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Quotation

“On the shore where Time casts up its stray wreckage, we gather corks and broken planks, whence much indeed may be argued and more guessed; but what the great ship was that has gone down into the deep, that we shall never see. Indeed, one of the attractions in studying the past is the sense which that study awakes that far more has been doomed to irrevocable oblivion than the little that anyone can ever know. That touches the imagination.”

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN: *The Present Position of History.*
 Inaugural Lecture of his Regius Professorship of Modern History at the
 University of Cambridge, October, 1927.

Editorial Note

IN a recent issue of *The Friend*, Philadelphia (10.x.1935) Henry J. Cadbury and William I. Hull offer answers to the question as to what Quaker literature is needed to-day and make several suggestions in the field of Quaker history. One is for a history to cover Europe, with a chapter on the older Quakerism in each of the principal countries where it took root, followed by a more general account of recent development. Not all these countries have been dealt with separately yet. William Hull is publishing as fast as he can the full story of Dutch Friends and as we go to press the second volume out of ten reaches us, entitled *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*.¹ But we

¹ We shall hope to give an adequate account of it in our next issue. Besides a detailed picture of Quakerism in the Netherlands and the Rhineland and of the great migrations of the 1680's to Pennsylvania, its 445 pages contain several extended biographical accounts of leading Dutch Friends.

still lack adequate accounts of Quakerism in several European countries, notably Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and France. In biography the want of a life of Richard Farnsworth (d. 1666) is noted. One of the leading "first publishers", he was the author of some fifty works and there are some scores of his letters, besides many MS. references to him, at Friends House.

Studies connecting Quakerism with public events or intellectual or social developments, whether as causes or effects, also offer an interesting field for research. In this direction we are indebted to Mr. Fulmer Mood for the article printed in this issue on the genesis of the Pennsylvania charter, which is part of an extended study of colonial origins. Another and larger piece of work in itself is the yet unpublished study by Miss Anne Gary of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, dealing with the influence of English Friends on American colonial life in the middle part of the eighteenth century. Rev. G. B. Burnett is just completing a history of Quakerism in Scotland down to 1850, drawn from all available original sources. Its publication is not yet decided upon but a copy will be in Glasgow University Library. Another unpublished work is *The Early Quaker View of the State, its nature, powers and limitations, with special reference to Isaac Penington* by Miss Ruth Armsby (Birmingham University).

As Henry J. Cadbury remarks, "much of the best historical work to-day on Quakerism comes from those who are not Friends." He is, however, shortly to offer us his own comprehensive account of the unpublished writings of George Fox, based mainly upon the *Annual Catalogue* of them preserved at Friends House. Nor must we omit to mention here two valuable works described later in this issue, viz. J. Travis Mills: *John Bright and the Quakers*, whose author is our president this year, and A. Ruth Fry: *John Bellers, Quaker, Economist and Social Reformer*. Emilia Fogelklou has published a life of William Penn in Swedish, and Elisabeth Brockbank is at work on Edward Burrough. Several histories of Quakerism in English localities and a history of Quaker education are in course of preparation. There are sources for Quaker history among non-Quaker records which would repay attention, whether for their facts or for their opinions. An example of the former is to be found in the reports made to Archbishop Herring, on the state of parishes in the Diocese of York in 1743, printed by the Yorkshire Archæological Society, from which information about the local distribution of Quakerism in Yorkshire might be gleaned. The systematic study of anti-Quaker literature has never yet been undertaken and awaits someone who will sort out the serious from the merely scurrilous and interpret it in connection with contemporary thought and life, shall we say as a "corrective to partisan views and narrow prejudices" (W.C.B.).

It is to be hoped that among university students in the Society of Friends some will take up researches touching upon Quakerism. They will be assured of such help as can be given in the Library at Friends House. Any who are engaged in such research are invited to communicate with the librarian.

William Penn and English Politics in 1680-81

NEW LIGHT ON THE GRANTING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CHARTER*

By FULMER MOOD, International Research Fellow,
Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

THE classic explanation why Charles II made a grant of the charter of Pennsylvania is well known. "[Penn] inherited from his father", writes Janney, "a claim on the British government for money advanced and services rendered to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds, and in the year 1680 petitioned Charles II to grant him, in lieu of this sum, a tract of country in America, lying north of Maryland . . ."¹ This story, like a hardy perennial, is always cropping up; it is found in President Sharpless's history,² in Rayner Kelsey's recent biographical sketch of Penn,³ and in numerous other works, including elementary school textbooks in history.⁴ The vogue that this story has enjoyed is easy to explain as soon as it is understood that William Penn himself was its author. That genial old antiquary and gossip of Restoration times, John Aubrey, in a few notes on Penn in one of his *Brief Lives*, has this to say: "His majestie owing to his father 10 000 li., 16—, (which, with the interest of it, came not to lesse than 20 000 li.,) did, in consideration therof, grant to him and his heirs a province in America which his majestie was pleased to name Pennsylvania, the 4th day of March 1680/1, to which he is now goeing this next September 1681."⁵ From the context of this note it is clear that Penn gave this explanation to Aubrey not more than a few months after the grant of the charter.

One may accept Penn's story and yet at the same time wish to have a fuller understanding of the circumstances under which the grant was made. It is the historian's

* The materials for this paper were collected in London during the writer's tenure of a John Simon Guggenheim research fellowship.

business to seek for unsuspected connections, to search for unity in a world of apparent diversity. Was the King's action in creating Penn a proprietor and colonial magnate effected without reference to the historical movements of the time? This is what Penn would have one think, and the universal acceptance of his story has led to the neglect of certain particulars highly relevant to the earliest phase of Pennsylvania history. So soon as one begins to probe, however, various questions arise. Why did Penn wait ten years after his father's death before asking the King to repay the loan? In 1680 the Crown was hard pressed for funds indeed; but in 1674 and 1675 Charles II was enjoying a generous revenue, based on prosperity in trade. Odd, then, that Penn did not apply for redress when the chance of obtaining it was brightest.⁶ Another question that one cannot help asking is, why, after all, did Charles deign to grant Penn's request? The King was not always so scrupulous about paying his just debts, yet on this occasion he more than satisfied his creditor. What if, for one reason or another, the King decided that it was to his certain advantage to make Penn this princely gift?

So far as it goes, Penn's explanation is true; that it is a full explanation is herein challenged. One may believe either that the grant of the Pennsylvania charter was an isolated historical event or, on the contrary, that it was vitally associated with currents of contemporary English politics. The thesis set forth herein is that William Penn applied to the Crown for a tract of land on the Delaware River as a result of the threatening political situation in England in June, 1680. It is maintained further that Charles II favoured Penn's petition because in March, 1681, he shrewdly conceived such action to be to his political advantage. Accordingly, the traditional view appears merely as a pleasant story by which Penn, who dared not reveal the whole truth in 1681, cleverly obscured the real motives which prompted his petition. So well did this expedient of politicly masking the truth succeed that from that day to this historians have been content to accept Penn's pretty fable at its face value. Meantime, the deeper reasons have lain neglected in the background.

English party politics in late Restoration times hold many facts of significance for the present purpose. Although

Penn was personally a friend of Charles II and of his brother, James, Duke of York, the great Quaker was no upholder of royal prerogative. On the contrary, he was a political thinker holding views that for that time were quite advanced. He was, in his general outlook, a Whig, and yet his Whiggism was shot through with republican ideals which were more advanced still. Penn co-operated politically with Whig leaders like Lord Essex, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and William Sacheverell.⁷ He gave a worthy expression to his enlightened opinions when he published in 1679 *England's Great Interest in the Choice of This Parliament*. Earlier he had worked hard for the election to Parliament of Algernon Sidney, the foremost living English republican. Sidney, in December, 1678, had stood for election at Guildford, a constituency where Penn had some influence, but met with defeat. At a general election held in the autumn of 1679, Sidney stood again, this time at Bramber, but the Tory party found means of keeping this lofty idealist out of the national council, and a second time he had to accept Penn's consolation.⁸

Penn's deep interest in religious toleration served strongly to impel him into Whiggish circles. The Whig party in 1680 consisted of a combination between a part of the great land-owning interest (the future "Whig oligarchy" of the eighteenth century) and the bulk of the class that prospered by trade. Landed gentry and yeoman farmers linked hands with merchants and shopkeepers of the towns. The objects of this political alliance were sharply defined: to tear political power from the Crown and to force the Church of England to grant toleration to Dissent. A great Whig leader, the Earl of Shaftesbury, made explicit the Whig political principles: security of the Protestant religion, toleration for Protestant Dissenters, liberty of the subject and supremacy of Parliament in the constitution.⁹ When Penn supported Algernon Sidney for Parliament, he therefore supported one who championed these principles; and when he published his book in 1679, he expressed his adherence to the same ideas.

Although Whig strenuously opposed Tory, the Whigs were by no means a harmoniously united party among themselves. A question of political expediency tended to keep them divided into two factions, known as the moderate Whigs and the extreme Whigs. Since Charles II had no

legitimate heir of his own body, his rightful successor was James, Duke of York, who unfortunately for the peace of many Englishmen, was a Roman Catholic. The Whigs were agreed that if James became King, the English constitution would be in danger. They were not agreed what measures ought to be taken to safeguard the laws and liberties which the English enjoyed. William Penn's support was given to the moderate Whigs. This allegiance was inevitable, because the expedient that the extreme Whigs, led by Shaftesbury, had worked out to settle the issue led straight on to civil convulsion. Shaftesbury contended that there could be no tranquillity in English politics until Parliament passed a statute excluding the Duke of York from the succession.¹⁰ In affirming that the English constitution would not be safe with James on the throne as King, the Shaftesbury Whigs were correct, for a united nation was afterward to rise and drive James out in December, 1688. But in 1679 and 1680 Exclusion as an issue weakened the Whigs, because it led to a party split, frightening moderate men away. As the extreme Whigs insisted on Exclusion, the moderates were forced to adopt another expedient which they called Limitations. Charles II for his part was resolved not to give in to Shaftesbury's demands. He ranged round his royal person all loyalists, sought by every means to check the Whig extremists, and looked far and wide for allies among the moderates.

The extremists were powerfully led by Shaftesbury. So skilfully did he arrange demonstrations, drum up popular support, shape public opinion, and discipline his party, that it was months before the Tories could make any considerable headway against the strong Whig current. Shaftesbury was willing to use constitutional means as long as possible. But he let it be clearly understood that when constitutional means failed, he would not hesitate to employ the revolutionary method of gaining his party's ends.¹¹ Looking back, one can see that William Penn, pacific Quaker, was in a difficult position. He agreed with the fundamental Whig principles, and wanted to see them written onto the statute book. He could not, however, fight for them, sword in hand, because of his Quaker convictions. If political struggles should lead to outright militancy, if armed strife should succeed angry talk, what then? He could not side with the King's party,

because in his heart he was no Tory. Nor could he with a clear conscience enrol under the banner of the extreme Whigs. As for the moderate Whigs, when the issue appeared in its most threatening form, they went over to the King.

Penn knew, what every practical man then knew, that the Whig party was an alliance between a knot of wealthy leaders and a multitude of plain men, farmers, shopkeepers, apprentices, and other humble members of the English community. In so far as these humble folk were Dissenters, they wanted toleration; and most of them were Dissenters. They were also folk not well supplied with the goods of this world. Trade was growing less profitable, farming was in poor condition, the perennial problem of unemployment cast a dark shadow in many parts of England. What interest (except toleration) had these plain folk in shouldering guns to support the Whig leaders when they thundered: No Popish King? Penn perceived that the economic interest of the Whig masses was not identical with the economic interest of the Whig gentry and lords. He perceived that in emigration to America could be found a solution which would guarantee the several ideals heartily cherished by his friends: toleration for Dissent, whether the nonconformists were Quakers or not; opportunity to advance in life, by exploiting the virgin resources of the Delaware valley; and a life of peace, remote from the then threatening fratricidal war in England. These humble folk supplied the real voting strength of the Whig party¹² and many of them were destined to be numbered among the first settlers in Pennsylvania.¹³

When Shaftesbury spoke of revolution to enforce his faction's demands, the extreme Whigs applauded, the moderate Whigs shrank back toward the King, the Tories gathered even closer about him, and William Penn began to dream of Pennsylvania.

London was the centre of the Whig party, and at the Green Ribbon Club Shaftesbury sat in state, directing the multifarious activities of his disciplined, martial organization. From the Whig headquarters there poured forth a stream of pamphlets; at the headquarters the agents prepared demonstrations, practised the methods of working on the spirits of the London mob, thought out new ways of putting Charles on the defensive, and steadily held the political offensive. The leaders let it be known that as a last course they would not

fail to use the sword.¹⁴ Their militant propaganda awoke the humble yeomen, shopkeepers, and other folk to a fresh consciousness of their own place in society. The forgotten men at almost the base of the social pyramid listened to the Whig magnates, found in Whig teachings new reason for their political self-respect. They began to seek liberty that no party in England could as yet see fit to grant them. Years later some of these folk found even Pennsylvania's generous institutions somewhat short of their ardent desires. Shaftesbury lit a flame slow to be extinguished.

To obtain the correct perspective in which to see the granting of the charter of Pennsylvania, one must go back to the first months of the year 1679/80, and follow forward the succession of political events. If one makes the effort continuously to relate the political movements of the time with the several stages in Penn's attempt to procure his charter, it will be seen that the key to the earliest phase of Pennsylvania history lies in an understanding of the English party politics during these exciting months. By piecing together into a larger unity some particulars drawn from English history along with other details relating to early Pennsylvania, one manages to throw new light on both branches of history, and to see the genesis of the colony in sharper relief than it has hitherto been seen. The Anglo-American interpretation, instead of an interpretation either purely insular or purely colonial, serves the purpose best.

Turning now to the political situation in England, one finds that from January to the middle of May, 1680, there existed a balance of parties: Tory checked Whig, Whig blocked Tory. Consequently there ensued a superficial and deceptive peace. Beneath the surface both parties worked feverishly. The Whigs had for months monopolized public attention. They seemed to be carrying all before them. The King nurtured the secret hope that before long a loyalist reaction would come into being, as a natural reaction from Whig excesses. With the purpose of keeping the public mind hostile to the Roman Catholic Duke of York, the extreme Whigs at London made much show with huge demonstrations against Popery.¹⁵ Suddenly in the middle of May, 1680, the complexion of affairs altered, for the King fell sick (13th May). What if the King should die? For a few days popular anxiety was considerable. Would the

Duke try to claim the royal power? And if he tried to do this, would the Whigs oppose him, out of fearing to trust life and fortune to a Catholic prince? No time was to be lost: the extremist leaders met at Shaftesbury's London house. There is every indication that they perfected a plan for action, and looked forward, if need be, to the armed seizure of power.¹⁶

Charles recovered from his illness (21st May), and by the last of May the anxious nation could once more breathe easily. Solemn days these must have been for a moderate Whig, a pacific man like William Penn. Civil war had all but stared him and his co-religionists in the face. How he regarded war we know well. That he should have envisaged himself or his friends taking part in such fratricidal strife is unthinkable. As he could not with confidence or serenity look into a future at home in which civil war, Anglican persecution, and Tory repression threatened, may he not at this crisis have conceived the project of emigration to Pennsylvania?

Some years of colonial experience* on his part lay back of this conjectured decision; many years of experience in dealing with the agents of a persecuting Church. It is not without plausibility, then, to suggest that Penn made up his mind during these critical few weeks, for they were weeks that forced the issue home in stubborn fashion. Would Quakers and other Dissenters, weary of a world where liberties had over-long been struggled for without success, now shake England's dust from their feet and, like the Puritans of Massachusetts in 1629, turn to the plantation world to create a fresh and free life for themselves, or would they stop at home, passive and inert, while the furious partisans exchanged blow for blow? Penn's was the determining decision: a decision that meant the creation of a new way of life and a liberal form of civil society.

Not later than 1st June, 1680, Penn petitioned the Crown for a grant of lands on the Delaware.¹⁷ Thus he took the first step toward realizing the ideal of his "Holy Experiment".

Penn's resolve indicates that he clearly understood the dark and threatening situation in which England then found herself. In order to gauge the sentiment of the times, one may take an extract from a modern historian who has closely studied these stirring times. In 1680 and 1681, writes

* Over West New Jersey.

Keith Feiling, "it was too late for the Whigs to draw back, and the plans of their leaders were those of desperate men. The royal progresses of Monmouth and his touching for the King's evil, the trained intimidation practised by the London mob, Shaftesbury's open threat to treat Ormonde as another Strafford, and Russell's hint that the Duke of York, who was but one man, should die rather than the People—even by the end of 1680 such portents were driving moderates into the Royalist camp. Finally, in 1682-3 came disclosures of an assassination plot, officered by ex-Cromwellians and by London citizens, and of an organization for rebellion planned by the responsible heads of the 'mutineers', Monmouth, Essex, Sidney, Russell, and Trenchard: this at last stampeded the waverers, broke the Whig party, and consecrated the reaction."¹⁸

How different was Penn's course at this extremity! Whereas nearly all the moderates among the Whigs were willing to forgo the pursuit of their political principles in order to keep peace,¹⁹ and therefore now went over to the King, Penn strove for wider satisfactions: he aimed to procure from the Crown an opportunity to live at peace and likewise a substantial grant of political power. If he could obtain from the King a charter for lands in America, a liberal charter conveying in generous measure all the rights to erect a free society on Whig or republican principles, he would be able to make the best of both worlds.

Penn's petition asking for an American grant was dated about the 1st of June, 1680. It was speedily referred to the Committee for Trade and Plantations for action,²⁰ and from the very first it is evident that Penn had powerful support. The Earl of Sunderland, an old University friend and travelling companion, was now Secretary for State: his aid was forthcoming. James, Duke of York, cleared obstacles from that path that might otherwise have been unsurmountable; the Duke, in his capacity of proprietor of New York province, and as lord of the tiny settlement already established at Newcastle on Delaware, could have crushed the project. He chose rather to waive his rights and made Penn several valuable concessions. Indeed, the smooth facility with which the business advanced stage by stage to its final happy conclusion breeds the suspicion that the King blessed the plan with his favour from the first.²¹ That royal politician

understood well enough that Penn's project suited the interest of the Crown, as matters then stood, to perfection. Why not make use of a prominent Dissenter like Penn to draw away from the realm countless hundreds of Whigs and nonconformists, contentious folk at the best offering only passive obedience? The more Shaftesbury cried havoc, therefore, the more certain, it seems, was Penn of receiving his grant.

