— Thomas Charley A Warton man. Jo. Stubbs, Schoolmaster at——

William Wilson of Stange End.

- No. 2. A letter to J.K. from Thomas Clayton, dated Lancaster, 7 May, 1668, states: "The 2 Quakers George Rowson and Rich. Walker that were imprisoned att Lancaster and sett at liberty by the Judges late order Have denyed absolutely to pay any tythes these 10 yeares."
- No. 18. A Bond by Matthew Richardson of Rownhead, Lancs., esquire (543), George Hilton of Milnewood, Lancs., gent. (547), to John Kirkby (Armorial seals of Richardson and Hilton), 30 July, 1670.

In other items appear the names of Daniel Fleming, Myles Dodding (525), Sir John Otway (575) and others referred to in the Account Book.

- 5—Page 564. An account of the persecuting zeal of members of the Preston family of Holker Hall and The Manor appears in volume xx. N.S. of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Soc., 1920, pp. 246-251.
- 6—Page 85. The amount carried out on the top line should be 000 00 08% as pointed out in a notice appearing in the English Historical Review, for October, 1921. A blot in the shillings column was read as a figure eight.
- 7—Page 519. Omit reference to Glossary; it was decided, after this sheet was printed, to omit this.
- 8—There is an article on "The Fair at Ravenglass" in the 1921 volume of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Soc., pp. 237-252.
- 9—In the Transactions, p. 94, there are notices of various members of the Cowper (Cooper) family of Aldingham, including "Edward Cooper of the Flanne," whose dates are given as 1625-1687.

OLIVER HEYWOOD, Diaries, ii. 255 (under date Jan. 8, 7%).

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mat. Moorhouse of Kirkburton parish sth he hath been oft with Mr. Brigs their vicar, rid with him, but he speakes not a word of god, or religion, and in his preaching he speakes so low that few in the church understand him. These things incline M. M. wife to the quakers bec. she sth they have some power, she is a notable understanding woman, hath learnt much scripture without book, hath good affection, but alas, they want powerfull preaching, my heart bleeds for them—alas, alas."

# 3. J. Green Collection in D

### THIRD LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

FOLIO volume of 88 leaves, vellum bound, entitled Oustwick &c. Quaker Registers, Pedigrees, &c., compiled by J. J. Green from a MS. copy in the possession (1892) of Mrs. Foster, of Hillstone Hall, Oustwick, E. Yorks., in the handwriting of her father, Joseph Stickney. The marriages cover the period 1660 to c. 1773, followed by births and burials for about the same years.

Then follow Extracts from a MS. belonging (1897) to James Thorp, of Hull, of marriages, c. 1662 to c. 1820.

One page is occupied with a poem: "William Cowlan to Joseph Smith, on his marriage with Eliz. Mair, 12 x. 1728," reminding us of that later poem by the same, given in volume xvi., page 128.

Next come extracts from Minutes of Oustwick Preparative Meeting, 1706-1768, including a minute of Yorkshire Women's Q.M., 1716, on dress: "that young women dress their heads in a more decent and modest form, that is not to set their head dress so farr back that their ears are part bare, their hair cutt and powdred fraying out upon their brows, also the skrieds of the cozoes so thinne that there ears may be plainly seen through them."

Then, minutes of Bridlington Monthly Meeting, at Skipsea in 1718, Robert Turner, Junr., was granted a removal certificate to Pennsylvania and Rebecca Turner was liberated to accompany Lydia Lancaster to America on religious service.

The names of Friends, mostly of East Yorkshire, include:

Acklam. Fairbairn. Stickney. Benington. Foster. Storr. Bowen. Hopkins. Thorp. Kitching. Towse. Burtt. Maire. Collinson. Turner. Dearman. Nicholson. Webster. Pinder. Ellythorpe. Wintringham. Empson. Saunderson. Womersley.

