

**THE JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

**VOLUME XXXIII**

**1936**

**FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
**FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1**

**AMERICAN AGENCY**  
**304 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.**

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
HEADLEY BROTHERS  
PRINTERS  
109 KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2  
AND ASHFORD KENT

090.5

12445

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Price 5/- (\$1.25)

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# THE JOURNAL

## OF THE

# FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Publishing Office : Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

American Agency : 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Communications should be addressed to the Editor at  
Friends House.

## Quotation

*"No age can live on the hoarded gleanings of the past ; it must earn the right to live under its own vine and fig tree ; none the less, that past has abundant lessons for those who have the insight and power of imagination to receive them. Of the lessons which we may learn of our fathers there is one which I feel to be precious above the rest—not to be ashamed of our aspirations. We must learn to believe that . . . . aspirations are capable of being linked to something universal, that beneath the most exalted conceptions of the human spirit lie the ancient harmonies of heaven."*

L. E. ELLIOTT-BINNS : *Religion in the Victorian Era*, 1936.

## Editorial Note

A NUMBER of subjects of Quaker historical interest have been engaging attention during the year. Miss Altha E. Terry, of Columbia University Library, New York, has prepared a bibliography of the works printed by Giles Calvert, a London printer of Friends books during the Commonwealth period. Of a total of about six hundred imprints we understand over a third are those of Quaker works many of which have been located at Friends House. Dorothy Hubbard, in preparation for a London degree of M.A., is investigating the history of Quaker education, beginning with the many original Monthly and Quarterly Meeting records available at Friends House. Russell Mortimer of Bristol, now a student at the School of Librarianship, University College, London, is at work on an account of the records of Bristol Quakerism, one of the finest

collections of Friends' archives in the country. We welcome the issue first in America and, in the near future, in England, of Janet Whitney's life of Elizabeth Fry, towards which the Gurney MSS. as well as other papers in the library here have contributed. It will be fully noticed when the English edition appears.

Among facilities for Quaker research work special mention must be made of Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham. There is a fine library of Quaker and other literature, and arrangements exist for the deposit there of other rare books and MSS. from the Library at Friends House, for the use of students engaged in original research. There are also Woodbrooke Fellowships to enable special studies to be undertaken.

In the present issue of the *Journal* C. B. Rowntree has thrown new light on that bizarre prophet of human freedom, Benjamin Lay (1681-1759). The recently acquired MS. volume by Thomas Laythes (1628-1701) is described by Henry J. Cadbury. Among documents are another seventeenth century marriage certificate, indicating a still primitive stage of our discipline, and William Edmundson's beautiful testimony of his wife Margaret, after her death in 1691. The outspoken criticism of the Meeting for Sufferings in 1743 appears to have been entirely ignored. No reference to it in Quaker history or record has yet been found.

The A. R. Barclay MSS. are continued and present this time several features of interest. In XLI George Fox has deleted and altered with his own hand words expressing too extravagant a regard for his qualities. Such expressions are fairly common in letters, but here we have the best evidence that he felt they were inappropriate. XLIII deals with the trials of a very early Monthly Meeting in Virginia (1687). XLV to LI, especially XLVIII from John Rous to George Fox, give a very clear impression of the corporate life of Friends in Barbados in 1681 and of the difficulties besetting them. Their close dependence on the leaders in London is illustrated; and the discussions as to whether meetings for church affairs should be open or select shows a state of affairs which cannot have been peculiar to distant Barbados. Another aspect is here shown of the church government question dealt with in Braithwaite's *Second Period of Quakerism*, 348-50. Discipline in a very different period is illustrated by Arthur J. Eddington's article on Norfolk Quarterly Meeting in the eighteenth century.

The annual Subscription, including this *Journal*, is 5s. a year and membership is open to all who are interested in Quaker history. All members who can take up any historical work are invited to communicate with the Librarian at Friends House.







*Benjamin Lay.*

From the frontispiece of the *Memoir* by Roberts Vaux, Phila., 1815

## Benjamin Lay (1681-1759)

of Colchester, London, Barbadoes, Philadelphia

**I**N his introduction to John Woolman's *Journal*, the poet Whittier speaks of Benj. Lay as "the irrepressible prophet", and I can think of no other description of him at once so accurate and concise. Prophet he certainly was, for he so inspired the younger generation of his Quaker contemporaries in America that even 50 years after his death there was hardly a Quaker family in Philadelphia without a picture of Benj. Lay to be seen in one of its rooms. And irrepressible he certainly was—so much so that, in Colchester, where he spent much of the first part of his life, the prophet's halo was not discerned through the thick veil of his physical peculiarities and sternly uncompromising methods; and it must have been with intense relief that Colchester Friends, in the year 1729, "received a letter from Sarah Lay . . . wherein She Signifies her Intention of taking a Long Journey and her Concern for her Husbands Being at a distance from Friends." (Quoted by Devonshire House M.M. to Colchester Two Weeks Meeting.)

When Benj. Lay sailed from England to America he left under a cloud, so far as English Friends were concerned, as may clearly be seen in the voluminous correspondence—now preserved in the Strong Room at Colchester Meeting House—which passed between the Monthly Meetings at Colchester, Devonshire House and Philadelphia. This paper will try and penetrate that cloud and discover something of the real man beneath it, though the writer cannot hope to do him adequate justice. The fact is that Benj. Lay was a bundle of contradictions, and probably found it difficult to understand himself, although he was never in the least doubt as to the message which he felt called to deliver in season and out of season. Here are some of the contradictions in his life. First, a firmly convinced Quaker all his life, he was not a member of the Society of Friends during the middle part of it. Second, adored by the slaves in Barbadoes and other parts of America, none was more hated than he by the slave owners. Third, before

going to America he made a will bequeathing £100 to Colchester Monthly Meeting, but it is certain that he never intended Friends in Colchester to benefit by this bequest. Fourth, though only a common sailor, with very little education, as we understand education, he was on speaking terms with King George II, if not also with George I, and later in life became an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin.

According to our Colchester register of Births, Benj. Lay was born in that city on 26.xi.1681/2, and his parents being Friends in poor circumstances, he had few educational advantages as he grew to boyhood. He was further handicapped by physical deformity, and it was only his indomitable will that enabled him to accomplish great things during his life of nearly 80 years. He was bound apprentice to a glove maker, but before he was 18 he went to work on his brother's farm, near Colchester. When he came of age, and so became his own master, he adopted the still more unlikely calling of a sailor, "an employment", adds his American biographer, "to which he did not seem by nature to be much adapted, being only 4 ft. 7 in. in height, his head large in proportion to his body," hunchbacked and with very slender legs. During the next seven years he visited various parts of the world, and he relates how he served for eighteen months on board a ship of 400 tons burthen sailing to the Levant. His biographer suggests that it was during the stay of the vessel at the port of Scanderoon<sup>1</sup> that Benj. Lay made an excursion to the interior of Syria; "for he often related . . . that he had visited the memorable spot where the Saviour of the World conversed with the woman of Samaria, and had refreshed himself by a draft of water from Jacob's Well."

In the year 1710 he left the sea and married a wife who possessed a fine character and proved a faithful helpmeet to Benj. Lay in his domestic life as also, later on, in his great work against slavery. How he maintained himself during the ensuing ten years in London I have hitherto been unable to discover, but I conjecture that he returned to the trade to which he had been apprenticed as a boy, but that very probably he combined the business of a draper with that of a glove-maker.

<sup>1</sup> Iskanderuneh, on the coast of Palestine about 20 miles from Samaria.

He was constant in attendance at meetings in London, where he gave considerable annoyance to Friends by the method which he adopted in order to call attention to the importance of preachers saying nothing of themselves, but only as God gave them utterance. His mind apparently became obsessed with this idea, and whenever he was present at Meeting no Friend who felt called upon to speak was immune from a public and stern rebuke from Benj. Lay for exceeding his commission. To use his own words, "it appeared to me in y<sup>e</sup> Light of y<sup>e</sup> Lord & in y<sup>e</sup> openings of his pure truth in my Soul y<sup>t</sup> there was many appearances y<sup>t</sup> was not right in your Meetings." (Letter to Dev. House M.M., 3.i.1724/5.) It was in vain that Friends dealt privately with Benj. Lay, trying to persuade him to desist from causing such disturbances in Meeting; for, even though he promised to accede to their desires, he was unable to control his obsession. In desperation Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, after various warnings, disowned him, in the year 1720. It appears that other bodies than Friends were also troubled by his attentions. He even called upon the king, George I, and presented in person to him a copy of Milton's Tract, entitled "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the Church". Later, on the accession of George II, he again paid a visit to the palace armed with a copy of Milton's Tract against hireling ministers, and this time he was admitted to a private audience with the royal family. Perhaps it was in consequence of his disownment by London Friends that Benj. Lay decided to leave the metropolis and return to his native city. At any rate it was about that time that he and his wife removed to Colchester, where he opened a shop, probably as a draper.

