

Thomas Edward Butterfieldson of John xx x
 Butterfield of Hlendon in the County of Hlendon
 Yeoman, and Mary Thompson, ^{PRESENT WIFE OF THE SAID} daughter of Philip, xx
 Thompson of Hlendon aforesaid. Blacksmith having
 first obtained the consent of their nearest Relatives
 & friends, did in two several public Meetings of the
 people of Hlendon called ^{County} & declare their intentions to take
 each other in Marriage; and had the assent of the
 said Meeting thewente

These are now to certify al whom it may concern that upon
 the four and twentieth day of the second month (commonly
 called April) in the year one thousand six hundred & seventy
 the said Edward Butterfield and Mary Thompson in the ne-
 dwelling house of Thomas Lane, called by the name of Whopshet
 situate in the Hamlet of Colleshill in the County aforesaid did
 solemnly take each other in Marriage, to be together as Husband
 and Wife, during the term of their natural lives. In witness
 whereof we, then present, have hereunto subscribed our names

Philip Thompson
 Phillip Thompson Junr
 & William 1. 1. 16
 George Bolch
 Thomas Lane
 Thomas Lackary,

William Cooper
 Lemmy Twendray
 Willm W. Dalton
 Edward Okley
 1670

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE IN THOMAS ELLWOOD'S WRITING
 See page 82



THE JOURNAL
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Our Quotation

"The outlook and method of the historian are the true corrective for partisan views and narrow prejudices, and historical knowledge of the past is the necessary preparation for the wise activity of the present."

WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE, "The Historic Method in Teaching."
Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1912.

Editorial

WITH the present issue this Journal enters on a new stage, for the first thirty volumes were almost entirely the editorial work of Norman Penney.

In recent years the proportion of matter which came from his own pen increased, a practice which was only possible by reason of his very extensive knowledge of Quaker lore and the devotion to it of his considerable leisure.

It is the task of members of the Friends Historical Society to sustain the cause of Quaker historical study under the loss of so tireless a labourer in its cause. To do so we need the help of more members and of more young members.

The main purpose of our studies should be to promote an understanding of Quaker history and that outlook referred to in the words of William Charles Braithwaite quoted above. The antiquary who "digs" for the sheer thrill of uncovering the past, also provides the historian with the evidence he seeks about the life and thought of his forbears. An understanding of their experience and its lessons is of high value.

There must be many Friends interested in our history who are not members of the Historical Society. It is hoped that members will endeavour to interest others in the Society and to secure new subscribers. A specimen copy of the *Journal* will always be gladly sent for this purpose.

Any Friends who are pursuing historical study or research are invited to communicate as to their aims, needs, and discoveries. It should be possible in this way to put people unknown to each other in touch and sometimes to help them through material in the Library at Friends House. Local history has received considerable attention in recent years, there should be a place for some of the results in these pages.

It is intended to print as heretofore unpublished documents of interest, notes upon the archives of the Society, both central and local, and on other collections of MSS., with a proportion of articles based upon original study.

Contributions on the following subjects have already been promised for future issue:—an account of the ways and means employed by early Friends in conveying letters, also of the part played by a few Friends in the early nineteenth century development of postal services; a paper on Richard Partridge, a Friend who held an important position as London agent for some of the American colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century; some extracts from the recently acquired unpublished MS. *Life of Josiah Langdale* (d. 1723), one of the early ministers visiting America.

First Publishers of Truth in Lancashire

When Norman Penney issued in 1903-7 *The First Publishers of Truth* he relied primarily on about ninety papers contained in Portfolio 7 in Friends' Reference Library. For more than forty years beginning in 1676 the Yearly Meeting attempted to collect such materials and addressed successive questionnaires to subordinate meetings. The results evidently came in slowly and were never completed, but some of the replies no longer extant in London were entered upon local record books of Friends. Many of these Norman Penney secured and printed in his text: pp. 10 (Bristol), 77 (Plymouth), 130-146 (Kent), 152 (Lincoln), 197 (Wellingborough), 208 (Banbury), 231 (Surrey), 239 (Warwickshire), 286-320 (Yorkshire). Others he printed in the Addenda 329-333 (Dent), 335-340 (Lancashire), 341 (Shrewsbury). Still others as they came to hand he published in *Jnl. F.H.S.* v. 165 (Staffordshire), xiii. 67 (Uxbridge), xviii. 23ff (Norwich), xxv. 63 (Kellet or Yealand), xxvi. 76f (Devonshire). Inquiries in other places were unsuccessful. Most of the material was new. In addition the account from Dent was independently published in the *Friend* (Phila.), xxxvii, 1863, p. 76f, and that from Kellet or Yealand later but independently and more fully in *Richard Hubberthorne*, by Elisabeth Brockbank, 1929, 19f, 141f. J. Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, 1880, i. 139, shows his acquaintance with a minute book of Holderness Monthly Meeting of the account under Elloughton in *F.P.T.* 295-329, and I think even William Sewell in his *History* under 1654 shows a knowledge of the records of Kent (e.g. *F.P.T.* 141f).

It is in recognition of the important service for Quaker history made through these records by our late Friend that I am glad to offer for publication the following supplementary account from Lancashire. At Lancaster in April, 1933, I came upon the following record of First Publishers in the Quarterly Meeting Minute Book 1669-1711. This was later kindly transcribed and sent to me by the custodian, Basil Pickard, and is now published with notes supplied by John L. Nickalls. Basil Pickard has kindly examined the proof.

The position in the book does not exactly indicate the date at which the record was entered. It was between 1691 and 1711 however. The form of questionnaire answered (six questions) agrees with that first adopted in London in 1676 (*F.P.T.* 24). It will be seen that the entry for Chipping is not answered at all but merely a copy of the annual queries. The accounts for Yealand (see above), Rossendale (*F.P.T.* 337ff) and Oldham (*F.P.T.* 339f), are practically identical with those already published. Those for Marsden (*F.P.T.* 335f) and Knowsley (*F.P.T.* 147ff) are here much

shorter. The remaining seven are apparently now first published. Of these that from Swarthmore, providing as it does a long and independent record of events told in Fox's Journal (*Camb. Jnl.* i, 47ff; *Short Jnl.* 23ff) is the most interesting.

Many of the persons and a few of the actual incidents of persecution are mentioned by Besse in the Lancashire section of his *Abstract of Sufferings*, 1733, i. 138-152, or of his *Collection of Sufferings*, 1753, i, 300ff. Some appear in the petition to the Sessions in 1667 embedded in George Fox's *Journal* (*Camb. ed.*), ii, 65-72; others occur in the "Church Papers" and "Records of the Quarter Sessions" included in B. Nightingale, *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, 1921, pp. 63-197. From these and from the notes of Norman Penney in *F.P.T.* and *Camb. Jnl.* much biographical annotation to the present records could be obtained. Attention may also be called to the more local narratives in Elisabeth Brockbank, *Richard Hubberthorne of Yealand*, 1929 (especially Chap. xvi.), and Dilworth Abbatt, *Quaker Annals of Preston and the Fylde, 1653-1900*, 1931. The work of Robert Muschamp of Bury, Lancs., in many articles in Lancashire periodicals, should also be compared. He is preparing an account of the beginnings of the Society of Friends in Lancashire which will include all the meetings named below. Some chapters or preliminary studies by him have already been published separately. Speaking of the *First Publishers of Truth* Dilworth Abbatt says (p. 39f): "The replies to the questionnaire from the Lancashire Meetings were but meagre: the Friends in North Lancashire do not appear to have sent any, or else their answers have been lost in the lapse of two and a half centuries." In the following text the lost is found!

AN answer to the six perticulers in each Meeting throughtout the County is as followeth.

LANCASTER MEETING

- 1 G.F. was ye first yt brought ye message of Glad tydings amongst us.
- 2
- 3 John Lawson was ye first yt received him and his message.
- 4 To keep a record of ye names and travell and of all ye published labourers that are deseased, wee have bene carefull in it.
- 5 What judgement fell upon ye persecutors wee have nothing.
- 6 Where anie of ye harts of such enemye hath beene turned to god wee have nothing.

FYELD MEETING

1st John Lawson was the first yt brought ye message of glad tydings amongst us.

2

3 Edward Moone of Woodplumpton was ye first yt reseived him and his message.

CHIPPING MEETING

The usuall Querys asked ye representatives of each County att the yearly Meeting.

1 What sufrings & for what.

2 What present prisoners.

3 How many discharges when and how.

4 How many dyed prisoners and when.

5 How may publick Friends dyed who and the time when.

6 How many Meeting houses built and what meetings are aded since last year and when.

7 What signall judgments have come upon persecutors.

8 How truth progresses & friends are in unity.

9 How ye advise of this meeting in their Epistles to ye Quarterly & month meetings if practised.

YELAND MEETING

1st G.F. & Richard Farnsworth was ye first yt brought ye message of glad tidings amongst us.

2 As to their Sufferings att Steeplehouses marketplaces or else where, wee have little to say.

3 The first that received them & their messages in our meetings was, Robt. Wither, Thos. Chorley, Rich. Hubberthorn, Christopher Bissbrowne and his famely, Thos. Leaper, Fransis Fleeming, Robt. Stout, Will Hugingson.

4 As to publicke Labourers. Richard Hubberthorn who is deseased was a Faithfull Labourer, & one whome ye lord called Forth of our meeting, to declare ye message of truth, who travilled through Lancashire & Chesshire

& into Wayles, & after much Labour & travell he came to Chesster againe, where he was brought before ye Mayor. Hee sent him to Norgate, to the City prison in ye 9th mo. 1653 where hee remained untill ye 12th mo. then he was brought out, and by ye Mayor & justises He was Sent by warrant to be had from Cunstable to Cunstable, till he Came to Yeland, ye place of his nativeete. The first Cunstable, was Richard Sayle of Oule, who by him was Convinsed, burned ye warant, & sett him at libertie, And then he passed through severall places and cuminge to Congerton Steeplehouse, ye mayor sent him to their town hall prison after that he passed through severall parts & cuminge to Cambridge he was there put in prison, after passinge through Severall partes came to Windham, in Norfolke, from thence sent to prisoner to Norwich Castle, & their remained severall months. After that he passed through severall parts of ye nation & cuming to London where he had much exersize, with many great ones, & with ye King. Soe after much Labour & travell in England & Wayles, for nine years time. He was imprisoned by Richard Bronne a great persecutor (mayor of ye City of London) in newgate prison, where he was thronged, in ye heatt of sumer, where he finished his testimoney sealing it with his Blood, dying a minister of Jesus the 17th day of the 6th month In ye yeare 1662.

5 we have little to say.

6 wee have litle to say.

SWARTHMOORE MEETING

1 Ge. F was ye First yt brought ye message of glad tydeniges unto us & First preached ye everlasting Gospell againe att Swarthmore being Judge Fells house, & upon 5th day of ye week in ye 5th. mo. 1652 hee went to Ulverston Steeplehouse it being there Eesture day & there hee preashed ye Gospell in ye mightypower of God sainge hee was not a Jew yt was one outwards: nor yt was not circumesision which was outwards in ye flesh; but hee is a Jew that was one Inwards & if ye true Circumsision: which is in ye hearte by ye Spiritt yt hee continued preachingye Gospell for some time till hee was

haled out off ye Steeplehouse and on ye first day of ye weeke followinge he went to Dalton Steeplehouse & hee preacht ye Gospell & on ye second day off ye week following he went to Dendron Chappell & there preasht ye Gospell & att Auldenham¹ Steeplehouse & Ramsyde² Chapell & att Wallney Island, & att severall other places of worshipe hee went upon ye first days & Easture days to preash ye Gospell as afforsd.

- 2 Margrett Fell then ye wiffe off Judge Fell was ye first in l**es*er [Lancashire ?] name afforsd : yt received Gor Fox & ye rest : & ye Joyfull message & ye gospell of pease & of reconciliation againe unto God : by Christ Jesus ye light of the world who hath enlightned everyman yt cometh into ye world. Unto which light of Christ they were turned & in which they belived & M.F. aforesd & her 7 daughters & most of there servants : and Tho. Salt-house Will Caton Leo Fell Mary Askewe Anne Clayton & others received ye Gospell & most of them became able ministers thereof unto others sone after. Also James Lanc[aster] of ye Islande of Walney : & Thos Hutton of Ramsyde & Rich Mijer & Tho. Goade of Beakliffe all of Low furnasse aforesd ; received G.F. & ye Gospell preached againe by him : And Tho. Lawson preist of Ramsyde Chapell hearing yt G.F. had beene att Auldenham Steeplehouse : ye first day aforesd in ye morning sayde to his Congergation when there fornoone sermone was ended yt hee was Crediblely Informed yt G.F. purposed to bee at there Chapple ye affternoone unto whome hee purposed to resigne his place sayd Tho. Lawson went a mile to meet ye sayde G.F. & conducted him to his Chappell att Ramsyde aforesd & offered him his pulpitt to preach in which ye sd G.F. refused but Stoode upp upon a forme & liveingly declared & held forth ye way of Salvation to ye people for about 3 houres space & when hee came forth Into ye yarde some of ye people would have layde violent hands of him : but ye sd Tho : Lawson forbad them sayenig he was greatly satisfied with G.F. preaching : & sayd iff our worshipe & doctrine cannot be maintained without feare & vilence tis time to leave it : soe ye people were quited & an olde woman aged 80 years sayd shee never hearde such good

doctrine out of ye mouth of any blacke coate all ye dayes of her life : & ye sayd Tho : Lawson soone after layde downe his publicke ministry : being satisfied that the call of man made not a minister of Christ :

- 3 G.F. after hee had preached ye Gospell att Ulverstone Steeplehouse as aforesd att which time hee was only haled out ye second time when hee came upon a lecture day : one John Sawrey then called a Justice of peace called to ye officers & rude multitude to have him out & after they had pulled him out into ye yard ye saide Jo. Sawrey Cryed away with him : where upon ye rude multitude fell upon him : & beate him with forkes & staves & threw stones att him : thrusting pulling & pushing off him till they had haled him to ye Common or mosse syde & then they knockt him downe with clubes & staves : but ye sd G.F. soone gott up again & held forth his hands to ye people exhorting ym to more sobriety & one of ye rude multitude struck him over ye backe of ye hand with a long cute staffe & wounded & bruised him soe soarley yt his Fingers Felt as iff they were broaken : & his armes & other partes of his bodey remained blacke with ye blowes knockes & bruises For many days after : & severall other Friends yt weare with G.F. & accompanied him weare beaten also : & Tho. Salthouse had his head brocken & one Willi: Pools head was brocken : & James Lancaster cloake was pulled of his back & torne in pecies : & severall others Friends were much beaten & bruisesed att ye same time : & in there fury & madness they threw Judge Fell onely son Gorge Fell into ye water : whoe onely stood by they Friends yt weare soe abused : And when some Freinds would have had G.F. to have gone away to Swarthmore on ye backe side of ye towne aforesd ye saide G.F. refused to doe but came backe again through ye towne & market then held : & when ye rude multitude saw him they cryed a Fox a Fox : & begann to be rude againe but there was a soulger one Leonarde Pearson whoe haveinge seene or heard of these former barburous usage of him drew his sword & saide lett mee see whether any dogge in ye markett dar catch this Fox whereupon G.F. passt quitly through ye marcket none darring then to lay

violent hands on him : & soe went up to Swarthmoore. And sometime after G.F. with James Naylor went to ye Island of Walney to preach ye Gospell : & then James Lancaster Fetched ym oute in a boate & they had noe sooner landed upon ye Island but ye inhabitants came with clubs & staves off porpose to have destroyed G.F. & fell upon him & knokt him downe : & ye saide Ja. Lancaster seeing there crelty & wicked intentions lay alonge upon G.F. to save him from there blowes crying out bitterly what will you kill this good man yt came in love to yr soules : & they pusht att him with pitch Forkes & poles & ye women threw stones att him when ye could finde or spye a place bare to hitt him & misse ye aforesd Ja: Lancaster yt lay upon him to defende him from there blowes & stones & att last they puled James Lancaster by ye legg to gett him off him. & soe sprined one of his thighs in pulling of him : as hee felt ye streaine & hurts thereof a long time after. And then ye sd Jam: Lanc. desired to lett ym goe with there lives : & they should take all hee had amongst ym : & then G.F. gott up & they thrust him towardes the sea with intent to have drowned him : & ye boate which brought ym over being neare Ja: Lanc. put G.F. into it & then through it of into ye water & they tooke up a fishing pole of ye sd Jas Lanc. about 6 or 7 yards longe, & strock againe att G.F. but misst him : & when they were got out of they reach of the poole they againe threw stones att them : & ye sayede Jam. Lancs. stode up betwixt G.F. & ym : toe defende him from ye stones & some of ye stones light on Jam. Lancasters cheeke & made it bleede & then they rowed off by ye sea side to seeke for James Naylor : who had walked off into ye Islande whilst they weare beating G.F. as aforesd : being unknowne to them : but they after perseveing hee was a Quaker alsoe they hunted him out, & fell upon him & with clubes & staves beat him sorely allsoe : & when they sd James Lancaster had gott G.F. over ye water hee came backe to fectch James Naylor : but when hee was returned they held James Lancaster by force & sayd hee should not goe with ym againe because they sayd hee would bewiched by ym. & then ye sd Jam. Lancs. man sett Jam Naylor over ye water : but ye sd Ja. Lan.

having noe rest in his spirit his Freinds beinge thus persecuted and abused & exposed to ye fury of ye rude heathen like people: ye water being gone backe hee followed after & sought ym out: & founde James Naylor wandering in ye Country hee knew not whether. And after G.F. was put over ye water as afore sd hee walkt to a towne called Cocken³ & theire ye barborus people came out of ye houses: with there fleales & staves & hedge staikes & Fell upon G.F. & beat & sourly wounded & bruised him: & all bloody as hee was hee was taken by one Musforde a Freindely man, & had to Tho. Huttons house: haveing pittty of him: & there Tho. Huttons wiffe washed his sorses & dresst & bound up his wounds: & shee was convinced, & reacht by ye power of God. but after turned aside & went backe From Freinds & many yeares after when shee came to dye: shee againe confest to ye truth: & sayd yt ye greatest comfort shee had in any thinge shee did in her life was in yt shee had washed G.F. wounds sores & bruises as aforesd. & there ye sayd James Lancaster & James Naylor came to G.F. & From thense accompanied him to Swarthmoore.

- 4 Willi: Caton & Wili: Simpson were belongeinge to & off Swarthmoore Meeting & were both Faithfull labourers in ye Gospell & of a good & unblameable conversation to ye ende of days: And Willi: Caton preachite ye Gospell in France & Holand & Scotland & in severall partes of this nation & finished his tesstimony in Hollande Alsoe Willi: Simpson preacht ye Gospell in Scotland & in Barbadoes & in Severall partes of this nation he underwent greivaes Suferings & imprisonements & continued Faithfull to ye end & Finisht his testimony in Barbadoes.
- 5 John Sawrey aforesd yt sett on ye rude multitude as aforsd upon G.F. crying out to ym away with: away with him hee comeings From Yorke some yeares after: was whistling & singing as hee ridd on ye high way: a thatcher heareing him bidd him take heede For ye waters were risen & before hee came to ye river his horse foote slipt upon a causey & threw him of into a ditch of standinge dead water where hee was soon drowned though his man was with him & his dead corpse was brought into his owne country to be interred was very

like to have beene carred away into ye sea as they were bringen him over. Alsoe severall others of G.F. persecutors as aforesd both in Ulversto: ye Island of Walney & Cocken were taken notice of to die very miserably most of ym. & were reduced to great poverty before they died.

- 6 Few off ye persecutors of G.F. Friends as aforesd turned to truth onely James Lancaster wiffe: whoe was one of ym. yt persecuted G.F. at Walney aforesd Shee slowly repented thereof & aafter consenting to it through feare of her husband & shee became a Freind & lived & walked in truth.

CARTMELL MEETING

- 1 G.F. was ye First whoe came in ye name & mighty power of ye Lord Jesus Christ & preached ye everlastinge gospell amongst us: & att Staveley Chappell & Cartmell Steeplehouse & Lindall Chapell in Cartmell For hee preached ye gospell in ye year 1652 & some times after him came James Naylor & Richard Farnessworth whoe preach ye Gospell amongst us: & in ye year 1654 came Willi: Dewsbery & preach they gospell in Cartmell Markett.
- 2 James Taylor Tho: Barrow Tho: Rawlinson ye elder Tho: Atkinson & Chri: Sill: were ye First in Cartmell aforesd: yt received G.F. & ye Joyfull message of peace & everlasting gospell which hee preacht amongst ym as aforesd & Tho. Pearson of Poobanke & his Mother: they allsoe received G.F. & ye gospell preacht by him.
- 3 G.F. soon after hee begann to preach ye gospell at Staveley Chappell as aforesd & to reprove preist Camel-forde: there hyerlinge cant. willi Rawlinson & one Miles Dawson fell upon him: & beate him & haled him out of ye aforesd Chapell: to ye wall side & threw him violenty over ye yarde wall downe a Steepe hill or browe into ye high way with which Fall G.F. was soely bruised. Also att Cartemell Steeplehouse G.F. was beaten & in there steeplehouse porch one Christopher Preston strucke him over the heade with a greate Cudgell: & after the had thrust & puncht & shoved him to ye wall of there graveyard one Edward Casson forceably heaved G.F. over ye wall: & threw him with his heade forward to

they ground upon ye stones. Alsoe at another time when G.F. was preaching in Cartemell olde Markett Stead: one Robert Scyringe putt his legge behinde him & threw him violently backwarde upon his backe upon ye stones.