A series of letters written by Priscilla Green (1802-1877), of Saffron-Walden, from the United States to her relatives in England, dating from 8 ix. 1856 to 16 x. 1858. P. Green was accompanied on her religious visit by Mary Nicholson, of Whitehaven. The nearly three-hundred pages of these letters have been carefully read in **D** and many references to persons and places gathered into an index. Several Yearly Meetings were attended and mention is specially made of Philadelphia Y.M. of 1857

and 1858, New England Y.M. of the same years, and Indiana Y.M. of 1857 and New York Y.M. of 1858, with the remarks of the visitors on their condition. There are notes of interviews with many Friends and others, including Rebecca and Rachel Grellet, Eli and Sybil Jones, the Murray family of New York, John G. Whittier—"we staid there an hour or more, having tea and brown bread and butter for dinner. The Poet, his mother and sister, all rather feeble. He said when we first called he would like us to stay with them, but for his mother and sister being poorly and their helper away. He seems of a retiring cast but his conversation was interesting "(8 mo. 1857);—Dr. R. H. Thomas, the family of Henry Hull, of Stanford, N.Y., Marmaduke C. Cope, J. M. Whitall, and U.S. President, James Buchanan—"a fine-looking man with perfectly white hair."

Priscilla Green had many meetings with "those called Hicksites," at her request and theirs. She also mentions Anti-Slavery Friends, Wilburites, and Progressive Friends. At London Grove, Pa, "one goodly-looking Mother expressed her wish to have us at her house, 8 miles distant, saying her name was Pennington (descendants of I.P.s [Isaac Penington]), and that she had ten sons all at home."

Much interest was felt in visits to the homes of Ministers who had visited Europe—Thomas Arnott, Asenath Clark, Elizabeth Coggeshall, Hannah Field, Stephen Grellet, Susan Howland, Henry Hull, E. and S. Jones, Dr. Thomas, Anna M. Thorne, Daniel Williams.

Ingleby: ffor souldiers charges that carried them o 2 6 ffor my charges in carrieing Sixe quakers to Yorke Castle 21<sup>th</sup> Sept two daies travell o 3 0 1665. ffor my charges in going before the Justices to Knaresbrough With the quakers o 0 8 Pannal Parish Accounts, printed in Kaye's Records of Harrogate,

1922, p. 111.

Now, you young men and women who can ride to meeting, galloping on your fine fat horses, or riding in your shining gaudy carriages of various sorts, how different is your outward situation from those dear, devoted children of the Lord who had to travel on foot ten miles to meeting through the woods!

John Hunt, of Moorstown, N.J. viii. 1824, from Comly, Misc. vol. 3, p. 148.

# Friends Bistorical Society.

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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

# FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

# Our Quotation—11

"To example well, and show to the world by our honest and peaceable lives that we are the followers of Christ, will be more convincing than many arguments."

WILLIAM BLAKEY (c. 1738-1822), of Middletown, Bucks Co., Pa.

# Leading the Way

EING a Series of brief Sketches of Quaker Inventions and Discoveries, and of Friends who have led the Way in various directions.<sup>1</sup>

Continued from page 57

### XXXXIX

Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S. (1786-1869), "discovered principle of construction of modern microscope, 1830; the first to ascertain the true form of the red corpuscle of mammalian blood, 1834." (D.N.B.)

Lord Lister, 1917, pp. 11, 12.

The Editor would be glad to receive information regarding other inventions, discoveries, etc., or regarding other claimants to any of the inventions or positions introduced. The length of the Sketch bears no proportion to the importance of the subject.

### XL

CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS, of Washington, D.C., son of Amasa Jenkins, of Richmond, Ind., is the inventor of a "high-speed moving picture machine, able to slow down the subject one hundred times, even showing projection from a high-power gun. He has perfected a device for transmitting motion pictures by radio." (American Friend, 1922, pp. 341, 440.) C. F. Jenkins is a member of West Richmond Meeting, Ind.

### XLI

GEORGE BRADSHAW (1801-1853). "It has often been said that Bradshaw was the originator of Time Tables, but by the term 'originator of Time Tables' must obviously be understood the originator of collecting the time tables of various companies and publishing them together in a portable form." (E. H. Dring, on "Early Railway Time Tables" in *The Library*, 4th ser. vol. ii. no. 3, Dec. 1921.)

### **XLII**

ROGER TREFFRY (c. 1746-1818) discovered "both the Cause and the Remedy for Smut-balls amongst wheat and Smut of both kinds amongst Barley and Oats." (*Inl.* xix. 37.)