The history of his sojourn in Colchester can be given almost entirely by extracts from the letters preserved to this day at Colchester Meeting House.

At first it seemed as though Friends' disciplinary methods, which relied on public opinion and discarded all appeal to physical force, were ineffectual in the case of Benj. Lay. Though he had been disowned, there was nothing to prevent his continued attendance at Friends' Meetings, and probably no one would have raised any objection to his doing so, had he been able to refrain from causing disturbances there.



The Quaker disciplinary system was later vindicated by the great work which it enabled him to carry on amongst Quakers in spite of his disownment. But at the time of which we are speaking, shortly after his removal to Colchester, the Friends of that city were puzzled to know how to deal with him. Seeing that he had already been disowned, what else could be done when he continued at Colchester Meetings the disturbances which he had previously practised in London? In September of 1722 the Colchester Two Weeks Meeting (by which name the Meeting of Friends in Colchester for discipline was then known) asked for the advice of the Meeting for Sufferings, to whom they wrote the following letter:

To y<sup>e</sup> Meeting for Sufferings held in London.

Dear Friends,

We having a due Regard to Religious order in y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ & to y<sup>e</sup> Prosperity thereof & being desirous as much as Possible to Establish her Peace Have thought fit to Lay y<sup>e</sup> following Case before you in order for your advice & Direction therein The Matter is This Benjamin Lay late of London (who we Suppose is too well known to many of you) being Come to Settle in This Town hath in a disorderly Manner Charged some Publick Friends<sup>1</sup> here (with whom We have Unity & Fellowship) with Preaching their own Words & Going beyond y<sup>e</sup> Guidance of y<sup>e</sup> Blessed Spirit of God & having Threatned to be yet farther Troublesome to our Meetings of Worship & Discipline, He having irregularly Settled here without any Certificate, being as we are informed, disowned by y<sup>e</sup> Monthly Meeting of Devonshire House, We therefore Request a Line from you how we Shall proceed with him in this his Dark disordered Condition.

We dearly salute you in unfeigned Love & are Yo<sup>r</sup> Very Lo: Friends & Brethren

Sign'd by order & on y<sup>e</sup> behalf of y<sup>e</sup> Two Weeks Meeting of Colchester  
This 20<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> mo 1722

By Pe: Jarvis Jun<sup>r</sup>

A similar letter was also sent to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, in order to ascertain how matters stood between that Monthly Meeting and Benj. Lay; and the following answer was received:

To Fr<sup>ds</sup> & Brethren at their 2 Weeks meeting in Colchester these  
Dear Fr<sup>ds</sup>, Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> mo last we had (in a L<sup>r</sup> inclosed)

<sup>1</sup> Public Friends, i.e. acknowledged as ministers.

y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> : 7<sup>th</sup> mon. 1722 ; in answer whereunto, may take as followeth Benja: Lay of whom you make mention in yours when with us did make Disturbance among Fr<sup>ds</sup> in their Meetings, in divers places of this City & Suburbs, to y<sup>e</sup> Dissatisfaction of fr'ends, not unlike what you give acco<sup>t</sup> of in yours : Because whereof, divers fr'ends Spake to him privately & admonish't him to desist : informing him of y<sup>e</sup> evil Consequence & Confusion y<sup>t</sup> did & might attend Such Irregular Acts. Sometimes he would Say that he hoped he Should be no more concern'd yet Nevertheless when that unease & troublesome Spirit, Temper or Humour got up in him he became troublesome again, as formerly, so y<sup>t</sup> fr'ends after a considerable time of forbearance & he not desisting his troublesome Practices, were necessitated to Send for him to y<sup>e</sup> Mo. meeting, where he being present, justified himself & y<sup>e</sup> Disturbances he had made in fr<sup>ds</sup> Meetings, fr'ends therefore made a minute y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> mo. 1720, in y<sup>e</sup> Mo. Meeting Book Signifying their Disunity with his S<sup>d</sup> practices & with him also untill he repent & Acknowledge his Offence And thus dear fr'ends he Stands as to us, without having given us any Satisfaction

. . . MILES WALKER

Colchester Two Weeks Meeting then decided that they would draw up a paper repudiating responsibility for, or unity with, the methods used by Benj. Lay, which paper should be read in Meeting. The fact was that the practices complained of were in danger of bringing Friends into disrepute amongst the members of other religious bodies in Colchester, whose meetings Benj. Lay also disturbed. Part of the paper runs as follows :

Whereas Benjamin Lay a reputed Quaker Resided in London divers Years, where for his disorderly and Irregular Practices he was disowned by y<sup>e</sup> People Called Quakers, The said Benjamin Lay Removing from London to Colchester about the Forepart of y<sup>e</sup> Year, where he has given Publick Disturbances to y<sup>e</sup> . . . Assemblys of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England Presbyterians Independants Baptists and y<sup>e</sup> People Called Quakers These therefore are to Certifie all Persons whatsoever That We have no Unity with the said Benjamin Lay and That he does not belong to our Society. . . . This was Read in our Publick Meeting y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> mo 1723. By Richard Freshfield.

It appears that Benj. Lay felt very keenly what practically amounted to a second disownment ; so he approached

Friends with the object of being re-instated as a member of the Society. Not unnaturally they asked that he would give them some assurance, in writing, with regard to his future conduct. Accordingly in December, 1724, he sent to the Two Weeks Meeting the following :

Dear friends, According to your order the last 2 Weeks Meeting, that I would give in something in Writing, for the Satisfaction of the Meeting ; This I declare as concerning y<sup>e</sup> Charges alledged against me, I do with all readiness, and freedom of mind commit my cause to be decided by friends, indifferent men. Men fearing God, full of the Holy Ghost, free from, or hating Covetousness.

I am your Sincere friend & Brother, Benj<sup>n</sup> Lay.

Before deciding the case Friends apparently suggested to Benj. Lay that he should make his peace with the Meeting which had originally disowned him, four years previously. So he wrote to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, beginning " My Dear & Loving Friends, for so I have good cause to call you while I Lived in y<sup>e</sup> Compass of your Quarter . . ." and concluding, " I do Intreat you will be pleased in favour to me to Signifie . . . to Friends in Colchester by a Line or two as you in y<sup>e</sup> pure Light & Life & Wisdom of God shall think fitt I Remain dear Friends your Sincere true & Loving although Exercised & at times Sorrowfull & much afflicted Brother Benj. Lay."

Meanwhile Friends thought it was time to regularize the position of Sarah Lay, on whose behalf they had received no Certificate of Removal from London Friends, although she was an acknowledged Minister. But she refused—perhaps out of loyalty to her husband—to ask for such a Certificate from Devonshire House, the Monthly Meeting that had disowned him. So the Two Weeks Meeting wrote direct to Devonshire House.

For some months Devonshire House sent no reply to Benj. Lay's letter, which appeared to them more an attempt to justify his previous conduct than an expression of regret. So he sent them the following reminder :

Dear Friends, whereas I left a paper with you near a Year ago, I think ; I desire you will be pleased, to let me hear Once from you ; for you may well think (if you can believe I have any Sincerity) that it is no Small Exercise to me to be separated from my Brethren, whom I dearly love.

Devonshire House thereupon wrote to the Two Weeks Meeting, enclosing copies of Benj. Lay's two letters, and saying that they thought Colchester Friends "more proper judges . . . of his conduct & behaviour", and that if they thought him really sincere, "he may expect Friends here very ready to forgive & be Reconciled to him". They added, "We would in Charity hope that he means & intends 'better than he writes,'" and explained that some doubt on this score had led them to postpone replying to his first letter.

The Two Weeks Meeting returned a lengthy answer to Devonshire House, saying that since Benj. Lay had written to them he had been making more disturbances in Meeting " & also kept on his hatt in time of Prayer Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Advice of y<sup>e</sup> Yearly Meeting, & he appears to us to be in y<sup>e</sup> Same Restless uneasy & troublesome Spirit . . . that he was in before." They also made further serious charges against him, which however, Benj. Lay at the time strenuously denied.

A fortnight later he wrote this brief note to Friends of y<sup>e</sup> Two Weeks Meeting in Colchester, "My Friends I do appeal against you to Friends of y<sup>e</sup> Yearly Meeting in London next ensuing Your Suffering Brother Benjn. Lay."