- 4 Capt Willi. Rallinson & Miles Dawson aforesd: yt soe beate & abused: & att Stavely Chappell aforesd: they lived in much misery being bothe greatly afflicted with ye Stone & often being in greate paine & aungish: Willi: Rawlinson aforesd: would cry out woe is mee woe is mee: when shall I be releast From this misery: under which affliction hee Continuaed long till hee dyed. Also ye aforesd Cristopher Preston who strucke G.F. as aforesd hee lived & dyed in much misery: And ye aforesd Edward Casson yt heaved G.F. over ye wall as aforesd sometime after lost one of his eyes with a lash of thornes & after hee had lived long in much paine & misery: & had bestowed much cost: & charges upon a mountebancke for ye cureing thereof hee at last lost his other eye allsoe. Alsoe as ye aforesd G.F. was walkeing with ye aforesd James Naylor and neare unto his house a wilde ladd one Willi Stones amongst other wilde ladds Cryed out a Fox a Fox a Fox & G.F. streched forth his hands & saide woe & misery will take hould of thee: and some yeares after ye sayde Willi: Stones Fell of a horse (haveing beene drinking at an Alehouse) & was found dead.
- 5 Richard [Roper]⁴ Richard Waller & John Braithwhaite were belonging to our meeting: & were all faithfull labouers in ye publishing & preaching ye Gospell wh they had recived as aforesd: tow of wh. to wit Rich:Ropar & Rich: Waller preached ye gospell in Ireland & Rich: Roper went into Germany & preacht ye gospell there: & John Braithwait preacht ye gospell in ye South & westernne partes of England & Cornewall: & they were all faithfull in ye worke and servise of ye Lord: & unblameable Conversation till ye dyed.
- 6 wee know of none of ye persecutors of Friends & ye First publishers off ye gospell amongst us yt. have beene Converted to ye truth: but they dyed in there sins & hardeness of hart as aforesd.

HAWKSHEADE MEETING

- 1st Thos: Salthouse & Ed: Burrough were ye First yt brought ye Message of glad tideinges & preacht ye gospell amongst us: whoe came to ye Steeplehouse att Hawksheade & gave in there tistimony for ye Lord against evill worshipe: & after they went unto one Willi: Beckes whoe was exorciseing or preaching in his owne house amongst some people there mett: & when Ed:Burrough Spoake hee soone left:—And ye First yt Came to Gresmeere⁵ Steeplehouse: to preach ye gospell were Thos: Salthouse & Tho: Rawlinson ye elder: who gave in there testimony For God against there evill worshipe. And ye First yt Came to Langedale Chappell: to preach ye gospell was Willi: Becke aforesd: whoe was now become a minister of ye Gospell unto which hee had recaived: as aforesd: from Ed: Burrough preaching whoe came ye later end of ye: 7th moth.in ye yeare 1655 & preacht glad tiddings to ye people. And on ye first day after Came Leo. Fell & some others with him: & hee preacht Christ Jesus ye Light off ye world very powerfully amongst us: unto which wee were then turned: & In wch wee gave up to receive & belive.
- 2 Willi: Becke aforesd: James Rigg & Jo: Braithwaite were ye first of Hawksheade parish: yt received ye truth & messengers of ye gossall as aforesd: Also In Langedale Willi: Wilson was ye first yt recived Willi: Becke & Leo Fell & there Joyfull message very gladly: beeing newly come home out of Scotlande From being a shouldger there: Also Francis Benson of Loughrigge & his wife & servants mayde & Reginald Holme were ye first yt received ye aforesd messengers of ye gospell.
- 3 for persecution there was little amongst us.
- 4 wee have nothing to say.
- 5 Many of ym yt were most Cruell or opposite against Freinds in ye begining were observed to wither away & come to nothings.
- 6 wee have noe account to give.

COPPALL MEETING⁶

- 1st Tho: Homes, Tho: Taylor & Willi: Adamson First brought ye message of glad Tydings amongst us to Blackwood. Izack Ashton, Willi Gibson, James Harisson first brought ye aforesd message amongst us to Coppall.
- 2 nothing pirkular to say.
- 3 Alex Rigby: Jonathen Rigby, margt Bradley Sen, Francies Standish received message & ministry in Blackwood. John Haydock, Heskin Fell, Roger Haydocke First received ye said message and messengers in Coppall.
- 4 wee have noething to say.
- 5 nothing to say.
- 6 nothing to say.

KNOWSLEY MEETING⁷

- 1st The first brought ye message of glad tydings Amongst us was Willi: Adamson & John Lawson Willi is gone back?
- 2 wee have nothing.
- 3 The first that did Receive them was Willi Hatton Peter Lethwhett & Benjamin Boulton.
- 4 wee have a record of them that are desceased & there faithfullness.
- 5 wee have an account what befell ye persecutors.
- 6 wee have nothings.

TWISTON MEETING⁸

- 1st G.F. & Richard Farnsworth was the first that publish truth in these partes: Willi: Dewsbury shortly after.
- 2 wee know no one of them that sufered hurt here away.
- 3 one Stephen Hargraves first received them: but never came clearly out to owne the truth.
- 4 wee have not anythings against any yt first published truth here away for their Conversation were honest.
- 5 wee have nothing to say.
- 6 wee Know of none yt helped forward persecution yt have ever repented of it but growne worse & worse.

BICKURSTETH MEETINGE⁹

- 1st The first yt brought ye message of glad tydings amongst us was Alexander Parker, John Lawson, Willi: Adamson.
- 2 As to ye second we can say litle but of some other record is kept.
- 3 Richard Cubban, Oliver Atherton was ye first yt received them & their message.
- 4 A record is kept of ye names & travells Faithfullness & unblablemy Conversations of all ye publicke laborers yt are deceased Amongst us.
- 5 Priest Ellison of Raingneford set his hearers on to smite Elizabeth Levens & Cryed downe with Jezebell & at yt time Rebecca Barnes was smitten yt it was supposed shee dyed of it in a short time & many others smitten but ye sd preist Davied Elliston himselfe was smitten with sickness & pyned away in A short time & preached very litle after.
- 6 wee can say noething.

SANCKY MEETINGE¹⁰

- 1st Willi: Addamson, John Lawson, Tho: Holmes, Eliz: Levens, Eliz: fletcher, Eliz: Morgan & Alexander Parker were ye first (yt we remembered) to beare publick testimony for ye truth in Burtonwood & Sanckey.
- 2 Eliz: Levens at a meetinge upon Warrington Heath as shee was declareinge truth Samuell Leech Constable of ye same towne stopped her Mouth with his hands Ralph Barnes & John Barnes then beinge at they meeting was thereupon sent to Lancaster prison by John Atherton Justishe of ye peace (falscely soe Called) in that he disturbed the peacable & perverted Justice where they continued untill ye next assizes.
- 3 Tho: Thompson of Burtonwood, Ralph Barnes of greate Sanekey, Tho: Eccleston of Burtonwood, Eliz: Cubham of ye same, Sareage Mason of Cuedly Tho: Cocker & John Southworth both of Warrinton & Richard Cooke of Hougton and John Minshall of Sanckey first received freinds & there Message in these partes.

- 4 Notice is taken by this meeting in Relation to a Record of such Faithfull Laboures raised up amongst us for ye service of truth.
5. 6. As to these wee have nothing at present to retorne.

ROSSENDALE MEETING^{II}

- 1st Willi: Dewsbury & with him Tho: Stubbs were ye first yt brought ye glad tydings of ye blessed truth.
- 2 There was no sufferings inflicted on them but by many gladly recieved, yea ye priest of Rossendale Tho: Sommer-ton received & Willi: had a large time of ministring in ye Steple house & afterwards ye priest confirmed by words his testimony.
- 3 Susan Heyworth widdow & Mary Birtwisle widdow were ye first yt received them & there Message.
- 4 Tho: Laurimer in his Chilehood came aprintice to Abraham Heyworth performed it Justly & dwelt with him a Servant afterwards then removed to John Feilden where hee abode a faithfull Servant, & a good example, haveing a Testimony in Meetings, & in ye yeare 1669 he traevellled in ye Service of ye Lord in Chesshire Darbyshire Notinghamshire & soe along to Huntington where he was Imprisoned the maner & place where he was taken ye durance of his Impreisonment & ye maner of his release wee Refer to freinds at Huntington he visited ye people of God in Ireland & Severall times in ye Eastern pts of England & Returned to Rossendale Meeting being not in health abode with Alice Ratcliff about 11 weeks hee parted this Life ye 8th day of ye 3rd Mo: 1678 & was buryed ye 10th day of ye same at ye buring place belonging to Rossendale meeting.
- 5 Edmund Mills of Hallcarr in ye parish of Bury being a greate Infformer & persecutor of Friends in Rossendale by means whereof freinds Suffered about 120, & about two yeares before he dyed he fell sicke & was distracted, but recovering for a season seemed greatly to repent Declared to severall his great trouble for what hee had done Saying yt ye goods he tooke from the Quakers never did him good, but went & tooke his with them, he

became very poor when he di[e]d all yt he had would not neare pay his debts : because of his poverty he was layne naked in his coffin. he being helped up out of his chaire by some present he Sware yt he would not have risen up but for their helpe & soe dyed in their Armes.

6 Wee have nothing to say.

OLDHAM MEETING¹²

1st They yt brought ye glad tydings of ye gospell of salvation to us were James Taylor, Richard Roaper, John Braithwait & Tho: Briggs.

2 These Messengers were struck & haled out of ye Steeplehouse yard at Oldham by John Tetlaw who thrust them over ye wall & afterwards ye hand of ye Lord was sene against him so yt hee never prospered who soon after sold up all yt he had & went into Ireland where he dyed suddainly. Att Ashton underline one Priest Harrison gave Charge yt they should not entertaine them into there houses whose enmity was great against ye Apperance of truth, & afterwards ye use of ye one side was taken from him.

3 The first yt entertained them & there Message were James Sykes & Joshua Ogden.

4 Wee have nothing to say.

5 Wee answered in ye second.

6 Wee have nothing to Say.

MANCHESTER MEETING¹³

1st According to ye best of our Knowledge, The first that brought ye Message of Gladtydings amongst us was Eliza: Houmes & Eliza: Fletcher & afterwarde Tho: Briggs & John Braythwait:

2 Their Message vizt: of Eliza: Homes & Eliza: Fletcher being to ye Steeplehouse & declareing there ye truth amongst them were halled out & put in ye Dungeon.

3 the that receved them & there Message was Eliza: Oven & Isac: Moss.

- 4 John Abraham deceased was a faithfull & publike Labouer Booth in Inland Scotland & Ireland & Continued of a an unblameable conversation to his end : & wee have ye same Recorded.
- 5 wee have observed that Some persecuteing magistrates have beene Sudenly taken away : vizt: Nicolas Mosley Justice of peace soe called, riding towards London fell of his hors & died imeadiatly on ye way.
- 6 wee have nothing to write.

MARSDEN MEETING

- 1st The first yt brought ye message of glad tydings a mongst us was Willi: Dewsbury & soon after Tho: Stubbs & Christopher Taylor came with him in ye sumer 1653.
- 2 Willi: Dewsbury & Christopher Taylor passing on ye high way, one called Colonell Nowell of Read & his man overtaking them ye said Nowell Drew forth his Rapier & gave his scabbard to his man, & they followed them a great way striking them & ye sd Nowell stabbed Christp. Taylor into ye back till blowd came. Willi: Dewsbury being moved to goe to Colne on ye 21th day of ye 10th mo: 1653 & Coming to ye Market Cross declared ye Word of ye Lord to ye people untill one James Foster of Colne, came behind him & fell upon him & so smote him downe, & so they hworyed him out of ye Towne.
- 3 James Smithson, Ann Wilkinson, James Wilkinson, Richard Hargreaves of Edgen & Henry Robinson first received them & there message.
- 4 John Moore was a faithfull labouer in ye worke of ye ministry amongst us. who was as to his outward sight blind though inwardly as a guide to ym. yt. were blind & an Instructor of them yt were out of ye way, a strengther of ym yt are weeake & a comfort to all yt Loved ye truth, who Travelled severall times Eastwards in Yorkshire Lincolneshire & Nottinghamshire & some parte of Leicstershire, in ye ministry & was an inocent harmlesse man in his time, & had a good Testimony for God & his truth where ever he was ordered, unto which he was

faithfull, unto ye time of his departure which was in ye first mo. 1677/8 & though he betaken away yet ye Rememberance of him still remeined fresh in our harts.

- 5 The above sd James Foster who had beene soe bitter against Willi: Dewsbury as he was in their Cellhouse a great log of wood fell upon him & slew him suddanelly.
- 6 we have nothing to say.

HENRY J. CADBURY

¹ Aldingham, by the sea 5 m. N.E. of Barrow in Furness. Dendron is a hamlet in the same parish.

² Rampside, on the coast at the S. end of the Furness peninsula.

³ Cocken, opposite Walney Island, N. of Barrow, which was itself an island in those days.

⁴ Added by another hand.

⁵ Doubtless for Grasmere, Westmorland. Spelman: *Villare Anglicum*, 1656, calls it Grestmer, Westmorland.

⁶ Coppull, 5 or 6 m. N.W. of Wigan. See also T. C. Porteus: *History of Standish*.

⁷ Knowsley, about 6 m. N.E. of Liverpool.

⁸ Twiston, 4½ m. E. of Clitheroe. In Whalley parish there is an old Friends burial ground known as Twiston Burial Ground. Charity Commission: *Quaker Charities (Co. of Lancaster)*, 1905.

⁹ or Bickerstaffe, about 10 m. N.E. of Liverpool, 3 m. from Rainford mentioned below.

¹⁰ Sankey, 2 m. W. of Warrington; Burtonwood, 4 m. N.W.; Cuerdley, 5 m. S.W.; Houghton, 2½ m. N.E. of the same.

¹¹ Rossendale Forest—there appears to be no parish of the name—is a moorland district S. of Burnley. Now gives the name to a large scattered parliamentary "borough" with about 70,000 inhabitants. The meeting house is at Crawshawbooth and the burial ground at Rawtenstall. W. Taylor: *Crawshawbooth, some historical notes*, 1922.

¹² See also J. Ward: *Retrospect of Oldham Meeting* [1911].

¹³ Hitherto Thomas Briggs has been given the place of "First Publisher" in Manchester. Elizabeth (Levens) Holmes and Elizabeth Fletcher travelled widely together. Eliza Owen is probably the Widow Owen at whose house Friends met for worship, under persecution, in 1655. No notice is taken here of George Fox's visit to Manchester in 1647, recorded in his *Journal*. Concerning his early employment at Manchester, or Mancetter, see p. 43 of this issue. *F.P.T.*; *Caton MSS.* at Friends House; Besse: *Sufferings*; R. Muschamp: *Lancs. & Ches. Antiq. Soc. Trans.* vol. xxxi.

First Publisher of Truth in Warwickshire

Marjorie Fretwell which was Anthony Bickeley daughter give An Account that Richard Farnsworth of Tickhill in York shire was the furst Freind that did declare truth at Badgley Ensor in the yeare of 1654 and he was entertaied for several week theare and he vieseted several other plases while he was theare.

The above note is to be found pinned on page 99 of volume 1 of Warwickshire Q.M. Minute Book. It was written on a slip of paper about 2 inches square in a handwriting contemporary with the original minutes.

The little slip of paper was evidently overlooked in compiling *The First Publishers of Truth*, 1907, pp. 239f, and that not unnaturally since the minutes in the book are ill arranged. It was clearly intended as a contribution to compiling an account for the Quarterly Meeting and on page 49 of the Minute book is one of the characteristic Q.M. minutes asking for information about the first publishers in accordance with the request sent down from London.

The information of the note is of special interest since the presence of Richard Farnsworth in that part of the country is not mentioned either in the brief list of "The first publick ministers, that travailed in the severall parts of this County in the service of Truth," published in lieu of the regular type of record by Norman Penney, nor in the History of Friends in the Midlands by A. Neave Brayshaw in the handbook to London Yearly Meeting held in Birmingham in 1908. The sentence is, however, quoted in William White's *Friends in Warwickshire*, 1873, p. 61, and on the same page another from the minutes of Warwick meeting to the effect "that Richard Hubberthorne did largely declare the blessed truth of Christ in Warwick, Coventry, Kenilworth, Alcester, and Stratford and other places, by the space of one month, in 1660, and did gather many to the truth."

Baddesley is frequently mentioned by George Fox in his Journal, but not before 1654. The regular spelling there is Bagley, which shows that our fragment also reflects a contemporary pronunciation. Fox also mentions in the year named Anthony "Bickliffes" in Warwickshire at whose house he held a great meeting. Bickley resided at Baddesley Ensor, near Atherstone.

One is surprised that no earlier date is given for the publishing of truth in this neighbourhood. Fox himself says that "The truth sprang up first (to us, as to be a People to the Lord) . . . in Warwickshire in 1645" (Epistles, 1698, p. 2). Baddesley Ensor, like Atherstone, was very near Fox's home, and there is unpublished evidence which makes me think that Fox dated the beginning of his public career from the night of the 8th of September 1643, following the events described in his Journal (bicent. Ed., p. 3.), the fair being "Authorston-fair".

HENRY J. CADBURY

An Anti-Slavery Enthusiast, 1826

Communicated by ISABEL GRUBB

Joshua Beale (1763-1833) of Cork, son of Joseph and Rebecca Beale, remained a Quaker in spirit all his life although he was disowned by Cork Friends at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of this event he writes, "I went among this people in love. There was no room for the like of me. My recommendation to seek for Divine guidance, the inner principle of truth, was like the Israelites' livestock, an abomination to the Egyptians."

As early as 1788 one of his letters refers to the interest Cork Friends were taking in the cause of the slaves, but the following letters from him illustrate his own part in the work at a later date. They are interesting as showing the technique of philanthropic action at a time when transport and postage were greater problems than they now are. They also show how Friends learned to unite with people of other bodies, and what difficulties they had in maintaining their "testimonies".

These letters were written to Mary (née Shackleton) Leadbeater (1758-1826) and are in the possession of Sarah L. Barrington, one of her descendants. The sister, to whom reference is made, was Sarah Shackleton (1760-1847), a recorded minister, who was blind for many years, but active and cheerful in spite of her affliction.

Mary Leadbeater, daughter of Richard Shackleton, schoolmaster of Ballitore, was an authoress and also postmistress of the village. Samuel Haughton, her cousin by marriage, lived near Carlow.

George and Ebenezer Shackleton, her nephews, were millers at Ballitore. Ebenezer was also her son-in-law, having made a run-away match with his first cousin, Deborah Leadbeater. By his second wife he was the grandfather of Sir Ernest Shackleton. Thomas Boake, John Thomas, and Thomas Bewley also lived at Ballitore and were cousins of Mary Leadbeater's.

The group of Friends mentioned in the later part of the letter represent the most important Friends of Ulster Quarterly Meeting. Thomas Christy Wakefield and James Nicholson Richardson and John Richardson lived at Moyallon. Joseph and William James Barcroft (brothers), William and Jonathan Pike (uncle and nephew), and William Garratt and Joseph Willcocks, lived near Dungannon, Co. Tyrone. John Conran, a convinced Friend and a recorded minister for about forty-eight years, lived at The Maze near Lisburn. His *Journal* was published in London, 1850. Jacob Green lived near Lisburn. Dominic Gregg was a Lisburn Friend, he died 19.iii.1826.

Myrtlehill [Cork], 23 of 1st mo. 1826.

. . . I mentioned something of our anti-slavery society to thy sister, & intend sending thee a paper which

contains our petition which as soon as it passes thro' your circle thou would oblige me by passing to Saml Haughton. Have you no person in the village that would set the business going in the County of Kildare? I did it thro' the medium of the protestant dissenting ministers who gave their minds and strength to it. At one time I expected our plan would be overturned by the interference of the West India merchants who are very strong here but had they succeeded I had determined to form the Society if but two united with me at first, and trust to its increasing. Considering my nicety about meddling with Clergy who take pay I examined very closely what I was about, & waited till I believed it safer for me to take a step than tarry longer. I then proceeded as the way opened, & never since doubted it being my business. Could I have found another to do it, I had no inclination to leave my retirement, but the unhappy situation of 800,000 of our fellow beings, degraded almost to the condition of brutes & near the whole white population of the Colonies demoralized to an alarming degree, called as I thought loudly on me to do what appeared my part, that I might stand clear of this very great evil. I have found much more satisfaction of a secondary nature in my progress than I at all expected. I have met & had pleasant intercourse with several excellent men, who tho' differing in minor points of religious faith, as they call it, are united amongst themselves by a bond of Christian love of which I also participate with them. Attention to divers public institutions had brought them together before my general acquaintance with them and I hold my place without compromising what I owe to my own religious character; & tho' acting occasionally as Secretary I need say nothing, write nothing nor do anything that at all appears to me inconsistent therewith. Some of the ministers have told me they are content without my stiling them reverend, & I do not so much as *Esquire* anyone. To our president I would write *Baron Carbery* as being his legal name but no Right Honourable. In our petition I was informed by the Committee that they would be content with its being in Quaker language & like it as well but it was concluded at my instance best not to do so, as it would then appear only from that body, but a remedy was found in those of the profession signing together with an exception to the titles of ceremony preceding their names.

I have been particularly anxious that my ci-devant brethren might not thro' my means be led into any inconsistency which I find quite unnecessary. I thus go into detail to induce some of you in Ballitore to set the business going. Could not George or Ebenezer or Thos Boake young hearty intelligent men form a society & get up a petition, it might be of "the undersigned inhabitants" of one county or of more or of Carlow & Ballitore, put some public character in the chair and pass resolutions & a petition, draw it up neatly on strong white paper & let it be signed by men of respectability & let your Co. member present it as soon as may be after the meeting of parliament.