Once the petition had been registered, events moved swiftly. Towards the end of June, 1680, the extreme Whig leaders indicted the Duke of York before the Grand Jury of Middlesex County as a popish recusant.²² Even by this early date, the Crown's agents had made progress with Penn's affair; they had written to the representatives of Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York.²³ Conferences followed. While Monmouth toured the West of England in regal state during July, August, and September, with the aim of rousing enthusiasm in the provinces, the Whig leaders in London struggled hard. By October the Exclusionists had secured a firm grip on the political machinery of the City, so that "for the next two years, the capital was in a state of covert rebellion".²⁴ The Tories were the more downcast as they perceived the popularity of the Whig cause. On 16th October, the Duke of York's secretary wrote the government's agent that his master would not hinder the Quaker's scheme.²⁵ Penn, one gathers, had conferred with the Duke in the very nick of time, for His Royal Highness was on the eve of departing from England. The temper of the Whig extremists where the Roman Catholic royal Duke was concerned had risen to fever heat. A new Parliament, with a Whig majority, was about to meet. Reluctantly but wisely, Charles II exiled his brother to Scotland on 20th October.²⁶ The very next day the King opened Parliament in state. The Whigs of course promptly introduced their darling bill, the measure to exclude James from the throne, and they carried it in the Commons. While the debates on Exclusion raged, the Lords of Trade in Whitehall were reading Penn's petition once more, and on 1st November he wrote them, requesting that a day be appointed for preparing the grant to him of the lands he desired in America.²⁷ The affair went steadily forward during November.²⁸ In the middle of this month, the extreme Whig cause reached high-water mark,

for the House of Lords refused to pass the Exclusion bill sent up by the Commons. Great was the rage of the Whig extremists at this check!²⁹

Charles could now breathe easier, since, for the moment, the Whigs were weakened in the parliamentary field. The King's aim was to play for time, to detach waverers if he could, and to foil the Whig resolve to withhold supply by furnishing himself from another source. Charles was a magnificent opportunist, and he had an expedient for every danger. If the Whigs would not allow Parliament to grant him funds, he would try Louis XIV's ambassador. If the Whig leaders excited the land with their constant excursions and alarms, he would count on time to bring about the inevitable reaction. And if Whig rank and file made trouble, he would see what influence William Penn had in drawing them away from the party leaders.

The Whigs in the House of Commons next threatened Charles with the passage of a bill for the formation of a Protestant Association which in effect meant the establishment of a private army under Shaftesbury's control.³⁰ Though these were times that tried men's souls, the King nevertheless thought he detected a slight stiffening of Tory sentiment abroad in the nation. On 10th January, 1680/81, he prorogued Parliament for ten days. He clearly took a great risk. "The Protestant Association seemed about to take shape from the alliance of the City and the Dissenters with Monmouth and the Whigs. Experienced observers agreed that at no time since the Restoration had civil war been so likely, while the superstitious recalled that it had been on 10th January, 1642, that Charles I had left London to oppose his people in arms. Indeed, there was a project among the extreme Whigs . . . to defy the prorogation and to retire to the City, but it was not adopted."³¹

Filled with suspicion and threatening violence, the Whig leaders held off for the King's next move. They did not witness it, for it was made in the secrecy of a government office. The Committee for Trade and Plantations were quietly making satisfactory progress with Penn's project. On 15th January, the Lord Chief Justice settled the question of the boundaries of Penn's proposed grant, and the Committee voted that the whole patent should be read a few days later.³² On 18th January, Charles struck at the Whigs

again : he dissolved the prorogued Parliament and ordered fresh elections. The new Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford, traditional home of English loyalism, where the King thought the political atmosphere would be less heated and less hostile to the Tory cause.³³

On 22nd January, Penn's patent was read in the Committee on Trade and Plantations, and it was ordered that the patent be looked over to see if it were consistent with the King's interests and the settlers' encouragement.³⁴ These stipulations forcibly indicate that the Crown expected, and desired, something to come of this grant. It was well understood that the surest way of stimulating a large migration of discontented English was to deal liberally with Penn in rights of government. There was to be given him ample room on the Delaware for that freedom which Tories could not stomach at home.³⁵

A campaign followed the dissolution—Tory and Whig were busy with electioneering during the last of January and the early part of February. During this brief period nothing occurred to Penn's affair. It would therefore appear as though Charles were watching carefully to see what the result of the general election would be before pressing on with his plan to endow a Whiggish Dissenter so liberally with American lands.

The news soon began to filter into London from the country : the Whigs had carried the election ! A furious effort well executed had won the day. In the end, the malcontents swept the King's enemies together in such goodly numbers that it was known in short order that the new House would be even more hostile to Charles than its predecessor had been.³⁶ With this political certainty well to the fore in his mind, Charles signified to his Committee for Trade and Plantations that they were to prepare a draft of a charter on Penn's behalf for the royal approbation. The news of the result of the new elections was known at Court by the middle of February, perhaps even a bit earlier. The King's request regarding Penn's charter was replied to by the Committee for Trade and Plantations on 24th February, and by this date the matter was practically settled.³⁷ On 4th March, 1680/81, the King signed Penn's charter. By royal direction the new province was to be called Pennsylvania. But when Charles gave Penn to understand that

this name was in memory of the Admiral, his father, was the King losing sight of the fact that in Dissenting circles, and in the humbler Whig circles, the name Penn was not valueless as an advertising token? Charles II as a political leader lost sight of rather few significant particulars.

The Whigs had won the elections, it is true, but they had not yet won the constitutional contest with the King. Charles was now taking the offensive, did they but know it. He had already summoned Parliament to meet at Oxford, where the London mob could not be used to intimidate his Tory supporters. He had already matured his project to weaken Whig mass support by drawing off to Pennsylvania multitudes of moderate Whigs, plain men and Dissenters, who thought like Penn and the Quakers on the issue of imminent civil war. He now suspected, and rightly, that Louis XIV would give him enough money so that he could dispense with a parliamentary grant. The decisive week at last came on. On 21st March, 1680/81, the last Parliament of Charles's reign met at Oxford. It was the shortest Parliament in English history.³⁸ The King knew what he could expect from this gathering of the people's representatives. The day after Parliament met Charles played his trump: he concluded a secret, verbal treaty with the French King, which assured him of an ample supply of funds for three years to follow.³⁹ Now let Parliament do as it pleased, but the King and his most intimate advisers understood who held the whip hand this time. On 24th March, the Commons were organized and ready for business. All innocent that Charles had duped them, they speedily introduced their Exclusion bill and let it be known that the King was to have no supply unless he conceded this fundamental point.⁴⁰ But this time the King neither conceded nor dallied in the matter. Calling the astounded Commons to meet with the Lords, he donned his robes and surprised all except a handful who were in the secret by dissolving the Parliament. It was the end of popular government in this reign: for the rest of his life Charles ruled as a dictator. On 28th March, 1681, the Whig cause in England went down in defeat.

Before the month was out, Penn's advertising circulars which told of the waiting riches of Pennsylvania were being drawn up, and the months that followed saw a steady stream of proposals broadcast. There was an impressive output

of advertising between the first week of March, 1681, and the last of September, 1682—a space of eighteen months.⁴¹ Whether judged by the number of the items, the variety of the appeals, or the well-calculated timeliness of their appearances, this literary campaign of propaganda for Pennsylvania is quite unmatched for the time. It is indeed the theoretically and practically most perfect accomplishment of the sort in the colonial annals of the second half of the seventeenth century. Penn was losing no time in striving to attract colonists. Charles not unnaturally wanted Penn to forge ahead with his work; Penn himself wanted his “Holy Experiment” to succeed. The greater the publicity about Pennsylvania, the more successful the effort (from the King’s point of view) in neutralizing the common man’s interest in Whig politics and Whig ideals in England. Every settler who contracted to go out with Penn, even every man who turned the offer over in his mind, was in some measure a man detached from the Whig cause.⁴² There exists a very intimate connection, therefore, between the destruction of the first Whig party and the genesis of Penn’s “Holy Experiment”.

Is it not apparent that Charles II had made use of Penn with masterly political skill? Was it not astute to defend prerogative government at home by permitting a quasi-republican experiment on the Delaware? And was it not a counsel of subtlety to oppress the Whig-Quaker interest at home, while endowing it with a rich abundance in America? The grant of Pennsylvania thus has a wide significance. It helped to bring about the weakening of the anti-prerogative forces, so that Charles could rule as a dictator (after March, 1681) to the end of his reign. His leading opponents fled the realm, languished in jails, or plotted till royal agents surprised them. The Whig cause petered out in flares of baffled anger. A second consequence of the grant was that English political liberalism, now endangered at home, made haste to take refuge in America. Much of what Shaftesbury wanted to see engrafted upon the oak of English liberty was carried overseas by the proprietor of Pennsylvania and his emigrants. It is an amazing thing, for example, to find on the pages of the forgotten public records of early West New Jersey, a Quaker colony, the fullest and boldest manifesto of early Whig ideals that is to be found anywhere.⁴³

As for the government that Penn instituted for his province, it embodied much that a plain Whig might have desired to see established at home. A final result was that the grant of territory in America in some respects weakened the Quaker movement. It split the Society into immense fractions, geographically remote one from another. Thousands went to Pennsylvania, and this movement of people eventually had its effect at home. In the century following it was remarked that if Quakerism was at a lower ebb than it had been formerly, one of the reasons for that condition was the settlement of so many Friends in America.

A word of speculation may not be out of place. Penn chose to explain the King's grant to him by putting it on an unexceptionable basis: that it was a recompense for money owed the Admiral by the Crown. To hint at a political or a religious explanation would in 1681 have been tactless and injurious. Penn cannot have been ignorant why the King saw fit to concede him a vast estate and liberal rights to government: he would not have cared to give that secret away. And, moreover, he cannot have wished to antagonize the Whig leaders by exposing an aim which was to result in weakening the mass support of their party. To do so would be to convert the magnates into most violent detractors and to draw down on the head of infant Pennsylvania every calumny and objection that an age fertile in urging objections could invent. What tale so innocent, then, as the one he diplomatically contrived in 1681?

Finally there emerges the comforting reflection that, after all, Charles's expedient of chartering Dissent on the Delaware did not weaken the Whig cause permanently. Let the Crown tell off its smaller triumphs: the arrest, imprisonment, and flight of Shaftesbury, the agony of Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell on the scaffold, the detection of the Rye House conspiracy,⁴⁴ the quiet passage from life into eternity of Charles himself. Prerogative dictatorship in England had outlived its day and though deferred, the Exclusionist Whigs enjoyed a greater triumph than Charles had known, when the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89 struck down the old principle of kingship in favour of more congenial doctrines. The times moved too fast for Charles to be wholly successful, but a monument to his shrewdness—all in vain—is to be seen in the founding of the Quaker "Holy Experiment".⁴⁵

NOTES

¹ Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 163.

² Isaac Sharpless, in Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), p. 419; and Sharpless, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1900), vol. I, p. 19.

³ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), vol. XIV, p. 434.

⁴ Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1913), pp. 18-19.

⁵ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (Oxford, 1898), vol. II, p. 133.

⁶ Charles II's combined revenue before 1672 had never amounted to more than £900,000. For 1674 and 1675 it rose to over £1,400,000. These years were peaks in the trade cycle; a cyclical depression was to follow not too long afterward.

W. A. Shaw, ed., *Calendar of Treasury Books 1672-75* (London, 1909), p. xix.

⁷ See Penn's letter to Algernon Sidney in Janney, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-5.

⁸ See the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1897), vol. 52, pp. 206-7, and the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), vol. XIV, p. 434.

⁹ Vernon Harcourt Simms, *The Organization of the Whig Party during the Exclusion Crisis (1678-81)*. MS. Master's thesis (1934) on deposit at the Library of the University of London, South Kensington. This is an excellent piece of work which deals intensively with the development of party politics at this time. I have levied heavy tribute on this work because Mr. Simms furnishes a richly minute, almost day-to-day, chronology which has been very useful in preparing this article. Mr. Simms confines himself to English internal history, and does not deal with Penn's colonial project.

¹⁰ For a survey of the general English political situation, consult Sir Richard Lodge, *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III (1660-1702)* (London, 1912), especially chaps. VIII and X. A recent study of the period is David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford, 1934), 2 vols. Chap. XVI ("The Popish Plot, 1678-81") and chap. XVII ("The Stuart Revenge, 1681-85") supply an admirable background.

¹¹ V. H. Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 372-5.

¹³ Sharpless, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1900), vol. I, p. 20; p. 49.

¹⁴ Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-7; p. 255.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

¹⁷ The original petition is not known to be extant. A copy of a form of the petition, sadly mutilated, is supplied by Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609-1682* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 474. As the fragment bears no date, it is impossible to assert flatly when Penn made his request. In *State Papers, Domestic*, 44, Entry Book, 55, fol. 89 (Public Record Office) is found the entry in the Earl of Sunderland's hand, recording that Penn has petitioned the King, and that His Majesty has been pleased to refer the matter to the competent authority. The entry is dated June 1, 1680. It is abstracted and printed in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1677-80* (London, 1896), No. 1373.

¹⁸ K. Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford, 1929), p. 179.

¹⁹ Mr. Feiling succinctly describes this turn in Whig opinion: "The violence of the Shaftesbury-Monmouth wing brought over to the Crown's side a powerful reinforcement of moderates, who had done all in their power [earlier] to break the Danby Government. Sir William Coventry and his political disciples, the great Halifax, Sir Thomas Thynne . . ., Littleton, Danby's old enemy at the Admiralty, the great lights of the old 'country' school—Garroway, Vaughan, Lee, and Meres—joined hands to defeat Exclusion and Monmouth, with the Musgraves, the Finches, and the Hydes." Feiling, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

²⁰ On 14th June, 1680. See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1677-80* (London, 1896), No. 1390.

²¹ The progress of the petition can be followed in *Cal. S.P. Col.*, *op. cit.*, consulting these items: Nos. 1403-4, 1544, 1566, 1574, 1580, 1584, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1599, 1609, 1618; this concludes the list down to the end of 1680.

The compliance of the Duke of York in this matter was only temporary. Philadelphia had not been long founded before a vigorous boundary dispute broke out between the Duke's representative, Governor Dongan of New York, and Penn's agents, in September, 1683, concerning the northern limits to Penn's province. Vital interests relating to the fur trade were at stake in this. In 1685 Dongan also sought to weaken Penn's hold on the territory of Delaware. See Rev. Henry Allain St. Paul, S.J., M.A., "Governor Thomas Dongan's Expansion Policy", in *Mid-America, An Historical Review* (Chicago, 1935), vol. XVII, no. 3, pp. 176-84.

²² Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

²³ Nos. 1403-4.

²⁴ Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-66.

²⁵ No. 1544.

²⁶ Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7.

²⁷ No. 1566.

²⁸ Nos. 1574, 1580, 1584, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1599.

²⁹ Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-5.

³² *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1681-85* (London, 1898), No. 6.

³³ Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 334 ; p. 336.

³⁴ No. 8.

³⁵ For text of charter see : Staughton George, Benjamin M. Nead, and Thomas McCamant, eds., *The Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, Passed between the Years 1682 and 1700* (Harrisburg, 1879), pp. 81-90.

³⁶ Simms, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 350.

³⁷ No. 29.

³⁸ Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

³⁹ Feiling (*op. cit.*, p. 187) dates this event as of 22nd March. Simms (*op. cit.*, p. 368) dates it on 24th March. There is little real difference.

⁴⁰ Simms, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁴¹ Penn and his associates lost no time and spared no pains in circulating information concerning the proposed colony :

1. *A Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania in America* (London, 1681) ; letter-press description annexed. Published late in March, 1681.

2. *A brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (London, 1681). Published in April, 1681.

3. *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (London, 1681). Published in April, 1681.

4. *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc.* No date or place. Conjectural date, summer of 1681. Broadsheet ; not the same item as 2.

5. George Fox : *An Epistle to all Planters and such who are Transporting Themselves into Foreign Plantations in America.* Dated at London 22. 9 Mo. 1681, i.e. 22nd Nov., 1681 ; published early in 1682.

6. W. L[oddington] : *Plantation Work, the Work of this Generation . . . To all such as are weightily inclined to Transplant themselves and Families to any of the English Plantations in America.* London, 1682, published early in the year.

7. *Articles, Settlement and Offices of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania.* London, 1682, dated 25th March, 1682.

8. *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania.* London, 1682, published after 7. Not the same as 2. or 4. in this series.

9. *The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*. London, 1682, published after 5th May, 1682.

10. *Proposals for Clearing Lands in Carolina, Pennsylvania, East- and West-Jersey*. London, 1682, published 9th August, 1682.

11. *William Penn's Last Farewell to England*. London, 1682. Three editions. Dated 30th September, 1682.

The "Last Farewell" tracts signaled his departure for the Delaware.

⁴² Penn must have begun selling Pennsylvania land at once. The oldest deed on record in Bucks County, Penn., is for the purchase of a thousand acres. It is dated 22nd March, 1681. A shoemaker of Somersetshire bought 500 acres in July, 1681. S. Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 501.

⁴³ As an illustration of how Shaftesbury's Whig doctrines found a refuge in America while in danger of proscription at home, an episode from the history of West New Jersey, a Quaker colony, is offered. West New Jersey in 1680 and 1681 was being populated by English refugees. Whiggery was the prevailing political outlook, as the following notice shows. Shaftesbury's penman Ferguson could not have drafted a more lucid, pithy manifesto of "sound doctrine" than that adopted by the Quaker legislators at Burlington, N.J., on 25th November, 1681.

These "Fundamentals of West New Jersey" opening with a preamble referring to the utility of "mutual consent and agreement, for the prevention of innovations and oppression", then proceed to lay down ten propositions as law which in the England of the day were thus far only political ideals as yet unrealized. One may summarize the ten points of this manifesto thus:

1. Annual elections and annual sessions of the legislature.
2. The governors shall not suspend or defer laws made by the legislature.
3. It is not lawful for the governor or council to go to war, without the consent of the legislature.
4. Orders in council or legislation by proclamation are not legal.
5. The legislature is not to be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent. [This speaks volumes in view of recent events in England! F.M.]
6. The governor or council are not to raise any tax, etc., without consent of the legislature.
7. All officers of state or trust shall be accountable to the legislature.
8. Foreign policy and foreign relations are to be subject to the superintendence of the legislature. [Had the Whigs been able to enforce this doctrine before 1681, Charles II would have been deprived of Louis XIV's subsidies. F.M.]

9. No grant of supply by the legislature shall extend for more than one whole year.

10. Liberty of conscience is granted to all who live peaceably in the province ; none are to be rendered incapable of office in respect of faith and worship.

The concluding clause declares that the sitting legislature accepts and receives Samuel Jennings as Deputy Governor, " Upon the governor's acceptance and performance of the proposals herein before expressed." In other words, the legislature enters into a *compact* to recognize the governor (or deputy governor) *on condition* that he assents to the manifesto. In this small theatre in a remote part of the English empire the Whig principles of compact and consent were being applied not only at a time when they were being repudiated at home, but even some years before they attained their classic literary formulation at the hands of Whiggism's political philosopher, John Locke.

For the text of the West New Jersey statement of Whig principles see Samuel Smith, *History of Nova-Caesaria or New Jersey* (Burlington, N.J., 1765), pp. 126-9.