A few days later, however, he thought better of it, and wrote :

Dear Friends Since I gave in y<sup>e</sup> Paper Concerning an Appeal I have for Several days been under very Close Exercises of mind Concerning War. So one day this Week as I was Setting in my Shop in y<sup>e</sup> Coolness & Stillness w<sup>th</sup> my mind Retir'd . . . it was shown me y<sup>e</sup> Danger of an outward War y<sup>t</sup> many were kill'd & Wounded now thought I if there should be many wounded or hurt in a Spiritual Sense on my account who are my Brethren . . . what great trouble it would bring on me instead of Peace so I resolved . . . to write to you my friends of this Meeting something for your Satisfaction . . . for y<sup>t</sup> Many offences I have given you by disturbing your Meeting in making Publick Opposition & by over Shooting of myself in a Forward Zeal in disturbing other assemblies.

He then offers a full apology and promises to desist from such actions in the future.

But for three years no further action was taken by Colchester Friends, who said that Benj. Lay was still unable

to keep the promises which he had made. By this time there appears to have been a certain amount of sympathy for him in the minds of a number of the Friends who lived in the country districts near Colchester. These Friends formed what was then known as Colchester Monthly Meeting, which for convenience held its business meetings in the city, though none of the city residents belonged to it, but to Colchester Two Weeks Meeting.

By this time, 1729, Sarah Lay was very anxious to get her husband right away from Friends, whether in Colchester or London, and apparently persuaded him to agree to emigrate to America ; so she wrote to Devonshire House Monthly Meeting asking if they would send a Certificate to unite herself and husband to Colchester Monthly Meeting (as distinct from the Two Weeks Meeting). She had apparently ascertained that Friends of the Monthly Meeting would be willing to give them a Certificate of Removal to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting.

Devonshire House Monthly Meeting quite rightly referred the matter to the Colchester Two Weeks Meeting, in whose compass the Lays resided, and added that London Friends were quite prepared to reinstate Benj. Lay if Colchester Friends concurred. James Catchpool wrote to say that the Two Weeks Meeting had "reason to believe he Continues in a Spirit of Opposition & Disorder".

Learning that Colchester Monthly Meeting intended to accept Benj. Lay as a member, the Two Weeks Meeting sent a deputation to warn that Monthly Meeting against doing so, but as soon as the deputation had retired the Monthly Meeting acceded to Benj. Lay's wishes. The sequel was the following letter from the Two Weeks Meeting :

Dear Fr<sup>ds</sup>, We being inform'd y<sup>t</sup> your Monthly Meeting has allowed Benj<sup>n</sup> Lay to be a member thereof & granted him a Certificate notwithstanding our remonstrance at y<sup>e</sup> Said Meeting (on account of his Disorderly behaviour) to y<sup>e</sup> Contrary we hereby give you Notice y<sup>t</sup> we appeal to y<sup>e</sup> next Quarterly Meeting for this County of Essex against your proceedings therein Sign'd On behalf & by order of our two weeks meeting held at Colchester y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Mo 1731 by John Kendall.

However Benj. Lay had obtained his desired Certificate and sailed to America ; so it was in vain that the



Quarterly Meeting censured Colchester Monthly Meeting for granting it.

Some months before sailing he had, presumably in gratitude for the sympathy shown him, made a Will, dated 9th of 3rd mo., 1731, in which he left to "the Quarterly Meeting of Coggeshall" a legacy of £100. The income arising from this was to be distributed to persons "of sober life and sound mind persons loving truth and professing the principles of the people called Quakers in order to transport themselves to America". In the absence of any members of Coggeshall Quarterly Meeting desiring to emigrate to America, the income was to go to Colchester Monthly Meeting for the benefit of such poor Friends as "took no collection from" the Monthly Meeting. At that time there were two Essex Meetings with the status of a Quarterly Meeting, viz. the Colchester Two Weeks Meeting, which always met at Colchester, and the Essex Quarterly Meeting, which met alternatively at Colchester and Coggeshall.

Meanwhile Benj. Lay had obtained some land in the Barbadoes, "where the cruelties of slavery were to be seen at their very worst,"<sup>1</sup> on which he built a cottage, and "he became deeply interested in the condition of the slaves".<sup>2</sup> "Whenever he met the slaves of the island, he noticed them with kindness and commiseration. They soon became generally acquainted with his views & exertions in their favour, & as an evidence of gratitude to their benefactor, they came from the neighbouring farms on the sabbath day & assembled around his house in the town, to the number of many hundreds."<sup>3</sup> The negroes were very much struck at the remarkable similarity in appearance of Benj. and Sarah Lay, both of whom were very small of stature and deformed. They used to say that the little white man had gone, as a sailor, all over the world to look for the little white woman.

One incident, at first sight unimportant, which occurred during his residence in the Barbadoes, seems to typify at once the hasty and impetuous nature which so often brought Benj. Lay into trouble and the deep sincerity that underlay all his acts. The incident which considerably

<sup>1</sup> Roberts Vaux's Biography of Benj. Lay.

<sup>2</sup> Whittier's Introduction to J. Woolman's Journal.

<sup>3</sup> Roberts Vaux.

affected his outward mode of life, was as follows: After having built his cottage he was greatly annoyed one day to find a wild hog uprooting his newly planted garden, and in his wrath slew the intruder and fixed its body to the gateposts. Later on he was so stricken with remorse for his deed that he made up his mind henceforth to eat no food and wear no article of clothing that involved the death of any animal. It was thus that he became a strict vegetarian, and ceased to wear boots or anything else made of leather, and this partly explains the extraordinary appearance presented by his portrait. His food and clothing were further limited by the fact that he refused to use anything that was the product of slave labour, and this led to his making all his own clothes. However, "his violent denunciations of the practice of slaveholding so excited the anger of the planters", Whittier tells us, that he felt compelled to leave the islands. He went "to Philadelphia, but, contrary to his expectations, he found the same evil existing there. He shook off the dust of the city, and took up his abode in the country, a few miles distant." Whittier goes on to state that his dwelling was in a natural cave, but he appears to confuse it with a cave which Benj. Lay some years later fitted up as a kind of summer house library in which he kept the many books which he so loved. His American biographers know nothing of Benj. Lay's sojourn in Colchester between 1721 and 1731, and imagine that he was in the Barbadoes all that time. But he cannot have been there more than about a year. When he decided to move to Philadelphia, it was with the approval of his wife, who said that she also wished to leave the Barbadoes, "lest by remaining there she might be leavened into the nature of the inhabitants, which was pride & oppression".

Within a few months of his having left England, Colchester Friends, doubtless wishing to clear themselves from being held responsible for having introduced to their American brethren such a disturber of the peace as they had found Benj. Lay, wrote to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. After explaining the difference, mentioned above, between Colchester Monthly Meeting which had given him a certificate, and Colchester Two Weeks Meeting, the letter summarizes the proceedings with regard to Benj. Lay's residence in London and Colchester, and concludes:

For y<sup>e</sup> Clearing our Selves & to prevent your being Impos'd upon though wee wish his Behaviour & Conversation may be more Agreeable w<sup>th</sup> you than it has been w<sup>th</sup> us yet Least he Should Endeavour to Insinuate y<sup>t</sup> he has made us Satisfaction & y<sup>t</sup> it is Long Since he was Guilty of Disorders Among us wee hereby declare to you y<sup>t</sup> he has not given us Satisfaction & y<sup>t</sup> he Continued Disorderly & Troublesome till within a Very Short time before he left Colchester.

It was two years before Philadelphia Monthly Meeting wrote a reply, and it would be interesting to know how long the Colchester letter had taken to reach them. The reply is dated 5.6.1734, and reads

To Friends of y<sup>e</sup> two Weeks Meet<sup>s</sup> in Colchester Essex Sendeth Greeting Dear Friends, By Your Letters bearing Date y<sup>e</sup> 27.6 mo 1732 Derected to our Monthly Meet<sup>s</sup> &c. in Relation to Benj: Lay we are Inform'd Benj: & his Wife are not Recommended from y<sup>e</sup> meet<sup>s</sup> where unto they did properly belong and She (of whom Friend have a Good Esteem) being Joyned in y<sup>e</sup> Same Sirtificate w<sup>th</sup> him Sarah (meantime) Appears to be under Concern and Dificulty Respecting her Publick Ministry wherein Friends of y<sup>e</sup> meeting think they Cannot without breech of Rule help her by a Recommendation apart from her husband to y<sup>e</sup> monthly meet<sup>s</sup> at Abington whereunto they are Removed of Late to Qualifie Friends of y<sup>t</sup> Meet<sup>s</sup> to give Sarah a Sirtificate to Travel. Wee are therefore requested by our Monthly Meeting to write to you on her behalf for Shuch Sirtificate as you Shall See mete and nesasary in y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of Truth w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> good Fruites of Love and Peace We fervently desire may Increase and abound in and amongst us and you wherein we Subscribe our Selves your Freind and Brethren W<sup>m</sup> Hudson, Robt Jurdan.