I intend accompanying this with some papers on the subject & if more is wanting let your secretary write for them to Richard Matthew the parent Society secy in London. Let none of my dear friends in Ballitore say we are too few to do anything. Within the circle of your acquaintance thro' the country get the signatures of every respectable person you can in Athy, Castledermot, Moone, Timolin, I would not swell it with the names of children nor any that were *not* known to be decent people, even though not rich or grand they may be respectable. Let those who read the Anti-Slavery Reporter put themselves in the place of those poor creatures who are (unless something is done to relieve them) doomed to interminable bondage. Should thou succeed in stirring up a feeling in favour of those oppressed people amongst you & that further information is wanted let your secretary write freely addressed to W. R. Osborne & me, secretaries to the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, without hesitation & we are quite at your service. I wish it to be done thus because it will come officially before us and be an encouragement to us to go forward (not presuming however that our assistance is necessary when you have Dublin so near you). Thou would scarcely suppose I had anything to prevent me giving my whole strength to this business. This is by no means the case. I have to struggle to make time to do immediate business. I had however no intention of going thus far when I sat down to write to thee my dear friend, all this has since come up unexpectedly and I give it as it flows. Now for the part I wish thee to act. Call a meeting or invite together my dear friends Thomas Bewley, thy husband, Thos. Boake, John Thomas, thy

nephews (apologise to them for my not writing immediately to themselves) read to them what I have suggested, let them appoint one to take the chair for the occasion & a secretary into whose hands put the papers I send & then let them do as seemeth them good. If they choose to unite in one body with the females, no objection, only remember females are not to sign the petition which would not be received. I am sure there are men amongst you who would not grudge to ride a little about the country to get signatures, but I was forgetting that I would not have a friend take a petition that he could not consistently sign himself (& I take no charge of the petition here except the Quaker part) however your own sense will find out a mode of obviating this objection. I think it may be done without difficulty tho' I need not dictate. If you can find neighbours out of the Society let the first meeting be but preparatory, & appoint another to which invite them, & let there be one secretary from amongst them & other of your body, each to act in the parts where both in religious practices or modes differ from the other. Let no one say it is foolish or frivolous to make such an attempt, we are too few, & too scattered. Invite the dissenting minister & the man of the establishment, & the popish priest if you think he will be of use. We have tried their Bishop and think they will not unite. Indeed the clergy of the Establishment, are very inert here. Is Bonham with you or Major Keating or any other men of Character & Intelligence. I am greatly mistaken if you enter, in earnest, into this business you will be rewarded for your pains ; & be instruments of good in the general cause. We are about establishing a Society in Kerry and have commissioned a missionary thither, another in Bandon & a third in Mallow. So dear friends, whatever you find to do in this, I might say without exaggeration, momentous business do it with all your might while time is afforded. The minister Canning wants the support of the people of the United Kingdom & particularly of Ireland. Let him then have yours. There might be much more said but I must conclude with dear love to you all, my very dear friends, whom I hope to hear of individually coming forward without loss of time, & to thyself particularly my beloved Mary Leadbeater who is always ready to give thy aid to every good work in thy power.

JOSHUA BEALE

If you should go into the business a supply of papers will be necessary to spread the information requisite. No great subscription is requisite. If we defray our expenses and pay the society in London for the papers we order we want no more. We have therefore fixed the subscription so low as 5s. and in the Ladies society as they now express it we propose asking for no money unless any should offer it voluntarily. Yours' perhaps might be smaller. We give every member a number of the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, they are but 4s. per hundred & may be easily obtained I send herewith the 7 numbers out.

As I have enclosed in the parcel for Sam^l Haughton similar papers to those marked for Ballitore those marked for you may be kept for circulation in your neighbourhood to be lent & returned to the Secretary but not given away. Send him the newspaper when it has gone your rounds.

Six weeks later Mary Leadbeater was already suffering from what proved to be her last illness and Joshua Beale himself was ill from overwork in the anti-slavery cause, yet his enthusiasm was as great as ever.

Myrtle hill, 3d mo. 2nd, 1826

. . . Many thanks for your extraordinary exertions in behalf of the poor slaves, may the blessings of many of them which are ready to perish fall upon you ; but think not that we can readily let go the hold we have so well obtained of such excellent abolitionists, thou wilt have perceived by our printed circulars, forwarded yesterday by post, that we aim to raise all Ireland against this accursed system but thou will scarcely suppose that the number of active members in our committee can pretend to a sufficient knowledge of every part of Ireland, where petitions might go from, to find suitable persons to call on for their co-operation hence we must put our kind friends in inquisition ; the quarterly meeting for Ulster begins on first day next ; and we are anxious that every claim that *can* be put forward by our friends in Ballitore should overtake them in time. I have sent circulars to T. C. Wakefield, J. Conran, J. W. & J. Barcroft, W. Pike, Jonⁿ Pike, W. Garratt, Dom Greg, J. & J. Richardson, Jos. Wilcocks, Jonⁿ Hogg, Jacob Green, Wm. Dawson ; I send thee by this post two dozen more of them, for any others that you may think necessary I need not tell thee

that folded and directed as the others were *one penny* per dozen must be paid on putting them into the office after which they go free. Think not, my dear friend, I want to set thee writing, knowing how unfit it is for thee, rather than *that*, I would trust to some other opportunity but Richard Shackleton our kind & worthy brother in the cause, would press them into the service in thy name, or thy sister's, for this purpose a single letter might be addressed or rather directed to some leading member, and inside apprized that it is for himself, and every other person, mentioning them singly by name whom you think at all likely to engage in the cause ; fear not to put down thirty, fifty or as many more as you know, and entreat them in the name of suffering humanity to promote petitions in every part of Ulster where their influence extends ; there cannot be too many provided the signatures be respectable, if we could hear what petitions were got up as a result of their exertions it would be a particular satisfaction ; we have written to London for a large supply of publications on the subject and as soon as they arrive I intend to forward them as charity letters, like the circulars. The friends in Cork have petitioned the upper house as well as the lower addressing them only as Peers without the title Lords spiritual and temporal thinking that if the petition was rejected for want of this formality it might excite a discussion not unprofitable to the cause. I should not be sorry if friends everywhere did the like. . . .

Royal Historical Society Membership

The Hon. Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, W.C.1, has sent information about a new class of Associate Membership recently established by the Society, which it is believed will interest some of our members.

Associates are elected in the first place for a period of five years. Their applications shall be supported either by two Fellows, or by an accredited historical scholar, or by the Council of an Historical or Record Society. The annual subscription from Associates is one guinea and they receive the *Transactions*, may attend ordinary meetings and use the Library for reference purposes.

George Fell and the Story of Swarthmoor Hall

Continued from vol. xxx, p. 39

THE death of George Fell did not mitigate but rather intensified the disagreement between Margaret Fox and her son's family.¹ The husband's attempt to secure possession of Swarthmoor Hall was continued by the widow—Elizabeth Hooton wrote to the King and Council :

Her son's wife seeks to ruinate her mother-in-law by getting a judgment against her at this assizes at Lancaster to dispossess her of her proper right, and so both ruinate her and her children if she can. (*Elizabeth Hooton*, 1914, 66.)

Elizabeth Hooton continues, in a letter regarding George Fell, to write to his widow :

It is reported that thou hast gotten a judgment against [?] to sweep away all that she hath, both goods and lands. What a rebellious daughter-in-law art thou. Was there ever such a wicked thing done in England or in any age before, that thou should ruinate thy husband's mother. The same hand that cut off thy husband will do the same by thee and leave thee neither root nor branch if thou do not speedily repent and put off thy wicked invention and let thy mother alone with her estate. The Lord's terrible wrath and plagues will fall upon thee and thine. Therefore fear and dread the living God. While it is time put by thy wicked intent lest the same hand that took away thy husband may not take away thee in thy cruelty towards thy husband's mother who hath not done thee any hurt nor hath not wronged thee at all.

So to the light of Christ in thy conscience return, which will let thee see all thy ways. I am a lover of thy soul,

ELIZABETH HOOTON

Endorsed "E.H. to a woman unnamed who had got a judgment against her mother-in-law."

¹ His will is printed in this Journal, viii, 1911, 2-5.

This letter must have been written shortly before the writer left for America in August, 1671; she died abroad a few months later.

The following letter from Robert Sawrey to Sir Roger Bradshaigh contains a slight reference to George and Hannah Fell:

Much Honored Sir,

Having received an order from the Honourable Deputy Lieutenants in which they appoint me Poll for an horse in your Honour's troop in the room of Mr. George Fell, and in regard to the remoteness of my dwelling and the difficulties of the tides of several sands, as also my altogether unpreparedness for the accoutering of man and horse fit for such service, and so incapacitated to do that due and ready service I ought, and being informed by him who rode Mr. Fell's horse that persons may be employed on your side of the country, do for myself and upon the account of Mr. Fell's widow (who is joined, as before her husband was) presume to make it our humble suit that your Honour will please to appoint such a person as may be ready to serve you when called and admit us into the same condition; when Esquire Dodding and we shall thankfully pay our moneys to him and acknowledge ourselves very much obliged to yourself, and especially him who has ventured to give you this trouble, presuming upon your pardon and craving leave to subscribe himself,

Your humble servant in what I may,

ROB. SAWREY

Broughton Tower,

May the 15th, 1672.

John Rous wrote to Sarah Fell, shortly after the death of George Fell:

In regard to my sister Fell's wilfulness and foolishness, who, I always feared would do as bad, if not worse than her husband, she hath a crooked generation to be her advisers if she take counsel of her kindred, who no doubt will do the worst they can. (Dix MSS. N.I.E.)

Another letter of Elizabeth Hooton is endorsed: "For George Fells widow at Marsh Grange in Furness", from which it may be inferred that the widow and her children were living at the Grange. It appears from the Swarthmoor Hall account book that in December, 1673, arrears of rent due from her son were paid Margaret Fox in full, amounting to £25, and that Hannah Fell paid rent, though it was often overdue. It seems, however, that she was not in full possession of the Grange, perhaps only occupied certain rooms, for Sarah Fell's accounts constantly refer to expenses in connection with "ours at Marsh". Wages paid to servants at the Grange appear in the Hall accounts and numerous other outgoings. In 1676 Marsh Grange was purchased by Thomas Lower and "ours at Marsh" disappears from the account book about this time.

It has been seen that the brothers-in-law held strong views regarding George and Hannah Fell—Thomas Lower writes of his "foolish carriage" and "brutish action", John Rous of "my sister fell's wilfulness and foolishness" and William Meade of "her shame and reproach".

The sisters, however, seemed to be on friendly and visiting terms with Hannah Fell, styling her "sister Fell". On 9th March, 1673, Mary Lower, who was then living at the Hall, accompanied by her three unmarried sisters, paid a visit to their sister-in-law, and in June next year the same four dined at sister Fell's; these visits are recorded in Sarah's account-book because on each occasion the present of one shilling was made to Mary Caton, one of the servants at the Grange. The account-book also records visits by Margaret Fox to her daughter-in-law. Were they friendly visits? In 1677 an attorney was retained "in Mother's business with sister Fell".

Several sources of disagreement are referred to in the following letter:

Gooseyes,

10 April, 1687.

Dear Mother,

We have thine of the 21st of last month, and as to that part which concerns me to answer, I say, as before, £110 per annum is thy due from thy daughter Fell, she having not given thee security for the hundred pounds according to the articles; but whether it be

worth thy while to refuse the £50 for the sake of the other five pounds, for the first half-year, seeing if thou do then thou must bring leases of ejection against all the tenants, and there being so many small ones, it will be a great charge ; of this thou art best able to judge. But she will pay thee nothing during the suit, so that upon the whole my judgment thou hadst better lose the ten pounds a year for peace sake as thou hast done formerly. Thy receiving £50 of her for half a year only binds thee for the time thou so receives it, but thou hast liberty to come in for the £110 per annum for the succeeding years if thou pleases.

As to her stopping the footway to Ulverstone, having been of so long continuence, 'tis thy right and thy family's going from thy house, free egress and regress, as well as theirs, wherefore thou mayst demand it of them as thy right, which will be greatly to her shame and reproach if she refuse it. If she be so perverse as to do so, you had better peaceably suffer it, and go further about than begin a suit which doth but satisfy her quarrelsome mind. However, maintain your right by words and arguments as far as you can with her. And as for her locking up the gates, take wisse of it, and demand of her to open them to let you go forth. And if she refuse break open the lock and get the gates opened, taking good wisse of what you do and put it in writing with the witnesses' hands to it, for she may as well lock you in your house as stop you from the passage of the gates in and out. But before you break open the lock read this declaration herewith sent thee ; and thou mayst go to the next justice and complain that Friends are kept out of their usual meeting house contrary to the King's command herein mentioned . . .

WILLIAM MEADE

(Abraham MSS. 42.)

Among Abraham MSS. is a written agreement between Hannah Fell and her son Charles Fell on the one side, and the daughters of Judge Fell and their husbands on the

other side, relative to resigning all claims to certain lands. (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 7.)

Charles Fell, the only son of George and Hannah Fell (*Jnl. F.H.S.* xi. 7) was born in the year of his father's death, 1670. As a little seven-year-old boy he seemed to be in favour with his Aunt Sarah, who according to her account-book made him gifts of sweetmeats. He married Mary, daughter of John Brown of the county of Kent, and had only one surviving son, Charles, born in 1693. We have a slight hint of their family life in a letter from Thomas Lower addressed to Margaret Fox, 2nd December, 1693 :

My cousin [nephew] Fell and his brother Graves were in town the last week. The former came to see us but not his brother. His wife is again with child near her time, but come away from his brother Greaves to a cousin's house of his wife's to lie.

Charles Fell is said to have died in the West Indies. His widow married Robert Wilks, the actor. She died in 1741.

Charles Fell the younger (1693-1748) married Gulielma Maria Thomas (1699-1739/40), widow of Aubrey Thomas and daughter of William Penn, Junior, thus uniting two famous Quaker families, but the granddaughter of the proprietor was baptized into another faith in 1724, and her husband was no Friend. They had four children, Mary Margaretta, who married, s.p., John Barron of Leeds and Philadelphia ; Gulielma Maria Frances, who married Rev. John Newcombe¹ of Leire, County Leicester, and had issue ; Robert Edward Fell of London and Philadelphia (baptized 1726 ; will proved 1787) who rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and received in 1770 a grant of arms and died unmarried ; and Springett who died young. Charles Fell is described as " an officer in the army ", and is stated to have been buried at Windsor.

Letters from Charles Fell to John Penn are preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and extracts appear in Howard M. Jenkins's *Family of William Penn*, 1899.

¹ There is more regarding Newcombe in *Notes and Queries*, March 26, 1932.

Writing 8th January, 1739/40, Charles Fell refers to his wife as very ill and able to take only "thin caudle through the spout of a teacup", and on the 17th inst. :

"This morning at one o'clock my dearest Guly left me forever."

On the 22nd :

"My poor dear Guly is this night to be buried in a private but as decent a manner as I am able, in a vault in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster."

And at last, on the 29th :

"I am most unhappy, left greatly in debt, and am obliged to dispose of all my goods, which will be sold next Thursday to satisfy as many as the poor amount of them will come to, but what to do afterwards, God only knows. My poor dear girls are gone this day with their grandmother to Hampton Court in order to have their clothes a little righted up before they go to a school which she has recommended."

The writer has taken a sleeping room at a coffee-house ; he is very anxious for some employment.

Thus ends the male line of Fell of Swarthmoor Hall in sadness and penury.¹

It is believed that the manor of Ulverston was acquired and that Swarthmoor Hall was built by George Fell, of Hawkswell, father of the judge.² He refused a knighthood in 1631 (as also did his great-nephew by marriage, Matthew Richardson). The property descended from father to son, but from the terms of the judge's will the Hall was left to Margaret Fell so long as she remained his widow. Later the Hall became the property of the unmarried daughters, Susanna and Rachel.

April 4, 1671—A pardon unto Margaret Fell alias Fox . . . and likewise his Majesty's grant of the Estate of the said Margaret Fell, alias Fox, unto Susan Fell and Rachel Fell, daughters of the said Margaret . . . (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1671. p. 171 ; *Ext.* p. 329.)

¹ A tree connecting Fell of Swarthmoor with the Penns is in *Quakeriana*, ii, 89.

² "I have no doubt that Judge Fell's father bought from the Crown, when, in 1609, much land was sold in Furness."

But George Fell's son Charles must have had some hold upon the estate, for when it was sold to Daniel Abraham, the husband of his aunt Rachel, 8th July, 1691, for £4,500, he received £3,900, £100 being received by each of his uncles.

There is a reference perhaps to this transaction in a letter from Rachel Abraham to her husband, 7 xi. 1694 :

I could be glad thou got something done about the abatement with cousin [nephew] Fell, which he cannot reasonably deny. There was also upon his contract with thee, when thou made the purchase of his estate, £400 and £20, which he articed to allow thee for the payment of his mother's annuity. The £20 he hath never yet allowed. Thou may very justly insist upon it.

(*M. Webb : Fells, from Miller MSS.*)

The estate was sold in 1759, on the break-up of the family, to William Lindon, a merchant of Lancaster, for £7,000, and re-sold for £10,000. The Hall, with some surrounding land, is now occupied by a Fell descendant, Emma C. Abraham, and will eventually become the property of the Society of Friends.

E. C. Abraham wrote in 1932 :

I think that you will be interested to know what led to the final ruin of my unfortunate family and the loss of the Swarthmoor estate.

Soon after I was put into possession of the Hall and the little land still attached to it, in 1913, an elderly man, now dead, showed me his title deed relating to a small piece of land he had bought opposite his house. The deed stated that the land had belonged to John Abraham, who owned the Swarthmoor Hall estate, which he had lost by the bankruptcy of his son, Thomas Abraham (the tobacco merchant at Whitehaven) to whom he had made over his estate "to pay my debts". No doubt this is the transaction referred to in the legal advice that John Abraham had not lost his right to the estate but was advised not to contest the matter; and the unfortunate John A. consequently gave up the property. It must have been a bitter time for the old man.

NOTE ON THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JUDGE FELL

Athenaeum,
 Waterloo Place,
 October 15, 1842.

Sir,

Mr. Philip Henry Howard having placed in my hands a memorandum relative to some questions proposed by you, with regard to "Thomas Fell" of Lancaster, I have the pleasure of sending you the following, which I trust will convey the information you require :

"Sir Robert Bendlows, Knt., and Thomas Fell, Esq. were elected members of Parliament for Lancaster upon the writ issued October 14, 1645, Sir John Harrison and Sir Thomas Fanshawe being both disabled, the former September 4, 1643, for bearing arms against Parliament, and Sir Thomas Fanshawe disabled September 7, 1642, for neglecting the service of the House and not appearing upon summons.

"Thomas Fell remained in attendance upon the House until the call ordered October 9, 1647, when the committee reported his name among a great number as one of the members absent without excuse, and a fine of £20 was therefore ordered to be levied."

I do not think he ever appeared again. He did not sit in Barebones Parliament ; the members returned for Lancashire then were Col. William West, John Sawrey, Robert Cunliffe.

In Cromwell's second and third Parliament Major Henry Potter sat for Lancaster. In Richard Cromwell's new Parliament Col. William West and Henry Porter, Junior, were returned for Lancaster.

From this it appears to me he disapproved of the course of events in 1647, absented himself, and never appeared in public life again, but a private memoir would tend to verify this suspicion.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
 Your obedient servant,
 SPENCER HALL, Librarian.

Another letter from the same to the same, October 26, 1842, states that it is not known whether T. Fell was in any previous Parliament to 1645, and suggests that his widow's

statement : " a member of Parliament in many Parliaments," " was hastily written ".¹

There is manuscript authority for the statement that Judge Fell did not approve of the execution of Charles I, and this is confirmed by reference to the good relations which existed between Charles II and Margaret (Fell) Fox and her daughters.

NORMAN PENNEY

¹ From the papers intended by William Benson for a history of the Society of Friends, about 1840. Benson papers in the possession of E. C. Abraham.

Rayner Wickersham Kelsey

We deeply regret to record the death of Rayner W. Kelsey of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, on October 29th, 1934. In him the field of Quaker historical research has had a wise, devoted and highly qualified worker it can ill afford to lose. Rayner Kelsey had been teaching history at Haverford College since 1909 and was Professor of History from 1920 onwards. After the death of Allen C. Thomas in 1920 he took over the editorship of the *Bulletin* of the Friends Historical Association and in 1922 the care of the large collection of Quaker books and MSS. in the Haverford Library. He continued to edit the *Bulletin* until failing health compelled him to relinquish it in 1932; the curatorship of the Quakeriana he continued till his death. Successive librarians of the Society in London have known him as a ready correspondent and unfailing helper in historical and bibliographical enquiries touching American Quakerism. He attended the All Friends Conference in London in 1920. He published *Friends and the Indians*, 1917; *The Centennial History of Moses Brown School*, 1919; besides other works on historical, civic and social questions, almost his latest completed work being the article "William Penn" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. xiv. A biographical sketch with a portrait and a bibliography is planned for the Spring 1935 issue of the *Bulletin*.