### XLIII

E. LLOYD PEASE. "In December, 1888, E. Ll. Pease patented an arrangement whereby wire rope takes the place of rigid framing in gas-holder construction." (Gas Engineers' Mag., July, 1890.)

### XLIV

WILLIAM CURTIS (1746-1799), founder, in 1787, of "The Botanical Magazine," was "the first botanist of note in this country who applied botany to the purposes of agriculture." We are indebted to him for that useful vegetable, sea-kale. (Miscellanea Genealogica, 5th series, vol. iv. p. 149.)

### XLV

James Varley ( - ) "was a member of a good Yorkshire family of Quaker descent, a man of mark as a traveller, a linguist, a scientific chemist and the discoverer of chloride of lime for bleaching. He also discovered in England the fine clay for biscuit china, previously obtained

from Germany." (North Country Poets, edited by William Andrews, Hull, 1888, in an article on Mrs. George Linnæus Banks (1821-1897), a grand-daughter of James Varley, prefaced to a selection of her poems.<sup>2</sup>)

### **XLVI**

James Beale (c. 1798-1879) was the immediate cause of sending across the Atlantic the first vessel to steam the whole distance, 1838. The vessel was the *Sirius*. Several Friends were part owners of the vessel. When she was under repair at Hull part of the work was done by George Worsdell (xxxvii.).

*Inl.* xvii. 108.

### XLVII

PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK, M.D. (1768-1837), has been styled "The Father of American Surgery." He was a non-Friend, but of Quaker descent; he, however, received his early education under Friend Robert Proud, whilst lodging at the house of Quaker Todd, and he married, in 1800, the daughter of Samuel Emlen.

Memoir, by J. Randolph, M.D., 1839; etc.

### XLVIII

Daniel Quare (1648-1724) "invented repeating watches; made a fine clock for William III, which only required winding once a year; and improved the construction of barometers." (D.N.B.)

Inl. xiv. 44; Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1900.

### **XLIX**

George Graham (1673-1751), watchmaker, "was responsible for the 'dead-beat' escapement, invented as an improvement upon Clement's anchor escapement, but perhaps his greatest invention was the mercurial pendulum in which he compensated for the expansion of the steel by the expansion of the mercury in a jar connected with it, and so preserved constant the vibrating length of the pendulum." (Williamson, on "Old Quaker Watchmakers" in Behind My Library Door, 1921.)

In the same volume there is a memoir of G. L. Banks which states that his father, John Banks, had an elder brother, William, "who was placed at Ackworth School by Sir Joseph Banks, to whom the brothers were collaterally related." There is, however, no Banks in the list of Ackworth scholars.

### L

Benjamin Huntsman (1704-1776), of Doncaster, and later of Attercliffe, Sheffield, was the inventor of cast steel.

Sheffield, 1919, chap. vii.; D.N.B.; Jnl. xvii. 118; Smiles's Industrial Biography.

### TI

HENRY TAYLOR (1737-1823), of North Shields, was called "the Sailors' Friend" because he set in train the circumstances which led to the fixing of the lights in Hasbro' Gatt, and the Lights at the Goodwin, and proposed a Light near the Sunk Sands. He also wrote pamphlets with instructions to young sailors, etc. (in **D**). He joined Friends in 1778. Taylor's youngest son, Joseph, was grandfather of Mrs. George Cadbury, nee Taylor.

Letters of Mary Jane Taylor, 1914, pp. 10ff; Memoirs of Henry Taylor, 1811, 1821; pamphlets, etc., as above; newscuttings in **D**.

### LII

Morrall Family. In the History and Description of Needle Making, by Michael T. Morrall, F.S.A. (c. 1818-1891), of Newcastle and later of Matlock, fifth edition, 1866, we are informed that "this useful branch of manufacture has been the staple trade of Studley, Warwickshire, my native village, from time immemorial, and my family are engaged in the business and have been for at least six generations; and have introduced most of the improvements that have been effected in the modern needle." About 1785, Michael Morrall removed from Alcester to Washford Mill, Studley. The firm of Morrall, Archer and Morrall made many improvements in the art of needle making, and others of the family added to them.