This letter was not long in reaching Colchester, for two or three months later James Catchpoole and R<sup>d</sup> Freshfield wrote on behalf of the Two Weeks Meeting replying "we have nothing to object against her Ministry nor Conversation during her Residence among us". So ends the series of 19 letters that were carefully copied along with other documents, into a book now preserved in the safe at Colchester Meeting House.

Meanwhile Benjamin Lay had once more built a house and planted a garden, this time near Philadelphia. Having completed it he proceeded to devote all his spare time to a campaign against slavery, commencing his labours amongst

Friend slave-owners, though he also "visited several of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, as well as other influential characters, in church & state". It was in this way that he became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, with whom he maintained an intimate friendship for the rest of his life. But his methods of drawing attention to the evils of slavery soon brought him into trouble with Friends; he was in the habit of visiting the various meetings for worship and bearing his testimony against slaveholders, greatly to their disgust and indignation. On one occasion he entered Market Street Meeting in Philadelphia, and a leading Friend requested someone to take him out. A burly blacksmith volunteered to do it, leading him to the gate and thrusting him out with such force that he fell into the gutter of the street. There he lay until the meeting closed, telling the bystanders that he did not feel free to rise himself. "Let those who cast me here raise me up. It is their business, not mine." On one occasion, while the Yearly Meeting was in session at Burlington, N.J., in the midst of the solemn silence of the great assembly, the unwelcome figure of Benjamin Lay, wrapped in his long white overcoat, was seen passing up the aisle bearing a large book under his arm. Stopping midway, he exclaimed,

Oh all you negro-masters who are contentedly holding your fellow creatures in a state of slavery during life, well knowing the cruel sufferings those innocent captives undergo in their state of bondage, both in these North American colonies, & in the West India islands; you must know they are not made slaves by any direct law, but are held by an arbitrary & self-interested custom, in which you participate. And especially you who profess 'to do unto all men as ye would they should do unto you'—& yet, in direct opposition to every principle of reason, humanity & religion, you are forcibly retaining your fellow men, from one generation to another, in a state of unconditional servitude; you might as well throw off the plain coat as I do. [Here he loosed a button, & the great coat falling behind him, he disclosed to the astonished assembly a military coat underneath & a sword dangling at his heels & proceeded:] It would be as justifiable in the sight of the Almighty, who beholds & respects all nations & colours of men with an equal regard, if you should thrust a sword through their hearts as I do through this book.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roberts Vaux.

He then drew his sword and pierced a bladder filled with the red juice of the poke-berry and concealed within the cover of the book, whose leaves he had removed, sprinkling its contents over those who sat near him.

Whittier remarks that John Woolman, then a young man, was probably present on this occasion, which "must have made a deep impression on his sensitive spirit". At another time, when a deep snow was on the ground, we are told by his biographer that Benj. Lay stationed himself at a gateway, leading to a meeting house, having his right leg and foot entirely uncovered, as the Friends went in several of them reasoned with him for thus risking his health. "Ah," said Lay, "you pretend compassion for me, but you do not feel for the poor slaves in your fields, who go all winter half clad."<sup>1</sup>

Just as in England he had not been accustomed to confine his attentions to Friends' Meetings, so in America he visited other places of worship in the prosecution of his object. He once walked into a church, wearing a mantle of sack-cloth wrapped round him, and stood attentively listening to the sermon. At the end of the service, Lay thus addressed the congregation, "I do not approve of all the minister has said, but I did not come here to find fault with the preaching; I came to cry aloud against your practice of slave-holding."<sup>2</sup> Sometimes his addresses were so long and vehement that his hearers would remove him from the building, an act to which he always submitted without opposition.

Lay was acquainted with a boy 6 years of age, whom he sometimes met at a distance from his parents' dwelling; one day he amused the boy in his house until evening, when the parents, having lost their boy, came "running towards his dwelling". He met them, and enquired in a feeling manner, "What is the matter?" The afflicted parents replied with anguish, "Oh Benjamin, Benjamin! our child is gone, he has been missing all day." Lay paused and said, "Your child is safe in my house, and you may now conceive of the sorrow you inflict upon the parents of the negro girl you hold in slavery, for she was torn from them by avarice."

<sup>1</sup> Roberts Vaux.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts Vaux.



“ Having once walked into Philadelphia, with an intention of conversing with an individual of considerable note, he found the family, on his arrival, sitting at breakfast ; Lay was invited to partake with them, but seeing a black servant in attendance, he inquired of his master, ‘ Is this man a slave? . . . then I will not share with thee the fruits of thy unrighteousness,’ and immediately departed from the house.”

Visited by Governor Richard Penn and Dr. Franklin and others, “ he received them in his primitive abode with his usual politeness.” A dinner of his usual food, vegetables and fruit, was prepared ; “ This is not the kind of fare you have at home,” remarked Benjamin Lay, “ but it is good enough for you or me, & such as it is, you are welcome to eat of it.”

Besides speaking against slavery on every possible occasion, Lay decided to publish a book on the subject. When he had written it he submitted it to Benjamin Franklin, desiring him to have it printed. Upon looking over it the Doctor told him that it was not paged, and that there appeared to be no order or arrangement in it. “ It is no matter,” said Lay, “ print any part thou pleasest first.” Dr. Franklin, however, could make nothing of it. This book, I suppose in manuscript, is said to be in the library of the city of Philadelphia. Apparently Lay made another attempt ; at any rate, in 1737, Franklin assisted him to publish a book called, *All slave keepers, that keep the innocent in bondage, apostates . . . it is a notorious sin which many of the true friends of Christ & his pure truth, called Quakers, have been for many years, & still are, concerned to write & bear testimony against ; as a practice so gross & hurtful to religion, . . . & yet lived in by ministers & magistrates in America.* I have been unable to find a copy of this long-titled book, but an American critic says, “ This work contains many interesting facts, & some powerful appeals to the judgment & feelings. In some parts, however, it manifests the same intolerance of the mistakes of others, which characterizes the other productions of the author on the subject of slavery.”

In spite of this, Lay possessed an innate humility, and nowhere is this better illustrated than in the closing words of this book, which run as follows,

Courteous & Friendly Reader, There are some passages in my book that are not so well placed as could have been wished ; some errors may have escaped the press, the printer being much encumbered with other concerns : thou art lovingly entreated to excuse, amend, or censure it as thee please : but remember that it was written by one that was a poor common sailor, & an illiterate man.—B.L.

It was not only on the subject of slavery that Benjamin Lay was in advance of his contemporaries. In 1737 he published a pamphlet on Criminal Code Reform, advocating the abolition of capital punishment. He also denounced the introduction of spirits into America, saying, " We send away our excellent provisions & other good things " to the West Indies " to purchase such filthy stuff, which tends to the corruption of mankind, & they send us some of their worst slaves, whom they cannot rule themselves, along with their rum to complete the tragedy, that is to say, to destroy the people in Pennsylvania, & ruin the country."

On account of the state of his wife's health, Benjamin Lay moved from the house which he had built, and went to live at the farm of a Friend near Abington Meeting House, and it was here that he constructed a grotto, where he installed his library ; he also laid out the ground near it as a garden, through which flowed a stream. A short time after this Sarah Lay died. Twenty years later, when Lay died, this Friend preserved his manuscripts, " but ", says his biographer, " it is sincerely to be lamented that these relics fell into the hands of the British, during the revolutionary war, who, it is supposed, destroyed them."

During his last years he was much confined to the house, occupying himself with " spinning & other domestic occupations, his room was hung with skeins of thread spun by himself. Honey was one of the few articles of his food, & he amused himself with constructing hives for the accommodation of his bees, & observing their curious labour. By his friendly care to those industrious insects, & by abstaining from the cruel practice of destroying them in order to procure their honey, he increased his original family to a large community, whose dwellings extended more than a hundred feet in a continued line."

Benjamin Lay lived to see the fruition of his labours against slavery, at any rate so far as the Society of Friends

in Pennsylvania was concerned, for not long before his death it was decided to disown slave holding members. When this decision was reported to him, after a few moments reflection on what he had heard, he rose from his chair, and in an attitude of devotional reverence, exclaimed, "Thanks giving & praise be rendered unto the Lord God." After a short pause he added, "I can now die in peace." He died in 1759, and was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground at Abington. He would have preferred cremation; only a few months previously he had offered a friend who went to see him the sum of £100 if he would undertake to burn his body after death, and throw the ashes into the sea. But the friend recoiled in horror at such an unheard of wish.