John Perrot in Virginia

Communicated by HENRY J. CADBURY

THESE is frequent reference in the history of American Quakerism to the influence of John Perrot and his schism, especially in Virginia, Maryland and New York. It is known that after leaving England about 1662 he went to Barbadoes and lived and died in Jamaica, and that he visited the mainland, but as Rufus Jones has said, "details of his visit in Virginia are lacking".¹ A few of these details I find in the following paper of testimony preserved in the Virginia Records, an old mutilated book in the safe at Homewood Meeting, Baltimore, initiated as it says "in the year 1673 by the motion & order of George Fox the seruant of God". Among records of many sorts, marriage certificates, lists of births, Epistles and testimonies, it includes several confessions of guilt in connection with the Perrot schism, mostly made many years after that schism began. Some of these are even entered from English participants like Isaac Penington (London, 29 of 3 mo. 1675) and John Crook, apparently of about the same date referring to "a paper writt by me about 12 years since".² Leading Virginia Friends some three years later make acknowledgment, as Thomas Jordan, Edmond Belson, Edward Perkins and William Garratt. It is the last alone that makes any real (though slight) addition to our knowledge of events. The author, whose name appears frequently in these records, is perhaps to be identified with "William Yarrat the elder" mentioned elsewhere in them, who in turn seems to be called in MSS. of Fox's Travels to Pagan Creek William "Yaroes" or "Pardoe".³

¹ *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, p. 276. Cf. Bowden, i. 348ff. A. C. and R. H. Thomas, p. 78. N. Penney in sketching the career of John Perrot in the Cambridge *Journal of George Fox*, 1911, pp. 375f, omits to mention his visit to Virginia.

² Cf. Thomas, p. 49n.

³ For the spelling Yarratt see his signature in a letter of 1674, Bristol MSS. v. 110, printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xi., 1914, 28ff. Cf. also *Camb. Journal*, ii., 233, 3.

WILLIAM GARRATT'S TESTIMONY CONCERNING JOHN PERROTT

Being one of y^e first y^t went one borde y^e ship y^t brought y^e s^d Perrott into James Riuer I did see y^e first John Browne & William fuller came into y^e Round howse whare I was & sometime after came in John Perrott in y^e habit outwardly as one of y^e seruants of y^e Lord, but y^e witness of God in me was not Refreshed at his company Neither by what I heard from him but Rather burthened, for Returning to my outward being soon after I & another ware taken Prisoners for hauing a meeting in my howse w^{ch} meeting was before y^e s^d Perrott came in & we were commited Prisoners to y^e Sheriffs howse of y^e Islle of Weight county soon after y^e s^d Perrott & John Browne hauing business to James Towne : & hearing y^t we ware in Prison, came into y^e prison & did declare som words in the prison & we hauing Liberty from y^e Shriff went to Edward Jones his howse w^{ch} was my fellow Prisoner and had more words declared their and y^e next morning Upon y^e sands againe the Lord was good Unto me & did shew me y^t it was one as Saull y^t forced himselfe to doe sacrificise when y^e profett was wanting it is y^e Lord y^t make y^e barren wilderness to becom a fruitfull field & Through disobedienc he can turn it to a barren Place, John being Receued Amongst most of frends heare & being A Reporte y^t he was Receued amongst frends in y^e barbadoes generally I did reson with y^e weake fleshy parte y^t it would be better for me to Receue two into my house y^t was not in y^e power of y^e Lord than to denigh one y^t was in y^e power of y^e Lord soe weakness came ouer me and I pleaded y^t ware an Indifferent thing^e to me whether y^e hatt ware put on or off in time of prayer but y^e Lord did shew me soone after y^t whare the Inward Reverant is y^e outward would follow.

. . .
The 12 month 1678

Will Garatt

John Perrot in Rome : A Jesuit Account

Communicated by HENRY J. CADBURY

Through the courtesy of the library of the University of Breslau and that of the Selly Oak Colleges I have had the opportunity of examining the Roman Catholic work against Friends, identified in *J.F.H.S.*, xxix, 84, written by Theodore Rhay, entitled *Confusa Confessio Tremantium seu Quacherorum*, etc., Köln, 1666. Most of its 538 pages contain theological discussion which is of little interest. In the narrative introduction, as in all continental Anti-Quaker literature, James Nayler's episode occupies the largest space. But the following translated and summarized section from Chapter V, pp. 31 ff, is of interest for comparison with the abundant early Quaker literature on Perrot at Rome (see W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 420, note), and suggests the possibility of finding at Rome itself some record of the incidents from the Catholic viewpoint. The evident use, however, of John Perrot's own English writings (see below) suggests

that, in spite of claims of other sources of information, even here independent non-Quaker records are not employed to any great extent. The chronological references to Perrot could all be had from his *Battering Rams against Rome*. I have even wondered whether the German's "Thomas Turner, Poenitentiarius S. Petri" is not to be identified with the Englishman's "Thomas Courtney, Jesuite and English Confessor of Peters" (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 99). This suspicion of Rhay's dependence on printed materials is confirmed by the fact that the information about Quakerism shown elsewhere in the book was available in languages even more readable than English to a Jesuit priest of Dusseldorf, viz., in Dutch (the account of Christopher Birkhead, in the chapter that follows the one here summarized), in German (against Nayler), and in Latin (Wm. Caton, *Moderatus Inquisitor Resolutus*, mentioned p. 46).

How John Luffe, John Perrot, Charles Boich,¹ and Jane Stokes came to Italy and even to Rome.

Rhay in Chapter V of *Confusa Confessio* . . . narrates that Quakers ventured to Rome in 1658, as Pope Alexander VII himself related to him when he was in Rome in 1664 and recommended him to put the account circumstantially into his book.

This he does, depending upon the reports of all those present at the events, "especially of Rev. Father Christopher Anderton, Rector of the English College at Rome, Thomas Turner, Poenitentiarius S. Petri" and upon "other public documents" "Since John Perrott was notable in appearance, intelligence and eloquence, ear was given to their message several days with patience, in the hope of winning them to a better teaching". This being fruitless, they were put first in prison and then in the dungeon of the Inquisition where John Luffe died on the 22nd day of his "obstinate pretended miraculous fast."² John Perrot after 18 weeks in prison was brought to the madhouse. Perrot's pamphlet writing during two years of imprisonment is referred to and the principal sections given of *Battering Rams against Rome* (London, 1661, 8vo, pp. 148). Two lists of five "of the Papists Principles" are also quoted (*ibid.*, pp. 146ff).

The witnesses above named relate how Charles Boiche [Bayly], Jane Stokes and John Perrot³ were also released with the injunction to go home without preaching, and to warn their fellow Quakers not to venture into the church's state on pain of "unfailing condign punishment".

¹ intended for Bayly. See W. C. Braithwaite: *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 426.

² See also George Fox, *Journal* (Camb.), i, 183, but omitted by Ellwood. The usual Quaker view that he was hanged by the Inquisition Fox himself apparently accepted on the authority of "ye nunns in France".

³ For John Perrot see also *J.F.H.S.*, viii, 137-8, xxix, 29, 46.

Relief Work during the Greek War of Independence

THE Greek War of Independence, 1821-9, the life and death struggle of a people who had suffered many years under the tyranny of Ottoman rule, aroused widespread sympathy in Europe and America. Appeals for assistance made by Greeks themselves and by philhellenes were answered for many reasons and by widely divergent types of people—by adventurers, traders, classical scholars, humanitarians, and many persons influenced by religious considerations. In Great Britain the response was not as immediate as on the continent, but it was the Society of Friends that raised one of the first subscriptions in this country and established the most systematic organization for the relief of distress.

This subscription was undertaken chiefly as the result of the initiative of a Friend well known for his philanthropic, religious, and educational activities—William Allen. Allen had been deeply interested in the Greek people ever since a trip made through the Levant in 1818-19 with Stephen Grellet; he was much concerned over the fate of the victims of the Greek war and believed in the potentialities of that nation.¹ Although after the war broke out Allen sincerely sympathized with the sufferers, his conscientious scruple against supporting war prevented him from participating in a proposed philhellenic committee and he felt compelled to refuse the request of Joseph Hume, a Liberal Member of Parliament, to lend his name for the calling of a public meeting at the end of 1821. However, Allen then expressed a hope that the Friends would raise a separate fund to relieve refugees from Turkish oppression.²

The necessity for action became very clear to Allen in the early autumn of 1822 when he was in Vienna. Some Greeks, who had escaped from the island of Scio when it was sacked the preceding April by the Turks, arrived in the city. Through Allen an appeal was addressed to the Society of Friends in England³ and he himself gave of his own means

to help those in want : 10 napoleons for general distribution, money to individual cases of distress, and support for destitute professors and students. Two Greek students in Paris, stranded on account of the destruction of their college in Greece, received £50 from him, with the promise of more to come. This was done after he had taken the precaution to ascertain that they were being trained in the principles of Greek Christianity and not as *philosophes* of the French school.⁴ At the same time Allen was able to secure permission of Prince Esterhazy and Count Sedlinsky, the Minister of Police in Vienna, for the Greek community there to make a public appeal for funds, which they had not dared to do on account of the antagonism of the Austrian Government, and he secured passports for the refugees to go to Leghorn.⁵

The following 3rd January, after Allen's return to London, at the close of the Meeting for Sufferings a committee met and a subscription was undertaken, to be used for relief purposes only. Allen, as treasurer, was directed to write to western Europeans at Corfu and in the Ionian Islands, to draw £100, and to state in his letters that further assistance would be sent to Trieste and Ancona, £200 having already been forwarded to these places.⁶ A notice was later published in *The Times*,⁷ and the fact that such action had been taken was used by other philhellenes outside the Society of Friends in their efforts to arouse the general public.

The committee at once set to work to carry out the relief in a systematic manner, with especial attention for the victims from the island of Scio. As early as March, 1823, the effectiveness of their organization was attested by Edward Blaquiere, a philhellene prominent on the general Greek committee established in London in the spring of that year. He commented that before he left for the Morea at that time the Society of Friends had been dispensing the means of existence to hundreds of both sexes at Trieste, Venice, Marseilles, Malta, Amsterdam, Vienna, and had special correspondents at work at Constantinople, Smyrna, the Ionian Islands, Stuttgart, and Paris.⁸ Funds were liberally subscribed, among the first donations being £25 from William Allen, the same from Luke Howard and from Joseph Foster, and £10 from William Wilberforce.⁹ The

treasurer's report, submitted by William Allen in January, 1824, showed that to date £9,435 3s. 10d. had been collected and dispensed ; six months later an additional £545 3s. 4d., exclusive of an exchequer bill for £1,000, had been added.¹⁰ This account, printed in the committee's *First Report*, was accompanied by a list of the subscribers, reasons for the undertaking, extracts from letters appealing to the philanthropy of the Society, and a full account of the use to which the money had been put. According to the tenets of the Society and to the promise made at the opening of the subscription, this use was solely the relief of misery, and not in any sense the prosecution of the war.

In February, 1823, the London Greek committee was formed and on 25th April a resolution was passed that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Friends to see if the two Greek committees might co-operate.¹¹ This was brought about first when an appeal was sent to England for the rescue of some Greek refugees stranded in Germany, Switzerland, and France.¹² Later the Friends were able to assist agents of the London committee in the equipping of a dispensary in Greece. It was recorded that in 1824 medical stores from this source were on hand in Messalonghi.¹³

The two committees likewise worked for a common end when eight Greek boys were brought to England to be educated, also in 1824. The Friends offered to share the burden of expense and were so generous in the matter that Edward Blaquiére commented that their conduct was above praise and entitled to the warmest gratitude.¹⁴ This commendation contrasted with the criticism of one of the London committee agents in Greece, Colonel Leicester Stanhope, who was disappointed that his educational efforts there had not been encouraged by the Friends. He had hoped they would send out some schoolmasters and thought that the money expended by them might better have been devoted to matters of permanent value to the country. For instance he wrote home that "Some of the unfortunate Greeks whom the Quakers with such laudable intentions sent home are now pining in want and contributing to create further distress."¹⁵

One additional item is of interest since it shows William Allen's continued activity on behalf of enslaved Greeks. He noted in his diary on the 7th of the 2nd month, 1824 :

“To Downing Street to wait upon George Canning by appointment: my business was the case of the Greek captives, and to know whether our government would try to negotiate with the Turkish government for their release. Canning listened very attentively to what I said, and desired me to write a letter to him upon this subject, which he promises to despatch to Constantinople, and inform me of the result. He agrees with me that no *public* subscription ought to be raised expressly for the captives, lest a knowledge of it by the Turks would enhance their demands.”¹⁶

VIRGINIA PENN

¹ This was revealed in a conversation of his with Emperor Alexander I of Russia in 1822. See J. Sherman: *Memoir of William Allen*, Phila. 1851, 348; and *Life of William Allen, with Selections from his Correspondence*, Phila., 1847, ii, 56.

² *Life of W.A.*, ii, 25, Allen to Joseph Hume, 1.1.1822.

³ *Life of W.A.*, II, 60-61, 1.x.1822; and Library, Friends House, MSS. Port. 8. 165, 166.

⁴ J. Sherman: *Memoir*, 354; *Life of W.A.*, II, 62, 3.x. and 5.x. 1822.

⁵ J. Sherman: *Memoir*, 354.

⁶ *Life of W.A.*, II, 103.

⁷ *The Times*, March 11, 1823, p. 3, col. 3.

⁸ *Life of W.A.*, II, 104; and Committee of the Society of Friends for Distressed Greeks: *First Report*, London, 1824, Library, Friends House. Tracts, 204, 28.

⁹ *Case of the Distressed Greeks*, London, 1823, Library, Friends House, Tracts, E. 15.

¹⁰ Friends' Committee: *First Report*, 70ff.

¹¹ *Archives of the London Greek Committee*, Athens, III, 1, Minutes of the meeting of April 25, 1823, in Library of the Greek Parliament, Athens.

¹² *Archives*, IV, E1, Stanhope to Bowering, Geneva, October 18, 1823; VII, C3, Stanhope to Bowering, Messalonghi, January 28, 1824; L. Stanhope: *Greece in 1823 and 1824*, London, 1824, 104.

¹³ *Archives*, III, M, Minutes of the meeting of June 3, 1823; Peter Gamba: *Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece*, London, 1825, 161, note of February 10, 1824; William Parry: *Last Days of Lord Byron*, London, 1825, I, 254.

¹⁴ *Archives*, XI, G6, Blaquiére to Bowering, London, Dec. 18, 1824; E. Blaquiére: *Letters from Greece*, London, 1828, 8-9.

¹⁵ L. Stanhope: *Greece*, 98, note of Jan. 28, 1824; *Archives*, VII, J3, Stanhope to Bowering, Messalonghi, Feb. 4, 1824.

¹⁶ *Life of W.A.*, II, 142, 7.x.1824.

George Fox : Manchester or Mancetter?

Upon the uncertain question as to whether George Fox as a young man worked as a shoemaker at Manchester or at Mancetter, two miles from Fenny Drayton, we now have further evidence in favour of Mancetter in the following extracts from the parish registers there which M. Christabel Cadbury has kindly examined.

MANCETTER (Warwickshire) PARISH REGISTER, A.

[The handwriting is very irregular and not well preserved.]

1596, July : R. h. Gee [or Cee ?], taylor, buried.

1597, January : George J. Gee [or Cee ?] and Jane Lawnfield, married.

1618, December : — Gee, son of George, baptised.

1628, March : Isabel Gee dau. of John Gee, buried.

1629, February : Francis Gee dau. of John Gee, buried, 25th day.

1636, April : Edward Gee son of John Gee, buried, 13th day.

1643, March : Mary [?] Gee, dau. of John Gee buried, 6th day.

REGISTER B.

1666, November : William Gee son of John, buried.

1669, August : John Gee of Atherstone, buried, 17th day.

It was stated by William Rogers in *The Christian Quaker*, 1680, pt. v., p. 48, an anti-Quaker work, that George Fox worked as a journeyman shoemaker with George Gee of Manchester. W. C. Braithwaite in *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 30, suggests that Manchester is a mistake for Mancetter, and points out that it was formerly spelt Mancestre, and was called Manchester in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

If the employment by George Gee referred to by W. Rogers was, as W. C. Braithwaite suggests, apprenticeship when Fox was a boy (*Jnl.*, Bicent., i., 2), clearly Mancetter is the more likely, but if it was in 1647 (*Jnl.*, Bicent., i., 18), where Fox himself says he stayed a while in Manchester, then there is no quarrel with the reading "Manchester".

It was pointed out in *Jnl. F.H.S.* vii., p. 2, that Gee was a common name in Manchester in George Fox's time. Fox himself does not mention either George Gee or his work at either place. The earliest mention of Manchester in this connection appears to be in John Wiggan's *Antichrist's Strongest Hold Overturned*, 1665, p. 59, but Gee is not named. Curiously enough in Thomas Curwen and others : *An Answer to John Wiggan's Book*, 1665, the answer to the previous tract attacking Fox and Friends, Margaret Fell, author of part of it, says (p. 114) "and if I had [mentioned that George Fox was a shoemaker] I had spoken that I did not know".

See also *Jnl. F.H.S.* iv. 86, vi. 143, vii. 44, 86; and Brayshaw : *Personality of G. F.*, 29.

J.L.N.

The Howarth Collection of MSS.

This collection of autographs, MSS. and portraits has been placed on permanent loan (MS. Box 7. 11, 12, 13) in the Library at Friends House by E. Harold Marsh of Tunbridge Wells. It is thought this may be a part of a larger collection. We should welcome any information regarding another set of Howarth MSS. The principal items of interest in the collection are described below.

No. 2. John Archdale (*d.* 1707) to the Speaker of the House of Commons. London, 3 Jan. 1698/9.

Explains his non-appearance in the House is due to uncertainty as to whether his declaration in lieu of oath will be accepted by the House, in whose decision he is ready to acquiesce. Endorsed :—" 1698 Mr. Archdale's Letter to the Speaker."

Printed in *Journals of the House of Commons*, xii., 386, and in *Bulletin Friends Historical Society*, Philadelphia, vii. (1916), 74. It is uncertain whether this MS. is the letter delivered to the Speaker, or the writer's own "office" copy. John Archdale was not permitted to take his seat. He was governor of North Carolina, 1695-7, and published *A Description of Carolina*, 1707. He died in 1707. (*Dictionary of National Biography*.)

No. 5. John Bartram to a friend. [Philadelphia?] 10 Nov. 1750.

Mentions Adolf Benrel, Peter Collinson and the writer's *Journal to the Six Nations of Indians*.

John Bartram (1699-1777) was born in Pennsylvania. An early American naturalist, he corresponded with Collinson, Fothergill, Linnaeus, Franklin. The seeds and plants he sent to Collinson were the means of introducing many American species into England. (Darlington: *Memorials of Bartram and Marshall*; Fox: *John Fothergill*; Brett-James: *Peter Collinson*.)

No. 9. Thomas Fowell Buxton to G. M. Greenwood of Darlington. London, 31 Aug. 1820.

Asks for as many petitions as possible, particularly one from those who helped to save Wolfe and Eden.

Evidently part of the campaign to limit the use of capital punishment. T. F. Buxton (1786-1845) was not a member of the Society, but *m.* Hannah Gurney of Earlham 1807, entered Parliament 1820 and succeeded Wilberforce as leader of the anti-slavery cause; advocated abolition of lotteries, and prohibition of *suttee* in India.

No. 9B. Thomas Camm to Daniel Abraham [c. 169-].

My love to M.F. She should in right answer me. That money I have bene too long out of it. I am very unwilling to make it publike or take it of B. Coole (wch he has offered :) least it be more publicly expressed by him wch cannot but prove a reflection upon the dead that I had a true esteeme for. Perhaps she has write (or thou for her) to James Fell about it because I heard her speaking of it when I was wth her to see if Reb Shaw would doe anything in it. However I desire thee to reminde her of it And I would not have her to forgitt nor delay to answer for I believe she ought to pay it and that it was her husbands Just debt. Tho Cam
[Addressed] For Daniell Abrams att Swarthmore These.

Thomas Camm (1641-1707) of Camsgill near Kendal, a minister, was the son of John Camm, one of the "First Publishers of Truth". He published many tracts and was present when Fox preached at Preston Patrick Chapel in 1652. (Evans: *Friends' Library*, i.; *F.P.T.*)

No. 10. Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) to John Gibson of Whitehaven. London, 29 Jun. 1824.

Anti-slavery activities. Compliments Cumberland on presenting 18 petitions, during the past year; equalled by Suffolk, which has three committees. With England well covered, plans a tour of all the counties of Wales, then Scotland where he hopes to set up 12 or 14 committees. Will return through Yorks, which needs 6, 7, or 8 committees instead of only 3. "Then I think our strength will be respectable throughout the kingdom."

No. 15. John Fothergill (1712-1780) to [Rev. Henry Zouch?].

London, 24th.i.1780.

My worthy Friend,

It was very obliging to send me so early an account of the transactions at York—and as they have been so generally followed by all the petitioning countys, it is a strong presumption that thy Petition from York, spoke the general sense of the other countys.

I could have wished the petitions had spoke a language, which would have become universal—I imagine the petitioners will at present find themselves in the minority and that they will all be treated with pity by some, contempt by others, and that they will only tend to confirm the wavering in an opinion that it is safest for them to adhere to the majority. I do not say that what I suggested would have had any better effect—but taking the matter up on a broad foundation, and not provoking any set of men to become your inveterate opposers you might have had a fairer chance of appearing with the book of numbers on your side—As it is, you will be wholly discomfited—and your efforts to make any impression for publick good, I am afraid will be rendered ineffectual. You will not on

the ground you have chosen be generally followed, and if you are not you have done nothing; but have discouraged future attempts for the relief of this unhappy country.

I am persuaded that the true state of the nation has not been fully made known where it ought to be and if now and then an instance of the ruinous effects of the present measures have stolen into the knowledge of our superiors Instances of the contrary have been supplied in such a manner as to give the balance strongly in favour of the governing system. A general declaration of the distress that attended each petitioning county—I do not mean all the facts that could be collected, but facts sufficient to demonstrate that ruin was advancing indisputably—this one point ought to have been generally incontestably established—and perhaps in this case, as all the countys feel the like in some degree, all would have joined in the complaint—nor could M[inis]try have had assurance to deny it, or impute the known, universal sufferings of the people to the management of Faction. But it is now too late and I ought to think the measures taken are the wisest and the best, but I could not omit suggesting my sentiments on the subject.