There is deep irony in the circumstance that in London Shaftesbury, now a prisoner in the Tower, was put on his trial, charged with high treason, the very week in November, 1681, that his principles were meeting with legislative approval in West New Jersey.

⁴⁴ For the Baptists' share in resisting Charles II at this period, see W. T. Whitley, *A History of British Baptists* (London, 1923), pp. 145-53.

The militant rôle of a " fanatick " Presbyterian is well chronicled by James Ferguson in his *Robert Ferguson the Plotter, or the secret of the Rye-House Conspiracy and the story of a strange career* (Edinburgh, 1887).

⁴⁵ The writer acknowledges his debt to Walter Adams, Esq., for calling Mr. Simms's dissertation to his attention ; and to Raymond P. Stearns, Esq., for his kindly and constructive reading of this essay in manuscript form.

The Convincement of William Penn

In *Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century*, 1867, pp. 173-80, Maria Webb gives an account of the early religious experience of William Penn based upon a manuscript then in the possession of a Huntley of High Wycombe, to which she had access. She freely paraphrased and in part quoted the MS. The MS. was recently offered for sale and has now been purchased by the Library at Friends House. It is here printed in its entirety for the first time and has been divided into paragraphs with spaces introduced between unpunctuated sentences. The MS. bears evidence of having been carefully written, for the writer made slight verbal and literal corrections at numerous points. No record has been found at Friends House which enables Thomas Harvey to be identified with certainty. The paper is dated 1729, some seventy years after the events narrated and is our only source for some of them. It contains three details of interest which it is believed will be new to students of Penn. These are referred to in footnotes.

AN account of ye Convincement of W^m Pen deliver'd by himself to Thom Harvey about thirty years since wch Thos: Harvey related me in a brief manner as well as his Memory would serve after such a distance of time.

1729. While he was but a child living at Cork with his Father Thos. Low coming thither, his Father proposed to some others (when it was rumour'd A Quaker was come from England) to be like ye Noble Berean's to hear them before they Judg'd 'em and sent to T.L. to come to his House where he had a meeting in ye family, and tho' W.P. was very young yet observed what effect T.L's Doctrine had on ye Hearers so that a Black of his Fathers could not contain himself from weeping aloud & he looking on his Father saw ye Tears Runing down his Cheeks also; he thought in himself wt If they should all be Quakers []* opportunity he never forgot at times, Afterward, he was sent to Oxford where continued till he was expell'd for writing a book ye Preists did not like then was sent to France to prosecute his Learning & when return'd came to Ireland his Father not being there then he wanting some Cloaths

* Unreadable.

went to a woman Friend Shop he had knowledge of about ye time of that Meeting—

She not knowing him, told her who he was and also of ye Meeting at his Fathers she admired at his remembering that he told her he should never forget it also if he knew where ye person was if 'twere an Hundred Miles he would go to here him again.

She told he need not go far for ye Friend was lately come thither and would be at meeting ye next day to wch he went another appearing first he was not Effected wth his Testimony but when T.L. stood up was exceedingly reach'd so that he wept much and it seemed to him as if a Voice sayd stand on thy feet How dost know but somebody may be reach'd by thy tears so he stood up that he might be seen, After ye Meeting some friends took notice of him and he went to a friend house with T.L. in discourse T.L. was saying he should want a horse either being without one or his own being not fit to travell, W.P. offer'd him his Sumtute horse he had brought from France but T.L. said he was not willing to take his, wch made W.P. think he was not friend enough to have his horse accepted

however he went to meetings there till they was disturb[ed] once a soldier came up into ye Meeting making a Great disturbance W.P. Go's to him takes him by ye collar and would have throw'd him down stairs but a friend or two come to him desireing to let him alone for they was a peaceable people and would not have [him] make a disturbance there then he was very much concern'd he had caused friends to be uneasy by his roughness—The soldier went to ye Magistrates and brought ye Officers wch broke up ye Meeting and made several of them prisoners, and him among ye Rest

when they was brought before ye Magistrate he knowing W.P. told him he did not think him a Quaker so would not send him to Goal but Wm told him Whether he thought him so or not ; he was one and if he sent his friends to Prison he was willing to go wth them then ye Magistrate said he should Go with 'em (As he went to prison he gave his sword to his man & never wore one after)¹ but writes a letter to ye Governer that he had commit'd W.P. prisoner among ye Quakers the Governer sent order that he should be released also another to his Father wch acquaint'd him of his son's

being a Quaker wch occation'd him to send order to his son to come to him in England wch order he obeyed and landed at Bristoll where he staid some meetings to strenghen himself know[ing] his Father would not be very pleasant upon him.

J. Coal went with him to London also to his Father's house to see how he was likly to be entertain'd but his Father kept his temper while J.C. was there but at night observing him use thee or thou was very angry W^m told him 'twas in obeydiance to God and not in any disrespect to him however then his Father told him he might thee & thou who he pleas'd except ye King ye Duke of York and himself but them he should not (thee or thou) but he answer'd he must speak in ye singular number both to ye King ye Duke & himself wch made his Father very angry, but as he was Going up stairs to bed his Father bid him rise in ye Morning for he should go out in his coach with him wch caused Wm. to be so uneasy that he could not sleep that night fearing he was to be had to court ;

in ye Morning they went in ye Coach together but Wm. did not know Where they was Going However ye Coach man was order'd to Drive into ye Park then he found his Fathers intent was to have private discourse wth him his Father beginning with him told he could not tell what he could think of himself after he had train'd him up in Learning and other accomplishments for a courtier—as for an Ambassador or other Minister that he should become a Quaker he Answer'd 'twas in Obediance to ye Manifestation of God in his own Conscience but a cross to his own Nature also told him of that Former meeting which was of his own promoting also how he observed his Father in tears at that time and that he beleive[d] him to be convinced of the truth of ye Doctrine of ye Quakers as well as himself only ye Grandure of ye World Was to Great for him to Give up therefore had Got over ye Reaches he had received

after more discourse they return'd and at a tavern his Father proposed taking of a Glass of wine when they came into ye Room his Father lock'd ye Door then Wm. expected he was to be caned but instead of that his Father laying his hands on ye table told him he would kneel down and pray to God that he might not be a Quaker nor go to any more of there meetings ; Wm. open'd ye Casement and sayd before he would hear his Father pray after that manner he

would leep o[ut a]t winder ; A Nobleman was Going by ye Door in his Coach [seeing] Sr W^m's Coach stand there st[opt] his coach to speak wt [Sr] W^m came and knockt at ye [door] which stopt his Father's prayer the door being open'd he came in first came up to W^m and saluted him then turn'd to his Father told him he might think himself happy in a son that could Dispise ye Grandure of ye world & refrain from ye many vices they were running after which very much encouraged W^m: after more discourse they parted then W^m and his Father went to another Noblemans house wch Nobleman also spoke much in favour of W^m to his Father ; they returned home :

after some time W^m went to bear a friend company to []† as they rod a long ye Road Wm. thought his two taild wigg which he had not yet left off, was burdensom to him took of his hatt turnd his wigg of his head behind him not looking back to see what became of it² he had some hair tho' but short when he came to []† they had a meeting where Wm's Mouth was first open'd then went to several other places at one place ye Magistrate knowing who Wm. was sent to one of ye Secratarys how Wm. with other were causeing tumults by preaching the Quakers Doctrine at that his Father finding where to send to him sent him orders to return home the friend he was with advised him to obey his Fathers order which after some little time he did,

coming to London went to a meeting before he went to see his Father after meeting went up into ye Room where a Friend brought Guly Springett wch was ye first time he saw her who was afterwards his wife ; but returning home his Father told him he had heard what work he had been making in the country and after some discourse his Father bid him take his cloaths and be Gon from his house for he should not be there also that he should disposed of his Estate to them that pleased him better Wm. Gave his Father to understand how great a cross 'twas to him to disoblige his Father not in regard to his Estate but from the Filial affection he bore him but as he was convinced of ye Truth he must be faithfull so Go's up stairs and packt up a small bundle comes down again first Salutes his Mother and Sisters then tells his Father how unpleasen[t] his Displeasure was to him

† Place names omitted in MS.

but should always think himself obliged to pray for his Father so left his father's house only with his small bundle as he went out of ye house heard Great cry's by his mother & sisters but was not Got far before a servant was sent for him to return when he return'd his Father was gon out of ye way so he soon got to his Room till his Fathers displeasure was something a bated.³

¹ This statement conflicts with the traditional story that Penn later sought George Fox's advice about his sword and received the answer, "Wear it as long as thou canst", related in Janney: *Life of Penn*, p. 50. Janney's story is in a verbal tradition from James Simpson of Philadelphia, born 1743.

² This incident recalls the complaints made later by some over zealous Friends that Penn's wig was an offence against true simplicity. To this George Fox replied in a letter dated 25.iii.1677, defending Penn's wig as "a very short civil thing" which was necessary because he had so little hair of his own. A copy of this letter in William Penn's own hand is in the Library. (Port. 10., 64.)

³ William Penn was twice turned from home by his father, the first time on being sent down from Christ Church, Oxford. Besse and later writers state that the second banishment placed him in poverty, which was relieved by Friends and his mother. The present account makes the second banishment to have lasted less than a day, though possibly the estrangement lasted longer; Cf. Besse's "Life" in the *Works of William Penn*, and W. Penn: *Travels in Holland and Germany*, 1694, p. 182. Penn himself does not mention the second banishment.

Early Friends and the Post

AT the time George Fox commenced his ministry the postal system of England was in its infancy. In 1635 Charles I, by Royal Proclamation, had appointed one Thomas Witherings to settle the posts between London and Edinburgh, Holyhead and Dublin, Plymouth and other parts. From that year onward, until 1649, the office of Master of the Posts was held by grant from the Crown. During the period of the Commonwealth a system of farming the posts was introduced with the object of securing a portion of the revenue from the conveyance of letters to the State. On the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 the revenue from the farmer, Henry Bishop of Henfield, Sussex, totalled £21,500. Three years later, 1663, the revenue was settled on the Duke of York, subject to a substantial payment to the King. This practice continued until the coming of William and Mary in 1688. The farmer, or as we should call him to-day contractor, had to arrange for horses to be in readiness along the principal roads of England and for post boys to ride the horses and carry the mails. In the condition of the roads at that time the task was no easy one. Few of the original records of the farmers have survived, but in the Record Room of the General Post Office in London there is one such in the letter book of Colonel Whitley, who acted as Deputy Postmaster-General under Lord Arlington from 1672-77. The letters in this book are an eloquent testimony to the difficulty of transport on the roads at that period. King's letters and letters sent by express (the latter a costly business) had precedence over the ordinary post. Places off the main post roads were served by local carriers. This fact explains why nearly all the early letters addressed to George Fox and Margaret Fell at Swarthmore were addressed care of local shop-keepers at Lancaster and Kendal to be forwarded as directed.

In the Spence, Swarthmore and other MSS. in the Library at Friends House there are many interesting examples of this form of address, of which the following are examples :

1653. For Margrett Fell. John Wilson and horse desired to goe with speed & deliver this at Swarthmore. With care and speed.

1655. H. H. For my deare friend Edward Pyatt att the Gaoler, his house in Launceston, deliver in Cornwall haste haste.
1656. For my Beloved friend Margrett Fell at Swarthmore in Furness this deliver Lancashire. Leave this at Thomas Green's, dyer, at his house in Lancaster, to be sent as above said.
1657. For His dearly beloved Friend M. Fell at Swarthmore. Leave this with Geo. Taylor at his shopp in Kendal.

The above were sent in all probability through the medium of the post, but it is less certain if the following could have been :

1653. For my deare Brother called by the world George Fox in Cumberland.

In the Swarthmore Collection there is a letter from Anthony Pearson, dated May 9th, 1653, in which the following sentence appears :

Dear Friend, there is a carrier comes from Kendal, within a mile of my house, every fortnight, and he shall call at Peter Higgin's, to bring any letter that shall be there left for me ; it will much refresh me to receive any lines from thee.

A letter from Henry Fell, who was on a visit to the Barbados in 1656 is thus addressed :

For the Hands of my deer Friend Margrett Fell, at Swarthmore in Lancashire these. Leave this letter at Robert Dring's house at ye Harrow in Watling Street in London to be sent as above directed with care and speed.

Evidence of the use of the Government post before 1660 is supplied by the following :

For my dearly beloved friend George Fox att the signe of the Flower de luce in Thomas Apostle this with care deliver London. The post not paid from Dunstable.

The Flower de luce was the house of Gerrard Roberts, wine cooper, whose shop was made much use of by Friends sending

letters through London. Writing on 4th of 7 mo. 1657 to Margaret Fell, John Stubbs says :

Thy letter of the 17th of the 6 mo. I received upon the 6th day of 7th mo. in Gerrard Roberts' house.

Before the year 1660 there was nothing in the nature of an impressed postmark in use, so that it is somewhat difficult to determine whether certain letters were actually conveyed by the official post. The evidence however seems to indicate that the early Friends used to post freely during the periods of acute persecution, and never tried to keep what they were thinking and writing from the eyes of the law. There were temptations to smuggle letters through by unauthorized channels, for the monopoly claimed by the Crown was hotly contested over a long period by the carriers and public generally. That Friends did at times give countenance to this smuggling is brought out in the following extract from a letter written in 1683 by Sarah Mead to R. Abraham at Swarthmore :

If Ja Geldart intend to come to London againe with Lettrs, tell him its now very difficult for any to carry any Lettrs, all persons being prohibited by Proclamation ; save the Post : & men are sett to watch at all parts of ye Citty, to search any they suspect, for Lettrs, & at highgate a strict watch is sett : all this is done by ye Duke of Yorkes officers to advance ye post office ; soe I write this, yt he need not be surprized ; but my advice is to him, if he come againe, to send all his Lettrs by the Carrier, packt up amonge his goods, else he is very like to come to trouble, if he bringe any lettrs himselfe, & if he fall into their hands, he will not easily gett quitt, some saith a person will be sett to watch in every Inn in London to prevente ye carriage of Lettrs by private persons, which if so, I doubt it will discourage his new Employment ; tell him what I write & lett him doe as he think good.

In the *Swarthmore Account Book* Sarah Fell records numerous payments for letters sent to Lancaster, of which the following are examples :

1673.	Oct. 16° Pd for letter to sister Lower	4d.
	Nov. 29° by mo given a man for carrieinge	
	2 Lettrs to Lancr	4d.

1675. Nov. 4^o by mo pd Higgins¹ for Carrienge
Lettrs to Lancr & bringinge all by Lettrs
for a yre endinge ye 11^o inst 4s.
1676. May 4^o by mo pd Kelly of Dalton for
bringinge a Lettr from Tho: Curwen from
London, his Acct. 2d.
- July 4^o by mo pd [higgins] for 9 lettrs to
Father 4s. 1d.

A letter which Margaret Fell addressed to Oliver Cromwell was doubtless carried to London by some trusty friend and handed over to Francis Howgill, who wrote 5th month, 1655 :

Thy letter I have received ; those to Oliver Cromwell are both delivered into his hands.

Anxiety as to the fate of their letters was felt at times by many Friends. Writing on 31st of 5 mo. 1660 to George Fox, Margaret Fell gives expression to this in the following terms :

Thine received, wherein thou mentions thou had no letter that week ; which is strange to me, for I did not miss writing any week since I came hither. . . . Let inquiry be made at the post-house what became of the letter. There were some to the children that I would not like to have lost.

G. F. was put on the outside, and it may be that was the cause.

Another instance of this anxiety is found in a letter from Robert Barclay to Sarah Fell, 27th of 8 mo. 1678 :

Some days ago I received both thy letters by William Taylor. I return thee this chiefly to try an experiment whether letters put into the post-office at Edinburgh will come safely to your hands ; for which end I order this that way, and if it hit [?] let me have by the first post an answer, directing it for me to be left with David Falconer, Merchant, Edinboro I will not enlarge by this because uncertain of its safe conveyance.

A few of the letters sent between 1660 and 1750 have rare and interesting postmarks. The one reproduced is on a

¹ John Higgins acted as carrier between Swarthmore Hall and the town of Lancaster, and made many journeys across the sands, chiefly conveying letters to and fro. (*Swarthmore Account Book*, p. 513.)



These
 For Gerard Roberts Wine Copier
 at ye signe of ye flower de luce
 in Thomas Chubbale, for George
 Fox, or Edward Burrow, n^o 12
 London 2



letter of 1661 from John Philly to George Fox and Edward Burrough, Dover, 18.vii.(Sept.)1661. It had not been recorded in books on English postmarks prior to its discovery among the Swarthmore letters.¹ The reference to the Round House suggests that the post office was on the premises of an old Guard House for the detention of prisoners. We know that the Kent office was moved to another locality after the Great Fire of 1666.

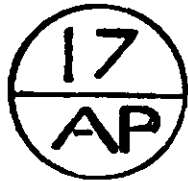
In the year 1680 a certain William Dockwra introduced a Penny Post into London. He undertook to deliver letters and small parcels within a certain radius for a penny and set up a number of receiving houses. As many as six to eight deliveries a day were organized for the City proper. James, Duke of York, watched the progress of this post until its success was assured and then asserted the rights of the Crown in an action against Dockwra in the High Court. Dockwra was deprived of his control but the system he had organized was continued. That the benefits conferred by this post were appreciated by Friends we have ample evidence in the early records of Meetings of Friends in London. In one of his letters William Penn recommends the London Penny Post to his correspondent. In the minutes of the Six Weeks Meeting 4th of 9th, 1712, the following passage occurs :

Thos. Hutson is desired to give notice to ye fds the Q.M. hath appointed by penny post letters two days before advt time of meeting above.

Examples of the triangular "Dockwra" and the "London Penny Post Paid" marks are given below, also an illustration of the first postmark, introduced by Henry Bishop in 1660.



Dockwra Stamp, 1680.



Bishop Postmark, 1660.



London Penny Post, 1683-1794.

The principle of prepayment of a letter was a novel one at this time. Most of the letters sent through the General

¹ Sw. MSS. iv, 189.

Post were paid for by the recipient on delivery. This meant that the post boys had to take bills with them on their rounds and collect the amounts shown. For a letter to go at the lowest rate it had to consist of a single sheet. The envelope only came into general use with the introduction of uniform penny post in 1840. Most letters were sealed with wax or a wafer. The paper was hand-made and samples that have come down to us in the Swarthmore and other collections are as firm and strong to-day as when they were manufactured. This is more than can be said for much of our machine-made paper used for books and letters in the last and present century.

SAMUEL GRAVESON.

Richardson MSS.