### LIII

Thomas Edmondson (1792-1851), of Manchester, was the inventor of printed railway tickets. The idea came suddenly to him in completed form at the age of forty-six, and the profits which accrued were used to pay off all the creditors of a previous bankruptcy.

D.N.B.; Jnl. xvi. 110.

### LIV

JAMES HOLDEN (of Wanstead, Essex) was the first to build locomotives that could run by either oil or coal, being

the inventor of the "Holden injector" by means of which trains could be run with liquid fuel.

Jnl. xviii. 113.

### LV

CYRUS CHAMBERS, Jr., of Philadelphia, invented various sorts of book-folding machines; the first successful machine was one that folded Comly's "Spelling Book," a sheet of 32 pages, and the last and greatest invention was a machine made expressly to fold the "Ladies' Home Journal." He also produced a machine to make bricks.

Autobiographic account in Friends' Intelligencer (Phila.), 1910, p. 50.

### LVI

WILLIAM DYNE (c. 1817-1896). There are, preserved in **D**, some printed and illustrated notices of inventions by William Dyne.

On show at the Great Exhibition of 1851 were six objects, "the invention of Mr. William Dyne, an employé of the London and South Coast Railway at their London Station. Mr. Dyne is, we understand, the first person in the kingdom who applied gutta percha in the construction of life boats, rafts, etc., he having taken out a patent for that purpose in 1847" (Sussex Advertiser, March 18, 1851). The paper then proceeds to give a description of the Eclipse, or Standard Life Boat, a Gutta Percha Life Buoy, an Emigration Life Raft, a Life Launch, the Gutta Percha Emigration Life Boat, and a Gutta Percha Life Vest.

"William Dyne also patented a Pathway Cleanser [of which there is a diagram in **D**], intended to be a ready way of cleansing the public streets opposite shops and private houses, but the Water Company charged an impossible rate for the water used and prevented its sale" (letter from Thomas R. Dyne, 1921).

Thomas R. Dyne writes:

"My father's Patent Collapsible Life Boat invention was afterwards taken up by Rev. Berthon, who formed a company, and the Collapsible Life Boat is now in general use. It is now manufactured by the Berthon Boat Company, Lymington, Hants."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This is probably the boat described as "Messrs. Dyne & Vickery's Improved Life Boat," of which there is a lithograph in **D**.

### LVII

Amos Cruickshank<sup>4</sup> (c. 1808-1895), of Sittyton, Aberdeen, had a leading part in developing the breed of Shorthorn cattle and was the "owner of the largest herd of shorthorns in the world." (A Walk from London to John O'Groats, by Elihu Burritt, 1864, p. 342.) "A.C. was more than an ordinary breeder, as to-day one rarely sees a sale catalogue of shorthorns without Cruickshank blood being mentioned" (letter from George Burtt, of Redgrave, Diss, Norfolk, 1922).

History of Shorthorns, 1907, with portrait; Live Stock Journal, 1915.

### LVIII

SAMUEL HILL, of Seattle, Wash., originated the idea of the great concrete road linking Canada and the United States. He is President of the Pacific Highway Association. There is a picture of S. Hill in *The American Friend*, 1908, 651.

The Friend (Lond.), 1922, p. 257.

### LIX

ELIHU EMBREE ( - ) "was a Quaker, and has the honour of having started the first newspaper devoted exclusively to the destruction of slavery. This was the 'Emancipator,' which was begun in 1819, and which came to an untimely end because its founder and editor died." (R. M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, 1921, p. 562.)

### LX

THOMAS TOMPION (1638-1713) was "one of the greatest of the English watchmakers, and has, in fact, been called the father of English watchmaking." (Williamson, on "Old Quaker Watchmakers," in *Behind My Library Door*, 1921.)

D.N.B.; Britten, Old Clocks and Watches, 1911.

### LXI

JOSEPH MALCOMSON (c. 1798-1858) was said to be the first person to bring a steam vessel to Petrograd.

Inl. xvii. 109.

<sup>4</sup> For Anthony, probably read Amos (Inl. xix. 48), the latter had a brother Anthony.