And now pray what is to be the object of your associations. What effect can your correspondence have in this business—Not I hope to whet one another into a civil war—For of all human evils this perhaps is the worst. And it is much if by all your endeavours to put a majority of the county in motion, if I may use the expression, I mean to urge them to prefer petitions. If not where are you?—Friends to publick liberty, but without power to maintain it—you may indeed have much deeper and wiser views than I can pretend to. But I should have avoided as much as possible running my head against a wall, or which was much the same thing, asking for that which you knew never would be granted—nor which was there a probability of your obtaining thro' fear of a refusal—Threats without power are very harmless shafts—and though your county and some others may outnumbering of the lesser countys in respect to men and fortune—but the non-petitioners are too many and too formidable, to make you think it would be wise at any time, to attempt to compel them to follow your example. I must beg my Friend will be kind enough to remember that I am *only* expressing my opinions to himself; to one who will excuse my weakness, because I hope he is convinced that I speak what I think to him, and him *only* with the utmost confidence. It afforded me much satisfaction to observe that everything had proceeded with general unanimity, and much moderation—I sincerely wish that much publick benefit may result from it—I hope it will—If M[inis]try act in future more prudently, in order to give less occasion for such complaints, you are the cause of it—If in the hour of triumph they affect to treat the petitioners with contempt, and grow more lavish, they will increase the numbers of those who lament the publick waste, and who wish to bring them to an account for it. But I am much afraid the head is sick and no wonder then that the body is disordered.

I am pleased to find thy health is [so] much established as to have been able to endure so much difficulty without suffering.

I commit the care of this to one of my friends who is going to Ackworth where we have made a beginning and I hope not an unprosperous one—there are I believe about 60 children collected in the space of a very few months.

Accept my best wishes and believe me to be thy much obliged and affectionate Friend

J. Fothergill.

This letter is probably addressed to the Rev. Henry Zouch, vicar of Sandal, Yorks, and evidently relates to the meeting of Yorkshire freeholders, held at York on 30th Dec., 1779, when the Yorkshire Association was formed and a petition for parliamentary and administrative reform adopted, which was presented to Parliament on 8th Feb., 1780, by Sir George Savile. This, the first of nearly thirty county associations, began the movement which bore its fruit fifty years later in the Reform Act of 1832. A letter to Zouch dated 8.x.1779 is printed in J. Fothergill: *Works* (1783-4), III, clxix., and *An English Freeholder's Address to his Countrymen* in *Works*, III, 29-57. In *D.N.B.* the latter is attributed to Rev. H. Zouch. Fothergill believed more good would come of making peace with America than of petitioning for reforms. See *Works* and also R. Hingston Fox: *John Fothergill and his Friends*, 356ff.

No. 16. George Fox. Fragment of a Hebrew exercise.

Ten Hebrew words in English script, with English translation of each.

Two other fragments of the same kind are in MSS. Port. 36.175, and another in Stowe MSS. in the British Museum. See Brayshaw: *Personality of George Fox*; *Jnl. F.H.S.* vi., xv., xix., xxviii.

No. 17. Elizabeth Fry. Autograph signature on a printed pass.

Admit the Bearer to the Female side of Newgate at half past Ten on the 6th Instant. *Elizth Fry.* No date.

This and a similar pass, handwritten on vellum, also in the Library, indicate the authority accorded to Elizabeth Fry although she held no official position.

No. 23. Mary Knowles (1733-1807). Thirty-four lines addressed to Ann Blakes junior. 1800.

. . . 'Tis ordered that we ancient Tabbies,
By all the Monthly Meeting Rabbies,
That we shou'd keep our gay young people,
From ev'ry house that has a steeple,
Or building popish or Socinian,
Or any not of our opinion.
So am I not in duty bound,
To warn thee, of this dang'rous ground,
Which little Tetty longs to tread? . . .

K.

Mary Knowles (1733-1807); née Morris, (m. Dr. Thomas Knowles 1767,) is best known for her spirited dialogue with Dr. Johnson over the conversion of a young woman of his acquaintance from the Church of England to Quakerism. She was a ready writer of verses, also published several pamphlets. MSS., Friends House; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791; *Biographical Catalogue of Portraits*.

No. 24. John Coakley Lettsom to Mr. Brown. Sambrook Court. 15 May, 1815.

Informing him of meetings appointed by Mary Dudley at Grove House, Camberwell, "for the World's people", and at Gracechurch Street "both for the world's people and Friends". He has heard her "with admiration both for matter and manner".

Lettsom was born in West Indies in 1744. He succeeded to John Fothergill's practice and became the most successful physician in London; d. 1815. J. J. Abraham: *Lettsom*.

No. 32. Thomas Wilkinson to John Hewitson in Appleby Jail. Yanwath, 23.vii.1823.

After acknowledging a letter, continues:—" . . . Thou hast my Pity and Forgiveness, but I can do little more. When sentence of Death was passed I pitioned the Judge as earnestly as I was able that the sentence might not be executed, and I had his Assurance that thy Life should be spared. I can meddle no more; and it appears to me that to be removed from a country where thou could never be received with Respect will be the greatest Relief to thy Tryals. Thou wilt still be among thy Fellow Creatures and thy Abilities as a Husband Man may turn to their Advantage and thy own. . . . Remember there is a Futurity. . . . Yet do not Dispare, there is a Heaven for those who Cultivate Dispositions on Earth fit to enjoy it . . . tho' we may be parted in this Life, through innocent Watchfulness we may be happy together hereafter. . . ."

Thomas Wilkinson of Yanwath, Cumberland (1751-1836) was a farmer, nature lover and writer of prose and poetry. *Tours to the British Mountains*, 1824, made him well known. He numbered Wordsworth in his wide circle of friends, travelled widely in England, Wales and Scotland in the service of the Society and was a keen anti-slavery worker. *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1882, 1893; M. Carr: *Thomas Wilkinson*, 1905.

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxviii. p. 55

Notes are not supplied to Friends respecting whom notes appear in "The Journal of George Fox", Cambridge edition, 1911, or "The Short and Itinerary Journals", 1925. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library at Friends House.

XXI

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX, 1654.

After greetings

. . . "greate hath the love & power of god been with us since we saw thy face. . . & the mighty power of god is broken forth in this citie & makes the heathen rage : butt Bristoll & about the galants people in the nation & multitudes that confounds the heathen but oh my deare Brother one thing hath falen out this very day that lieth upon my deare Brother & me, & in nakednesse & in the simplicite of my heart I write to the that if their bee any Deceite thou may lett me heare a line from [thee] as sone as thou canst."

Here are thirteen and a half lines heavily crossed out, which can just be read and are as follows :—

"E:B. & I was moved to goe to a frends house in the Citie who had receved the treuth and her daughter & a litle boy about 15 years of age being lame of his leg : as I was siting in the house I loked upon him & I was strucke to the heart & E:B also not speaking to one the other att all about 2 houres but way led & [a] burthen was greveious & the power of the lord cam upon me at last I beleved : & was movd to arise up & take the boy by the hand & to say in the name & power of god that raysed Jesus from the dead rise stand up & walke & if thou beleve thou art mad whole the boy stode up [as] he should have gone he fayled and sat downe agayne & then E:B. & I was troubled & yett the lord doth evedince to me still it was his word : but because of the heathen I am opresed down Dear Brother write a line as thou art fre thy deare Brother & sonn Francis Howgill."

Overleaf is a long passage in cipher.

[endorsed by George Fox] F. Hougell to G. F. in 1654.

XXII

ROGER HEBDEN TO GEORGE FOX. *From York Castle,*
27.ii.1654.

“ Dear Brother. The dealeinges of the Lord with [me] since I pted from thee at Balby, of my imprissonment and passages since with them called Justices, thou maist in this pap sent herewith by these bearers see in short ther dealeinges this pap written after the mittimus I was moved to write to the Justices itt was delivered to luke Robinson he ptends as I heare that hee would doe any favour for vs but still stands in his reason, att the sessions wher I was I cast itt to the Clerke desireing that he would give itt or Read itt to them Called Justices, but Robert Barwicke the great Adversary to truth waved itt sayinge hee had received divers pamphlets from me then I desired that them hee called soe, might be read but he would [not] but I was then moved I tould him they might Judge him eternally. This inclosed with the pap of these passages I desire the to gett them to my deare brother Will^m Dewsbury where he is.

My bro: Christopher Holliday was with mee this weeke and when hee came knew noe other but comeinge on to thee but waiteinge in the counsell of the lord att p^rsent hee found moveinges to returne back againe, itt was soe to mee likewise and some thinge as I told him as if hee might come the latter end of the next month and be att the generall meeteinge about Todcaster in the way but that I lefte to him. Ther is to be a generall meeteinge next first day att his outward beinge and greate is the worke of the lord in those dales above Kirbymoerside and as the lord workes soe the Adversary in some, soe that ther was a nesessity at t^rpsent for his Retourne.

. . . Deare bro: the love of god I finde in bringinge mee into thy condition. pray for mee.”

[addressed]

For my deare brother
or rather father in the truth
called of the world George
Fox this is, deliver itt
with care.

[endorsed by George Fox] From Yorke Roger Hepton
1654 is read.

XXIII

RICHARD WALLER AND RICHARD ROPER TO
M. FELL. *Waterford*, 14.ix.1657.¹

The next letter, XXIV, should be read first.

“ Dearly beeloved sister in the unchangeable covenant of Light & life & peace where our unity & fellowship stands for ever wee are bound & knit unto thee with yt which is stronger than death. O Love from the fountaine doth freely flow out unto thee & I can trully say our heartes are Ravised towards thee, O thy beauty & thy comlyness passes and exceeds many. . . .”

They thank her for a letter, the third, which has exceedingly Refreshed them, record their liberation from prison the same day, after appearing before the court.

“ The goaller had often said wee should never goe forth while wee had a breath in our bodies wthout hee had his fees. . . . He had hired an Attorney to plead his cause & the put out such men as was Chosen for the Jury y^t the thought would speake for us ; yet the Lord did so plead our cause yt something in our very enimies did witness for us & wee weare pmitted to declare our owne cause and the Jury brought in their verdict y^t wee owed the goaller nothing & wee might have had charges & damage given us . . . but we denied it in the open Court & soe wee bore our Testimony Amongst them & cleared our consciences & left them, soe deare hearte wee are now at Liberty & this day we are to pas out of this Citty to a towne called Ross. . . . friends heare hath beene exceeding free to us in ministring to our necessities while wee weare in prison they brought us victualls each one their weeke & divers would have given us money but wee weare not free to Receive any.”

But George Lathem,² a Friend, of Dublin, visited them and brought 10/- from public stock and they also received 1/6 from James Sicklemore,³ whose “ outward beeing ” is 40 miles from Waterford. A woman Friend of the city

¹ See also Besse : *Sufferings*, ii, 462-3.

² He was of Youghal, had been a captain, and wrote a tract addressed to the inhabitants of Youghal, 1657. Smith : Catalogue II, 574.

³ Of Polegate, Dublin. The first meeting was settled at his house.

provided waistcoats. " This is as prety A meeting of friends in this city as any is in Ireland."

[addressed]

For the handes of Margret Fell at Swarthmore in Lancashire in Eingland this with Care dd.

[endorsed by George Fox] 1657 Ierland.

XXIV

RICHARD WALLER AND RICHARD ROPER TO M. F.

From the city gaol in Waterford, 4.vii.1657.

After a long opening expressive of the writers' feelings towards M.F. and a longing to hear from her, they describe a visit from the Sheriff who " passed away very loveing ". Then comes a reference to the visit of Lettice Shaine, " an ould woman, a deare friend—she hath done much service for the truth is goeing amongst the great ones of the earth to lay friends sufferings before them, both in England & Ireland. She hath beene one of Oliver P[rotector's] hous.¹ . . . shee is a very ould woman & very weake & sickly in body & trully one should scarsly beleeve if shee weare able to travill either on Foote or horsback soe fare as betwixt Dubline & this place for it is 60 milles but even yt the power of the lord doth cary her on " . . . They send a book in MS. by the bearer to be printed if thought fit.

" We weare at a meeting in this Cittie . . . and there was a man come from about Limerick, his name is John Browne.² He is an inhabiter of this nation & it seemes he goes vp & downe amongst freinds & speakes words, but is ignorant of the power, he delt exceedingly tletcherously with us for he seemed to be loueinge to vs & came to the prison to vs to visit vs & then went away into the Counterey & tould freinds that there weare two deceivers come out of Eingland of James Naylers followers & he write letters to severall meetings in this Nation to this purpose & writ to them to take heed of vs & writt to them that freinds might one write to another, & soe he thought to have spred this thing thorow

¹ The presence of Friends in Cromwell's household is mentioned (1654) in *Journal of George Fox* (Camb.), i, 170.

² Besse: *Sufferings*, ii, 463.

the nation, but providence ordered it soe y^t Elizabeth Morgen¹ met with one of his Letters at a freinds house where she was in the country & soe she Cleared our Inocency & tould freinds he knew vs not & shee sent to freinds & stopped his letters, after this shee met with this John Browne at a Meetinge & reproved him openly & . . . he was ashamed & had nothings to say for himselfe. . . . truly we have beene in pills by se & perills by Land, & in pills by false bretheren, & truly this is the hardest to beare of any but we dwell in that which beareth all things suffereth all things indureth all things & thinketh no ill. . . .

“ John Craven y^t wee met with at Dublin y^t we writ to thee of is come to Charles Collins to live. I hope it will be good for him if he keepe in silence Untill the life speake.” C.C. and Robert Turner² visited them en route for England. “ Charles Collins is one y^t is great in the outward, his wife also came to see us, shee is a dear & tender Lamb.”

[addressed]

For the handes of Margret Fell at Swarthmore in Furnes in Lancashire in Eingland this with care.

[endorsed by George Fox] Ierland 1657.

XXV

RICHARD WALLER TO MARGARET FELL. *From Cartmell, 24.i.1656.*

While at Staveley, waiting to speak to the people about to come out of church, he was set upon by John Knipe who “ forceably got me vp in his armes & threw me over the wall into the high way & layd violent hands vpon me againe & abused me . . . another time I was at Cartmell & he hayled me to the Stockes & threw me backward over them insomuch he might have slayne me . . . the last first-day I was at Francis Bensons & truly the are prety freinds

¹ Of Chester, she is mentioned in *First Publishers of Truth* under Cheshire and Gloucestershire.

² Born in 1635 at Royston, Herts. He was the founder of the meeting at Grange, Co. Armagh, 1657, and travelled preaching in Ireland. He shared with Penn and others in the purchase of East Jersey, migrated in 1683 and became one of the leading men in Pennsylvania, d. 1700. Ritty: *History of Friends in Ireland*; Myers: *Immigration of Irish Quakers to Pennsylvania*.

the have apoynted the meetinge the next first day at a place called the fell end & the expect Leonard Fell there.”

[addressed]

For the handes of Margret Fell at Swarthmore this with care.

[endorsed by George Fox] 1656.

XXVI

RICHARD WALLER TO HIS WIFE. 1654.

Reported his release in his last letter. Had trouble about jailers' fees. "Will: West sent yesterday for me to his chamber & was very loueinge & tould me he would take Care about it shortly," i.e. about the jailers' fees.

[endorsed by George Fox] 1654.

XXVII

RICHARD WALLER TO MARGARET FELL. c. 1654.

"Deare Nursing mother . . . Upon the last Sixt day I was Called to the barr & stayed there aboute two howeres then will West Red My Mittimus, none spake one word agt me, the Preests dreew neare some neare to the Judge, and one Altum ye preist Crept in at the Litle dore & stood beehind mee amongst the transgressors. I was kept low in silence, the Priests was famished & Confounded & went away. I was kept there untill the Judge did Rise, then I was moved to speake a few wordes in tendernes & in the spirit of meekenes unto him & Layd the unjust dealinge of Robert Hyde upon him. Robert Hyde was there present I was made to thresh him beefore the Judge & High Sherife . . . last second day Will West sent me a discharge. I let Thomas Hardy see it, & he says I shall never goe without fees whilst he hath power, so I went to John Hunter with it & he spooke very loveingly to mee & bid mee give him what I would but a fee he said he would have. I could not give him one peny, so he gave me the discharge againe. Mary Howgill came to me & said it came to her I might take my things with me & goe away & see if the would stay me." This he declined to do.

“ My deare love to Margret & Bridget & the Rest of thy Litle ones, my deare love to all frends, farewell, thy babe

Richard Waller.”

[addressed]

For Margret Fell at Swarthmore dd this with care
& speed

[endorsed by George Fox] about 1654.

XXVIII

JOHN AUDLAND TO JOHN WILKINSON AND JOHN STORY. *From Bristol, 1.ii.1655.*

“ deare & wellbeloved bretheren in the Eternall infinite love of God in w^{ch} we are bound vp in an Eternall bond.
. . . . I cam to this Citty yesternight I cam from G F. the 5th day I lefte him in bedfordshire at Justice Crooks house.”
. . . . G.F. may be in London by this time, John Cam and his wife and others are gone towards him from Bristol. “ He would have you go vp to London to him with Speed. You may Enquire at London to Gilles Callvert shop at the black spred Eagle at the Weste End of Paulls & there you will be derected to Rob: drings in more fields.” They were asked to call en route at Reading and enquire for “ Capt Thomas Curtisse at the Sine of the George, wolling draper. . . . Heare is 10 shillings w^{ch} I brought for you from London from F. H: & E: b: doe you sallutte mee dearely to them. it is like this may suply you till you come at London. Ann Audland is at banbury & Jane Waugh is with her.”

[addressed]

for John Wilkinson & John Storey with speed.

XXIX

JAMES PARNELL TO EDWARD BURROUGH. *From Cambridge, 18.iii.[1655].¹*

After a passage of greetings “ in the unchangeable covenant of Love and Light ”, etc., he acknowledges letters and describes meetings he had at Ely, in which “ was I Caried forth to the binding & Cheaning of the heathen ”, at Littleport about sixty meet, “ one was moved to go naked & to

¹ See Callaway : *Memoir of James Parnell*, 1846, pp. 56 ff.

goe soe to A Captaynes house an Independent professor ” ;
 “ at Soam within 3 miles of Collon: Rusells,” he spoke to a
 great throng till Justice Robert Hamand advised removal.
 At another meeting “ there was severall of ye people y^t
 belonged to those people at Chipnam & there was A man y^t
 was moved to Come from littleport & stand naked among ye
 people in ye meeting as there was of all sortes but I knew
 nothing of it untill it was dunne, & many of ye world stumbled,
 & ye enimy gotte some advantage there.” He was
 imprisoned in Cambridge but liberated by justice Blackley.¹
 Met Ann Blakley² and Dorothy Waugh. “ jolly³ ye scoller
 is Come to ye Towne, but hee is in litle Servisse hee is come
 to see about some meanes y^t is due to him in ye College,
 for they have not yet put him out & hee hath gotten some
 monies of them

James Parnell.

I shall be glad to heare from George or any of you.”

[addressed]

For my deare & Faythfull Bretheren Edward
 Burrough or Francis Howgill These are.

XXX

DOROTHY HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX, 1652.

Descriptive of her spiritual experiences (half a page
 foolscap).

[endorsed by George Fox] dorothy hougell to gF 1652
 the first wife of Fh.

¹ Alderman James Blackley. *First Publishers*, under Cambridge.

² Of Sedbergh. *First Publishers*.

³ James Jollie of Trinity College. A letter, n.d., by him in the Library
 Portfo. 36, 154, printed in *J.F.H.S.* XXV, 54, protests against the claim to
 educate men for ministers of religion and offers to share his substance with
 the poor.

Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, 1653-1720

William I. Hull, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History at Swarthmore College, U.S.A., has published as Number One of the College Monographs on Quaker History, a biography of William Sewel, "the first Quaker Historian of Quakerism".¹ The writer of this review was fortunate in having a copy of the book with him on a recent visit to the Friends meeting at Amsterdam, a meeting which would have rejoiced the heart of William Sewel, who laboured so earnestly for the Amsterdam meeting in its early days.

Dr. Hull's monograph fills a gap in Quaker bibliography. Many of us who knew Sewel's History of Quakerism had very little knowledge of the writer of it. Here we get into intimate touch with the man and his work. Sewel was a most industrious writer and translator. His work was his life and it remains with us to-day as a permanent record of the man. Besides writing his history of Quakerism and his dictionary, he translated a number of English Friends' books into Dutch. Dr. Hull gives a list of thirty-seven published works including a translation of Juvenal's thirteenth satire, and works of Robert Boyle, scientist, Gilbert Burnet, historian, William Congreve, poet, William Dampier, voyager. By correspondence with Friends in England (particularly with Isaac Penington, William Penn and Thomas Ellwood) and much reading of Quaker tracts and records, Sewel acquired a wide knowledge of the beginnings of the Quaker movement, both in England and on the continent. He was highly esteemed by Penn, who sought his help in connection with a Quaker school at Bristol. Sewel declined the offer of the post as headmaster, explaining that he was too much attached to his own country and meeting to move from Holland.

¹ Though less comprehensive, John Whiting's *Persecution Exposed*, 1715, has some claim to be an earlier Quaker history of Quakerism.