Further unpublished writings of George Fox

By HENRY J. CADBURY

AFTER consulting all, as I supposed, of the principal manuscript collections of the writings of George Fox, one of the most voluminous has just become available for examination and study. I had been aware that nearly half a century ago such a book was in existence through a reference to it in *The Friend* (Phila.), Vol. 61, p. 68, by J.W., probably Joseph Walton, the editor :

Before me lies an ancient MS. volume of Epistles mostly those of George Fox, written in a singularly clear, uniform and compact hand, probably by someone who was a scribe by profession. It contains 220 large folio pages.

Finally, though I had about despaired of finding the book, I published in the same periodical a letter of inquiry, which fortunately came to the attention of the present owners who have given me access to it. Following the precedent of this *Journal*, I may offer a brief description of it.

It is a folio volume, once a ledger but now filled with Quaker epistles written throughout in the same very even and legible hand. The original cover of parchment-covered pasteboard is still on the book, though evidently it was once re-bound or repaired and covered over with a home-made linen cover. The binding also was renewed, but a leaf from the back of both the first and the last quire has been lost, viz. pages 28 and 29 and 221 and 222.

The book is now the property of Edward Wanton Smith of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and of his sisters Anna Wharton Wood of Waltham and Esther Morton Smith of Washington, having come to them through their father Benjamin R. Smith and grandmother Esther Morton Smith. It evidently is an heirloom of long standing in the family, as it carries the inscriptions " Abigail Robinson 10 mo 1812 " and " Thos: Richardson his Book 1714 ", the former (1760-1835) being granddaughter of the latter (1681-1761) and

great-great-aunt of the present owners. Some account of these ancestors will be found in Anna W. Wood's essay in the *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society*, Rhode Island, for October, 1922.

The history of the volume before it came into the hands of Thomas Richardson, the Newport, Rhode Island, ship-master, in 1714 is unknown.¹ But since the papers copied can none of them be definitely dated after 1683 or thereabouts, it may have been collected before Fox's death in 1691. It was not in the hands of the London compiler of the great Annual Catalogue of Fox's works in 1694 and was later or less detailed than some of the sources that he used.

Though many of the epistles were such as obtained general circulation, a good many are addressed originally to the Barbadoes, and other evidence connects the contents with that island. Either the book itself was compiled there and was brought to Newport or it was compiled on the mainland on the basis of materials that had come *via* the West Indian islands.

Of over 125 pieces in the book two are from William Edmundson, two from George Whitehead, nine from John Burnyeat (six of these are printed in his life), three from meetings—the frequently occurring epistles from London Friends (1675), Dublin half year's meeting and Lancashire Women Friends (1677). The rest, numbering about 110, are by George Fox and of these over forty have not been published, though some of them exist in other MS. collections.

Being all religious epistles of a general and edifying nature they contain little of biographical or narrative interest. But their references to slavery are of special interest in disclosing the limited but progressive sensitiveness of early Friends as they first came in contact with the institution.

Another group of papers of some interest is formed by the several sermons of Fox reported *in extenso*. They are much longer than most of the other items and together occupy about one-third of the volume. They give some impression of the length as well as of the character of Fox's oral preaching, even though what is said of one of them be true of others (p. 184): "much more was spoken by G.F.

¹ Some notes on its possible origin are given at the end of this article.

in this meeting which could not be so fully taken as they were spoken". In subject matter and style they resemble his well-known printed writings, though their occasional personal reference and reminiscence is less usual in his general epistles or doctrinal pamphlets. The list of these is given below, with the pages, with the occasion, and, where possible, with a reference to other copies. To estimate their length one may allow in this volume at least 1,200 words to the page.

Pages

- 81-87 Barbadoes, 8 mo. 1671. Printed in George Fox's *Gospel Family-Order*.
- 87-103 Yearly Meeting, London, [4 mo. 11] 1674. Headley MSS. (Friends House), 247-283.
- 103-112 Women's Meeting, Barbadoes, 1671. New England Book of Epistles, 1-6.
- 153-161 Devonshire House, London, 3 mo. 1677.
- 168-176 Yearly Meeting, London, 3 mo. [25 or 30] 1675. Pennington MSS. (Friends House), iv. 90-98.
- 176-184 [Yearly Meeting, London], 3 mo. [21] 1678. Cf. *Short Jnl.*, p. 271.
- 195-202 General Meeting, Wheeler St., London, 4 mo. 1680. Swarthmore MSS. (Friends House), v. 121 and Nicholson MSS. (Liverpool), viii.
- 204-210 Yearly Meeting, London, 3 mo. [24] 1681. Dartmouth (Mass) Women's M.M., 18-25.

NOTES ON THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE VOLUME
AND INSTANCES OF ITS USE.

It may be conjectured that the book belonged originally to a local meeting—monthly, quarterly or yearly. Other examples of such books are in existence, e.g. in America one for Little Egg Harbor Monthly Meeting (New Jersey) and one for New England Yearly Meeting, while in many cases the minute book itself contained the same kind of material in large amounts, e.g. Women's Monthly Meeting at Dartmouth, Mass. Early in the minutes of the Women's Quarterly Meeting held at Portsmouth and Newport (1706-1783) occurs the minute under date of 8.iii.1706 :

It is agreed that for time to come Leah Newberry or Ruth Fry bring the Quarterly Meeting book . . . also that the

Book of Epistles be Brought to these our Quarterly Meetings
In order that some of them may be read, for Edification, &
as occasion may require.

In the New England Epistle Book referred to above a colophon to the MS. entitled "Some of the Heads of what G.F. delivered at the Women's Meeting at Rhode Island the 18th of the 4th month 1672 at William Coddingtons" reads "Let this be read sometimes in your meeting once a Quarter . . . when your business is not much."

It would be tempting to associate the Richardson MSS. with Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting of which Thomas Richardson was long clerk. But the date of his signature in the volume, 1714, is too early, for the original minute book of that meeting, 1681-1746 (now at Moses Brown School, Providence, R.I.), shows both by minutes and by handwriting that the first clerk John Easton was replaced in 1708 by John Stanton, Jr., since "John Easton ye former Clark of this Meeting is Antient and is willing to be dismissed" and that John Stanton acted until in 8 mo. 1717 "this meeting doth appoint Thomas Ritcheson Clark of said meeting". Richardson's handwriting begins with minutes of the next quarter. A better suggestion is that the book is the very book of Epistles mentioned in the Minutes of Rhode Island Women's Quarterly Meeting. For Thomas Richardson married for his first wife Ann Newberry daughter of the Leah Newberry there mentioned and he may have obtained the book or custody of it in that way.

Beside the reference in *The Friend* (Phila.) in 1887 what seems to be certain evidence of the use of this book exists earlier, also in Philadelphia. In 1843 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting published *A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade*. This able review, on which all later writers heavily depend, was probably composed by Nathan Kite. On page six he quotes from a public discourse spoken on Barbadoes by George Fox and on page seven from an epistle of William Edmundson. These passages occur in the Richardson MSS. on pages 86 and 23 respectively.

The wording of the Fox passage agrees with the MS. against the text as printed in 1676 and 1701 in Fox's *Gospel Family Order*. The Epistle of Edmundson was not previously printed but the very passage quoted in it has been marked in ink by a reader of the MS. with a fist or index (☞). It is of course possible that these quotations in the pamphlet were derived from some other manuscripts but I think it more probable that the Richardson volume was used by Nathan Kite about 1842.

Joseph John Gurney in America

THE Gurney Loan Collection of MSS. contains about 120 of the Journal Letters written by Joseph John Gurney during his visit to America in the years 1837 to 1840. These were set up in type and a few copies were privately circulated on his return to England, but the more important details were published for general use in the two volumes, *A Winter in the West Indies, described in Familiar Letters addressed to Henry Clay of Kentucky*; London, 1840; and *A Journey in North America, described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*; Norwich, 1841. Two letters written during this period are here printed. The contemporary copy of a letter from E. Warder, of Springfield, Ohio, describes the impression made by one of J. J. Gurney's family visits. The writer has not been identified, and Joseph J. Gurney does not mention the incident in his letters, but the Ohio Yearly Meeting, and other incidents of his ministry in that district are vividly described in the following letter.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

E. WARDER'S LETTER

Our dear Father and friends left an hour since and having arranged matters and things I gladly sit down to give my dear Mother an account of the delightful visit we have had whose only defect was her absence—How much would thee have enjoyed the *pure, holy, christian* spirit, the humility and unbounded love accompanied by polished manners and fine sense—He is one of the most beautiful exemplifications of the christian gentleman I have ever seen, and instead of this short stay we wished most earnestly he could have remained a week—how great a privilege to be enabled to enjoy the society of such, but this we could not do in Philadelphia—*there* we should only have met him in publick—*here* he was one of *us*—We had delayed dinner to a late hour when despairing of seeing them we had commenced and, they arrived—Joseph J. Gurney's salutation to Papa was beautiful—he seemed to feel it a pleasure to meet a brother Englishman, and though he said little, he *felt* the

comforts around him and the many little quiet arrangements which had been made to render his visit pleasant—I believe everything dear Mother was as thee would have desired had thee been here—The friends were all glad to lie down in the afternoon—we had an early tea and were at the meeting house by 7—J.J.G.'s manner is slow and impressive—he was particularly led to prove the divinity of our saviour, the *oneness* of the Father, son and holy spirit—our entire dependence on the saviour, inability to do any thing unless he aid us—and *particularly* his *indwelling* in the hearts of each individual, that we should depend upon his teachings and follow *him* only, as our guide.—We returned by 9 and having partaken of some fruit and cakes the 72nd Psalm was read and he addressed us in a few short sentences in the most sweet and tender manner—Sarah breakfasted with us after which he again addressed each individual separately and most acceptably—thee dearest Mother and thy absent ones were not forgotten but were prayed for fervently—It has never been my lot to be present at so highly favoured a season, at least so it felt to *me* and I most earnestly desire we may be enabled to follow the teachings of the spirit so clearly pointed out to us. There seems to be a constantly overflowing spirit of love to all around him and he so beautifully exemplifies his Master's words "A new commandment give I unto you that ye love one another."—H.D. has been much struck with all that she has seen; it has made a great impression on her mind—*such* friends *must* do good and scatter the seed in their progress—M.P. called to see him but he was too late—He will be in Cincinnati and I hope dear Mother thee may meet him there—thee *must* see him—simply as a man, it is well worth the effort—he is by nature a *nobleman* and exhibits the polish of constantly mingling among his equals and feeling his own standing there.

(Gurney MSS. III, 157.)

Smithfield, Ohio, 9 mo 10th 1837.

My beloved children

. . . The Ohio Yearly Meeting has been large, & has certainly been one of the most memorable occasions, of divine favour mercifully bestowed in the needful time, that I have ever known. At the conclusion yesterday, the shutters

which separate the mens' from the womens' house were removed (a task of no noise or difficulty, so well are their large meeting houses contrived)—& the whole body united in the final solemnity. It was an inexpressibly weighty & solemn hour—the *pouring forth* of prayer by Stephen Grellet, occupied about half the time. Friends have given me a most satisfactory return Certificate, & with as full a tide of unity, as I ever witnessed on any occasion. I have felt thankful for this boon—& for the remarkable degree of easy brotherhood which it has been given me to enjoy with the Society in these parts. A great openness to the truth appears to prevail extensively, & the general characteristic of the Yearly Meeting & its exercises, has been the bold & simple upholding of the principles of Friends, in connexion with a remarkably clear recognition of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. . . . I think it was a salutary check to the flowing tide, that I blundered on sixth day, in making a premature proposal for a joint assembling of the men & women. After it had been consented to by both meetings, I distinctly felt a check—& had to acknowledge myself mistaken & to withdraw the proposal—Friends were I believe well pleased at my so humbling myself, & yesterday, it all came right in a wonderful manner. . . . A vast number of aged men & women attended the Yearly Meeting—quite a new & cheering sight to me, & warmly did they give me the right hand of fellowship. The Young people are very affectionate & impressible—a fine field do they present for labour. By far the greatest deficiency which I see prevailing is a want of diligence & regularity in the family reading of Scripture—advice was freely given in the Y. Meetg. on the subject by several friends; & I hope the good practice is growing. There are some things in the habits of the people unfavourable to this practice—They breakfast at 7 o'clock in the morning, & when one party has finished, another sits down, & so on for a considerable time—The same at tea or supper—the 6 o'clock evening meal—& also at the $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 dinner. I fall into their hours & modes of living with little difficulty; & am in excellent health—as to wine or beer, they are pretty nearly articles unknown—I have enjoyed a daily draught of Cider at my friend Dr. Parker's (my happy home at M. Pleasant) but expect but few such privileges—I think I shall learn to do without any stimulus—

the air is often so bracing—& in other respects, I have all & abound. . . . Everybody here seems to ride or drive, & the “creatures” as they call them are excellent—walking is an art much disused in America—I rode part of the way yesterday & hope to ride a good deal, but I am considered an anomaly for rising in my stirrups.

First day Evg. 9 mo 10. We have been spending a very interesting day—very full meetings in the morning & afternoon—the latter a public meeting—*many* of the Hicksites present—of which I was not aware; but the doctrine delivered was adapted to them—Since the meetings, some interesting family visits. I was longing for you to witness the *scene* at the morning meeting—the meeting house on the top of a beautiful wooded hill, with a delightful prospect—& fine trees all around it—numbers of horses tied to branches of trees by way of stowage during the meeting—& abundance of countrified vehicles stowed around. . . . I long to make a thorough good inroad on the Hicksite ranks—but it is difficult to know how to get at them—It certainly appears to me, that to *Friends*, the name of Jesus is abundantly precious, which very much cheers me on the way; & makes the more willing to submit to sundry privations & limitations which cannot be avoided. . . . Nothing can have been kinder to me than our beloved Friend Stephen Grellet—I could not have had a greater external advantage than his company & brotherhood—A more hearty friend & helper I have never met with—& I have the pleasant prospect of meeting him again in Indiana. . . . Stephen Grellet desired me to send his most affectionate love.

Most dearly farewell
Your tenderly loving father
J. J. Gurney.

(Gurney MSS. III, 625.)

A Letter of Anthony Benezet

THE following letter, in the *Gurney Loan MSS.* (Sec. I, 50), which has not hitherto been published, is another example of the extensive correspondence which Anthony Benezet (1713-83), the Philadelphia schoolmaster, carried on in his efforts to awaken convictions against slavery.¹ Henry J. Cadbury's paper before the Friends' Historical Society on the *Colonial Quaker Antecedents of the British Abolition of Slavery* (Friends' Quarterly Examiner, 1933) explains a number of the matters alluded to, while fuller information may be obtained from N. Kite's *Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of . . . Friends against Slavery . . .* Phila., 1843; A. C. Thomas: *Attitude of . . . Friends towards Slavery in the 17th and 18th Centuries . . .*, 1897; and R. M. Jones: *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911. The "treatise" the writer refers to is a work entitled *Some Historical Account of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the general Disposition of its Inhabitants. With an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and lamentable Effects . . .* Phila., 1771, reprinted in London. It was Benezet's sixth work against slavery and about twelve years later it powerfully influenced Thomas Clarkson to devote himself to the abolition of slavery.

The recipients of the letter were John Gurney (John's) of Brooke (1718-79) and his brother Henry (1721-77).² These two were the founders of Gurneys Bank in 1775, but at the time of the letter they were leading merchants in Norwich.³

¹ Clarkson: *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, II, 164 ff., mentions Granville Sharp, George Whitfield, John Wesley, The Countess of Huntingdon, Abbé Raynal, Queen Charlotte.

² They were the two surviving sons of John Gurney (1688-1740), the friend of Sir Robert Walpole, and grandsons of John Gurney, the ancestor of the Quaker Gurneys.

³ The following advertisement of the firm appeared in a local newspaper in 1756.

IRISH LINNENS lately Imported, and now Selling at JOHN and HENRY GURNEY's in Norwich. A large Quantity of all the different Sorts will be disposed of on very reasonable Terms, they are of the best Fabricks and the last New Bleaching. Also some Lancashire Sheeting, and Cheques, stript Cottons, and yellow Canvas, which will be sold very Cheap.

Their wealth and influence would lead Joseph Oxley, a Norwich Friend travelling in the ministry, to name them to Benezet as suitable recipients for some of his persuasive letters and tracts. No immediate response to this letter in the way of anti-slavery influence is recorded.

John Hunt (1740-1824) was an eminent New Jersey ministering Friend. His father was a first cousin of John Woolman. His Journal is printed in Comly's *Miscellany*, X, see also many other references in that series.

ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON.

Anthony Benezet to John and Henry Gurney, Norwich, England.

Philadelphia—y^e 10th 1st Mo. 1772.

Esteemed Friends

John & Henry Gurney.—

From the encouragement given me by our dear friend Joseph Oxley, who after performing a very acceptable visit to these parts, is returning to you, I take the freedom respectfully to salute you ; & to request some of your attention on a subject which has long been a matter of great concern to many well disposed people in these parts, viz. The Negro Trade ; the purchasing & bringing the miserable Africans from their native land, & subjecting them to a state of perpetual bondage, and that, often, the most cruel & afflictive ; in which our Nation is so deeply engaged.—I herewith send you two copies of a Treatise lately published here on this weighty subject, wherein is truly set forth the inhumanity & great wickedness, whereby so many hundred thousands of our Fellow Men, equally with us the Objects of Redeeming Grace, indowed with the same mental powers, & as free as ourselves by nature, have been, & yet are brought to a miserable and untimely end.—I entreat you will give it a serious perusal, when, I am persuaded, you will be sensible, it is a matter which calls for the most deep consideration, of all who are concerned for the civil, as well as Religious Welfare of their Country, & desirous to avert those judgments, which evils of so deep a dye, must necessarily, sooner or later, bring upon every people who are defiled therewith.—I have but small expectation of the

service this publication may be of ; considering the selfishness which so much prevails amongst all orders of men ; but, however, I shall have the satisfaction of having done what I could, to set this weighty matter in a true point of view.—

I have wondered at the strange capriciousness of the human heart, that even thinking men should be so solicitous in procuring to themselves, not only all that is necessary, but also all that is comfortable, & many rather wasting the substance they have gathered in procuring all that their souls delight in, & still under a high profession of Christianity, the basis of which is, the Love of God,—& that which the lip of Truth declares to be equal thereto, “ That we love our Neighbour, (i.e. all Mankind) equal to ourselves.”—And yet how unfeeling for the sufferings of others, how languid in our endeavours for their relief.—If this love indeed prevailed, could it otherwise than deeply affect the many high professors, of different denominations, who have had opportunity to be acquainted, not only with the grievous sufferings and prodigious destruction which is, thro’ this trade, made of the human species, by means the most disgraceful, afflictive and cruel ; but also with its woeful effects on their immediate oppressors, the people of the West India Islands & our most Southern Provinces, in vitiating their judgments, corrupting their morals, & hardening their hearts, & the hearts of their offspring, till they become alienated from God, estranged from all good, & hastening to a state of greater, far greater, more deeply corrupt, barbarity, than that from whence our Northern Progenitors emerged, before their acquaintance with Christianity.—

Can we be innocent & yet silent spectators of this mighty infringement of every humane and sacred right ?—Is it not the duty of every one who knows these things, to do all in their power, in imitation of the good Bishop of Chapia, mentioned in the Treatise, page 48,—to bring this matter before the King & Parliament ? Will any thing short of this excuse us to God, the common Father of Mankind, when inquisition is made for the blood of so many thousands & tens of thousands of our fellow men, (i.e. our Neighbours), so unjustly, and so cruelly shed, & yet daily shedding by our Nation ; more especially as this evil is maintained under the

sanction of Laws, made by our Representatives in Parliament.—Indeed the assertion made at page 86 seems to be verified by experience, viz.—“that the Slavery of the Negroes in our Colonies, is attended with far worse circumstances, than what any people, in their condition suffer, in any part of the world, or have suffered in any other period of time”, for even wicked, amazingly wicked, as are the American Laws, quoted at page 81 & 26—Yet that part intended for the security of the Slaves, is but seldom put in execution on sundry accounts, viz.—Because a Slave’s evidence is not valid; therefore the prosecution of the Murderer, must generally lay on the White Overseers testimony, who, except in resentment, will not be likely to appear against his employer; and because it is dangerous in most places where Slavery prevails, to appear on behalf of Negroes, so that it is not uncommon to hear shocking instances of the Negroes being wantonly, passionately, or cruelly murdered, without any legal notice, being taken of it; not to mention the many aged and infirm, who, of course, languish disregarded, and fall victims to that hardheartedness which prevails with the practice of Slave-keeping.—If the blood of one Man called for vengeance, &c &c—We as a people have not been backward in applying to Parliament, in cases where our sufferings have been by no means comparable to the present case.—If Friends would take any step tending to prevent the continuance of the Slave Trade, if not of Slavery itself, we should have the unity of many upright people of other religious Persuasions;—indeed the people of Maryland and Virginia are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not, all, of the iniquity of any farther importation of Negroes, that our friend John Hunt, who has spent some time in those parts, tells me he thinks ten or twenty thousand people would join in a petition to that purpose, to the Parliament. But are we not, as a Society, in a situation somewhat similar to that mentioned Esther Chapr. 4th.—May *We* altogether hold our peace? Who Knoweth if we are not intended for such a service as this.—And What judgments may fall on us (on account of our unfeeling & unbelieving hearts) when deliverance ariseth another way?