Just before his death he gave verbal instructions for £40 to be given to Friends at Abington, for the education of the poor children of that Meeting.

He had a great love for young people, and, in place of the stormy controversialist we may picture a little old man with a basket of books on his arm, entering one or other of the schools in his neighbourhood, talking to the children and distributing his books by way of prizes, or seated on the banks of the river Delaware beneath the shade of the elm tree where Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians, by a favourite bathing place of the boys of the district. Here he used to enjoy watching them frolic in the water and when they had dressed themselves, he gathered them under the tree, reminding them of the story of William Penn's treatment of the Indians; he used to "point to the elm, and enjoin on them to bear in mind, & tell it to their children, that under that tree Penn's treaty was held; & they should respect it accordingly".

No biography of Benjamin Lay appears to have been published since about 100 years ago; but Amelia M. Gummere in *The Quaker, A Study in Costume* devotes some pages to the sale, a month after Lay's death, of what she styles his "household goods & clothing". The inventory (15 folio pages) which is still in existence, contains mention of various leather Jackets and Breeches, numerous Cloaks, Riding hoods, silk hoods, silk handkerchiefs, silk gloves; a variety of materials "in the piece", 40 lbs. of Whalebone; a quantity of thimbles, needles, buttons; and 12,000 pins! Such a list hardly seems consistent with

Benjamin Lay's style of living. What should he want with leather and silk clothes, since he refused to wear anything whose manufacture involved the taking of an animal's life? And even supposing that his wife had not shared his scruples, are we to suppose, not only that the husband had stored all her clothing since her death, nearly 20 years previous to his, but also that these clothes had not fallen out of fashion in the course of 20 years, but could fetch good prices at a secondhand sale. And even if the lengths of material in the piece can be explained by the fact that Benjamin Lay made his own clothes, we should have to remember that he used undyed cloth for this purpose. Finally, if we can accept all these as the household goods of Benjamin Lay, how are we to account for the 40 lbs. of Whalebone and the 12,000 pins? Pins at that time were not so common as they are now. No clothes that fitted Lay the hunchback, would be likely to fit other people. Probably most of these things were the remains of his stock in trade as a draper.

The date of his death was February 3rd, 1759. We do not know how long it took to transmit the news to Friends at Colchester, but apparently it arrived just after Colchester Two Weeks Meeting had ceased to exist under that name; and had adopted the name of Colchester Monthly Meeting, while the original Colchester Monthly Meeting became known from 1760 to 1772, as Manningtree Monthly Meeting.

On the eve of his sailing for America, he had bequeathed £100 to Colchester Monthly Meeting. Misunderstood all through his life, the misunderstanding extended even to his Will. To this day payments are made under his bequest by Essex and Suffolk Quarterly Meeting to Colchester Monthly Meeting, which now includes Friends living in Colchester whom he had no intention of benefiting by his bequest.

It is the writer's hope that these notes have at least made clear the sincerity of this Essex Friend, even though he was, in the words of Whittier, "the irrepressible prophet who troubled the Israel of slave-holding Quakerism, clinging like a rough chestnut-burr to the skirts of its respectability and settling like a pertinacious gad-fly on the sore places of its conscience."

C. BRIGHTWEN ROWNTREE

## Christian Lodowick

THE indebtedness of early Quakerism to educated Englishmen like Keith, Barclay, Penn, Stubbs and Richardson is generally recognized. But Quakerism in both England and America profited from the learned and skilful services of several continental scholars who, unlike Benjamin Furly and Willem Sewel, left their European homes and became scribes, editors, school teachers or authors in the service of English-speaking Quakerism. In this list were Hilary Prache, John Matern, Albertus Otto Faber,<sup>1</sup> Mark Swanner, Francis Daniel Pastorius and most romantic of all the "Scholar Gypsy", Francis Mercurius van Helmont. Though like the last two named, he later lost standing with Friends, Christian Lodowick apparently belongs in the same list. Since except in a single connection Quaker histories and bibliographers do not mention him, I shall set down such scattered fragments of information about him as I can, hoping more will come to light later.

The earliest reference is in the minutes of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, "a man and womans meeting at ye hous of Mathew Bordens,"<sup>2</sup> dated 24th of 12th month, 1684 and quoted in Zora Klain's *Educational Activities of New England Quakers*, 1928, p. 34f.: "Upon the Request and desire of Christian Loddewick to have the yous of the meeting hous in Newport for keeping of a scoole, friends upon Consideratione and desire to doe him good doe grant it and all soe are willing to give him what Incoragement theye Cann." Nothing further is known of this school. But it has the distinction of being one of the oldest Quaker schools in America. Enoch Flower was appointed by the Governor and Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to teach school there just twelve months before (December 26th, 1683. See *B.F.H.A.*, xxiii., 1934, 54), but so far as I know neither the Quaker histories nor the histories of Quaker education by Klain and by Woody mention any other schoolmasters so early among Friends in America.

<sup>1</sup> *Jnl. F.H.S.*, xxxii, 54-57.

<sup>2</sup> In the Newport records of Births and Deaths the first entry is: Mathew Borden 3 mo. 1638, "hee being the first English child that was born in Rhood Island".



At the monthly meeting in 9th month, 1688, Christian Lodowick asked for a certificate which was granted. What the certificate was for is not stated. If it was for travel abroad it was not permanent, since he returned to Newport.

The next reference is in another of the old Quaker record books now at the Newport Historical Society. The quaint inscriptions in the front and back of this book are worth recording here :

## FRENS

two books brought at Boston cost twenty shillings the biggest for births and deaths and the lesser book for marriages only. so ordered at the mans meeting of friends at the house of William Coddington in the towne of New Port in Road Island in the year 1672, the 22th Day of the  $\frac{m}{8}$  1672 (this for Mariages).

The Marriages of Friends in Road Iland Coloney with some of Plimoth Coloney in Dartmuth Being Collected in the yeare 1672 from time Road Iland was first seatled by the English in the year 1638.

By Peter Easton  $\frac{d:m}{6:7}$  1672.

It may be remarked in passing that these books were probably acquired at the direct suggestion of George Fox. At least we know that he had suggested such record books a little before in Barbadoes and a little later in Virginia and that it was only a few weeks earlier than the first entries that he had attended for several days the business meetings at Newport, 9. v. 1672, at which time purchase of such books was provided for (New England Yearly Meeting Book of Epistles in MS., p. 13).

Among the certificates copied in this interesting old book is that for the marriage of Thomas and Mary Coddington 22nd of 11th month, 1689/90 and among the witness to this marriage the name appears of "Christianus Lodowick".

By 1691 Lodowick was no longer in good standing in the Society. Our evidence comes from no less a person than Cotton Mather, who in his *Little Flocks Guarded against Grievous Wolves* (Boston, September 1st, 1691, copy in Harvard College Library), p. 15 refers to "Mr. Lodowick, a Gentleman of Rhode-Island lately recovered out of

Quakerism". Evidently Lodowick had written "a challenge to the Quakers", but whether in print or not I cannot say. Possibly like Mather's work it was in part an answer to George Keith's *Catechism*. At any rate we do have in print a reply of Lodowick to Mather entitled *A Letter from the most Ingenious Mr. Lodowick, Rhode-Island, Febr. 1, 1691/2* (8 pages duodecimo, without title page or imprint, copy in Harvard College Library). Referring to Mather's mention of him Lodowick writes at length explaining how Keith and a handful of other "Semi-Foxonians or Semi-Quakers" have come to diverge from the older true Foxonians. Quoting from their writings especially Keith and Barclay and from conversation he had had with Keith "last summer",—we know from other sources that Keith was in Newport in the summer of 1691—Lodowick analyses their doctrine of Christ and their doctrine of pre-existence and transmigration of souls. It is interesting that Lodowick suspected that Keith was diverging from Quaker tradition before Friends themselves realized it. He also supplies (p. 6) the first definite statement I have seen that "G. Keith, as he told me last summer, favours the Twelve Revolutions or Transmigrations of our Souls".