The idea of a Quaker History was stimulated in Sewel's mind by inquiries from the historian, Gerard Croese, in 1692, concerning the Quaker movement. George Fox appears to have supplied material to Croese and Sewel was consulted and gave Croese considerable assistance. But he was far from satisfied with the way Croese used the material. He was concerned for a right interpretation of the Quaker message, and though overwhelmed with translating work and the compiling of a Great Dictionary and grammar of the Dutch and English languages, he determined on becoming a historian himself. But it was twenty years before his *magnum opus* appeared.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in Dr. Hull's book is that containing the correspondence that passed between Sewel and Theodor Eccleston, "as the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings in London",¹ concerning the publication of his history. The meeting took official cognizance of it, having pages of an English translation, made by the author, read at its sessions from time to time. This naturally led to discussion and those of us who know the Meeting for Sufferings to-day will not be surprised to read that there was divergence of view expressed on certain passages of Sewel's text. Eventually English Friends were satisfied and some financial help was given to the author.

Friends were not however prepared to sponsor and finance an English edition without amendment, and so it came to pass that the Dutch and English Histories differ, especially in the account of the James Nayler incident. The English edition did not appear till 1722, two years after the author's death. It is of historic interest that when Sewel's History came to be printed in America, Benjamin Franklin was engaged on the type-setting. Dr. Hull quotes a paragraph from Franklin's Autobiography in this connection.

A valuable record for the student of Quaker history, one regrets the omission of the second l in Ellwood so frequently throughout the book.

S. GRAVESON

¹ The authority for the statement that Eccleston held this office is not given.

Hospital Sisters become Friends, 1655

In *The History of St. Thomas's Hospital*, Vol. II, 1600-1800, by F. G. Parsons, D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A. (Methuen), 1934, on p. 85, occurs reference to three hospital sisters discharged in 1655 because they became Friends. The following is the text of the two minutes of the Court of Governors, very kindly supplied by the Clerk to the Governors of the hospital.

MINUTES OF THE COURT OF GOVERNORS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL HELD ON THE 2ND OF AUGUST 1655.

Also upon information that three of the Sisters of this Hospital—viz. King, Noah and Tobias—are not conformable to the orders of this House and are (as it is reported) turned Quakers, and upon hearing them nowe in Court they seeming to justify their doing therein. It is ordered that yf they alter not their opinions and conform themselves to the orders of the house in that particular before the First day of September next: Then they to stand discharged of their places and expelled the house, and others to be chosen and placed therein.

MINUTES OF THE COURT OF GOVERNORS OF ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL HELD ON THE 14TH OF DECEMBER 1655.

Also, according to a Report nowe read, it is ordered that Elizabeth Evins [Evans ?] late assistant to Sister Jonas be Sister of King Ward in the roome of widdow Betts lately displaced and that Ann Scot be assistant to Sister Jonas. That Mary Ward be Sister of Noah Ward in the room of Elizabeth Lambert¹ lately displaced. That Dorothy Dipper late assistant to Sister Lazarus be Sister of Tobias Ward in the roome of Elizabeth Dix¹ lately displaced and that Sara Pyke be assistant to Sister Lazarus. All to hold their several places soe long as they shall behave themselves to the good liking of the Governors of this House in the roome of the Sisters thereof (this day discharged) till further order.

IRENE L. EDWARDS

¹ Besse's *Sufferings*, i, 366, refers to an Elizabeth Dix, one of 346 imprisoned in Newgate in 1660. London and Middlesex Registers record the burial of an Elizabeth Lambert of Shadwell in 1685, aged 81, and of Elizabeth Dickes of Shadwell in 1680, aged 64.

A Chemist in Trouble, 1728

In Southwark MSS. Vol. II there is a letter to "Lawford Godfrey Chymist at the Green Man and Still¹ on the Backside of Thomas Hospital, Southwark."

Lawford Godfrey was a ministering Friend prominent in Horsleydown M.M. But in 1728 we read in the M.M. minutes, "We apprehend that by the base and crafty insinuations of George Roberts a pretended alchemist and a contriver & proposer of the scheme of transmuting metals, the said Lawford Godfrey hath been most grossly deluded with relation to the undertaking before mentioned and entertained some erroneous Principles, which the said Geo Roberts pretended were necessary to the attending the Art of making Gold & Silver. The Meeting requests him to make them all [creditors] the satisfaction he is able to do and forbear Preaching and sitting in the Gallery as a Minister till this meeting is better satisfied."

He acknowledged his fault and over credulity and was in 1732 reinstated, having in the meantime moved to Kingsbridge, Devon. It is not known that he had any official connection with the hospital.

IRENE L. EDWARDS

¹ W. T. Fernie in *Herbal Simples* writes "down to the first part of the 19th century purveyors of medicinal & savoury herbs wandered over the whole of England. . . . These practitioners were known as 'green men', who carried with them their portable apparatus for distilling essences . . . there may yet be seen taverns bearing the curious sign 'The Green Man & Still.'"

Prison Visiting in 1819

Communicated by ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON

THE following letter, begun in iii mo. and continued 6.v.1819, has been kindly transcribed by Arthur J. Eddington from the *Gurney MSS.* (Sec. III, 335), deposited by Mr. Quintin Gurney at Friends House. Of special interest are the picture of penal conditions and the efforts to improve them and also the writer's comments on Joseph John Gurney's connection with politics at an election which shows the old shrinking from the affairs of the world at war with a realization that a social reform such as the restriction of capital punishment necessitates political action.

Ann (Tuke) Alexander (1767-1849) was the daughter of William and Esther Tuke and was born at York. In her girlhood she helped her parents with the girls' school which they opened in 1784. She was at the same period herself a pupil of Lindley Murray. She first opened her mouth as a minister in meeting at the age of nineteen. In 1788 she began to travel in the ministry and in course of time visited many parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, America (1803-5) and Holland and Germany (1826). In 1796 she married William Alexander of Needham Market in Suffolk, who was one of the Friends associated with her father in the founding of The Retreat. Later they moved to York (1808) to the superintendence of the girls' school founded by her mother. There she engaged in many good works besides that described below. On the death of her husband in 1841 she removed to Ipswich for the rest of her days.

Ann Alexander, from York 3rd mo. 1819 to Joseph John Gurney, Earlham, near Norwich.

My dear Friend,

Now that I am once more set at liberty from my late engagements in our City Jail, I feel an inclination to give thee a little summary of our proceedings, & of some circumstances which have thereby come to my knowledge, as strongly

corroborating the sentiments expressed in thy late Publication, which, proving the interest thou must now feel on account of the inmates of prison houses, I shall venture to proceed without further apology. Thou wilt perhaps recollect, when inspecting our Jail with thy sister E. Fry & the magistrates, seeing two men in one room as described in thy account, besides a Jew in a separate apartment. On our visiting Committee being introduced in form by two of our Aldermen, who were kind enough to gratify some of our feelings, by shewing us the *men's*, as well as the women's apartments; the two former very forcibly attracted my attention; & on enquiring, if the female visitors might be at liberty to sit down and read a little with them, &c, if they felt inclined to do so; Wilson and Peacock did not think it best to grant leave, but nodded assent to the Jailor, in a way which left him at liberty to use his own discretion in the matter. It so happened, that by the absence of one or both of my colleagues, I was left to go alone the first week of our visiting; when having then only one female under our care, after reading with, and communicating to her what little instruction seemed in my power, I felt very solicitous to make all the use I could of the permission allowed us respecting the men, which the opportunity seemed to afford; and finding the Jailor not only willing but apparently pleased with the proposal I was soon left alone in the day room with the two above mentioned. By a little previous inquiry, I found the elder, aged 63 was father of the woman then under our care, who confessed she had been the cause of his being in that situation, by stolen goods being put in his house by herself or her husband (now transported) who both declared he was perfectly innocent as to the theft, or any knowledge of the goods being secreted in his premises. By further inquiry of himself, I found he was a day labourer; & having little beforehand, had laid that little for rent, when he was committed in prison, so that he had only the Jail allowance stated in thy "notes", was without employment; could read but very indifferently, and was loaded with a chain of about 7 lbs. weight, the coldness of which, during the winter as he lay in bed, seemed to add much to his sufferings.

The other man, under 21 years of age, had been once on board the hulks, and also broke out of prison; so that closer confinement appeared more needful in his case than the other.

He was committed for stealing, had no employment, & in other respects shared with his colleague. On reading a chapter, and making a few remarks after it, they both manifested the greatest attention; the elderly man sighing deeply, & the other shedding many tears, which was the more extraordinary as we might have expected him totally destitute of feeling, as he had been brought up in scenes of vice from his childhood, having had no education; not even that of a Sunday School, & therefore could not read, & seemed to recollect no religious instruction but some prayers his mother taught him before her death, which happened when he was I think about 6 years old; His father died in his infancy. Whether on their minds or not, this visit and some others before any more were added to their number, made on my own a lasting impression, by their being owned more than at the time I might be fully aware of, by a degree of the presence of him, who came to seek and to save that which would otherwise be lost.

By a little subscription, the addition of Soup, Cheese, Soap, & coals when needful were soon added to their bodily comforts; & my two valued partners Alice Hornor & Dorothy Wilson being quite disposed to assist my endeavours for their improvement & comfort, the young man was supplied with a few books, slate, &c. & learnt both to read and write a little during his confinement, & the elder having learnt to make list shoes soon instructed his colleague by which means they made about 30 Pr and earned about 20^s/ profit, most of which was reserved, and given to them on their discharge, as they were both acquitted.

After having gone on in the way just described, with increasing hopes of improvement, we were however much tried by the introduction of deserters, 3 in the course of our visiting; which, though only one staid till the last, had evidently a tendency to unsettle, & much counteract our endeavours for permanent amendment; but this was of little consequence compared with the introduction of five men at one time, sentenced by our sessions for transportation, who were added to their number, and, by some circumstances preventing two of our Committee attending; had been with them some days before it was my lot to make the painful discovery. On some remonstrance with the Jailor & endeavouring to convince him that all our efforts would be

frustrated, by such contamination he kindly provided a small room for Wilson & West, (the two first mentioned men) where they could be kept *partially* separate ; & might go on with their work, to the no small comfort of the elderly man in particular ; but not till after the anticipated effects of a week's association with some of the most abandoned, were but too apparent on the weak mind of the younger ; who, from that time never regained those feelings of contrition, which had often appeared very striking to the other visitors, as well as to myself.

After their discharge, on calling here for the money, they both expressed much thankfulness for the care extended ; but the old man's cup so overflowed, that, as he said, it seemed quite beyond his powers of expression ; adding " that he had been 26 weeks in the condition I have mentioned ; and he *thought he should have been quite lost*, had not something been done to add to his comfort ".

I will now turn to our females, Two servants were added for stealing in a very short time, to the one you saw in the prison. These girls, about 24 and 22 years of age, had long been immoral characters ; and it appears to us evident, had got into hands likely to finish the career of their moral depravity, had they not thus been arrested ; & we were in hopes, brought to some sense of feeling. However about a week before their trial a woman of *infamous* character, evidently in liquor, was added to their number, during the time of my visiting. Distressing as was this occurrence, the Jail being then very full of men of different descriptions, there seemed no alternative. The effects were just what might have been foreboded : they hardened each other and the young women's appearance & manner on their trial, were such as would completely out balance what we believe they might truly advance, as some extenuation of their guilty conduct. They were convicted, & sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment in the house of correction ; The woman you saw, to 2 years ; & the last inmate is now under sentence of death for robbery ; but in expectation that it will be changed to transportation ; She was still with them when we paid our last visit tho' we hope they will soon be separated.

To this discouraging account, I should however add, that it is said another day room for each sex, with a division of the yards, is in contemplation by our City magistrates ;

who have ordered a regular supply of Coals & Soap ; and 1 pennyworth of milk per day, to be added to the former allowance.

How strikingly do these cases prove the want of a thorough change of prison discipline ! but even with that, it appears to me, that the check so much needed to the increase of crime and misery will not be effected, but by that ameliorating of the penal code, which is now happily claiming some part of the public attention. It seems very strange, not to say unaccountable, that in this Christian country, the penal code of the Jews, who were under the immediate direction of the great Governor of the Universe, should be so little regarded. Crimes there mentioned as of the *greatest magnitude*, & held up as such by our Saviour himself in his sermon on the mount, as deviations from the law of *purity*, are here scarcely brought into consideration, whilst petty thefts, &c, meet with the greatest severity, were the laws fully executed. The plan of restitution, so admirably laid down in the Jewish code, and no doubt sanctioned by the spirit of the Gospel, though that of retaliation, or revenge, is expressly forbidden, seems much overlooked, except in America, where it has so long been acted upon with advantage.

An instance or two having just accured, which led me to think more deeply than before on this subject ; have induced me to communicate these things to thee, my Dear Friend ! in that freedom which I hope will be kept open between us, trusting to thy prudence and discretion, should any use be made of them or the preceding statements of such an obscure individual. One man from the Jail, who with the others sentenced for transportation have been also in some measure objects of my care, with the assistance of James Backhouse, was convicted of stealing a gold chain of some value, which by what I heard on the trial, had not been restored to the owner. He was sentenced to 1 month's confinement in the house of correction. Another man connected with the Jew (the latter acquitted) is under sentence of death, which will be lessened to transportation, for robbing the shop of a Widow, of goods, &c, to the amount of about 10 Guineas. Some of the goods have been returned, if not all. Now would it not be making a much better compensation to the Widow, to have that man confined to work, till he had made *full*

restitution ; and is it not also as much due to the woman who lost the gold chain ? Would it not also be much more to the advantage of the country, to erect penitentiaries, where such might be confined to labour till they had made restitution, paid all expenses of their prosecution and maintenance, & then be subject to as much longer confinement as circumstances appeared to require ? And would not the idea of such labour, with occasional solitary confinement, be much more dreaded by those whose habits of idleness and dissipation have brought them into such circumstances, than going to Botany Bay, or even the awful sentence of being executed ?

As thy valuable relative T. F. Buxton, is now, by his seat in Parliament, an influential Character, we may confidently hope he will use all his influence, in promoting that change of public measures on behalf of this devoted class of human beings, (and may I add that of poor climbing boys) which is evidently so much wanted ; and though many trials of faith and patience may await its completion, yet we may rest assured, that “ great is truth, and will prevail ” ; so far as those who are sincerely concerned for its promotion, preserve their faith in, & dependance upon, our all powerful intercessor and advocate.

5th mo 6th The preceding statement was hastily penned before my setting out for our late Q^y Mee^s at Leeds ; I therefore left it with our F^r Esther Brown to transcribe, intending to finish & forward it, on my return home again. This, however, having been protracted five weeks, by attending Kendal Q^y M^s, visitting those in the Compass of Settle M^y M^s, & other religious engagements, finishing with the examination at Ackworth, I have not had much quiet settlement for resuming my correspondence with thee, till the present period. I now do it under the grateful persuasion, that the spirit of opposition which has appeared to thy book on Prison Discipline, & in which we who are *now* visitters to the females in the Castle may probably some time longer participate, will, by eliciting more of the truth, be one means of effecting its overthrow. This I trust will also be the case, thro : the mysterious workings of him, whose name is indeed “ Wonderful ”, respecting some of thy engagements for the benefit of the rising generation, under which thou hast shared my sympathy & must have felt the need of the full exercise

of that faith & patience, which constitute a part of the christian's panoply. But, my d^r friend! there is one circumstance which I heard related in public company during my absence, & which was strongly corroborated by a letter being read out of a Newspaper addressed to thee on the occasion, which affected my mind too painfully to pass over unnoticed. I allude to the conspicuous part said to be taken by thee & thy valued bro^r Sam^l on acc^t of your late City Election. As I cannot but believe, that serious reflection must lead to the full conviction, that the spirit of Electionering is as opposite to the example & precepts of him, who was "holy, harmless, undefiled, & separate from sinners"; as light is from darkness, it is always to me a matter of surprise, that religious characters under our name, can take any great share in this business, as it is now so generally conducted. The introduction, however, of some members into Parliament, who there is very good ground to believe will stand forward in the cause of suffering humanity or for the promotion of that great work of truth & righteousness, which in the present day, is so evidently advancing, may be a powerful plea in favour of supporting such characters by their votes & interest, tho the latter, I apprehend, ought to be very much guarded. But when one is held up as a candidate, who, from the lowness, & even inhumanity of some of his pursuits or amusements seems more fit to herd with the basest class of mankind, than to rank amongst the rulers of a nation professedly not only civilized, but christian—any very active measures being pursued for his promotion by those who are themselves public advocates for that "holy name which requires every one to depart from iniquity", appears so discordant, as to excite, not only surprise, but in the case alluded to, even a degree of astonishment. That there may have been misrepresentations, & extenuating circumstances, I can readily admit, & shou'd have rejoiced to have had them in possession at the time alluded to, but as that is now over, perhaps what is past will be best consigned to the pit of oblivion, except the profitable reflection of our own frailty, & liability, in an unguarded moment to give some occasion of censure to those who are watching every movement of such as have put their hands to a work equally pure & precious, with the most scupulous attention. I trust the feelings of sincere love & friendship, will warrant the freedom

Henrietta Gurney, 1761-1828

Communicated by ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON

John Gurney (1655-1721), the first of the name to be a Friend, was the father of John (1688-1740) and Joseph (1691-1750). Henry the father of Henrietta, here described, was a son of the younger John, called the weaver's advocate. The Gurneys of Earlham are descended from the 2nd son Joseph, and his wife Hannah, both familiar through the fine engraved portraits of them.

Notes by HUDSON GURNEY :

Henrietta Gurney was the youngest [daughter] of Henry & Elizabeth Gurney's 7 children. She was born 24^h Jan 1761, no doubt at her father's house in Pitt St S^t Augustines P^s & which was formerly called S^t Olave S^t which was afterwards the first bank house. Her Mother died about 1787, 10 years after her father. When H. was about 26, all her other sisters & brothers having been married some time, she & her next sister Maria removed (we suppose) to the house she afterwards lived in about half way down Bank St, where they settled down into old maids. Maria died in 1804 aged 45, after they had lived together 17 years. H. then became Miss G. of which she was proud, as also of being a mem. of the Gs, at least so says D. G. Henrietta was a most valuable member of the family, as it was *she* who remembered so many of the family traditions & stories, & she drew up a pedigree & made many of her relations take a copy at £5 each. She was in person "very fat & rather round, with a squeaking voice", but with a very kind heart & most useful to the Poor S^c. D. G. says in his F. R. that "she was always ready to help without a tendency to interfere, & was very active in her charities". D. G. in speaking of her visits to Earlham says they used to come in a sort of demi-quaker costume, & always with fans that opened with a spring. . . The only picture we have of her represents her ladling out soup to the poor. D. G. says, "She had always prayed she might die in her sleep, & was found dead in her bed without, I believe, any previous illness." She died 2nd May, 1828, aged 67.

Notes by JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY :

Aunt Henrietta lived in a small house near the Bank, & had a collection of stuffed birds. . . . I particularly remember one case among them containing a polecat coming out of his hole to spring upon a brood of young partridges. Aunt Henrietta used to dislike fine words, one of her sayings was "When I was young horse doctors were called farriers, now they call themselves Veterinarian Surgeons!" She used to sit at meeting on the seat next under the Ministers Gallery & my sister & I always used to meet her (we being then very small) as she came from her seat after meeting, when she would pull from her pocket a box somewhat the shape & size of a large ivy leaf made out of walnut wood (I think) bound with Silver,

from which she took two pink lozenges & gave us each one. She was a principal founder of the Norwich Sick Poor Society & the Annual Sale of fancy articles for the benefit of the Society called the "Repository" used to be held in the large room of the Angel Inn now the Royal Hotel, the goods being exhibited on tables arranged in the form of a horse shoe with long arms, & Aunt Henrietta always sitting at the head of the horseshoe in the middle of the outside bend, assisted by her niece Lucy Aggs Jun^r.

Gurney MSS. ii., 95 and 96, Friends House.

The Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting was held at Friends House on March 1st, with the President, Margaret Sefton-Jones, F.R.Hist.S., in the chair. She referred to the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of Norman Penney, the editor of the *Journal* from its first issue in 1903.¹ Isabel Grubb was appointed President, J. Travis Mills Vice-President, for the ensuing year, and John Nickalls editor of the *Journal*. The Committee and other officers were re-appointed.

The President then delivered her presidential address, entitled "Nine Pages from the Book of Jordans". With the help of archæological finds and of ancient field names, she cast light on the life of the neighbourhood in the ages before history, showing that nearby was worshipped the Horned God of Palæolithic man, and that there was a sacred grove in Romano-British times. Other evidence indicates a Romano-British settlement and various industries. Claimants to the honour of having given the place its name of Jordans were considered, one being Jordan of Tintagel, who figures in the Arthurian legends, the other the twelfth century Jordan de la Penne, probably an ancestor of William Penn. The succession of Jordans farm in the Grove family from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries was traced until in 1519 William Gardiner, a London grocer, bought it. The first Quaker owner was William Russell, whose father obtained it in 1610. The meeting house was built in 1688. From then onwards the story was full of familiar Quaker names, Penns, Peningtons, Ellwoods, and others and was enlivened by many illustrations from the minute books of Uppeside Monthly Meeting. Margaret Sefton-Jones is now completing a book on the History of Jordans and its locality of which her presidential address gave us a number of pleasing glimpses in advance.

The Statement of Accounts is on page 68.

¹ An account of his services to Quaker history by M. Ethel Morland, with appreciations from members in America, was printed in the *Journal*, xxx. (1933).

Early Discipline in Southwark

1. A Marriage. 2. Two Schoolmasters.

Communicated by IRENE L. EDWARDS

AN interesting collection of manuscripts lately given to the Library at Friends House by Kingston and Southwark Monthly Meeting consists of over 1,000 pages, bound in four volumes, comprising letters, certificates, bills and other papers supplementing the Minutes of Horslydown and Southwark Monthly Meeting.

A few of the documents have already been printed, in *Jnl.* xxii., 53f., and xxvii., 59ff. Further extracts on two matters before the meeting are now given. The first case is a mixed marriage which caused a difference between Horslydown Friends and the local Church of the General Baptists in 1667. The second gives the decisions of some Horslydown Friends on the question of a difference between two schoolmasters in 1676.