If some extracts of what had already appear’d could, with proper amendments and remarks, be periodically

published in some of your publick prints, might it not, through divine blessing, be the most likely means to make way for bringing this most interesting consideration under the notice of those, in whose power it is to procure a remedy ; particularly as you would not be under the fear we are in of saying that which may be construed as making the Negroes acquainted with their own strength, & terrify the People.—

The last Yearly Meeting of Friends in Maryland have drawn up a petition to be laid before their Assembly, praying for a Law to prevent any farther importation of Negroes ; and I understand Friends of the Yearly Meetg. of Virginia had the same under their consideration.—The Assembly of New England have made laws, with respect to the importation of Negroes, that amount to a prohibition, and have proposed that, those born in the country should be free, at a certain age.—

By a late computation there is about eight hundred and fifty thousand Negroes in the English Colonies and Islands.—In Jamaica alone, I am credibly informed, on a Review of taxables, not long since made, there was about two hundred thousand Negro Slaves ; & not many, if any more than fifteen thousand Whites ; and the Trade still carried on with such vigour that we have reason to conclude there are still yearly an hundred thousand violently brought from Africa, by the English alone : many of these last are by the Jamaica traders sold to the Spaniards.—

I shall now refer you to the Treatise, requesting your charitable construction of the liberty I have taken in thus addressing myself to you, being a stranger, but I trust the importance of the subject will plead my excuse.—And with affectionate regard remain your friend

Anthony Benezet.

A Hertford Marriage Certificate, 1679

WHEREAS Henry Smith of Felsted in ye County of Essex & Abigail Collin of Hartford in ye County of Hartford after a Due Deliberate Consideration had, & a free Consent between themselves made so as is alway meet and requisite, especially in every so serious & Weighty a Matter or Affaire ; Having signified or declared their Intentions of taking each other in Marriage ; Before or at severall publique Meetings, i.e. one Mo^{thly} & one Quarterly Meeting of ye people of God called Quakers at Hartford. Whereafter convenient Inspection and Enquiry, According to ye Good necessary Christian Care & Order of ye s^d people there used & observed in all & every such Cases ; Things being Generally found Consistent & Cleare, The parties, also to have obtained ye Approbation & Consent of Friends and their Relations.

THESE are therefore to Certify whom it may Concerne ; That for ye Full & Compleat Determining such their s^d Intentions upon ye 16th Day of 8^{ber} Ano. Domi. 1679. They ye s^d Henry Smith & Abigail Collin in an open Assembly of ye Lords people afores^d at their publique Meetingplace in Hartford above sd in a Solemn & Christian Manner according to ye Custom & Example of Gods people in Ancient time were Joyned together in Marriage ; For each taking other by ye hand, The s^d Henry Smith took her ye s^d Abigaill Collin to be his Wife & Shee in like manner took him ye s^d Henry Smith to be her husband. And they did as in ye prsence of ye Lorde and in ye open Audience or hearing of ye s^d Assembly Mutually engage & solemnly promise to be Loving & Faithfull each to other in ye Neere Relation of Marriage viz., as husband and wife during terme of either of their Naturell Lives And then and there under their owne Hands did Ratify and Confirme ye Same Whereof wth

many more wee were witnesses whose Names are hereunto
Subscribed.

H. Stout	{ Henry Smith }	Mary Stout
Abraham Rutt	{ <u>Abigail Collins</u> }	Elizabeth Plumsted
Edward Plumsted		Sarah Pletloe
James Paratt	Abraham Goedowne	George Whitehead
John Boyde	Joseph Foster	Thomas Green
John Staploe	Nathaniel Norris	Thos. Burr
Wm. Faireman	William Crowe	Rich Thomas
Thomas Childe	Joseph Senitt	Wm. Rudd
Sarah Rudd	George Hurrell	Wm. Childe
Eli Maler	Martha Hull	John Pesper
John Collins	Jane Collins	Stephen Choppen
Joseph Collin	Jane Goedowne	Thos. Wright
William Colin	Hannah Edlin	Jonathan Cock

This marriage certificate was very kindly lent for transcription by Edith Emily Green of Newport, Essex, by whose permission it is here printed. It is written on vellum measuring $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches and differs from the modern certificate in not reproducing the declarations of the parties. The marriage does not appear in the digested registers of Hertford marriages at Friends House, but the births of seven children are in the Essex birth register there. It is claimed for Hertford meeting house that it is the oldest in the country, being built in 1670.

Burials of Friends from Tring Parish Register

Rev. C. S. Bayliss of Tring has kindly sent to the Library a chronological list of eighty-four burials described as being in the "Quakers' burial place", Akeman Street, taken from Tring Parish Registers. The earliest so entered is that of John Stratton of Aylesbury, 14th March, 1681-2, the latest that of Hannah Partridge of Aldbury, 28th July, 1747. The Buckinghamshire Friends' Burial Register records only forty-four burials at Tring down to 1747. Tring was in Upperside Monthly Meeting. There are gaps in the list for the following years: 1698-1709, 1712-1715, 1722-1725, 1728-1731, 1734-1737, though except in the first case the parish register is unbroken. After two of the entries occur these two notes, both in 1684: "No affidavit, 50s. to church wardens for the poor." "No affidavit brought in but £5 was paid to Sir Francis Leigh so disposed of according to the [three figures or letters illegible] £." The surnames occurring in the list, which is preserved at Friends House, are as follows:

Adkins	Dodd	Houkes	Pudifoot and
Andrew	Downs	Jeffery	Puddivat
Bachler	Foster	Jones	Sayes
Barnes	Francis	Lake	Sea
Blencoe	Geary	Lea	Smith
Booth	Grace	Moorcraft	Stratton
Budd	Gray	Morton	Taylor
Burgess	Gustine	Newman	Wasson
Catch	Harding	Oliffe	Waster
Chappel	Haulton	Parsons	Wells.
Dancer	Hollyday	Partridge	
De Bank	Holyman	Prentis	

Quaker Extracts from some Yorkshire Parish Registers

REGISTER OF SCARBOROUGH

- 1689 Nov. 18. Elizabeth daughter to Richard Hall, Quaker, y^e child bein then 6 yeares of age she was brought to me by her grandmother and Christned wth Godfathers and Godmothers.
- 1689-90 Jan. 22. George s. of Robert Brough a boy of 16 yeares of age [? a Quaker.]
- 1748 Hannah d. of Robt. and Rebecca Garbutt born Oct^r 18th.
- 1759 Joseph Son of Joseph and Rebecca Taylor Quakers born March 18th.
- 1755 Richard Son of Richard and Mary Howson born May 17th.
- 1758 Elizabeth Daughter of Richard and Mary Howson born November 26th.
- 1761 Hannah Maria Daughter of Rich^d and Mary Howson born May 31st.

Mr. Jerry Barton's Children's Births :

- 1756 William son of Jeremiah and Elizabeth Barton, Quakers, was born June the 3^d.
- 1757 John son of Jeremiah and Eliz. Barton, Quakers, July 27th.
- 1759 Elizabeth d. of Jeremiah and Eliz. Barton, Quakers, April 4.
- 1762 Jeremiah s. of Jer. and Eliz. Barton, Quakers, January 17th.
- 1763 Mary d. of Jer. and Eliz. Barton, Quakers, January 1st.

Walter J. Kaye, Yorkshire Parish Register Society.

REGISTER OF HOOTON PAGNELL, S. YORKSHIRE

Burials Año 1699.

John Burgesse the quaker in his own burial place 7br 19th.

LOY FAMILY OF GREAT AYTON, YORKSHIRE

1806. Feby. 9. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Loy, M.D., and Elizabeth his wife, a Quaker [baptized].
1808. February 19. Ann, daughter of Thomas Loye, M.D., and Elizabeth his wife, a Quaker [baptized].
1810. March 7th. Edmund, son of Thomas Loy, M.D., and Elizabeth his wife, born February 11th [baptized].

REGISTER OF GRINTON CHURCH, SWALEDALE, YORKSHIRE

Published by The Yorkshire Parish Register Society in 1905.

- " Oct. 17, 1659, (buried) a child of Jeffray Lonsdell of Heallay [Healaugh] quaker."
- " Nov. 25, 1677. (Baptized) Elizabeth Galloway, now ye wife of Daniel Addison, Haveing been formerly brought in y^e errors of Quakeing, was baptized after she came to woman's estate."
- " 1650, Sep. 15. Dorathy dau. of Renold Addeson, Helah [Healaugh], a quaker."
- " April 25, 1770. Mary y^e wife of Rich^d. Lonsdale Jun^r. of Feetham, Bapty^d. when she was 22 yeares of age being Brot. up a Quaker."
- " June 25, 1721. Sara Lonsdale of Healey [Healaugh] Haveing been brought up in y^e Errors of Quakeing was baptized when she was about 50 yeares old."

First Publishers of Truth in Staffordshire

A FRESH MS. SOURCE

Among a small collection of MSS. given to the Library by Mabel Holdsworth which belonged to her father, Charles J. Holdsworth, is a seventeenth century paper¹ which adds materially to the Staffordshire section in *First Publishers of Truth*, 1907, pp. 229-30. Its title and opening paragraphs correspond closely with the MS. there printed. The third paragraph, about Humphrey Woolrich and those who were convinced at Eccleshall, Chebsey and Shalford, adds that "He had meetings at Richard Woolrich's house in Chebsey afores'd, who received him into his house at his first comeing which [was] about the year 1653." The following passages are not in the MS. previously used :

IN a short time after the s^d Humphrey Woolrich went to the house of Thomas Hammerley in the Moorlands, who went with him to a Meeting of Babptists at Ipston at the house of one Taylor and after some discourse with some of those people the s^d Humphrey walking out of the house it was supposed the one halfe of the Meeting followed him, the Man of the house and his wife being both at that time convinced that the Light of Christ Jesus that Enlighteneth all Men & shineth in the hart is the way to the father and giveth the knowledg of his Glory and had from that time friends Meetings at their house.

One time the s^d H. Woolrich being in prison at Stafford John Alsop of Ingestrey came to the Goaler and procured my liberty and was serviseable to me and many other friends in those dayes, w^{ch} were dayes of Gladness of hart to many who had been thristing after the Lord. to whom he opened his liveing springs in the desart, and caused his river to run in dry places, to whom be praises and honour in the Midst of the church which is in God world without End. Amen.

About this time came Thomas Holme to a bowling Alley near Leek and preached truth to the people then and one of the bowlers whose name was Rob^t Mellor was so affected with his testimony that he took the s^d Thomas to his house

¹ MS. Box 10.(1). 2.

and was convinced at that time with his wife who stood faithfull in their testimony to their dyeing day.

[Francis Cumbelford] removeing thence to Bradly kept a Meeting for friends at his house in y^e times of the persecution was a valiant Man for the truth and suffered for it both by imprisonment & loss of goods was an honest man & faithfull to his testimony to his End.

In the beginning of the 10^e Month 1654 came Richard Heacock into the Moorland parts of Staffordshire with the Messuage of Truth and many were convinced in and about Leek and Uttoxeter and settled Meetings at William Davenports, Mathew Dales & Thomas Hammersleys at Basford, who were y^e first with Richard Dale that received the s^d Richard & his testimony.

Also the s^d Thomas Holme the second time was one that came into these parts and many were convinced by him, he was a good man and a true Labourer, in the work of God. the first time the s^d Richard Heacock came into the Moorlands he was Moved to goe to Leek steeple house and there standing upon a form to declare the word of truth to the people was violently thrown down backwards and his head broaken and then haled out into the graveyard and thrown over the Wall into the street.

This Richard Heacock continued in the service of truth for some years and travailed in severall parts of this Nation and Ireland—and whilst he kept his Integrity to God he was serviceable and the Lord Blest his Endeavours—but sufferring his Mind to be drawn aside went into Whimses and totally lost his former condition and became an absolute apostate, and many that were convinced by him also turned aside from the truth.

First Publishers of Truth in Lancashire

Hawkshead

JAMES RIGG of High Wray was converted and brought unto the true way and worship of the true God ; and the light, the life, the living truth was made manifest in him in the year of our English account, 1653. And the Lord God was pleased to make choice of him FIRST to bear witness unto his living Truth in and about Hawkshead, in the high end of Furness Fells, and also made him willing by his living power, to be serviceable unto his people, by the world scornfully called Quakers.

James Rigg, along with John Braithwaite, of High Wray, purchased a burial ground for Friends of that district, in 1658.

This passage was published in *The Irish Friend*, V (1842), p. 105, being extracted from the Register Book of Hawkshead Meeting and contributed by W.B.¹ dated, Manchester, 18.vi.1842. It is additional to the Lancashire answers to the usual questionnaire, first published by the undersigned in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxi. (1934), 3ff, and does not follow quite the usual form. The original book is presumably now at Somerset House, London. If it could be identified and consulted it might throw light on the date and character of the excerpt, possibly the context is biographical, a testimony to James Rigg.² He is mentioned much more casually in the regular reply (*Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxi., 13). There is early evidence of a separate effort to secure data about Friends in the ministry, arranged biographically rather than locally. This extract makes an interesting supplement to the previous account for Hawkshead.

James Rigg of High Wray is mentioned as suffering (unconvicted) by distrains of cattle in 1664, in a paper submitted to the Justices of the Quarter Sessions at Lancaster, which was included in the Great Journal of George Fox (p. 506), in the Spence MS. Journal (*Camb. Jnl.* ii., 65ff.), and in the Sessions Records, printed by B. Nightingale in *Early Stages of the Quaker Movement in Lancashire*, pp. 116ff. He does not, however, appear in Besse's *Sufferings* for Lancashire.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

¹ Probably William Benson.—ED.

² The extract in question is not in the MS. *Extracts from Register Books*, at Friends House, the originals of which were surrendered to Somerset House, but there are under Hawkshead in that volume testimonies to George Knipe, d. 1709, William Rigg, d. 1712, George Benson, d. 1712.—ED.

Albertus Otto Faber

the German Doctor (c.1612-1684)

AMONG the books mentioned in George Fox's library list¹ is one called *The Visions of Stephen Mellish*. The translator was a German doctor, Albertus Otto Faber. Of Faber's chequered career in England and his close association with Friends for a number of years there are scattered evidences in our records, while there are nearly thirty references to him in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* between 1663 and 1672. Joseph Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books* gives eleven works by him, most of them in English and published in London. Others are in Latin and several of his letters are in French. He was at one time "royal physician to the Swedish army",² and was a Protestant.³ It was a summons to the court of Charles II that brought him to England⁴ where he must have arrived soon after the Restoration. In London he began to enquire sympathetically into Quakerism. In a letter dated 1660, endorsed "Garmon docter to G.F."⁵ we learn that he and his wife Claude⁶ have already met Fox and that Claude Faber has been deeply affected, "by his speech to her at first, the sparks being blown were stirred up", although she did not understand English. For this reason he is anxious to find a house they can share with Gerrard Roberts, where they hope to meet the Friends who often gather there. They have already made repeated efforts to find George Fox at meetings in or near London but without success and his wife is in a deep melancholy until she can be satisfied. Evidently he has not long arrived for he says that he cannot "begin any thing" until he has a house. He already knows several Friends and mentions John Perrott and Nicholas Bond. The letter is carried by his maidservant. In a letter written the following year Isabel Hacker, the widow of Colonel Hacker the regicide, speaks of "the German doctor and his wife" coming into the room during a private meeting in progress at William Travers's house, in Watling Street, where George Fox, Richard Hubberthorne, Francis Howgill, George Whitehead, John Perrott, the writer herself and others were present and the opinions of John Perrott were

under searching criticism.⁷ The doctor's entry we are told interrupted the meeting and some of those present adjourned to an upper chamber to continue the discussion.

Faber translated two pamphlets of visions of Stephen Mellish, who is variously described in them as of Prague, Breslau, and Lissa (Prussia). They are written in a style that appears to imitate the *Book of Revelations* and the translator evidently believed it his duty to communicate them to the people of England. The first is the one that is found in George Fox's library.⁸ It was for sale at the doctor's own house in Addle Hill. The second⁹ was brought to the printer by a Friend, John Furly of Colchester, the brother of the learned Benjamin Furly of Amsterdam. The printer, "widow Dover" printed, unlicensed, a number of Friends' books and in an informer's report is described as "a common printer for all scandalous pamphlets".¹⁰ Continuing to associate with Friends, Faber now began to get into serious trouble. On 14th August, 1664 while at a meeting at the Bull and Mouth he, with about two hundred other men and women, was arrested by the Sheriff's officers under the Conventicle Act.¹¹ The doctor was accused of being a Jesuit on the information of Roger L'Estrange, recently appointed licenser of the press and a keen opponent of liberty of opinion, and was committed to prison for three months.