In 1692 there appeared from the press of William Bradford of Philadelphia an answer both to Cotton Mather and to Lodowick. Its title begins:

*The Christian faith of the People of God, called in scorn, Quakers in Rhode-Island (who are in Unity with all the faithful brethren of the same Profession in all Parts of the World) Vindicated from the Calumnies of Christian Lodowick that formerly was of that profession but is lately fallen therefrom.*

The title also claims that the piece is a refutation of Mather's slanders "against our Friends in general and G. K. in particular, whom he hath most unworthily abused". But the body of the reply to which G. K. is one of the thirteen signers mentions neither Keith nor Mather but takes up seriatim the accusations that Lodowick had made of Quaker beliefs. He had formerly "given forth several papers challenging these belonging to Newport Meeting who speak in the Meetings of the people called Quakers" and as the result of a further challenge he had met those whom he had challenged to select a representative for a dispute "at the house of Walter Clark in Newport in Rhode Island,

the 18th of the 4th month, 1691," and after some unsatisfactory discussion had gone away.<sup>1</sup>

The last half of the sixteen page quarto tract—a collection of quotations from Friends' writings showing their orthodox beliefs—is interesting in that it was not only printed but "faithfully collected" by William Bradford.

The Challenge is mentioned also in "Edward Wright's letter in answer to Christian Lodovick's Dirty letter to him". Wright's letter but not Lodowick's is copied in the minute book of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting already mentioned, and this minute about it is entered under date of 10th of 3rd month, 1692 :

Edward Wright of Barbadoes his answer to Christian Lodowick was read in our meetings and approved and Tho: Rodman is desired to seal it and deliver it to Christian Lodwick and acquaint E. W. of friends Likeance.

The letter itself begins as follows :

Barbadoes the 3<sup>d</sup> 11<sup>m</sup> 1691

Friend Christian Lodvick,

Thy letter directed to me and John Pegg (whom I know not) have received also thy account of the difference between thee and friends of (Rhode Island) also thy challenge.

To judge from the answer the challenge to Friends was that they should make good their principles, to which Edward Wright replies that the principles have already been vindicated by the faithfulness of their supporters, having "reached thy own country to the convincing and gathering of many therein". Here is reference to Lodowick as a foreigner.

One other reference to Lodowick's earlier life occurs in the printed letter already quoted. Speaking of the Keithian doctrine of the Light within and its relation to the Cabbalistic Aensoph and Adam Cadmon, Lodowick says, "They have framed their Doctrine Concerning Christ, according to this their Hypothesis, borrowing several of their Notions out of the Writings of some Rabbies among the

<sup>1</sup> The interview is similarly mentioned by Keith in his *Farther Account of the Great Divisions among the Quakers in Penna*, London, 1693, p. 1.

Eastern Jews, Translated into Latin, by a Learned Noble Man in Germany whose Children I Tutored some years agoe ". Though I cannot confirm the conjecture, I cannot doubt that this German nobleman is none other than Baron Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636-89). This famous Christian Hebraist, born in Silesia of a family that had been raised to nobility by Emperor Maximilian, lived at Sulzbach where the Count Palatinate Christian August made him chaplain in 1668. It was in the same year that he married. (*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xvi., 1882, 327; *Encycl. Judaica*, x. (1934), pp. 141f.) His children, probably the ones mentioned by Lodowick, are immortalized (with their mother) in the hymns which he wrote and dedicated to them, for his productions entered the hymnology of the church (see Carl Winterfeld, *Evangelische Kirchengesang*, 1843-7, ii., 512ff.). To others his immense *Cabbala Denudata* (1677-84) is better known. It corresponds to the description of the Latin translation mentioned by Lodowick. In these cabbalistic interests he was associated with Baron Francis Mercurius van Helmont mentioned at the beginning of this sketch. And it is possible that the latter when visiting von Rosenroth introduced Lodowick to Quakerism at Sulzbach about 1680. At any rate we can almost certainly assign Lodowick himself to that time and place.

The last evidence I have found of Lodowick's existence is *The New-England Almanack for the Year of our Lord Christ*, M DC xc v. By C. Lodowick, Physician, Boston. Printed by B. Green, for S. Phillips, at the Brick Shop near the Old Meeting-house, 1695 (only known copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester). Beside the calculations made for the Meridian of Boston and certain "choice, experimented, cheap, easy and parable Receipts, of a General Benefit to Country People" the author has supplied a two page criticism of the astrological predictions in Tully's Almanacks "the direct tendency whereof is, to withdraw Persons from a holy Reliance in God's will & Providence, and to precipitate the minds of such as are lovers of Specious Novelties, into a sinfull love of that Soulbewitching Vanity of Star-Prophecy, commonly called Astology the foundations of which are meer Chimaeras". There is no evidence that other almanacs followed from the same hand although the author prefaces the remark,

"If this Essay, find Acceptance, the Country may for some following Years, with God's leave, be entertained with larger Communications."

In publishing an almanac Lodowick is not unparalleled among American Friends. A long continued series of almanacs published first in Philadelphia and then in New York was started in 1687 by Daniel Leeds and continued by his son Titan Leeds.<sup>1</sup> In Rhode Island a century later than Lodowick, another Friend, Elisha Thornton, published for a decade (1787 to 1796) a similar annual.

Two old Semitic grammar books published in 1699, by Christian Ludovici, bound together in a quarto volume, have lately come into the possession of Haverford College from the Friends Library, Philadelphia. When or why the latter acquired them does not appear, though they are marked, "The Gift of Gaspar Schultze of Oley". They are listed in the catalogues of Friends Library issued in 1831 and 1853, but not apparently in the two older catalogues. Perhaps they were acquired under the impression that their author was a Friend. His name is certainly the same as the Quaker of Newport. He also was a German scholar, and of the same period. But he is not the same person. A sketch of his life (1663-1732) will be found in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, xix., 1884, 395f.

There was also in Philadelphia two generations later a Christopher Ludwick (1720-1801). See his life in *The Constitution and Law of the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools*, Phila., 1831, 2nd edit., 1860. But I can trace no kinship here either.

HENRY J. CADBURY

<sup>1</sup> Finally superseded at the latter's death about 1741 by its rival, *Richard Saunders Pocket Almanack*, published by Benjamin Franklin, who under the pseudonym of "Poor Richard" wrote it for many years. Joseph Smith lists Richard Saunders as a Quaker writer. See also B. Fay: *Franklin*, 1929.

## Elihu Burritt and Friends

THE Library at Friends House has received during the past year or two gifts of letters written by Elihu Burritt to Friends whilst he was engaged upon his Peace and Brotherhood mission in England during the middle years of last century. The donors of these very welcome additions to the Library have been James Edmund Clark of Street, Harriet Alexander of Worthing and Charlotte Lyndon of Hindhead. The last named had received from her mother, Anna Mary Ransom (*née* Southall) of Hitchin, over eighty letters written to A. M. Southall by Elihu Burritt during the years 1850-56. It was my happy privilege to suggest to Charlotte Lyndon that this valuable collection of letters should find a permanent home at Friends House.

We learn from these Burritt-Southall letters that it was due to Joseph Crosfield of Manchester that Burritt first came to England in 1848. He found an open door among Friends everywhere. His unassuming manner and persuasive methods of propaganda appealed to the quiet orderly life of Friends. He adopted two principal ways of working. One through the establishment of Olive Leaf Circles among women and, secondly, through a journal which he edited entitled *The Bond of Brotherhood*. He also gained a considerable following among liberal-minded business men by his advocacy of what he called "Ocean Penny Postage". This proposal appealed to many as the logical development of Rowland Hill's introduction of Uniform Penny Postage for the United Kingdom in 1840.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Edmund Clark of Street has permitted me to see an interesting note made by the late William S. Clark, in which he recalls a visit paid by Elihu Burritt to Street when he was a boy. Although W. S. Clark was too young to remember the incident himself, he relates that he often heard his father speak of it, and especially of the fact that it was whilst Burritt was staying with them that the idea of Ocean Penny Postage first suggested itself to him. He adds, "it seemed as if for days it took entire possession of his mind. He would walk up and down the garden talking to himself about all that might result from it, in knitting different nations together, and especially England and America. He was so absorbed in the idea that it seemed impossible to attract his attention for anything else. It was even most difficult to get him to join the family at meals."



ELIHU BURRITT  
From a plaster medallion at Friends House.

*Blocks kindly lent by Samuel Graveson*









(Per General Steamer from Boston)

Miss Anna Mary Southwell  
Wellington Road  
Birmingham  
England

All ports are open where ever she goes  
Friends hail her welcome and she has no fear

"OCEAN PENNY POSTAGE" PROPAGANDA ENVELOPE  
Bradshaw and Blacklock design, addressed by Elihu Burritt himself.