I. MARRIAGE. FRIENDS AND BAPTISTS, 1667

It has been assumed that many of the early members of Horslydown Monthly Meeting on the South side of London Bridge were drawn from the congregations of Baptists already strong in the neighbourhood.

This has never been proved, but the supposition is strengthened by this correspondence. It suggests that some of the Horslydown Friends had a special interest in the local Baptists when they brought this matter of a marriage before the Baptists across on the north side of the Thames. For they say, "But now we really having a better belief of some of you who are under the same form or profession than that you either own or countenance such wickedness" and "Also we would not have you let such grossness and corruption go unreprieved lest it give advantage and power to them who are both yor enemies and ours." The case is

also interesting as showing certain similarities between the views of Baptists and of Friends, and ultimately in their disciplinary methods.

Dr. W. T. Whitley, F.R.Hist.S., honorary secretary of the Baptist Historical Society, has kindly examined the correspondence and writes that though the incident is new to him,

the general attitude to marriage is familiar. Baptists of this type were extremely strict upon marrying within the fellowship, and the matter was discussed fully on the fourth day of the third month 1668, as printed in my edition of the General Assembly's doings, pages 23.* The dates suggest plainly that the debate arose out of the specific case you cite, for the decisions go far beyond those of 1656.

Marrying out was considered by them a sin deserving of excommunication, but unfeigned repentance was to be accepted by the Church as an alternative. It was decided not to attempt separation of the parties in such cases, which appears to have been the unwise course followed in the previous year in the case here described. Dr. Whitley's note on the proceedings (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 24) says

This strictness of discipline was perhaps a legacy from the continental Anabaptists, but was not without parallel in the proceedings of the Presbyterians and of most Puritans; when, however, applied to enforce endogamy within the narrow limits of the Six-Principle Baptists, it did on the one hand keep a succession so that the same family can be traced for generations, but it also drove out all who would not submit to it and thus contributed to weaken the body.

Here we have an experience closely parallel to that of our own Society. But both points of view were evidently very strongly held for we read that neither the orthodox nor the offender were to affirm or to deny that "marrying out of the Lord or out of the Church" was equivalent to fornication.

The paper preserved in Southwark MSS. I, 26, is as follows:—

To the teachers and elders of ye several congregations (or churches) of ye Baptized people in & about Southwarke side. Friends, this is to informe you yt some of us (*viz*) of ye people called quakers, who are zealous for ye Lord our god, and tender of ye honor of his Name and ye proffession

of Faith comitted to us, yt it may be kept cleare of all occasions of reproaches and scandalls and therein our innocency might appeare forthwith. And some of us on ye 13th day of ye second Month 1667, att John Friths in Tuleys Street, did meet with some of your Brethren (viz) John Cleaton,^t Henry Akhurst, Richard Elmer & (and some others) who make themselves Teachers of others; First to cleare ourselves and our principle from ye darke & underly proceedings of a couple who came together as man and wife without giving publique notice of their marriage, yt man being owned as a member of their societies and ye woman being supposed one of us, but noe such custome nor discipline have wee amongst us. Nor doe wee owne yt maner of their proceedings therein, but have given an open testimonie against all such things. Wee did reason with ye men above-said touching their parting ye sayd couple after they were come together as man and wife and had concluded and agreed between themselves to continue, as they themselves there confessed. As also touching ye mans taking another [torn] yet still he owned and indicated amonge them in his putting away or leaving ye first and taking a second wife, John Clayton thanked God that he had a hand in parting of them. And after he had reckoned ye man a knave and her as bad or worse, he pleaded yt they were unequally yoaked, for ye man was a believer and shee an unbeliever and therefore they parted them; upon which they reckoned ye guilt of his sinn (in their being unequally yoaked) was done away; and now hee is owned as a member amongst them, having taken one to wife of his owne Faith. Though when they were asked whether or noe they acquainted ye woman he hath last taken of his proceeding with ye other woman before he was married to this last, they would not answer to it. Upon which discourse with many more words and many witnesses being present, this John Clayton and the rest of them, being by some of us Charged with causing ye Man to goe into Adultery and with maintaining him in it, whom some tymes they called a Knave and other tymes a beleiver, . . . then, as the Ranters used to doe, they pleaded ye Jewes putting away their strange wives and those yt were borne of them, Ezra 9. . . .

But now wee really having a better beleife of some of you who are under ye same forme or profession, than that you

either owne or countenance such wickedness as to assume such an Authoritie ; Higher than ye Bishops or as high as ye pope, as those yor Bretheren aforesayd have done, as to part man and wife and owne ye man in taking another wife while ye first is alive, if he be counted a beleiver before he hath taken ye first, yt we are not willing to lay such a thing to yor charge in ye Generall as ye Baptists principle till wee may know yor Judgmts, but rather Judge it to be some grocenesse and corruption crept in among some perticulers as there mentioned, who if they had not preched it up as they did in the presence of many witnesses, but had Judged and condemned what had been amisse in ye parties concerned in ye first of our Discourse, and themselves concerning them, wee had not made mention of therin writing upon this occasion.

But it being ye principle and doctrine of ye said John Clayton and others of them that if a beleiver take an unbeleiver to wife they were to part them because they were unequally yoked ; so yt if their Brethren take wives of another persuasion, they can assume a power to part them, and it seems give a dispensation to take wives of their owne persuasion. But then if some woman of their owne faith take husbands of another beleefe yt will not part with their wives, how will they doe in yt case to gett authoritie to part them ? . . .

That a man should leave his wife under pretence of being an unbeleiver and take another, it argues great hardness of heart, and an unchristian like spirit. . . .

And even these yor Bretheren who were ye occasion of such wickedness deserve to be cast out, and whereas they urged as the main argument Marriage in ye Lord and whom God Joynes together &c, as Implying & takeing an Authority to part such as were not Married in ye Lord, Now, herein as in divers other things, they perverted and abused ye Scriptures. For both they and you know there are many marriages having been suffered in a lower state, which persons being Joyned in and become man and wife it is not Lawfull to part them nor goe about to absolve them from yt engagement and covenant they are under as man and wife ; for it was sayd its better to Marry than Burne, which is much below some Marriages. And though Moses suffered ye Jewes because of the hardness of their harts to putt away

their wives and give a writing of disownment, yett in ye beginning it was not soe. Christ gave another Law and taught another Doctrine which all professing Christianity ought to be subject to ; yea when his disciples asked him of this matter he sayd whosoever shall put away his wife and marryeth another comitteth adultery &c Mark 10 : 10 : 11 : 12 Marke ye wordes and how Generall they are. Much more might be sayd, but these things we leave to yor considerations, desiring to know yor Judgmts touching ye matter herein in charge against those yor Bretheren mentioned, and weather you owne them in their principle, yea or nay, for wee Judge it both bad & scandellous, alsoe wee would not have you lett such Grossness and corruption goe unreproved lest it give advantage and power to them who are both yor enimies and ours to stir them up yt are against you and us

Yor Friends Tho : Padley²
 Abraham : Shapton³
 Walter : Miers.⁴

The reply is as follows, (Southwark MSS., Vol. I, No. 27.)

22nd of the 4th month 1667.

To the people comonly called quakers or to so many as are concerned in this business hereafter expressed.

We have latly sen a paper directed to the Teachers and Elders of the baptized congregations in or about Southwark subscribed by Thomas Padley Abraham Shapton Walter Miers, in which paper there is a complaint of som of the Teachers of the baptized churches, that is to say John Clayton, Henry Akhurst, Richard Elmore, with some others concerninge a couple of persons (as saith the paper) that has agreed together to live as man and wife in which complaint we take notice of these three thinges as the grounds of it :—

First that these Teachers have ben instrumental to seperat the said persons.

Secondly that the said Teachers were a meanes to keep the said man in communone though they know him a fornicator.

Thirdly that the said Teachers were Instrumental to marie the said man to another woman.

To the first we answer that though we cannot say as you say to clinch so hard that they were man and wife,

for then we think we should so much justifie that unclean action, and might incurig [encourage] others too much to the sam practise, which we beare our testimony against. But thus we believe that consideringe the sinfullness of their proceedings, and the Difference of their Judgments, if they two could agreed to have separated, and to have lived single all their Dayes, they had don well, and it would a ben a means to have recovred themselves out of that snare that they were fallen into for we beleeve that their caridge was filthy and uncleane. But for others to have a hand in their separation as is expressed in the paper, and before there was an endeavour that both persons might be satisfied, or for such endes as is signified by the paper, we beleeve such councill is not safe nor becomege a Gospill Spirit.

As for the second in their keepinge of him in comunion (as yor paper say) aft they know him a knave and a fornicator (and had a fare oportunity for the church to meet to Excamon the mater and to deall with him) was contrary we beleeve to the mind of God, and ought to be disowned, for the sin was a Great sin and ought to be punished by the Church in and by the power of the Lord, and that their should have been time as well as words to have manifested the repentince before the Church had medled any more with him.

As to the third, their counclinge of him to marie with another (accordinge to your paper), we beare our Testemony against it as an uncleane thing for we beleeve he was not fit for any other woman much less for a faithful honest woman and we feare it was so much the more sinfull in as much as it was don so suddenly. Thus we have given you a short account in which you may understand that such pratrises (as it is stated in yor paper) is besid our principles, though John Clayton, who you charge, doe say that you have not stated the case right. But as the case is stated we disowne it and you say in conclusion that the Enemy that hate both you and us, may take an advantage by it, we confese that is true, but you may as well bringe it upon you and us by yor open publication of it as they did by their unadvised doeing of it, which we Leave to yor considratinge and rest

Christopher Miles⁵

Joseph Taylor⁶

Sam. loveday⁷

Randall Roper⁸

John Foxwell⁹

II. FRANCIS LEA¹⁰ AND RICHARD SCORYER¹¹

This case concerns the conflicting interests of these two schoolmasters.

Horslydown Friends on 20.ii.1670 had asked leave from "the meeting in London" for "Francis Lea to keep schol" in the Meeting House. How soon it was begun is not known, but Horslydown Meeting House was shortly afterwards pulled down by Sir Christopher Wren under an Order in Council and so for a time at any rate the school would have to be elsewhere. Evidently it settled in the other Meeting House for six years later the Monthly Meeting on 7.iv.1676 asked Wm. Shewen to write to Francis Lea "about the school in the Park".¹⁹ The matter was brought up again next month, before an answer had been received from Francis, who was in Cardiff gaol. We gather that Richard Scoryer started his career in Southwark as assistant to Francis Lea—the minute of 5.v.1676 states that "the Freinds of this Meting doe desire Richard to kepe the Scole for a month or two untill we hear whether Francis come up or noe and if Francis doe not give him satyfaction for his soe doing that then Friends may find a way to consider him something but Freinds dooe thinke that Richard shall have the whole wages that the Scole produces from henceforward till Francis come home." At last came a letter from Francis written 29.iv.1676 in Gaol (Southwark MSS., Vol. I, 101).

From it we learn that Francis is frequently absent on the service of truth and that Richard has been employed by him to keep the school going during his absences. These have been so frequent that Richard thinks he should take the whole proceeds of the school fees, or else set up one of his own. Francis says the school produces more than enough for Richard's wages and thinks Richard would have done better to await his expected release and return or at least to have written to his employer direct to be freed from his contract, before taking the matter to the monthly meeting. Francis on his part has not failed to keep the contract and he is sure they can part as amicably as they came together and hopes the monthly meeting will not interfere until they have had a chance to do so.

The dispute seems to have involved wider issues than are apparent from this letter and Southwark friends met

together to go into the whole question carefully with a view of preventing "future differences among friends about matters of trade". Their decisions here printed show a high standard of love and forbearance.

Southwark MSS., Vol. I, 108.

Southwarke the
29th of 7th Mo. 1676.

Upon ye debate & consideration of ye Case of Difference betweene Francis Lea & Rich. Scories.

It was concluded as followeth :—

First. It is Agreed & Judged meet by ye freinds met ye day above whose names are underwritten That our freind or freinds ought [not ?] to make a Bargaine to leave and forsake his or their trade & Imployment & Remove their dwellings & transport him or themselves beyond ye seas or into another County without due & weighty counsell and the consent & approbation of their wives if they have any. And if any doe make, have or shall make such a weake, rash, forward, unadvised Bargaine they ought to repent of it & Acknowledge their folly & weaknes therein, And if he or they have or shall doe any particular person any wrong by their weaknes & folly such ought to make restitution to ye person soe wronged.

Being very late at Night ye Meeting adjourned till ye 3rd of ye 8th Month & met accordingly.

Secondly. Upon the further weighing & consideration of ye case betwixt frances Lea & Rich. Scories wee find that R.S. without due & weighty counsell weakely and unadvisedly and without ye consent of his Wife hath made a bargaine as above is expressed, And that by declaring his Intention to fullfill ye same hath Induced F. Lea to yeild to easier tearms & to take less money for his Interest in ye Scoole for ye time past then otherwise he would have done.

Therefore we Judge it the duty of Rich Scories not only to confess his weakenes, folly & forwardness in declaring his purpose or intentions to leave his present Imployment & dwelling &c, But allsoe to give Frances Lea the same satisfaction in money which would might or can appeare to be his due & right if he had knowne that he had Intended to stay & keepe a scoole in Southwarke as now he doth ; Therefore we doe order & advise that they treat with each outhr in ye same capacity which they were in before the late conclusion

betwixt them was, According to their former Bargaine, & if they cannot agree then to call a freind or two to assist them.

[Autograph Signatures]

Jno. Grove ¹²	Wm. Shewen ¹⁴	John Potter ¹⁶
Ralph Gouldsmith ¹³	Thomas Padley	Griffiths Jones ¹⁷
Walter Miers	Gabriel Earwood ¹⁵	James Craven ¹⁸

Now for ye preventing the like difference among freinds about matters of trade we declare our Judgment further on as followeth

That it is not of good Report reasonable nor according to truth for any freind to tye or endeavour to tye and Ingage their servant or servants, partner or partners, yt when their time is out, or when they part not to use their trade, or if they doe they must goe into some other parish, towne, or County, or at some such distance where they may not take away part of their Customers or lessen their trade, this we say is unbrotherly Contrary to truth and unlawfull and of an evill report, being the fruit and effect of a private narrow selfish covetous sperit.

2dly. We conclude yt if a freind & Brother Be wise Juditious & full of foresight & discretion to manage & order his affairs & he meet with another freind & Brother who is not soe wise Juditious discreet & considerate &c, That he ought not to make any advantage upon him for selfe Interest by taking hold of any forward unadvised words, promises, or covenants, But rather to Instruct advise and informe him for ye best, as he would be done by himselfe. And if he does not this he is more guilty and blameworthy in the sight of God & all good men, then the weake, forward, Indiscrete & ignorant And will receive Judgment from god for ye same.

3dly We Judge it contrary to & Inconsistant with ye universal testimony of truth that any freind or Brother should grudge in his Mind first against & be discontented with another freind and Brother that is of ye same trade and imployment because he comes to dwell neare him or sets up his trade in the same parrish, streete, towne, or County. This is an evill sperit even ye sperit of envy and evill will, & not of him who would have all come to ye knowledge of ye truth and be saved. And if all were contented and become freinds to ye truth this love would Ingage to live together in peace, unity & love And keepe downe the

Contrary, giving dominion over all selfe Interest that leade to hate or hurt a brother, or neighbour upon the account of outward trade, gaine or loss.

4th We judge that if a freind or brother who is weake in his Judgmt and so forward and unadvised in his undertakings should in yt state make a bargaine, or covenant with another freind or brother to doe that which is not convenient nor consistent with his lawful Interest good and well being inwardly & outwardly, and afterwards comes to a sight and understanding therein & confesses his folly, weakenes, forwardness and unadvisedness, and desires his Brother to forgive him and Release him, we Judge yt it is the Duty of a Brother soe to doe, And if he doth it not, he doth not fullfill ye Law of Righteousnes, nor doe as he would be done by, neither hath he learned ye heavenly lesson to forgive those that trespass against him as he would be forgiven.

Thus because wee understand that Francis Lea (notwithstanding his giving up ye matter & promising to consent or acquiese with our Judgmt and advice therein) doth shew himselfe discontented and dissatisfied with wt we have done, thinking himselfe wronged by our Judgment, going about wth a complaint among freinds & would trouble freinds to heare & judge the matter againe, therefore we have added these few particulars which may something demonstrate the reason of our concluding ye difference soe and soefar as we did. And we doe further offer that if any freind in London or elsewhere shall signifie that they are dissatisfied or are doubtfull that we have not concluded aright in ye matter, or that we are mistaken in the same, that then wee shall be ready and willing to meet such freind or freinds and endeavour to give them full satisfaction. And further we signifie that if any fds are desirous to be judged in ye matter and can demonstrate any erroniousness in our proceedings & Judgment thereoff we are and may be ready to give it up into their hands and receive correction and a better understanding from them.

[Autograph Signatures]

Ralph Gouldsmith

Jno Grove

Wal Miers

Wm. Shewen

Gab Earwood

8th Month 13th 1676

NOTES

* W. T. Whitley: *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England, 1654-1728*. 2 vols. 1909-10.

¹ John Cleaton was an elder, of Fair St. General Baptist Church when it met at Dockhead or Shad Thames, Southwark.

² Prominent in early minutes of Horslydown Monthly Meeting. No relation of John Padley whom he adopted. (See John Padley's *Testimony*.)

³ Cheesemonger. Had severed connection with Friends by 1704 when he wrote to Horslydown Monthly Meeting asking for return of money he had subscribed towards the building of the Meeting House and the purchase of the Park burying ground.

⁴ Cheesemonger and by company Citizen & Shipwright of London. Lived at Bridge House, Southwark. Friend and correspondent of the Swarthmore household.

^{5, 6, 7, 8, and 9} Some of the leaders of the General Baptist Church in London. See also W. T. Whitley "The Baptists of London" and "Minutes of General Assembly of General Baptists 1654-1728."

¹⁰ Information about Francis Lea is scanty. He wrote three tracts, the first of which, *Judgment Brought Forth unto Victory*, is dated from the Fleet Prison, i. mo. 1671. In it he says that he had lived like the prodigal son and run through his portion, after which he resolved to imitate Dr. Faustus and sell his soul to the Devil if he could have whatsoever he desired while he lived. He oftentimes called upon the Devil for this purpose "but the Lord was pleased to prevent this evil design". He was convinced by reading one of George Whitehead's tracts and joined himself to Friends. His letter and handwriting, besides his avocation after his convincement suggest that he was a man of good education. The case here discussed suggests that he travelled in the ministry and he was twice imprisoned. The death of a Francis Lee is recorded in the London Registers, 18.ix.1682, aged 35 years, of consumption.

¹¹ Richard Scoryer, or Scorier, maintained a very successful school at the Park Meeting House, Southwark, and afterwards at Wandsworth. In 1697 he was attacked by Rev. Charles Leslie, in *The Snake in the Grass*, with a charge of not teaching Scripture but using George Fox's Journal instead, to which R.S. replied, with witnesses. In the same year he was recommended, in a paper issued by the direction of the Yearly Meeting, as one suitable to instruct young men who would become teachers. He died in 1715. See also *J.F.H.S.*, vii., 45, 46; xiii., 174; xxii., 84; xxx., 49.

¹² Mariner of Rederiff.

¹³ Mariner. See Whittier: *The King's Missive*, and Swarthmore MSS.

¹⁴ Pinmaker "at the upper end of Barnaby (Bermondsey) Street", author of several works in Smith's *Catalogue*.

^{15, 16, 17 and 18} Names occur in Minutes of Horslydown Monthly Meeting.

¹⁹ The *old* Park Meeting House was built about 1674 at the junction of Ewer and Park Street, on Bankside Southwark, within a few yards of the site of the old Globe Theatre and Bear Garden. The name was derived from the old town house and park of the Bishops of Winchester. In 1685 the Meeting House was seized and used as a guard house by James II for about a year and a half. Horslydown and Park Meetings were about a mile apart and composed Horslydown M.M.

Marriage Certificate, 1670, in Thomas Ellwood's hand

Whereas Edward Butterfield son of John Butterfield of Flandon in the County of Hertford Yeoman, and Mary Thompson, daughter of Philip Thompson of Flandon aforesaid, Blacksmith having first obtained the consent of their nearest Relations & friends, did in two several publick Meetings of the peope of God called Quakers declare their intentions to take each other in Marriage, and had the assent of the said Meeting thereunto :

These are now to certify al whom it may concern that upon the four and twentieth day of the second month (commonly called Aprill) in the year one thousand six hundred & seventy the said Edward Butterfield and Mary Thompson in the new dwelling house of Thomas Lane, called by the name of Whelplie situate in Hamlett of Coleshill in the County aforesaid did solemnly take each other in marriage to live together as husband and Wife, during ther term of their natural lives. In witness whereof we, then present, have hereunto subscribed our names :—

Phillip Thomson	William Cooper
Phillip Thomson Junr.	Henery Treadway
William Nash	Will W Bellon
George Bolsh	Edward Okley
Thomas Lane	John J G Gigger
Thomas Zachary	

This marriage does not appear in the digest of the Bucks Friends Marriage Registers at Friends House, nor is it in the minutes of Upper-side Monthly Meeting. The certificate is on parchment and measures 11 ins. by 8½ ins. It was given to the Library by Elizabeth Fox Howard and is reproduced facing page 1 of this issue, from a block kindly lent by the Friends' Tract Association.

Like the contemporary minutes, it is in the handwriting of Thomas Ellwood. It is also interesting in that it does not record the actual declaration made by the parties, only the sense of it being briefly given.