He protested to the Lord Mayor in a long letter in French,¹² arguing with some cogency his freedom as a foreigner from the expressed intentions of the Conventicle Act. This was followed up by a printed tract, *A Remonstrance in reference to the Act . . .*, in which he adds the argument that "if the Principle of the Quakers be of God then no power of men can overthrow them", if not "they must fall without all such bustling".

He was evidently regarded as a prisoner of some importance for in November when his three months' sentence expired his case was referred by the Lord Mayor first to the Lord Chancellor and then to the King himself, and he was ordered to leave the country within three days. He wrote to the King apologizing for criticizing the magistrates and appealed to be allowed to stay till Easter on account of the winter season.¹³ He remained in the country in pursuit of his calling, undisturbed for another two years.

Letters to him about this time show that he was accepted among Friends and also had business relations with several of them. John Laurence of Wrampingham (Norfolk) wrote to him, at about the time of his arrest, about sales of his medicines and also, as though to a Friend, about the persecution of Friends at the late Assizes.¹⁴ A little later Martin Mason of Lincoln corresponded with him in very friendly vein showing intimate acquaintance with both the doctor and his wife, discussing also business affairs and difficulties that have arisen over the supply of medicines to vendors on account of the doctor's troubles.¹⁵

While travelling in November 1666 he had the misfortune to be arrested at the Unicorn Inn, Banbury, on suspicion of complicity with a number of other men in a charge of arson. Though at Oxford Assizes the charge was dismissed, yet on account of his previous history Faber's case was referred to Whitehall and in spite of his appeals to Secretary Williamson, Lord Arlington and to the King himself he was deported from Dover to Flanders on 22nd August, 1667, by Order in Council.¹⁶

In his letter to the King he disclaimed any serious attachment to Quakerism, saying that his attendance at meetings was only by way of inquiry into their principles and offering evidence of attendance at the French Church in London. Thus apparently terminates the connection with Friends of one who, being of an open mind, religiously inclined and sensitive to spiritual experience, was not prepared to pay the price which steadfast adherence to a persecuted movement called for in the reign of Charles II.

Of his later history we know only that he asked of the King and received permission to return to England in 1672¹⁷ and that in 1677 he described himself as Physician in Ordinary to his Sacred and Royal Majesty.¹⁸

He died in 1684, aged 72, and there is a tablet to his memory in St. Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street, exhibiting a coat of arms and extolling his piety and benevolence and his scientific, linguistic and literary abilities.¹⁹

JOHN NICKALLS.

¹ Printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxviii., 4ff.

² *A Relation of Some Notable Cures* [1663?]. also his tomb.

³ *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1667, 63.

- 4 *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1667, 63.
- 5 Swarthmore MSS., Trans., IV, 111.
- 6 Martin Mason MSS., 66ff.
- 7 Crosse MSS., 100, Isabel Hacker to A.D., i.xi.1661-2.
- 8 *XII Visions of Stephen Mellish*, 1663. Vol. 25 of the Hawkins Collection. *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxx., 14.
- 9 *England's Warning . . . Three Remarkable Visions . . .* 1664.
- 10 *Extracts from State Papers*, 229.
- 11 Besse : *Sufferings*, I, 394n.
- 12 *E.S.P.*, 215-17.
- 13 *E.S.P.*, 215. *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1664-5, 60.
- 14 *E.S.P.*, 214.
- 15 Martin Mason MSS., 66ff.
- 16 *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1666-7, 276 ; 1667, 5, 6, 25, 49, 63, 355, 409, 426.
- 17 *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1671-72, 364.
- 18 *De Auro Potabili Medicinali*, 1677, dedicated to Charles II.
- 19 M.S. in Guildhall Library, London.

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxxi., p. 56.

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.

XXXI

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX, 1655.

My welbeloved one who is hid from all eyes liveing.
. . . [A letter of great devotion and affection, it ends with the following postscript]. I am returned from Scotland wheir I stayed 10 weekes up & downe I passed and mad litle abod while I was att liberty, and few wheir I could find anything to receve and watered that litle which was and broke downe the strife and left those that ownes in good order & setteled in quietnesse, butt it is a darke & an untoward nation & litle desire after god, & a false harted people & a blood thirsty, butt of it I am cleare butt of this more when I se the face to face.

[addressed] These for G.F.

[endorsed] From Francis Howgill.

[by George Fox] to G.F. 1655.

XXXII

DOROTHY HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX, 1652.

Deare brother nay I may call the father for so thou art,
yea thou hast begotten me againe unto a lively hope. . . .

Thy deare deare friend,

Dorithy Howgill.

1652.

[A letter full of devotion and affection.]

[addressed] To her deare friend George Foxe at the house of Judge Felles or else were these d.d.

[endorsed] Dorothy Howgill in 1652.

[by George Fox] to G.F.

XXXIII

FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE FOX.

Burford, 21.vii.1656.

Greatly Beloved of the lord, of me & of all the children of light. . . . I have passed through Oxfordshire worstershire herifordshire & some part of Wales: gloster shire sum part of wiltshire In the principall townes & cities I have had ptious service for god & at this present I am at a town called Burford¹ wher never meeting hath been before a market towne . . . my purpose was of returning towards London In sume short time but sume freinds coming to me from Bristol tould me of sume discord in sumersetshire, and that they had judged John moon, & one Rob Stare openly in a generall meting & since Tho: Briggs & further more have gone as far as wemouth, and declared John moor a Decever . . . & I have sent for Jasper Batt & Jame Else . . . & for moon & star and . . . Thomas Brigs to mete me at Bristoll the later end of this weeke and my purpose is if the lord give liberty to be att Bristoll the next First day & further . . . my dearest love to E.B. & A.P. if they be their.

F.H.

[addressed] For F.G. thease.

[endorsed by George Fox] f h to GF.

XXXIV

FRANCIS HOWGILL & EDWARD BURROUGH TO
GEORGE FOX. 21.i.1656.

Deare Brother who art one with the father, who hath over come the world. . . . [After a passage in similar terms of exaltation, continues] heare is a dayly ading & the publicke place is so wilde that its the mighty power of god yt doth pserve us & then the care & burdin of freinds Is so great on every hand, that we can hardly gitt any settelment among them: deare heart lett Alix come a season, to help us least our nett breake & we sufer loose for treuly thou knows we have lanced into the deep: we have heard from J. Stubes att Dover & from reading we shall send the the letters thou may heare them read because I know it refreshes

¹ W. Oxfordshire, 19 m. from Oxford.

thy life to heare that the worke of the lord prospers: we receve letters from all quarters of the affayres of the churches every wheare we send the a letter from Tho: Tayler out of lestershire, no more but wee are thy sonnes begotten by the Imortal word of life. FH: & EB

Alix our love salutes the with all them that wayte for the redemption of Isarell: we send the some letters which cam to us: 21 1 month 1656.

[addressed] For F.G: thease.

[endorsed] From Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to G:F: 1656.

XXXV

UNSIGNED, TO EDWARD BURROUGH. *Bristol,*
13.iv.1657.

E.B.

deare brother who in my harte is written, & also sealed, dearely doe I Embrace thee, with the Salluateation of true love, wch in thee hath a beinge . . . [expresses exultant faith in the power of the Spirit] I receaved thy letter from lond^a dated the 9th present: & I am refreshed to heare from thee, [gives tentative plans for travel] towards the weste a little . . . if thou writte to mee I shall have itt by T:G: yesterday Jo: Scaffie passed towards readinge its likes he may come to london, if hee should hee may bee sarvissable to thresh a while att thee rough: . . . GF is into walles, & R: hub: with him, if Thou writt to deare F.H. our beloved brother: Sallute mee to the deare and faithfull freinds there . . . I rest with thee, thy deare brother In the love wch abids.

Brestoll the 13th of the 4th mo 57.

[addressed] To Gerrard Roberts at ye Flower de Luce in Tho Apostles for E.B. thes dd in London.

XXXVI

EDWARD BURROUGH TO GEORGE FOX. *London,*
12.xii.1656.

Thou knowest y^t I love thee, my heart is upright to y^e lord & thee, & while I am, I am thine & y^e lords . . .

[gives recent spiritual experiences, expressed in metaphors]
 . . . trully some time I have been compassed about as
 with bees, by Enimies ; The next first day y^e generall meeting
 is at Ware, I thinke to goe to itt, & leave Richard here, it
 may be I may have some meeting in Esix, this little short
 maide which Comes to thee, she have been this longe while
 abroad, & in her there is little or noe service, as in the
 ministry, it were well to be Laid on her to be a servant
 some where, that is more her place, I leave it to thee, many
 freinds where she hath been have been burdened by her as
 by her ministry, & Cold not owne itt, & to some she was
 an offence in bedfordshire in her Conversation.

Not any y^t I heare is suffered to Come at J.N. not his
 wife, he workes they say, my life is with thee.

Londõ 12th of 12 mo. 56.

E.B.

J. Audland is come to Bristoll & A. Parker as they say
 is at reeding Comeing up to this place. The ship is not yet
 gone y^t Ester Bidle waited upon, & Gerard Cannot under-
 stand by y^e master y^t he will Carry any women.

[addressed] For G. Fox.

these

[endorsed] From Edward Borrough to G.F.

[by George Fox] thes ar ingrosed london.

XXXVII

EDWARD BURROUGH TO GEORGE FOX. *London,*
 2.v.1655.

My dearest & eternall Brother with whom & in whom
 my life dwells . . . we are now come to London, &
 oure deare Brother J: Naylor is with us . . . it lies
 much upon me to se thee, as also they tow J.N. & F.H. wold
 see thee, we desire to know where we may come to thee
 about a week hence . . . I must shortly see thee, that
 if it be our father will . . . our deare love to Alex
 Parker.

E.B.

Lon: 2 of 5 m. 55.

[addressed] For our deare

G.F. these.

[endorsed] From Edward Burrough to G.F.

XXXVIII

RICHARD FARNSWORTH TO FRANCIS HOWGILL
AND EDWARD BURROUGH. *Swarthmoor*, 4. viii.
1656.

Deare bretheren F.H. & E.B. &c.

In the life that Doth Enduer . . . do I you salute.
. . . [The writer is newly arrived at Swarthmoor, hears
there is a word come for him to go to London with speed.
He has however appointed meetings shortly at Sedbergh,
Eldroth, Scalehouse, and Dr. Hodgson's. Intends returning
shortly to Yorkshire in the business of the disorder occasioned
by John Taylor in Lincolnshire; Robert Rich and John
Killam are enquiring into it.]

A meeting should be appointed to Enquire into y^e Things
done, by the said John Taylor, that deceit may be
Condemned & the truth Justified. And likewise before I
come from Balby It was ordered (& word sent to give notice)
that one of A Church (in Yorkshier, Lincolnshier, derbyshier,
& notinghamshier) Approved Amongst them should there
meet in the 9th month¹; To Consider of such things as might
(in the truths behalfe) be propounded unto them; And to
Enquier into the Cause & matter of disorder, if any be,
(According to G.F. his order or directions to mee &c.) that
they being brought to light, An end of them or at Least A
way might be proposed to the bringing them to An End
&c. These things being thus as afforesaid I am as it
were so Ingadged that I doe not see how I Can Come upp
at this time: Therefore . . . this may Certifie you
and my Deare Brother G.F. how I am at present disposed
off. . . .

R.F.

[addressed] For Ed: Borough
or Francis Howgill
or both of them
These are

[endorsed] For E.B. or F.H. 1656.

¹ The meeting here forecast was to issue the earliest corporate
advice on Christian practice in the history of the Society. See
Braithwaite: *Beginnings*, 310-14.

XXXIX

JOHN CAMM AND FRANCIS HOWGILL TO GEORGE
FOX. endorsed 1653.

Deare Brother in the eternall everlastinge treuth
[The non receipt of two previous letters is attributed to the failure of the post. The writers have despatched their "so weighty business" in the city and returned from "so great a journey", and hope to give an account in person in a few days.]² "Salute our deare sister Margaret and all the familie in our names. Farewell Dearly Eternally Beloved.

Thy owne Offspringe, Joh. Cam, Francis Howgill.

[addressed] For the hand of our deare Brother Geo. Fox
these

[endorsed] 1653 : [by George Fox] F. howgill to G.F.

Postscript in another hand:—To the Light in all conciencis doe I speake, . . . and bring to repentance and to amend.

XL

EDWARD BURROUGH TO FRANCIS HOWGILL.

London, 24.vii.1658.

My deare Bro: in ye life of righteousness, my true love salutes thee. . . . I have but had one letter from thee since thou went hence neither have I at all written to thee before this . . . as to truth all things here is very well & our meetings of late very quiett . . . & now in westminster we have a great place as bigg as Bull & mouth neare y^e Abbe & on y^e first dayes have meetings, & truth spreads & growes, y^e Earle of Pembro³: have with us, here

² The reference is probably to the visit of these two from Westmorland to London early in 1654 to interview Oliver Cromwell. See *Memory of the Righteous Revived*, 1689, and W. C. Braithwaite: *Beginnings of Quakerism*.

³ Philip Herbert, 5th Earl Pembroke, 1619-69, was a member of the council of state and president of it for a short time in 1652. He supported the Restoration.

is a principle of god stirring in him & this night at wood-sockes att y^e meeting was y^e earle of Newporte⁴ & is trully loveing to us, all things as to y^e outward in Citty is very quiett & y^e sufferings are laid before this new pro[te]ctor]: & he Carries faire ; divers here have been with him, a large letter I was moved to writ to him & something in his Counsell (who is now as y^e Cheife actors of all things) is in Aggitation as to release all our freinds a list of above a hundred is given in. [Will Caton is gone into Kent, Thomas Robertson into Hants, Richard Hubberthorne about Newcastle for Scotland, William Dewsbury in London] nothing more about my Busyness at Kingstone⁵ . . . E.C.⁶ is here yett . . . y^e old man & old woman my father & mother according to y^e flesh is both departed this world ten days one after y^e other, & I am sent for downe, but trully I cannot goe it is onlly pertaining to Outwards & I feele noe freedome to it at present . . . I remaine in some hast thine.

E.B.

Salute me dearely to all freinds in & about Bristoll as thou art free. E.C. dearely salutes thee—he is very sarvicable with us in drawing up things in writting.

[addressed] For the hands of his deare Friend
Francis Howgill these.

endorsed] F.h. to g.F. & others
letters, 1658.

⁴ Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport, 1597-1665, was a half-hearted Parliamentarian who was committed to the Tower in 1655 on suspicion of treason.

⁵ This was E.B.'s arrest and imprisonment at Kingston-on-Thames for refusing the oath of abjuration and for preaching to the people in church after the sermon, for which the priest claimed £200 damages. See a long letter to George Fox in Swarthmore MSS. (Trans. I, 305-8) and W. C. Braithwaite: *Beginnings*, 358.

⁶ Probably Edward Cooke of Ireland who issued two pamphlets on Edward Burrough's trial at this time. Smith: *Cata.* I, 447.

Two Rare Early Quaker Tracts

HENRY J. CADBURY has presented to the Library, Friends House, photostatic copies of the following:

John Hodgson: *A Letter from a Member of the Army to the Committee of Safety, and Councill of Officers of the Army, that they May do that which is Required of them.*

. . . London: Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle near the West end of Pauls, 1659. 4to, 8 pp. It is dated 8th day of the 9th month.

It resembles the many other Quaker appeals to the interregnum government and is of interest as being written by one of the Cromwellian Quaker soldiers. The author is not mentioned in the list of these in M. E. Hirst: *Quakers in Peace and War*. A Friend of this name is mentioned in Besse's *Sufferings* in 1660 and 1662 at Sedbergh in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Smith's *Catalogue* lists one work by John Hodgson, but not this one.

Elizabeth Redford: *The Love of God is to Gather the Seasons of the Earth, and their Multitudes into Peace, in opening the Scriptures and the Mysteries of the Revelations to them.* . . . No printer, place or date. Large 4to, 8 pp.

The author wrote about the end of the seventeenth century. Smith's *Catalogue* mentions one work, not this. There are three other works by her in the British Museum.

The originals of both these works are in the F. L. Gay gift at Harvard University, and are believed to be unique, there being no copy in the British Museum, the MacAlpine Collection, New York, Haverford or Swarthmore Colleges, or Friends House, London. Notes kindly supplied by Henry J. Cadbury.

The Annual Meeting

THE Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Friends House on Thursday, February 28th, was well attended.

The President, Isabel Grubb, took the chair and first delivered her address on "Quakerism and Home Life, an Eighteenth Century Study." This account of the setting and atmosphere of Friends' homes at that period was largely based upon and richly illustrated from MS. sources in the correspondence of Mary Leadbeater of Ballitore. The address was followed by several brief contributions in which the adverse attitude of Friends to the use of pictures in their houses, and their fondness for water-colour painting as a hobby were contrasted. It was believed that the latter was justified as recording the results of a careful observation of the works of God in Nature.

The President appealed for wider interest in Quaker history, a field of study containing many questions still unanswered. A slight increase in the membership of the Historical Society was reported and a further increase asked for.

After the accounts for the previous year had been passed J. Travis Mills was appointed President for the ensuing year and William F. Harvey was appointed Vice-President. The committee and other officers remained unchanged.

Friends' Historical Society

Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1934

RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand,				Petty Cash and Postage	4	0	0
31st Dec., 1933	44	0	3	Annual Meeting Cards			
Subscriptions ..	80	17	6	and envelopes ..	2	19	9
Sales ..	18	19	0	150 Facsimile letters ..	11	3	
				Rent on Type of "Psy-			
				chical Experience" ..		7	0
				500 Subscription Forms		17	6
				1,000 brown envelopes	1	9	6
				425 "Journal", xxxi. . .	58	16	6
				Balance in hand, 31st			
				Dec., 1934	74	15	3
	£143	16	9		£143	16	9

Examined with Books and Vouchers and found correct,
25.ii.1935. AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

Manuscript Additions to the Library

Some MSS. of special interest recently added to the Library are described here. Others are treated more fully in separate articles.

ABRAHAM MSS.

E. Mitford Abraham has very kindly presented to the Library, Friends House, the *Abraham MSS.*, formerly the property of the late Emma C. Abraham of Swarthmoor Hall. They are bound in one volume and include fourteen early Quaker letters sometimes referred to as the *Shackleton MSS.* The collection comprises in all sixty-four MSS.