Anna Mary Southall,<sup>1</sup> the recipient of the letters given by Charlotte Lyndon, was one of Elihu Burritt's most faithful and industrious helpers in the work of the Olive Leaf Missions. Living in Birmingham at the time, she was a member of a circle that included "good Joseph Sturge", as Burritt loved to describe him. Joseph Crosfield, George Bradshaw, and Charles Gilpin were three of Burritt's closest friends and most loyal supporters in other parts of the country. Both Bradshaw and Gilpin were printers and publishers and they used their presses for the production of much of the Peace literature which Burritt circulated, including the pictorial envelopes to further the cause of Ocean Penny Postage.

In the course of a succession of tours to all parts of the country Burritt met with, and was entertained by, many members of the Society of Friends. Over one hundred Olive Leaf Circles were formed, mostly in towns where there was a Friends Meeting. Occasionally he met with a rebuff from those who held the conventional belief that no good thing could come out of America! In the letters under review Burritt writes very freely of his experiences and never expresses an unkind thought about those who would not help in his mission. The spirit of brotherhood permeates the whole of the correspondence. His enterprise took him to Hamburgh and other cities in Germany and at one time he had hopes that it would be possible to extend the work to Russia and Spain.

The death of Joseph Crosfield in 1854 was a severe blow to Elihu Burritt. Again and again he refers to his loss in the letters he wrote A. M. Southall. A little later he records the tragic death of his friend and helper George Bradshaw<sup>2</sup> from cholera whilst on a visit to Norway.

It was not bereavements only that brought a measure of discouragement to Elihu Burritt. Like many another pioneer of Peace his efforts were frustrated by the outbreak of another war. In this case it was the war that John Bright so vigorously denounced, that on the side of Turkey against Russia in the Crimea. As the smoke of munition factories

<sup>1</sup> Anna Mary Ransom, in 1880, contributed to the *Friends Quarterly Examiner* an article on Elihu Burritt, in which she recalled many incidents of his work for Peace and Brotherhood.

<sup>2</sup> George Bradshaw, the first publisher of *Bradshaw's Railway Guide*.

spread over England the Olive Leaf Circles contracted and then faded out. Ocean Penny Postage was no longer considered a matter of practical politics.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to his home in America Elihu Burritt turned his mind to give support to the movement for Free Labour in the Slave States. He settled on a small farm near his native town of New Britain, Connecticut, and it is from there that the last letters he wrote A. M. Southall are addressed. Included in the eighty letters now in the Friends Reference Library there is an interesting account of a visit Burritt paid to Ackworth School in 1851 and a most vivid description of what he saw and heard at a meeting for worship he attended during Yearly Meeting in London in 1852.

S. GRAVESON

<sup>1</sup> In the pamphlet which Burritt issued on this proposal, a copy of which is in the Library at Friends House, he is careful to explain that what the advocates of Ocean Penny Postage desired was a reform of the postage rates for letters going abroad to enable people to send a letter to any part of the world for threepence—one penny for postage in the home country, one penny for crossing the ocean, and one penny for delivery on the other side. Rowland Hill's great reform of the British postage system had not affected the foreign postage rates, which continued prohibitively high. The idea of a penny for ocean postage was probably suggested by the practice of the British Post Office in paying captains of private ships one penny per letter on all letters they handed over to the Post Office on arrival in England. That the campaign for Ocean Penny Postage did bear fruit is shown by the reduction of rates on foreign letters introduced shortly after the Crimean War.

## The Great Revival at Malton in 1652

**R**ICHARD FARNSWORTH, in a letter to Margaret Fell, in 1652, said that 200 people had met recently in Malton to wait upon the Lord, and had continued together for three or four days, scarce parting from one another day or night. "I was with them. Twice the mighty power of the Lord was made manifest. Almost all the room was shaken."<sup>1</sup> Previously George Fox had convinced of the Truth a young woollen-draper of Malton, Roger Hebden by name, who had an estate at Appleton-le-Street, where visitors to the beautiful pre-Norman church will find against its exterior south wall a Hebden tomb. A little book, now very rare, entitled *A Plain Account of the Christian Experiences of Roger Hebden*, published in 1700, five years after his death, tells the story of the life of this intrepid missionary. At the time Roger was convinced Christopher Halliday, of Malton, and William Pearson, of Settrington, also became Quakers, but Roger was the most active leader in local work. The remarkable impression which he made upon the district is evident from the testimonies printed in the little book referred to, and written by responsible people in Malton and Kirbymoorside.

This particular revival at Malton is the subject of a striking passage in William C. Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism*.<sup>2</sup> "Upon Roger Hebden", he writes, "was poured out the spirit of prayer and prophecy, and a great work of the Lord took place, which recalls on a small scale the autos-da-fé by which luxurious Florence paid homage to the holy zeal of Savonarola. 'The men of Malton', with we opine, the sturdy woollen draper at their head, burnt their ribbons and silks and other fine commodities, 'because they might be abased by pride.'"

It is known that among other persons taking a prominent part in these meetings was a certain Jane Holmes who had been ducked as a scold for crying her message through Malton. She was taken to York Castle where she was

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Rowntree: *Essays and Addresses*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 71-72.

attacked by fever and afterwards, according to a letter written by John Aldam, fell into a "wild, airy spirit which was exalted above the cross, which kicked against reproof and would not come to judgment".<sup>1</sup> She was visited by Aldam and other Friends, but without effect.

Additional, if not wholly reliable information about this disturbing character is given by one of the depositions in York Castle, headed as follows:

*Deposition from The Castle of York, No. 52.*<sup>2</sup>

JANE — FOR ABUSING MINISTERS, ETC.

August 24th, 1652. Before Sir Richard Darley, Kt.

The editor of this Collection of depositions says that the accused person, whose surname was unknown, must have been labouring under some extraordinary religious delusion. She seemed to have made a great sensation at Malton where, according to him, there was at this time a large number of weak and credulous people. Possibly she might have been a member of the Family of Love.

The case was brought up by Robert Hickson, of New Malton, clerk and preacher of the word there, who said that this Jane ——— had come about three weeks before and had endeavoured by delusion to draw his people away from him, telling the people that he was a blind guide, a thief and a robber.

One of the witnesses, Thomas Dowsley, of New Malton, said that his wife did usually resort to Roger Hebden's house and did not come home any night until 12 o'clock, and some nights not at all; also that his son Thomas had denied true obedience unto him. He alleged that the said Jane ——— was the only instrument of drawing his wife and son from him and the cause of tumults and assemblies at unseasonable times of the night. He added that she was an immoral person.

Major Baildon, of New Malton, said that this Jane ——— had drawn the affection of his wife from him. "He went to Roger Hebden's house and found the said

<sup>1</sup> Swarthmore Colln. III, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Depositions from the Castle of York.* Surtees Society, Vol. XL, 1861.

Jane and his wife among 100 people, and he desired his wife to go home, and she said that she would not go . . . and some of that party threw him violently down the stairs and put him in danger of his life and struck him on his breast."

Without assenting to this description, we are driven to the conclusion that Jane Holmes was exceptionally unbalanced mentally and that on the whole her behaviour may be said to have been the cause of some of the criticisms directed against Quakers in Malton and the district. No record of her final fate has been found.

The immense effect of these happenings in Malton is best illustrated by the fact that an anonymous tract<sup>1</sup> was printed in London before the end of the year which "denounced Quaking and entranced faction" and the "unchristian practises and opinions" of the people concerned. The tract contains the words: "Whether when about Malton there are towards 200 or 300 neglecting their callings, young and old, to compare notes of their entranced madness, it concerns not a church, nay, a Commonwealth, if it were no more than Pagan, to look to it and prevent the growth of further mischief."

ERNEST E. TAYLOR

<sup>1</sup> *The Querers and Quakers Cause at the Second Hearing, 1653. Essays and Addresses*, p. 17.

# Margaret Edmundson (c.1630-1691)

## HER HUSBAND'S TESTIMONY

The first book of record of Mountmellick meeting (now preserved at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin) contains an elaborate title page, several pages of accounts of "sufferings" from 1655 onwards, family lists of marriages, births and deaths, marriage certificates (with the original signatures of the witnesses), papers of condemnation and testimonies to deceased Friends. It seems to have been begun by William Edmundson in 1667 and part at least seems to be in his own handwriting. The first "family list" is his own, "William Edmundson the son of John and Grace Edmondson". On the next page he has written the following beautiful testimony to his wife Margrett. On another page is a poem written by a sorrowing father on the death of his little daughter.

ISABEL GRUBB.