#### LXII

James Marriage (1796-1863) was the principal founder of the Ultine (Essex) factory for the production of sugar from beetroot, the first in England. James Marriage's elder brother, Robert, was a partner in the sugar venture.

Friends' Quarterly Magazine and Review, 1832, p. 275; International Sugar Journal, 1914, pp. 510-515.

#### LXIII

PRIESTMAN BROTHERS, Holderness Foundry, Hull, were the inventors of the petroleum engine, 1888. W. Dent Priestman writes: "From the point of view of inventions, I look upon our firm's connection with the use of petroleum oils as a means of power in internal combustion engines, as much the most interesting. The late Lord Kelvin (then Sir William Thomson), whom we asked to report on our engines, said he could not leave home to see inventions in general, but that if we could show him an engine driven by ordinary petroleum oil he would go to see that."

The invention is dealt with in a lecture by William Cawthorne Unwin, F.R.S., before the Society of Civil Engineers in 1892 (pamphlet in **D**).

Prior to the introduction of the Oil Engine, this firm took out patents in connection with the operation of Grabs. The firm is now largely engaged in the manufacture of these appliances for dredging, excavating, and lifting coal, etc., etc., and they are in use in many parts of the world. A book of illustrations of Grabs and Grab Dredgers, etc., at work is in **D**.

#### NOTE

No. III. Abraham Darby—"the first iron bridge ever constructed—1779." John L. Nickalls draws attention to the following, extracted from Elizabeth Kendall's Wayfarer in China, 1913:

"The one connecting link between China and Tibet is the bridge of the suspension sort built in 1701, three-hundred and eleven feet long. On the nine cables of charcoalsmelted iron that compose it are laid loose planks to serve as a footway, while the only guard is a shaky chain on either hand."

#### To be continued

## Motes and Queries

#### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

D.N.B.—The Dictionary of National Biography.

FORSTER MANUSCRIPTS.—Reference was made in our last issue, page 59, to valuable manuscripts lately added to **D**. Further information may now be given, through the kindness of Mrs. Vere O'Brien, of Ennis, Co. Clare (née Arnold-Forster), adopted daughter of the Right Hon. William Edward Forster (1818-1886). The manuscripts, consisting of the Haistwell Diary, several sheets in the handwriting of George Fox, etc. were discovered by Mrs. O'Brien and her niece, Ivis Arnold-Forster, in "a little brass-nailed coffer put away in an attic at Wharfeside," the residence at Burley of W. E. Forster. It is not likely that the active life lived by the noted politician and philanthropist permitted him to look into the great quantity of papers which came to him from his father, the Quaker Minister, William Forster (1784-1854), but these are now being examined by Mrs. O'Brien and will no doubt yield matters of considerable interest.

The history of the MSS. cannot be traced further back than when in possession of the Forster family of Tottenham (of which William Forster was a member) a hundred years ago, but this well-known family was associated with Friends from the early days and may well have come into

possession of these papers not long after they were written.

John Southam, M.D. (xviii. 19, 110).—By the kindness of Wallis Cash, of Wincanton, we have seen a copy of the diploma mentioned xviii. 111, a translation into English made by Ernest Blackie (great-great-grandson), Archdeacon of Lincoln, 1921.

". . . AND SINCE it has been sufficiently understood by us that JOHN SOUTHAM has applied himself to medical studies for many years with great credit to himself and has made great progress in the same

"AS A GUARANTEE and testimony of which things we wish the instrument of the Doctorate in their diploma to be strengthened by the affixing of the great seal of the University and of our signatures. . . .

"GIVEN AT ABERDEEN on the 30th day of December in the year of our Lord 1818."

Signed by directors of studies, doctors, masters and professors of the University.

ILLEGAL BURIALS. — In Dr. Nightingale's recent book, Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in

Lancashire, we find several presentments in connection with private burials and burial grounds.

"Burnley Cap. John Smith, of Hill, quaker, for suffering dead corps to be buryed in his land."

"Rossendale. Richard Radcliffe for hedging in a parcell of land to bury dead corps in and diverse have been interrd there."

"Colne. Richard Mitchell for burying his child in a field."