Edward and Mary Butterfield had several children ; the eldest, Abraham, married in 1708 Rebekah Webb, the compiler of most of the *Butterfield MS.* in the Library, which records events among Friends about Jordans from 1671 to 1796 and is an important source of W. H. Summers' *Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts*, 1895.

J.L.N.

Current Literature and Additions to the Library

Recent books and old books recently acquired are noticed here for their bearing on Quakerism past or present. Unless there is a note to the contrary a copy may be found in the Library of the Society of Friends in London.

Many of the books in the Library may be borrowed by Friends, and other applicants if recommended by a Friend. Apply to the Librarian, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at :

Friends' Book Centre, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Friends' Book and Supply House, 101 South 8th Street, Richmond, Ind.

Quaker Militant : John Greenleaf Whittier, by Albert Mordell, New York, 1933, 8vo, pp. 354, illus. This book is described as a full length biography of Whittier. The author appears to have written it with the special intention of dwelling upon Whittier's affections for Mary Emerson Smith and other ladies, and of making more of these than we believe he was entitled to do by the facts. The critical faculty shown in this section of the book is hardly exercised sufficiently in some other regions. One of the merits of the book, which is to show Whittier's vivid interest in politics and his ability to take part in them, follows in the footsteps of Bliss Perry. The industry of the author in collecting material for his work deserves praise.

Augustus T. Murray : *The Religious Poems of Whittier* (Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 142). A selection of forty poems with an introductory essay (48 pp.) interpreting Whittier as a religious writer.

The Seventeenth Century Background, by Basil Willey (London, 1934, 316 pp., 12s. 6d.), Library, Friends House, is a study of the intellectual background of the period with the aim especially of noting how intellectual changes such as the rehabilitation of nature and the development of the scientific approach to truth affected both poetry and religion. The book is of value in depicting the spiritual climate in which early Quakerism made its way.

The Centenary of Australian Quakerism, 1832-1932 (no place, no date, 70 pp.), is a series of papers by various authors covering the history of Friends in all the States of the Australian Commonwealth. Several of the papers were delivered at the Centenary General Meeting at Hobart, Tasmania, in January, 1933.

The Idea of Christian Perfection, by R. Newton Flew (Oxford Press, 1934, 422 pp., 15s.), Library, Friends House. In a series of twenty-two

chapters Dr. Flew sketches the chief answers which have been given through Christian history to the question, "What is the Christian ideal for the present life?" The answer of Quakerism, chiefly through the writings of Fox, Barclay, Pennington and Penn, forms chapter XVII. One regrets that the author ignores entirely the life and works of that most saintly perfectionist, John Woolman.

The five essays in *The New Examen*, by John Paget (10s. 6d.), barrister at law, appeared first in 1858 and 1859 and were issued under their present title in 1861, but made little impression at the time against Macaulay's reputation. The author ruthlessly traversed, with full documentation, the treatment of five important characters and subjects in Macaulay's history. The longest essay is that which defends the character of William Penn against Macaulay's bitterly prejudiced attack. A reprint by the Howarth Press of this important piece of historical criticism is welcome. The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill contributes a critical introduction.

Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands, by Harriet Beecher Stowe (Boston, 1854, 2 vols.), is a vivacious account of her visit to England and the European continent in the summer of 1853, in the form of letters written during the journey. It abounds in references to Friends in all parts of the country, many of whom entertained her on her travels.

Great Christians (London, 1933, pp. 632, 8s. 6d.) contains among its forty biographical sketches, "Thomas Hodgkin" by T. Edmund Harvey, and the companion volume, *Great Democrats* (London, 1934, pp. 704, 8s. 6d.), which is edited by A. Barratt Brown, includes "John Bright" by H. G. Wood and "Joseph Sturge" by Stephen Hobhouse. J. Howard Whitehouse contributes the chapter on John Ruskin and the editor an epilogue on "Democratic Leadership".

Rufus M. Jones: *Haverford College, a History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1933, pp. 244). Unlike so many of its fellow institutions Haverford has not been afraid to insist on smallness as a vital factor in attainment of high quality. The author covers thoroughly its century of history. There are valuable chapters which sketch the contributions of the chief moulders of the life of the college, with the notable exception of the part played by the author himself through forty years of devoted service. Haverford cricket receives a chapter to itself. There is also a list of all those who have been on the college staff.

Germantown, 1683-1933, by Edward W. Hocker (Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 331), kindly presented by several Germantown Friends, is a history of this outlier of Philadelphia, founded by the efforts of German emigrants from the Rhineland. The steps leading to its establishment are traced in detail.

Our Approach to God, by E. R. Micklem (London, 1934, pp. 272, 7s. 6d.), is a study of public worship. Chapter IV contains a critical examination, from the liberal Protestant point of view, of Quaker worship, based rather too exclusively on a single and exceptional treatment of it, viz. Howard Brinton's *Creative Worship*, the Swarthmore Lecture for 1931.

A recent book of great value as background for the study of early Quakerism in Cornwall is *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660*, by Mary Coate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933). Although only its last two chapters, dealing respectively with "The Protectorate and Restoration, 1653-1660" and "Religious and Ecclesiastical History, 1640-1660", treat explicitly of the period when one can speak of Cornish Quakerism, the whole book is full of local colour and information for readers especially of *The West Answering to the North*, or the account of Fox's visit and imprisonment in 1656 at Launceston in his *Journal* and of *The Record of Sufferings of Quakers in Cornwall* and the corresponding section in Besse's *Sufferings*. The persecutors of Friends are more often mentioned in this "Social and Political Study" than are Friends. There is a close correspondence between the list of justices, etc., in the index of the *Record* and the list of members of the various parliaments from 1653 to 1660 given by Miss Coate (pp. 379ff). A short account of Quakerism in Cornwall, based on the above named sources and Swarthmore MSS. is included (pp. 344ff). There are some interesting references (p. 16) to the Cornish custom of plundering wrecked ships—a custom criticized in Fox's *Journal*.

H. J. CADBURY.

A brief biographical sketch of a former member of the Society of Friends is *Thomas Young, F.R.S., Philosopher and Physician*, by Frank Oldham (London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1933). Not in the Library, Friends House. Young began his education under Thomas Thompson of Compton, a teacher and Quaker antiquary. He was a man of very varied learning, perhaps, but known as a pioneer in physical theory but having also a good claim to have anticipated Champollion in the deciphering of hieroglyphics on the Rosetta stone. His writings were extensive and included contributions to optics, medicine and geophysics. He died in 1829 at the age of 56. A monument to him is in Westminster Abbey.

H. J. CADBURY.

Mabel R. Brailsford has written *William Penn* (Friends Tract Association, 4to, 48 pp.), a new issue in "Friends Ancient and Modern". It bears a family resemblance to her larger work, *The Making of William Penn*, and with its five illustrations is surely the best pennyworth ever offered in Quaker literature. Elisabeth Brockbank has designed the cover pictures both of this and the next item.

Beatrice Saxon Snell: *Thomas Ellwood*, with a foreword by Samuel Graveson (Friends Tract Association, 4to, 38 pp.), 1d., replaces the previous life of Ellwood in "Friends Ancient and Modern". There are four illustrations, one of which reproducing a marriage certificate in the writing of Thomas Ellwood, is reprinted facing p. 1 in this issue.

Beatrice Snell has also written several plays on the life of Thomas Ellwood. *Paradise Regained* is the first to be published: it appears in *The One Act Theatre*, Third Book (London, S. French, 1934, 2s. 6d.). It depicts the relations of Ellwood with John Milton and his family. There are six characters and the play is well adapted to amateur production. The author, at Green End, 3 Craven Road, Reading, offers to advise on the production of her own or other Quaker plays. Her three other plays, not yet published, are entitled, *Peningtons* (nine characters), *The Sabbath Day* (seven characters), *Dinah's Master* (eight characters). All include Thomas Ellwood.

A Quaker Journal, being the Diary and Reminiscences of William Lucas of Hitchin (1804-1861). Edited by G. E. Bryant and G. P. Baker (London, 1934, 2 vols., 36s.).

These volumes give a lively picture of the life of this Friend in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century. The writer freely discusses politics, business and the arts; he was interested in natural history, was a wide reader and travelled extensively in England and on the Continent. Somewhat critical of the Quakerism of his day, he was yet a frequent attender at Yearly and local meetings, of which many accounts are given. The decade 1837-1847 is covered most fully, occupying about 300 pages out of a total of some 560. There must have been drastic selection by the editors from a fuller MS. journal and from the point of view of the student of Quaker history the book would have been even more valuable if the editors had given a little more information as to the proportion and character of the omitted parts. The numerous illustrations, mainly taken from drawings by Samuel Lucas, the diarist's brother, are a delightful feature of the book. There are two indexes, the second being confined to Quaker names.

Margaret E. Macgregor: *Amelia Alderson Opie: Worldling and Friend* (Smith College, Northampton, Mass., 1933, pp. xvi., 146), is the result of very careful study, drawing on all the available material on Amelia Opie to be found in England and the United States. This valuable picture of her life in the various circles which she successively adorned, covers her relations with Godwin and his revolutionary ideas, her short married life with John Opie the painter, the gay and brilliant literary and artistic circle in which she moved, her increasing interest in Quakerism and her adoption of it in 1824. Of special interest are evidence of the sacrifice it must have been to her to become a "plain Friend", and her friendship with Joseph John Gurney. An account of her literary work and the effect upon it of the changes in her life, runs through the book. There is a comprehensive bibliography (12 pages) and an index, also a portrait by her husband.

The ninety Opie letters in the Gurney MSS. at Friends House are an important source for the work, which was completed only shortly before the author's untimely death. That it should have been completed at all is a tribute to her. Our thanks are due to Smith College for this volume.

Carl Heath : *Religion and Dictatorship* (London, Allenson, 1934, pp. 100, 2s. 6d.) is a Quaker contribution to the reconstruction of faith and of life at the present time, in terms of uses, values, persons, friendship and God.

The Story of Guilford College (Guilford College, N.C., 1934, pp. 40, special issue of the College Bulletin, vol. xxvi., No. 5) tells of the beginnings in the New Garden Boarding School in 1837 and briefly sketches its development to the present day. There are 11 illustrations and a bibliography.

Daniel Defoe's pseudo Quaker tract : *A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof from one of the People called Quakers to Thomas Bradbury* (London, 1715, 8vo, pp. 40. Smith : *Cata.*, I, 51), has been added to the Library.

A. Allen Brockington : *Mysticism and Poetry on a Basis of Experience*. Foreword by Sir Arthur Eddington (London, 1934, pp. xvi., 224, 7s. 6d.). A study of the essential connection between the mystical and the poetical experience and outlook. The mystical outlook which the true poet always shares is a way of seeing the great things in the small things intuitively. Among the wealth of quotations are a number from Quaker writers.

H. G. Wood : *Christianity and the Nature of History*, Hulsean Lectures, 1933-1934 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xxxviii., 224, 6s.). This is the first time the Hulsean lecturer has been a member of the Society of Friends. The lectures are entitled "Great Men and Social Forces in History", "The Guiding Hand of God in History", "The Prophetic Interpretation of History", "Christianity and Progress", "The Religion of Time and the Religion of Eternity". A notable treatment of the fundamentals of religion, in which essential Quakerism finds a natural place. The preface contains a brief spiritual autobiography.

The Library has acquired a copy of the rare little *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Thomas Tryon, Late of London, Merchant : Written by Himself. Together with some Rules and Orders, proper to be observed by all such as would train up and govern either Families, or Societies, in Cleanness, Temperance and Innocency* (London, 1705, sm. 8vo, pp. [150] pagination irregular). This copy carries an engraved portrait frontispiece with the astrological signs at Tryon's birth printed on the back. The author (1634-1703) was an advocate of vegetarianism and an ascetic mode of life, and is described in *D.N.B.* as an interesting link between the Behmenists and the early Quakers. This posthumous memoir was published by Tace Sowle, the leading Quaker printer at that day.

Arthur Raistrick has kindly presented to the Library a copy of his unpublished paper, read before the Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology, 18th April, 1934, on *The London Lead Company, 1692-1905* (38 pp. typewritten quarto). This lead, silver and copper mining company was granted a charter by William and Mary. From 1704 to 1905 the company was mainly controlled by members of the Society of Friends. For more than thirty years their silver was used

for the national coinage and coins struck from it bore a distinctive device, viz. two roses and two plumes quartered on the reverse of the coins. The author has kindly presented to the Library plaster casts of the coins thus made, from examples in the British Museum. The company's operations covered mines and smelting plants in several parts of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the Orkneys and the Isle of Man. The paper deals with both the commercial, financial and technical aspects of the company's history.

Elfrida Vipont : *Colin Writes to Friends House* (Friends' Book Centre, 1934, pp. x., 212, 3s. 6d.). This happily conceived story, cast in the form of conversations with "Miss Hathaway" mingled with a series of minor adventures, introduces three children to the essentials of Quakerism. Faith, worship, sacrament, the light within, the stand for peace, are explained and illustrated from the children's own experiences and the lives and acts of Quaker heroes ancient and modern. Seven full page illustrations besides sketches at chapter heads embellish the book. In view of the purpose of the book and the fanciful chapter titles an index or matter of fact table at the end would have increased its value, as also would prices to the items in the bibliography.

Hubert F. Barclay (Lt.-Col.) and Alice Wilson-Fox : *A History of the Barclay Family*; Part III, *The Barclays in Scotland and England from 1610 to 1933* (London, St. Catherine's Press, 1934, 4to, pp. xvi., 372, £1 11s. 6d.). This completes the history begun with C. W. Barclay's vol. I, 1924, and continued with H. F. Barclay's vol. II, 1933. The Quaker interest is concentrated in the third volume (though the first contains the main pedigree 1066 to 1924, supplementary trees accompany the text). Accounts of Col. David Barclay (1610-1686) and Robert Barclay (1648-1690) occupy 191 pages, statements and quotations being well supplied with reference to authorities. On p. 162 Burlington N.J. is confused with Philadelphia. The volume continues with accounts of the Barclays of London, the founders of Barclays Bank, and those of Bury Hill (Surrey), and of Philadelphia.

Periodicals

Friends Historical Association Bulletin, xxiii., No. 1, Spring, 1934. An account of the summer meeting of the Association held at George School, Pa., and enlivened by a pageant play, is followed by a paper by Sarah G. Underhill on "The Indians of Bucks County", pp. 7-20, with an illustration of the Indians' deed to William Penn, 15th July, 1682. In "Friends and Music", pp. 21-30, Joshua L. Baily, Junr., discusses the primitive musical technique of the intoned preaching of a bygone day, a number of actual cases being illustrated by musical notation. We also learn that Edward MacDowel, the composer, was of Quaker ancestry and spent his early years amid Quakerly surroundings.

Quakeriana Notes, No. 2, Spring, 1934, contains notes of a large number of publications of Quaker interest and of recent accessions to the Haverford College Collection. The impressions of student life at Haverford College in its early days, given in the last issue, are happily continued by 6 pages of excerpts from another diary, that of William Canby, 1837-1839. No. 3, Autumn, 1934, contains informing notes on the Records of three Yearly Meetings in Canada. It also prints a letter from Isaac Stephenson to his wife at home in England, dated Philadelphia, 3.v.1825. Another from Josiah Forster to Samuel Emlen, 9.ix.1817, describes the condition of Friends at Congénies in France.

Wesley Historical Society Proceedings, xix., Nos. 4-7, Dec., 1933-Sept., 1934. The story of early Methodism in Bristol is concluded. We learn (p. 138) that the orchard where George Fox preached in 1656 (Camb. *Journal*, i., 256) was later a favourite spot with John Wesley until it was built over at the end of 1755. It was situated near the present Penn Street and Callowhill Street. John Cenwick (p. 165) left Friends in 1739 and became Wesley's first lay preacher.

Congregational Historical Society Transactions, xii., No. 3, Apr., 1934, "Early Puritanism and Separatism in Nottingham" covers most of the seventeenth century. An Episcopal Return of 1669 is quoted which gives seven Quaker ministers in eleven Conventicles with 415 members. No. 4, Sept., 1934. Dr. W. T. Whitley has a study of private schools in the seventeenth century based on a study of Matthews: *Calamy Revised*.

The Baptist Quarterly and Historical Transactions, vii., Nos. 1-4, 1934. In "Baptist work in Jamaica" we learn that one of the earliest leaders of the negro Christian community was Moses Baker, a mulatto barber who was employed on the estate of a Friend named Isaac Lascelles Winn. On Baker's conversion about 1787 his master almost at once suggested his being employed to instruct the negroes in religious and moral principles (p. 22). We have not found any other mention of Isaac Winn and it is not quite clear whether his negroes were slave or free, apparently the latter. In "Baptists and the New Testament" (pp. 60-68) Prof. J. Gwili Jenkins discusses the Quaker as well as the Baptist position regarding the outward sacraments of baptism and communion. There is a note on William Hartley's *Infant Baptism none a Christ's*, 1652, of which the only known copy was recently found in volume 37 of George Fox's library at Friends House, see *J.F.H.S.*, xxx., 17.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History, lviii. (1934), "Indian Silver Ornaments" pp. 97-126, contains passages of interest relating to *The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures*, inaugurated by leading Pennsylvania Friends in 1756. Among other gifts to the Indians the Association presented from time to time silver ornaments, one of which, a gorget, depicts a Friend and an Indian sitting over a camp fire with a pipe of peace, beneath a tree. "The Diary of Grace Growden Galloway" of Philadelphia in 1779, pp. 152-189, contains

references to a number of prominent Friends in the city. She was the wife of Joseph Galloway, a prominent loyalist then an exile in England. Henry J. Cadbury contributes pp. 255-259, the text, with introduction, notes and facsimiles, of Francis Daniel Pastorius: *The Matter of Taxes*. The MS. of this is in the Library at Friends House, bound in the "Gibson" copy of Thomas Story's *Journal*.

"Fort Beversrode and Beyond", pp. 289-311, deals with Dutch influences in early Pennsylvania, notably certain features in the constitution and legal system, which are put down to Penn's knowledge of Holland.

Dealing with migrations from Pennsylvania to North Carolina W. H. Gehrke quotes (p. 345) from a letter written by William Penn in 1683 in which he says, "I am extremely sorry to hear that Pennsylvania is so Litigious and brutish. . . . The report reaches this place with that disgrace, that we have lost, I am told, 15,000 persons this fall . . . to Carolina."

The Mennonite Quarterly Review, vii., No. 4, Oct., 1933. An article on the Germantown Mennonite Church, 1683-1708, surveys the origins of the German Mennonite colony in Pennsylvania. The original settlers were a mixed group of Mennonites and German Friends from Crefeld, on the Lower Rhine and Kreisheim in the Palatinate. The religious bond was stronger than that of language and homeland, for the Friends were soon absorbed into the English Quaker colony while the Mennonites set up and retained for many years a distinct communal organization of their own. viii., No. 3, July, 1934, contains review of John W. Graham's *Conscription and Conscience* and also a critical examination of Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* with special reference to the place and value in society at large of non-resisting groups such as Anabaptists, Mennonites, Quakers.

The following exchanges are gratefully acknowledged:—Presbyterian Hist. Soc. of U.S.A., *Journal*, xvi., No. 3. *Penna. Genealogical Soc.*, special number, *The Newkirk Family*. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, xxix., No. 3. *Presbyterian Hist. Soc., Journal*, v., No. 3. *Unitarian Hist. Soc., Transactions*, v., No. 4.

Notes and Queries

Some indication of the financial sacrifice that must have been involved in the liberation of slaves is given in the valuation of an estate in Jamaica in 1785. Out of a total value of about £12,500, land (236 acres), buildings, equipment and animals represented some £5,900 while 112 slaves were worth £6,600, well over half the total. *Penna. Magazine of History*, LVIII, 1934, 382-384.

In *The Peace and the Protestant Succession*, the third volume of *England under Queen Anne*, Longmans, 1934, Prof. G. M. Trevelyan, discussing the general election of 1713, tells us (p. 264) that "In the Sussex County Election nine Quakers voted for the Whig candidates and only one for the Tories; in the contest for Buckinghamshire fifty-three Quakers voted for the Whigs and only three for the Tories." At Minehead, however, where the right to vote had to be proved by the production of a certificate kept in the Parish Chest, the Vicar and one Joseph Alloway, a Quaker and Overseer of the Poor, produced only such certificates as were for their advantage, and in this way the Tory candidates were returned. The evidence for Sussex and Bucks is from the Poll Books (Bodleian MSS., Willis 54 and 56) where *affirmat* opposite a name shows that the voter was a Quaker, no one else having the right to

affirm in lieu of the oath of allegiance and supremacy. A study of other surviving poll books might cast some interesting light on the extent to which eighteenth century Friends exercised the franchise.

An eighteenth century recantation of Quakerism has been found by Margaret Sefton-Jones among MSS. in the British Museum, in *Burnham Terriers, 1643-1773*. Sarah Wordsworth on 15th June, 1769, renounced the errors of Quakerism. The document is in the handwriting of the vicar and was read by him in the parish church.

A Friend has given to the Library a photograph of a little document in his possession, measuring about 2 in. by 3½ in., which reads:

"Allow Francis T. King of Baltimore to pass with the English Friends, through our lines to North Carolina.
Oct. 25, 1864. A. LINCOLN."

The whole is in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln. Who were the English Friends concerned and what was the occasion of the journey? Francis T. King (1819-1892) was a prominent Baltimore Friend, but reference to likely books, periodicals and MSS. at Friends House has not so far revealed any information about the incident.

Corrections

Jnl. F.H.S. xxx., 21, last line. For BURROUGH read BILLING.
" " xxx., 78, line 5 from foot, For J.F.H.S. xiii, 3 read xiii, 37.

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