The most important of these, Nos. 1-53, were fully described, with extensive extracts and in some cases the full text, in this *Journal*, xi. (1914), pp. 145-90. They include letters from George Fox, Margaret Fell, Thomas Lower, various members of the Abraham family, John Stubbs, Richard Hubberthorne and many other seventeenth century Friends. The remaining eleven items include a list of births and deaths in the Clare family, 1620-90 (No. 54); particulars of transactions relating to Swarthmoor Hall and other Abraham properties in the eighteenth century (Nos. 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62). No. 63 relates to Judge Thomas Fell's ancestry and estates. This generous gift adds to the Library another important portion of the great collection of early Quaker MSS. which were preserved, most of them till 1759, at Swarthmoor Hall. Other sections of this original collection now at Friends House are the *Swarthmore MSS.* 7 vols., 4 presented, 3 purchased, between 1793 and 1907; *Spence MSS.*, 3 vols., purchased by subscription 1920; *A. R. Barclay MSS.*, 2 vols.; *Thirnheck MSS.*, presented 1923. Those not in the Library include the *Miller MSS.* and a small collection at present untraced called the *Thwaite MSS.*

CATON MSS. III.

To the above collection reassembled in the Library we can now add an interesting volume purchased this year, called *Caton MSS. III*, to distinguish it from two other MSS. bearing this name. This volume is undoubtedly the one enquired after in this *Journal*, v. (1908), p. 175, which was extensively drawn upon by A. R. Barclay in his *Letters of the*

Early Friends, 1836, and by James Bowden in *History of Friends in America*, 2 vols., 1850 and 1854. It is mainly in the handwriting of William Caton, with portions written by Sarah Fell, and contains 170 letters and papers, of which over 150 were written in the Commonwealth period. The letters are all addressed to Margaret Fell and are by William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Miles Halhead, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, Henry Fell, Alexander Parker, Richard Hubberthorne, James Parnell, John Audland, Gulielma Penn, John Camm, Mabel Camm, William Dewsbury. The volume is dated "Swarthmore the 23 of the 6 mon: 1659." It is hoped to print in later issues a fuller account of these letters, with extracts.

WILLIAM PENN'S TRAVELS

An Account of my Journey into Holland and Germany. William Penn, 1677. This MS. copy of Penn's travels on the continent of Europe is almost identical with the printed version and may perhaps be a copy made from the original MS. account before it was published. It is in a seventeenth century handwriting. In several instances a few pages have been left blank corresponding with passages in the printed edition which have been omitted in this MS. Acquired by purchase.

HINCKLEY MEETING HOUSE, 1736

Arthur B. Watkins of Fritchley has kindly presented a deed, dated 1736, conveying certain property of Hinckley Meeting, Leicestershire, to William Stephenson in part payment for a new meeting house. There is reference also to a burial ground.

THOMAS ELLWOOD'S VERSES

The Library has purchased a small folio MS. volume entitled Π'ΑΨΩΔΙ'Α, *A Collection of some few Poems which at several times and on various Occasions dropt from the Author's Pen.* It is bound in green vellum, simply decorated with a gilt tooled design and gilt edges. It contains seventy-five poems by Thomas Ellwood, written in his own hand, most of them initialled T.E. and many of them dated. All the verses published in his autobiography, in the undated *Collection of Poems* (published about 1760) and in Maria Webb's *Penns and Peningtons* are in it. It is no doubt the

book described at the end of chapter viii of the last named book, and probably the same as the MS. Miscellany of poems referred to in J. Smith: *Catalogue*, I, 571. Some of the thirty-six unpublished pieces are more spontaneous and of greater poetic interest than many of the "improving" pieces printed in the past. There are evidences of the author's delight in versifying, as in the eight variations for the latter half of a verse in praise of Beaconsfield. The fine handwriting and the tasteful binding are evidence of his love of beautiful things and also no doubt, of the value he himself put on these modest children of his pen and spirit. Among the unpublished poems are four to Edmund Waller, the son of the poet.

JOSEPH STURGE LETTERS

William A. Albright has presented a collection of thirty letters to Joseph Sturge (1847-1934) from a number of Friends and public men in this country, relating to peace, Ireland, India, treatment of coloured peoples, alcohol, and free trade, ranging in date from 1870-1928. MS. Box 10 (4), (5), (6).

FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT

The minute books of the General Committee 1914-20 and of the Executive Committee 1916-21 have been placed in the Library by Sir George Newman and Arnold Rowntree.

NORWICH MINUTES

A valuable aid for the student of the everyday life of a meeting for discipline in the eighteenth century has been compiled by Arthur J. Eddington in his *Minutes of Norwich Monthly Meeting (1701-1775), Selected and arranged*. It is in typescript, a copy of which he has very kindly presented to the Library, bound in two volumes, containing 334 pages. The selected minutes have been arranged under ten main subjects as follows:—Meetings; Meeting Houses and Properties; Certificates and Membership; Marriages; Education and Apprenticeship; Literature; Sufferings and Principles; Finance; Poor Friends; Discipline. Each section is further subdivided and there is an index to the whole. The minutes extracted give a chronological summary of the activity of the Monthly Meeting in respect of each of a large number of matters.

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 will 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.

Stocks of books regarding Friends are to be found for sale 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.

J. Travis Mills: *John Bright and the Quakers*. London, 1935. 2 vols. The author is qualified for this important book by having enjoyed personal acquaintance with its subject, by membership of the same Friends' Meeting and citizenship of the same town, as well as by years of study of his subject. He has engaged in an exhaustive search among numerous collections of letters and other MSS., periodicals, the biographies of Bright's contemporaries and other works, the most important of which are enumerated in footnotes and in the bibliography. There are numerous illustrations. It is, as the title indicates, more an account of Bright's place in nineteenth century Quakerism than a full biography. There is a preliminary history of earlier Quakerism in Marsden Monthly Meeting where Rochdale, Bright's birthplace and home, is situated.

Bright's parentage, early life and family connections and relations with the Society's affairs are treated in a manner that could only be successfully employed by one thoroughly familiar with Quakerism and Quaker life from personal experience. These volumes are therefore not only valuable biographically but also as a picture of Quakerism in the nineteenth century.

After a chapter on Bright and the Yearly Meeting there are six chapters on Bright as a political Quaker, which constitute a valuable study of his outlook and his struggle for religious and civil freedom, his attitude in industrial and international affairs through a long period of political office. His views on slavery, relations with Whittier, and position over the American Civil War are dealt with, as well as the lack of sympathy he sometimes received from "official" Quakerism.

This work will remain the authoritative study of John Bright as a Friend.

A. Ruth Fry: *John Bellers, 1654-1725, Quaker, Economist and Social Reformer. His Writings reprinted, with a Memoir.* London, 1935, 174 pp. illus. A number of writers in recent years have acknowledged the value of the ideas which John Bellers so ably put forward in the pamphlets he issued between 1695 and 1724. Such appreciations include those of Francis Place, who discovered Bellers in 1818, and Robert Owen, also the German socialists, Karl Marx, Karl Kautsky, Edward Bernstein. His works, however, have long been rare and difficult to come by, and with two exceptions have not been reprinted, nor has there been any attempt until the present to collect the few and scattered records which survive about his life.

Ruth Fry's welcome book, besides giving us what biography is possible, drawn from every discoverable source, will be of great value to the student of early social reformers, for it reprints the principal parts of fifteen of his twenty-two works, including the most important, viz.: *The Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry*, 1695; *Essays about the Poor, Trade, Manufacturers, Plantations and Immorality*, 1699; *Some Reasons for an European State*, 1710; *An Essay Towards the Improvement of Physick*, 1714.

Beller's passion for public planning met with little support from his contemporaries, in whose mercantile theory money held a greater place than it did in his theory of economic life. There land and labour predominated as the sources of wealth. In his college of industry too the needs of the colony were to take priority over profits to the subscribers of capital. Perhaps this had something to do with the conviction that his economic theories were unsound. At all events the only one of his proposals to be tried was the one for a workhouse and school. Founded in Clerkenwell in 1701 by London Friends, the relief aspect of the institution gradually disappeared, leaving the educational. This survives still in the Friends' boarding school at Saffron Walden. As a penal reformer to Bellers goes the honour of having been the first to advocate the abolition of capital punishment, while his proposals for the public care of the sick are very modern in spirit.

E. D. Bebb: *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life, 1660-1800.* London, 1935, 198 pp. This short historical survey gathers together evidence from church archives and from leading nonconformist writers. It opens with an estimate of the numbers, wealth and influence of all classes of nonconformists, this is followed by a study of the various church disciplines as affecting social questions, of the treatment of dissenters by the State and their attitude to it. The social views of Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, Richard Steele, Daniel Defoe, John Wesley, John Bellers and George Fox are given,

with nonconformist teachings on prices, business borrowing and lending, rents, relations of employers and workers, the treatment of poverty, temperance, smuggling and slavery. Thomas Firmin, a Unitarian, appears in some respects to have anticipated John Bellers by some twenty years about the problem of poverty. His schemes were also put into practice for a considerable period. The contrast between Richard Baxter's and George Fox's views on the fixed price is interesting. Baxter thought it well to ask more from the rich in order to sell cheaper to the poor, a position we seem to be returning to in some of our latest schemes for public price control. The author finds the exceptional social-reforming zeal of nonconformity was strongly favoured by its early experience of persecution and by the proportion of the less fortunate members of society who were enabled to reach positions of some influence through the generally democratic form of nonconformist church organization. There are appendices on the numerical strength and the economic position of nonconformists in the eighteenth century, based on the Evans MSS. in Dr. Williams' Library, London.

A volume containing the following tracts by Richard Bradley has been purchased :

The Articles of the Protestant Church Defended against the Errors of the Quakers : and the Errors of the Quakers Detected and Confuted. Or, a Dialogue between a Divinity Professor and a Moralised Quaker. . . . Dublin, Printed in the Year 1702. 4to, 42 pp. In verse, the preface *To the Reader* signed Richard Bradley.

A Divine Poem upon the Painful Passion of our Precious Redeemer : Giving a Brief Account of Christ's Bloody Steps to Golgotha. . . . Dublin, Printed for the Author, 1703. 4to, 16 pp. In verse, the preface *To the Reader* signed Richard Bradley.

A Brief Relation of Richard Bradley's Transportation from New-Gate to New Jerusalem : Or, the New-Gate Poem on his New Religion. No place, no printer, no date. 8vo, 8 pp. In verse.

Richard Bradley's Doctrine, Declared to the Government. As Differing and Dissenting from Nations and Congregations in deffence of Protestant Principles. . . . *With a true account of . . . New Religion . . . by Bradley . . . viz. Arminians, Socinians, Free-Willers, Soul-sellers, Papists, Prayerless, Atheists, Mockers, Muckletonians, Antinomians, Babilonians, Blasphemers, Quakers, Women-speakers [and many more]* . . . No place, Printed for R. Bradley, 1707. 8vo, 24 pp.

The author does not appear in Smith's *Bibliotheca Antiquakeriana* or in the catalogue of printed books in the British Museum.

Howard Brinton: *A Religious Solution to the Social Problem*. Pendle Hill Essays No. 2. Wallingford, Pa., 1934, 48 pp. After a brief history of early Christian and early Quaker social outlook and practice, and a sketch of the rise of the social problem, the author, rejecting in turn autocracy and renunciation of this world, proceeds to the solution offered by the spiritually integrated group, of which Quakerism has offered a working model on a small scale.

H. S. Canby: *The Age of Confidence*. London, 1935, 246 pp. This autobiography of early life interprets to the present-day reader life in Wilmington, Delaware, in the eighteen nineties. The author had Quaker ancestors, went to a Friends' school, and lived in a small town with a strong Quaker influence. His criticism of the social and religious life he knew there and his penetration of the externals to the underlying spirit are valuable.

A Complete Collection of all the Protests made in the House of Lords from 1641 . . . 1747 . . . London, 1747, sm. 8vo, 488 pp. Records (pp. 219-25) the receipt of a petition of the Clergy of London against the Bill for granting Friends forms of affirmation in lieu of oath, 1721. The petition was rejected and the Act passed. Particulars of dissentients are given.

The Next Five Years. London, 1935, 320 pp., is a bold and far reaching English social and political programme of action put forward by a list of over 150 signatories, who include leading men and women of all fields of human activity and several political parties. Fifteen of the signatories are Friends, one of them, A. Barratt Brown, being a member of the drafting committee.

H. G. Wood: *Communism, Christian and Marxist*. London, 1935, 90 pp. After a consideration of Communism in general and Marxian Communism in particular the author argues that the Christian contribution, to the world's need, as against the fallacy of violence and compulsion, whether Fascist or Communist, is the advocacy and practice of mutual understanding and adaptation between divergent interests, resulting in social co-operation and reconstruction.

Julian Bell (ed.): *We Did Not Fight*. London, 1935, 392 pp. These chapters of experiences by war-resisters in the war of 1914-18 cover most of the forms which it took and include experiences of prison by Stephen Hobhouse and others, Friends' War Victims' Relief by David Garnett, Friends' Ambulance Unit by Olaf Stapledon, the

No-Conscription Fellowship by Edward Grubb. The book covers political as well as religious and foreign as well as English objectors to military service.

Robert Coope: *Shall I Fight?* London, 1935, 132 pp. A discussion by a young Quaker doctor of the present international situation, the nature of war, the falsity of the state or imperialism as objects of final allegiance, and of his grounds for a determined refusal to take part in war. The final chapter sets forth a new spirit in all relationships, to manifest which is the essence of true pacifism.

R. B. Gregg: *The Power of Non-Violence*. Philadelphia, 1934; London, 1935. A study of the theory and the working out in practice of the doctrine of absolute pacifism that no use of violence is legitimate. The author believes that non-violence must triumph where wholeheartedly employed and seeks an explanation for this in psychology. A book of great significance for the Christian pacifist, he draws much from Mahatma Gandhi's movement in India.

Anna Louise Strong: *I Change Worlds*. London, 1935. The autobiography of an American woman journalist who exchanged the struggle for radical social reconstruction at home for the realization of it in Russia. The instrument of her transference was Friends' relief work in Russia. Her relief experiences occupy a section in the middle of the book.

Evelyn Sharp: *Unfinished Adventure*. London, 19—. The autobiography of this great fighter for freedom and justice, now Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, contains passages on her association with Friends in their relief work and stand against war.

Winifred Wilkinson: *Students Make Their Lives*. London, 1935, 260 pp. The author, known then as Winifred Cramp, devoted herself in the years following the war to the help of students, chiefly as part of Friends' relief work in Europe. But whether in Europe, or across the Atlantic on occasional visits, or among foreign students in London, she made her work "an attempt to reinstate man in the pride of his own humanity, irrespective of race, colour, or class". This book is an account of her experiences and efforts.

E. V. Lucas: *The Old Contemporaries*. London, 1935, 170 pp. A volume of reminiscences in which the author recounts many anecdotes, many of them about Sussex Friends in olden time, in which the families of Lucas, Rickman, Clayton, Penney, figure largely.

Stephen Hobhouse: *Margaret Hobhouse and Her Family*. London, 1934, 296 pp. Presented by the author. The author's life of his mother, with passages of special interest to Friends, relating to his own approach to Quakerism and stand as a conscientious objector to military service.

Marjorie Hill Allee: *Susannah and Tristram*. Boston, 1929, 220 pp. A lively story of the adventures of a Quaker boy and girl in the thrilling days of the struggle against slavery in America. Historical characters, Levi and Catherine Coffin and others, find their place alongside the fictitious ones in the risky work of running the "Underground Railroad" from slavery to freedom.

H. D. Rawnsley: *Literary Associations of the English Lakes*. Glasgow, 1894, 2 vols., map. These volumes cover all the principal centres in the lake district, are drawn from a wide variety of sources, and make a number of references to Friends. Under Penrith there are many pages about Thomas Wilkinson of Yanwath, his character, friendships with William Wordsworth and Thomas Clarkson the anti-slavery leader.

Leslie Baily: *The Trial of William Penn* is an unpublished play which was broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation on May 7th and 8th, 1935. It is based upon a careful study of the records, chiefly Penn's pamphlet account of his trial published in 1670. Typewritten copy in the Library, presented by the author.

Rufus M. Jones: *Rethinking Religious Liberalism*. Boston, 1935, 26 pp., is an address given at the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Copenhagen in 1934.

Arthur S. Eddington: *New Pathways in Science*. Cambridge, 1935, 334 pp. illus. Presented by the author. A series of lectures in which Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy at the University of Cambridge offers, on a number of questions in physics and astronomy, the thoughts which have come into his mind since he wrote *Science and the Unseen World*, 1929. The latter is now published by Messrs. Dent in Everyman's Library.

M. L. Waterfall: *Some Ulster Yesterdays, being an account of the early days of Lisburn School, extracted from papers left by the late Joseph Radley and compiled by his daughter, Mary L. Waterfall*. London, 1935, 63 pp., illus. This brief sketch of the boarding school under Ulster Quarterly Meeting covers the first century of its life, down to 1874. It lacks precise reference to sources.

J. A. R. Pimlot: *Toynbee Hall, Fifty Years of Social Progress, 1884-1934*. London, 1935, 316 pp. London's senior social settlement has numbered among its wardens two Friends, T. Edmund Harvey (1906-11) and J. St. G. Heath (1914-17). It has inspired many other settlements, both residential and non-residential, with several of which Friends have been closely associated either as wardens or in the management. A list of these is given, also a list of residents in the Hall since its foundation.

Journal de George Fox. . . . *Traduit de l'Anglais par Mme. Pierre Bovet et abrégée par Henry Van Etten. Préface par Wilfred Monod*. Paris, 1935, 272 pp., illus. The first French edition of George Fox's Journal. Wilfred Monod, pastor of the Oratoire, the leading Protestant church in Paris, contributes an admirable interpretation of Fox's message by way of preface, covering 10 pp.

Pierre Brodin: *Les Quakers en Amérique au dix-septième siècle et au début du dix-huitième*. Paris, 1935, 394 pp. This is a serviceable account of early Quakerism in America, and its English roots, for the French reader. In five main sections it covers New England, the Southern colonies, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. Each chapter is furnished with a bibliography of sources both MS. and printed. Presented by Margaret Sefton-Jones.

Opuscule ou Essai tendant à Rectifier des Préjugés Nuisibles et à Former des Vertueux Eclairés. Par un ami du genre humain. Londres, 1791, sm. 8vo, 288 pp. This anonymous work appears to be translated from English. There is a note at the end that an edition in the author's own English is also in the press. The editor, apparently a Frenchman, informs the reader that the work was written some years before the French revolution and that the author, since deceased, insisted on the perpetuation of his anonymity. Was the editor Jean de Marsillac? There are extended references to Quakerism and the author speaks of himself as a Friend. His outlook is deistic and would find much favour among French revolutionary readers. No mention of it is found in Smith's *Catalogue* or in Edith Philips: *The Good Quaker in French Legend*.

Edmund Wingate: *The Bodie of the Common Law of England*. . . . 3rd ed. London: H. Twyford, 1662. 8vo, pp. iv + 90 + 76 + [46]. This is a book of which George Fox had a copy. It is No. 89 in his library list in *J.F.H.S.*, xxvi. (1931), p. 16. The copy acquired for the Library corresponds as to title page with the British Museum copy there illustrated, except for the name of the bookseller. It contains besides the common law, a summary of statutes affecting

common law, followed by a tabular summary. Each of the sections is separately paged.