What Act made these burials illegal?

Work and Play on Sunday.— In above work we also find the following presentations, but we are not to suppose that these actions had any close connection with the early Quaker Movement!

"Rossendale. Against Christofer Bridge and Robt. Winterbotham for playing at football in time of divine service. 23 Aug., 1672, before Mr. Clayton, Surrogate, the parties appeared per Mr. Kippar, Minister there and were absolved and dismissed with a caution. 4s."

"Blackburn, 1671, June 16. Against John Forrest, John Farnworth and Ellis Edge for prophaneinge the Saboth by playing at Pennyprick as is reported [ultimately dismissed]."

"Wigan. Against Margt. Cowley for delving in a garden upon the Saboth day."

Margaret Fox.—Those who have been accustomed to write and speak of the wife and widow of George Fox as Margaret Fell, will be more disposed to give her her rightful name, when they know that she strongly protested

against being styled Margaret Fell. "Why may I not have ye Liberty of my Marriage as well as all our ffriends in England beside; & y' I must be made a widow y' they may abuse me in my credit & reputation & also be ruined in my Estate?" she wrote to the Justices at the Sessions at Lancaster, in January, 1683/4. She had been fined twenty pounds as "Mrs. Margt. Fell, wid."—as a "feme sole," whereas the law laid it down that a married woman a "feme covert," was not to be fined more than ten shillings.

See Nightingale, Early Quaker Movement in Lancashire, 1921, p. 156.

Conventicle Act, 1664 (xvii. 100).—The Conventicle Act ordained "that if any Person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at any meeting under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or Practice of the Church of England, where shall be five or more Persons than the Household, shall "etc.

Upon this Dr. Nightingale writes in his book, Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire, 1921, p. 130n.:

"Whilst the law would seem to be perfectly clear that it was an infringement of the Act when five persons other than members of the household were present at a Conventicle, the popular idea appears to have been that more than five were needed to constitute a breach of the law. In all cases [given in his book] it will be noted that those who gave evidence against the offenders said that more than five were present."

Public Friends in Business (xviii. 26, 110).—We did not gather the true inwardness of the letter given under this heading in the last volume, but there cannot be any doubt as to occupations attached to the "Public Friends Visiting Dorking Meeting, Surrey, 1709-1726"—given in a manuscript presented to **D** by Maude Robinson and introduced to the readers of the F.Q.E. in 1920. The trades and professions are as follow:

baker bookseller cheesemonger clothworker corker corn chandler doctor farmer fisherman Governess of the Workhouse in London grocer hop-factor husbandman leathercutter leatherdresser linendraper maltster mercer merchant miller miner oatmealman

oilyleather dresser pewterer poulterer printer salesman sawyer scholar servant at Theodor Eccleston's shoemaker shopkeeper smith stuffmercer stuffweaver suitmaker surgeon tailor tallowchandler thatcher tobaccocutter tobacconist watchmaker wharfinger woolcomber

DAVIS-BUMFUS SEPARATION.—Information wanted respecting the Separation in New England, c. 1800, headed by Timothy Davis and Benjamin Bumfus. See The Journal of John Comly, page 260.

JOHN ARCHDALE MSS.—In the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., there is a collection of sixty-five original manuscripts,

relating to John Archdale (1664-1707) and his governorship in Carolina. A list of these papers appears in the *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, 1918 (copy in **D**), p. 26, which book also indicates the possession by this Library of other Quaker manuscripts.

Brewers Yard (iv. 37).— Under date August 25th, 1682, the Kenyon MSS. give the following:

"Kirkham. There is a place in this parish wee call Brewers Yard, four or five miles distant, which the Quakers (the most incorrigible sinners I know) doe use to bury. I desire you, therefore, you may procure this may be spoken of a Sheriff's title, that these places may be laid wast, or if not soe, some other remedy may be thought of for the preventing of their diabolical infatuation and infection."

The writer was Richard Clegg, M.A., who held the living of Kirkham from 1666 to his demise in 1720.

See Nightingale, Early Quaker Movement in Lancashire, 1921.

Tones in Preaching (xv. 125).