The Liberator, vol. ix. (1839). Boston. Edited by William Lloyd Garrison. A complete year of this anti-slavery weekly has been presented to the Library by Alexander C. Wilson. It contains numerous contributions by members of the Society of Friends.

A. Barratt Brown (ed.): *Great Democrats*. London, 1934, 704 pp. These fifty short studies include chapters by H. G. Wood on John Bright, by Stephen Hobhouse on Joseph Sturge, and an epilogue on Democratic Leadership by the editor.

R. L. Hine (ed.): *The Natural History of the Hitchin Region*. Hitchin, 1934, 256 pp., illus., maps. To this the concluding volume of his fine series on the town of Hitchin the editor himself contributes a historical introduction dealing with local naturalists in the past. Among the earliest trained and habitual observers and recorders of natural phenomena were several Friends. The nineteenth century saw a succession of these, including William Lucas, Joseph Ransom, James Hack Tuke, Frederic Seebohm, Samuel Lucas, William Ransom, Frank Latchmore and others.

John Buchan: *Oliver Cromwell*. London, 1934, 554 pp. A very fine study of the character as well as the life of the Protector. The passages dealing with his religious experience will be of special interest to students of early Quakerism and particularly the occasional relations which he had with George Fox.

Maude Robinson has reprinted her series of articles in "The Sussex County Magazine", under the title of *Child Life on the South Downs in the Sixties*. Charmingly written and illustrated with photographs and her own sketches, it includes an account of the school at Lewes kept by Mary and Catherine Trusted.

Arthur Raistrick: *The London Lead Company, 1692-1905*. Newcomen Society Transactions, XIV, 1933-1934, pp. 119-162. Reprinted in separate cover. This is the publication, with additions, of the paper referred to in *J.F.H.S.* xxxi., 87-88.

Evelyn Roberts: *A Sidcot Pageant*. London, 1935, 170 pp. The pageant of seventeen scenes from the history of the school is preceded by historical notes. These begin with particulars of earlier schools set up by Bristol Friends, beginning in the seventeenth century. There follow summary accounts of the governing committees, principals, staff, buildings, management and various aspects of school life during the period 1806 to 1865. There are a number of portraits and other illustrations.

Periodicals

Friends' Quarterly Examiner, No. 274, 4 mo. Arthur Rowntree sketches the character of the periodical literature issued by Friends in the eighteen-thirties, pp. 131-46. Seven predecessors of *The Friend* receive notice. In No. 275, 7 mo., Arthur Brayshaw, under the title "The Kindlier Way" (pp. 210-19), pleads for a vegetarian diet, with supporting examples from Quaker and general history. Samuel Graveson, pp. 220-30, gives a brief account of Daniel Wheeler's labours in the South Seas, based on the Wheeler MSS. in the Library at Friends House. S. B. Meyer (pp. 233-37) outlines the indirect Quaker influence behind the great Norwegian emigration to the American Middle Western and North-Western territories during the nineteenth century.

Friends' Historical Association Bulletin, xxiii., No. 2, Autumn, 1934. Enoch Flower (1635-1684), the first public schoolmaster appointed by the Governor and Council in Philadelphia, is the subject of an article dealing with his short American period. He carried a certificate from Brinkworth M.M., Wilts, in 1683. A letter by his brother Seth from London, dated October, 1693, to Henry Flower, sheds a ray of light on William Penn in that year of seclusion. "Wm. Pen is not far from London—much spoken of—I wish he were well settled with you." Henry J. Cadbury contributes an article on the Library of Anthony Benezet, of which many volumes are now to be found in Haverford College Library. William Hull concludes an article on "Dutch Quaker Peace Makers", begun in the Spring issue, in which he surveys the expressions given by English and Dutch Friends in Holland to the Peace Testimony from the days of Fox and Penn down to presence of Sir Edward Fry as head of the British delegation at the second Hague Conference in 1907.

Other items are a letter of gossip from two Yorkshire Friends to York M.M., 1690, about William Penn's alleged jesuitism (pp. 95-96); a note on Cadwalader Morgan, a seventeenth century protestor in Philadelphia Y.M., against slavery by Thomas Drake.

Vol. xxiv., No. 1, Spring, 1935, is largely devoted to the life and work of the late Rayner W. Kelsey of Haverford College. After several appreciations there is an article from his pen about the *Early Books of Discipline of Philadelphia Y.M.*, written shortly before his death. The earliest of these "Papers of Discipline" was a printed broadside with six paragraphs, issued by the Yearly Meeting in 1689. This is reproduced in facsimile. More elaborate disciplines were compiled in MS. in 1704, 1719, 1762, there being no printed book till 1797. The widening horizon of the Society's sense of social responsibility through the period is noted.

A *Bibliography* of Rayner Kelsey's writings occupies seven and a half pages.

Luella Wright discusses the *Cultural Qualities in Early Quakerism* in a valuable article based largely upon a study of not less than eighty autobiographies. She deals with four outstanding characteristics: sincerity, humour, exclusiveness or "apartness", and the practice of meditation.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History, lix. (1935), pp. 42-56, contains an account of Joseph Breintnall, a Philadelphia Friend who was a collaborator of Benjamin Franklin in some of his early journalistic efforts. He carried out optical experiments, made observations on the heat of the sun and reported to the Royal Society in London on the Aurora Borealis. He was first Secretary of the Philadelphia Literary Company, and a close correspondent of Peter Collinson the botanist. On pp. 74-90, "The German Press in Philadelphia" contains notes on the relationship of the early German Mennonite colonists to Quakerism. Pp. 420-29 contains a long inventory of the goods and chattels and notes on the estate of Jonathan Dickinson of Philadelphia, 1663-1722. J.D. was born in Jamaica and settled later in Philadelphia where he held many prominent public positions. His adventures and shipwreck on the way from Jamaica to Pennsylvania were printed in 1699 and several times reprinted both in America and in England.

Quakeriana Notes, No. 4, Spring 1935, informs us briefly of a number of MS. journals in Haverford College Library, of which the following have direct English connection: Samuel Emlen, a sojourn in England, 1817-18; William Jackson, a visit to Great Britain and Ireland, 1802-5; Henry Stanley Newman, a visit to American Indians, 1889; Elizabeth Wilkinson of Cumberland (1712-71), a visit to America, 1761-63; William Hunt (1733-72). The last named journal is largely the basis of *The Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt* (Philadelphia and London, 1858). The writer was a kinsman and kindred spirit of John Woolman, a fine minister, fellow-labourer against slavery, and like him died of small pox during a visit to England.

In *Unitarian Historical Society Transactions*, vi., on p. 65 there is a note that in Part I of "Memoirs of Dissenting Churches", a MS. abridgement of the records of the Presbyterian Church in Stourbridge, there is a brief account of the Society of Friends in Stourbridge. The record was compiled in 1831.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Journal, v., No. 4 (1935), pp. 195-203: "Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) and the Camisards" deals

with the extravagant movement known as the French Prophets, which was initiated in England by certain Camisard refugees in 1707. It gathered a number of erratic and misguided members from Friends as well as other churches, and in a few instances they were allowed to use Friends' Meeting Houses. See *Jnl. F.H.S.* xxii., 1-9. Their temporary popularity caused some alarm and Calamy was consulted by the government. His advice to leave them entirely alone as the best way to limit the harm they might do was accepted and was a victory for toleration.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review, ix. (1935), No. 1, pp. 5-36, has two articles on "The Christian's Relation to the State in Time of War". These discuss briefly the history of Christian pacifism from the first followers of Christ onwards, and the alternative degrees of refusal open to the Christian in the modern State, concluding with a recommendation to the Mennonite Church in America to plan in advance a system of entirely civilian reconstructive service to be offered to the government as an alternative to military service in the event of war.

Baptist Quarterly, vii., No. 5, Jan. 1935, contains "Cromwell as Dictator", by A. J. D. Farrer. No. 7, July, has a note, p. 324, on Baptist disciplinary action affecting marriages which followed on the Southwark case described in *Journal F.H.S.*, xxxi., 71-6.

Congregational Historical Society Transactions, xii., Sept., 1935, pp. 272-82, contains an article on Henry Richard (1812-88) and Arbitration. In this movement he received the close co-operation especially of Joseph Sturge. Becoming secretary of the Peace Society in 1848, he shortly after initiated the series of international Peace Congresses.

Maryland Historical Magazine, xxx. (1935), No. 1, contains the autobiography of John Davis (1770-1864) of Philadelphia, whose second wife was Mary Whitelock, a Friend. On their marriage, about 1802, she was promptly disowned for marrying out of the Society in order to comply with the rules, being then re-instated and continuing a member the rest of her life.

The following exchanges are also gratefully acknowledged : *Wesley Historical Society Proceedings* ; *William and Mary College Quarterly* ; *Presbyterian Historical Society (U.S.A.) Journal*.

Genealogists will find a new aid in *The Genealogists' Reference Journal*, a quarterly published by Messrs. W. G. and A. Gushlow, Evington, Leicester. It contains lists of references from a large variety of authoritative sources arranged under personal, family and place names, and includes occasional Quaker references.

Notes and Queries

AN EX-QUAKER ON GEORGE FOX

Henry Pickworth (?1673-?1738) lived at Sleaford, Lincs., and later at King's Lynn, Norfolk. He was disowned in 1714 and wrote much against Friends. (See *Jnl.*, vols. xxii.-xxiv.) The following is extracted from his *Short Account of the People called Quakers, shewing their Deceitful Way*, etc. London, 1735:

“ That illustrious *George Fox* the Shoemaker, our *Quaker's Shakespear*, whom the Author of the aforesaid three Letters so illustriously Magnifies, which said Book stiled, *The Great Mystery*, tho' his deluded Proselytes still refer to in their late Catalogue of Titles of such as they Approve of, as dictated by the Power and Spirit of God, amongst the rest of his and their Scribbles of the like Nature: Yet their old Friend *George Keith*, who came to know better Things, Amongst others, assures us, That he was originally taught the Doctrines therein by one Hinks, a Ranter, whilst they kept Sheep together, whereby as he became possest with their spiritual Lunacy, in great Measure, wherewith his Followers still remain corrupted, or they might have easily enough discovered the same, by the many frivolous Epistles in his several Volumes; together with those reprinted in the Journal of his life since his Expiration, as consider'd with his pretences to Miracles; together with his mad Pranks recorded therein, about leaving his Shoes with some Shepherds in a Field, to run over Hedges and Ditches upon Sight of Litchfield Steeples without them: To cry, Wo, Wo, to that bloody City as he called it, under pretence of his seeing a Stream of Blood run along the Streets before him, for his Encouragement, tho' Nobody else saw a Drop therein ” (p. 16). Hinks is again referred to in connection with Henry Nicholas and the Family of Love (p. 55). Who was he?

Joseph Smith states that, notwithstanding the misrepresentations contained in Pickworth's writings, he was able to glean information concerning persons, places and occurrences which he had not met with elsewhere (*Cata.* ii, 417). Anti-quaker literature has not yet been sufficiently studied.

GURNEY FAMILY

The pedigree of this family has recently been registered at the College of Arms. It contains all the Gurney descendants of John Gurney or Gourney of Norwich, who died in 1721, aged 55. This John Gurney is believed to have been the first of this family to join

the Society of Friends. His descendants have been so numerous that the pedigree fills forty-one pages, each measuring 16½ by 11½ inches, which is equivalent to a scroll nearly forty feet long. The information has been largely gathered from Quaker records, and the dates taken from these records are recorded in Quaker fashion, to distinguish them from those obtained from other sources. Each entry is accompanied by brief biographical details where these are known and could be proved. The pedigree contains nothing that has not been proved to the satisfaction of the College, and is the one authentic pedigree of this family. The College is willing to show it to those who give sufficient reason for asking to look at it.

It may be noted that it does not mention the parentage of the first John Gurney, as this is not yet known. If any reader should happen to come across information bearing on this point it would be a kindness to send it to Samuel Gurney, 6 Albemarle Street, W.1, who has been trying for some time to investigate this matter. John Gurney married Elizabeth Swanton, of the Wells family, and it seems that at the time of the marriage (at Woodbridge) his Mother was alive and gave her consent, and that she had married again and become the mother of Edmund Cobb, who was so much associated with John Gurney in his Quaker activities.

SAMUEL GURNEY.

SKIPTON MONTHLY MEETING

Harry R. Hodgson, Eccleshill, Bradford, Yorkshire, writes :

“ The first entry in the minute book of Skipton (Yorkshire) Monthly Meeting is dated 23 vi. 1666, but there were previous pages which are missing. Fourteen groups constituted the M.M.: Broughton, Knaresborough, Bentham, Settle, Scalehouse, Keighley, Guiseley, Bolland, Nitherdale, Beamsley, Ottley, Scarhouse, Bradley, Wixley.”¹

The first minute runs :

“ Brought in to Skipton, this 23 of y^e 6th month 1666—collected by y^e severall Meetings aboves^d to be sent to York by the Appoint^{mt} of friends mett there y^e 20th of y^e fourth month last, for y^e supply of friends in prison and for y^e service of y^e Truth in Genall y^e sum of 7 : 13 : 4.”

The minutes were signed by a number of Friends each month, including Samuel Watson of Stainforth, James Tennant of Scarhouse, Robert Clough of Broughton, Peter Hardcastle, Thomas Taylor, and Edward and George Watkinson, of Bradley, near Skipton.

¹ See Hodgson, *Friends in Bradford*, 1927.

Evidently, in 1668, Yorkshire Q.M. re-arranged the Monthly Meetings, and in 1669 the Settle M.M. minutes begin, immediately following Skipton, the Meetings included in Settle being Scalehouse, Scarhouse, Settle, Bentham, Broughton, and Bolland.¹

THE NAME " SOCIETY OF FRIENDS "

An enquiry received as to the genesis of the name " Society of Friends " has led so far to the conclusion that this precise phrase was not in use till the end of the eighteenth century. The following notes are based upon an examination of a considerable number of book titles, particularly official publications by the Yearly Meeting or the Meeting for Sufferings.

In earlier days, though " Friends " was commonly in use among themselves, papers addressed to " the world " usually referred to " The people of God called Quakers ". Later in the eighteenth century " Society " or " Religious Society of the people called Quakers " came into common use. The title we are now accustomed to has not so far been noticed on anything earlier than Joseph Gurney Bevan's *Refutation of some of the more modern Misrepresentations of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers*, . . ., 1800. Two outside admirers of the Society used it, John Bristed: *The Society of Friends, or People commonly called Quakers, Examined*, 1805, and Thomas Clarkson: *A Portraiture of Quakerism . . . character of the Society of Friends*, 1806. The first official publication to use it seems to have been *A Selection of the Christian Advices issued by . . . the Society of Friends*, . . ., 1813. Within a few years it was in general use both within and without the Society. A note of any instance earlier than 1800 will be welcomed.

WILLIAM MAUD, OF SUNDERLAND

Diary of Thomas Gyll. Vol. 118 of Surtees Society, pp. 192-3.

1753. Jan. 26. This day William Maud,² a Quaker of Sunderland, and a man of very good credit and fortune, went to Shields and came from thence on his way homewards, but has not yet been heard

¹ *Jnl.* vol. i.

² William Maude was eldest son of Joseph Maude of Sunderland by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of John Thornhill of that place. He was born circa 1699 and married, first, Margery, daughter of W. Rawlinson of Graithwaite, and secondly, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holme of Kendal. He was ancestor of the family of Maude of Kendal. A full account of his unhappy death and of the finding of his body may be found in the Newcastle Courant, 20th January, 24th March and 31st March, 1753. See also *Jnl. F.H.S.* xiii.

of, although the horse he rode was found that evening, but without his master: 'tis supposed Mr. Maud was robbed and murdered and his body privately disposed of.

1753. March 22. The body of William Maud was found in a stall or ditch about half a mile to the north of Boldon, with his great coat and whip near him and a small quantity of money in his pocket. No bruises appeared about him or any marks of violence, except a scratch above his eye and a slight bruise upon his breast, all on the same side of his body, which may well be supposed to happen by falling, and some bruises on his fingers. The Coroner's inquest found he had been wilfully murdered by persons unknown.

Copied by H. R. HODGSON.

QUAKERS "PESTIFEROUS"

From *The Loyal London Mercury* or *The Current Intelligence*, No. 21, 28th October to 1st November, 1682.

" . . . The Quakers here are the most pestiferous People of all, they will Assemble though it be in a silent way, and then they say the Law cannot lay hold of them, but that is very seldom, for when any Officers come to disturb them, the Women begin their Tone, and tell them of Hell and the Wrath to come, but we hope in a short time to be rid of them all, and not see a Dissenter appear amongst us. Many of our Quakers are daily making preparations for Pensilvania, and to that end they put off their Houses and sell their Lands and Goods, when whole Families remove."

MRS. MILLER OF EDINBURGH

From *Read's Weekly Journal*, or *British Gazetteer*, Saturday, June 3, 1732.

Edinburgh, May 23. . . . Friday last died Mrs. Miller, a Quaker, famous for her Industry and Improvements in Home Manufactures. It is said she employ'd 6 or 700 poor People at Spinning, &c. which makes her Death much regretted. She was Yesterday interred in the Quakers Burying Place; where Friend Ereskine gave the word of Exhortation to a very numerous Auditory.

From *Notes and Queries*, June 4, 1932.

ELLIS HOOKS TO GEORGE FOX, 1669

. . . I have received thy letter and I have sent thee a primer by A. Clayton. I have sold but a few yet, but they are very much liked of all that see them. A.P. and G.W. say it will be serviceable

and say there was never a more serviceable book printed in that kind, and it is well liked of every body that sees it.

There are 2 or 3 literal faults in the book escaped in the press.

Swarth. MSS. i. 386 in Friends House. There is no reference to this primer in Smith's *Catalogue*. A.P. = Alexander Parker. G.W. = George Whitehead.

CHURCH RATE DEFAULTERS IN LONDON

Among papers recently given to the Library, Friends House (MS. Box 10.(1). 6.), a summons for non-payment of church rates, issued by the Lord Mayor of London, is printed specially for issue to "the people called Quakers". The summons in question was served upon Anne Elliot, an inhabitant of the parish of Saint Katharine Creechurch, and is dated 12th June, 1795. Quaker objectors must have been in considerable numbers to require a distinctively printed summons.

GENEROSITY

Two farmer-brothers, Gray, of Kinnuck, Scotland, sat together, the only Friends at meeting. Once they had sold a cow to a widow, which soon died. After meeting the one said to the other, "Brother, I've been thinking in meeting that we should let off the widow half the price of the cow." The other said, "I've been thinking that we should let her off the other half."

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