—In the Life of H. W. Longfellow, 1886, ii. 304, we read:

"1857. August, 17. Went to hear a Quakeress from England, Priscilla Green, speak in the church. She spoke with a sweet voice and very clear enunciation; very deliberately and breaking now and then into a rhythmic chant, in which the voice seemed floating up and down on wings.

I was much interested and could have listened an hour longer. It was a great pleasure to me to hear such a musical voice."

[It has been said that in The Courtship of Miles Standish, upon which Longfellow was engaged in 1858, "Priscilla, the Puritan Maiden" was so named after Priscilla Green.]

Tones of another kind are referred to in "A Letter, written to a Friend by a Member of the Society of Friends, which is respectfully submitted to the Consideration of the Ministers and Elders of that Society among whom alone it is now circulated." The writer, who signs

refers to "the very unpleasant manner of delivery in preaching . . . an evil of no small magnitude." As an example he gives a specimen, heard by himself, a quotation of Col. ii. 8—"Beware, aa!—lest any man, aa! spoil you through, aa! philosophy and vain deceit, aa!" etc. I . . . "Some of our women preachers give us such a great variation in tone and such a modulation of the voice, as, though not strictly musical, amounts to direct singing or chanting."

GEORGE FOX AND HEBREW (vi.; xv.; xix.)—In his reply to Bishop Lancelot Andrews (see pp. 24-33 of The Examination and Tryall of Margaret Fell and George Fox... at Lancaster, 1664),

The printed copy of this letter has been recently presented to **D**, by Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, Som. It was sent by Hannah Alexander, of Ipswich, to Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington, in 1814. Who was the writer?

on the subject of swearing, George Fox attempts the translation into Hebrew, of Matt. v. 24, and James v., adding: "The Pricks, Points, and Accents, and the plain and naked interpretation of the Hebrew words we have left for them it most concerns to adde."

A criticism of Fox's Hebrew in this place, by Alfred Kemp Brown, 1919, in reply to a letter from A. N. Brayshaw, is among MSS. in **D**.

of London.—A Sanderson bundle of letters written by daughters of John Sanderson, of Old Jewry, has been received from Margaret W. Fox, of Wellington, Somerset, with permission to destroy any not considered worth keeping. John Sanderson married three times—by his first wife, Mary Frinston, he had Margaret, m. Isaac Rigge, of Kendal, Hannah, m. Benjamin Thomas, of Bristol, and John, m. Anna Fox, of Wellington. By his second wife, Margaret Shillitoe, he had Mary, m. Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington, Elizabeth, m. Cornelius Hanbury, and Joseph. d.s.p. His third wife was Anna Trueman, of Lurgan, d.s.p.

The letters were written principally by Mary and Elizabeth. Mary Sanderson accompanied Elizabeth Fry to Newgate, and she refers to this in several of her letters, but Elizabeth's letters seem of greater general interest.

There is also a letter from Sylvanus Fox offering a subscription of one hundred pounds towards the purchase of a ship for Daniel Wheeler, and a letter describing S. Fox's address in the Pump Room, Bath.

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"H. Judge's son in law" (pp. 7, 8). This was, probably, Asahel Thomas, of Stillwater, Ohio. See *Memoirs of Hugh Judge*, 1841, pp. 348, 352.

Anthony Sparrow (pp. 22, 23). D.N.B. has an article on this theologian (1612-1685). In 1660, he received a preachership at Bury St. Edmunds; he became Bishop of Exeter and, later, Bishop of Norwich.

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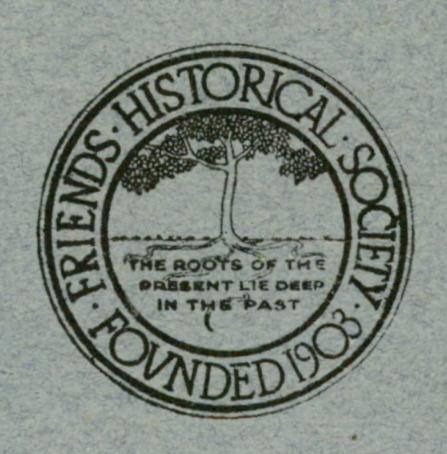
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