**T**HE testimony of William Edmondson for my dear wife Margrett. She was born at Bramly in Darbyshire, Thomas Stanifords daughter a resposible famely and of good esteem and account in that country, we were married in the year 1652, she willingly & freely left her relations & country, and came with me to live in Ireland, and when I was convinced of gods blessed truth, & the lords hand heavy upon me because of transgression she never reflected or opposed me as touching religion, nor in my testemony against tithes & priests forced maintenance, but joyned wth me in all such things, and in all my imprissonments for truths testemony she bore it cheerfully, and never went any indirect way to obtain my liberty, which she knew was contrary to my mind, and if any lawfull way presented for my liberty with my advice she would with diligence use her indeavours for my inlargemts, and when I was called to travell in the service and labour of the gossell of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ she never opposed me but gave me up, and with all readiness would provide things nessesary & suitable to my journey whether in this kingdome or in foreign countries to make things as easy to me as she could, and my labours without charge to others; I was three times in the West Indies in truths service and the least was a year and a half



from her, and my expence much, which she knew was supplyd mostly by her endeavours, and I never heard her mention the charge in way of reflection,—but on the contrary if my occations were answered that I did not want, it was satisfaction to her, she tooke the charge of our outward concerns & famely upon her in my absence, and stood in her testimony against tithes, and the lord increased things under her hand beyond ordinary, and in these times of great trouble and calamety wch lay heavy upon us in that part where we lived she was allways ready to bear her full share of ye burthen, & in desperate danger would venture her life to save me, and I doe not remember if ever she was terrefyed or affrighted though occasion enough to affright any body, but often on the contrary she would tell me she was not afraid, neither ever did I find her desire to leave ye place where we lived, though shee see many flee and leave their places that had not been exercised wth troubles as she had been many times, and when ye cruell & bloody raperies besett our house & poured in shott on both sides in at the windows with many oathes threatning our destruction setting the house on fire, we being in it till about two parts of it was consumed, I did not hear her complain or show fear of death but attended me to know my mind, and when I opened the doors & they tooke me and my two sons from her, prissoners barelegged and bare[headed] and left her striped into her shift, and she many days not knowing whether we were alive or dead, and about a week after she fell in their hands ye second time, they stripped her stark naked, except shooes and and she went neer two miles in cold winter, and all this she bore wth much and though they destroyed our house & all yt was in it, & tooke away [our] stock, when it pleased god miraculously to restore me and my [sons] to her she was well content and satisfied and often would [say that she was] glad yt we were eased of our troubles, and we haveing I was desirous to goe to london to friends year[ly meeting] shee came wth me to dublin & was there at our national halfyears meeting of friends, after wch we parted, & she returned to mountmelick about some small busines we left behind, & accomplished it in about a weeks time, and returned wth our son in law to his house six miles from dublin, & two days after tooke sickness, and for some weekes bore it wth great patience being resigned up into ye will of

god, & willing to dye in ye pressence of her children, wth whom she left her charge to fear god and love his truth & obey their father, & gave up her last breath as one goeing to sleep ye 15th of ye 5th mo 1691 being something above 60 years of age she was decently buried in dublin in friends burying place & her funerall honourably attended wth many friends all things answered as though she had finished her work appointed her, & I hope she enjoys to her comfort the fruits of honest endeavours. William Edmondson.

# The Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk

By ARTHUR J. EDDINGTON

**T**HERE is, in the Meeting House at Norwich, a series of volumes containing the minutes of Norfolk Quarterly Meeting, and continuing as Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Quarterly Meeting after its junction with those two counties about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is evident that there was at least one minute book, possibly more, before 1708, the date at which the series now commences, but this is early enough to emphasize many interesting differences between the Quarterly Meetings of that time and the present.

The Quarterly Meeting now contains three Monthly Meetings; the west of Norfolk, including Lynn and Wells, is joined with the whole of the counties of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in one Monthly Meeting area of very wide extent, whilst Norwich Monthly Meeting comprises the north, and Tivetshall Monthly Meeting the south of the eastern part of the county. In 1708 we find six Monthly Meetings in Norfolk alone, viz. Norwich, Lynn, Lammas, Hingham, Tivetshall and Wells.

The position of Norwich Monthly Meeting was peculiar. It was in direct communication with the Yearly Meeting, a privilege also held by Bristol, London and Colchester meetings. It appointed four representatives to that body, additional to a similar number appointed by Norfolk Quarterly Meeting. It forwarded separate answers to the queries on the state of the Society and had its own correspondents in London. These privileges were not relinquished until the year 1794, when the name of the united Meeting was changed to Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meeting. But the Monthly Meeting was also an integral part of the Quarterly Meeting, which was usually held in Norwich, and Friends of that city were frequently chosen to serve as clerk. This anomalous position gave rise to special problems, and led to the adoption of the following minute in 1724 :

Whereas upon divers Occasions heretofore discourses hath been raised how far Norwich Monthly Meeting

have been taken & deemed Members of this Quarterly Meeting; This Meeting to put an End to all such debates doe declare Norwich monthly Meeting to be equall Members with all the other Monthly Meetings in this County that make & constitute this Quarterly Meeting.

Representatives to the Quarterly Meeting were appointed by the Particular Meetings in the area, of which there were eighteen, and this practice was continued until 1719, when the constitution was altered, and the following letter was transmitted to the Monthly Meetings.

The State and Constitution of our Quarterly Meeting having been under the weightly Consideration of Friends at this Meeting, and upon mature deliberation it doth appear that there are divers Inconveniencies which doth attend this Meeting corresponding directly with the several Particular Meetings in this County, Particularly the Representatives of the Meetings not being Rightly deputed to attend the service of the Quarterly Meetings, as also the protracting of the time, whereby the Necessary Business of the Meeting is frequently left undone, time not allowing to go thro the same, the neglect whereof we are sensible tends to the Hurt of the Church's of Christ in this County: in order therefore that the same for the future may be amended, it is agreed and concluded at this Meeting as follows—viz. That Each Particular Meeting do carry into the Mo. Meeting they Belong unto, an Account of their Collections made for the Relief of the Poor, and if any Particular Meeting stands in need of Relief for their Poor, to apply to their Mo. Meetings who are to administer towards their Wants, and Each Monthly Meeting at the Meeting preceeding every Qly. Meeting, to make up their Accounts in general, of the Quarters Collection and Disburstments for the Poor, and to depute two friends at least for every Particular Meeting, to attend the service of the Quarterly Meeting in Representing the Monthly Meetings they come from, who are there to give Account of the Monthly Meetings Collections and Disburstments for the Poor the preceeding Quarter, and if more have been collected in any

Monthly Meeting then have been Disburst, the Remainder to be brought into the Quarterly Meeting, that thereby the Quarterly Meeting may be enabled to supply the Necessities of Such Monthly Meetings, whose Collections are not sufficient to answer the Necessities of the Poor belonging thereto.

It will be apparent from the above letter that the necessity of poor Friends was considered a matter of paramount importance at that time, and an interesting minute under this head appears in 1713.

A complaint being made to this Meeting, That a poor Widdow friend of Lynn, liveing in their meeting-house, receive some Collection of ye town, and thereupon wear ye Towns-poor-badg therefore this Meeting adviseth ye sd. Meeting of Lynn by their representatives here present, and acknowledging ye truth of ye sd. complaint, to take care to maintain ye sd. Widdow for ye future, according to our Christian principle, and Antient practice ever since we were a people.

Report was made at the next Meeting that Lynn had answered the request of the Quarterly Meeting by maintaining the widow at their own charge, but the incident evidently gave rise to the following advice.

There being an occasional debate in this Meeting relateing Mantaining of ye poor amongst us. This Meeting thereupon Conclude and agree, That all such as are Members of us and in Unity and fellowship wth. us ought to be releived by us ; whenever they shall or may be exercised wth. the tryall of poverty, and not by the parrish to wch. they belong : according to our Christian principle, seeing to doe good and Communicate is our Reasonable duty, especially to the worthy (though poor) of the houshold of faith. And that such poor as may att times come to our Meeting, on whome we never lay hands, nor Recd. nor ownd as Members, as well as those who have walked so disorderly as to have Church Censure upon them not reversed, be wholly comitted to ye parrish to be relieved : unto whom they belong ; Not hereby excluding any particular Meeting or persons Charity nor yet bowells of

Compassion to receive any such, whenever they shall return by unfeigned repentance, And friends are advised that a diligent and Watchfull Eye, be had in every particular Meeting to deal with all such person or persons, professing truth wth. us, in a Christian and reasonable Manner.

Many requests were made by the Monthly Meetings to the Quarterly Meeting for assistance in meeting the financial demands laid upon them, and some difficulty was experienced in the supply of their wants ; a typical minute occurs in 1736.

A Letter from the Mo. Meeting of Lynn directed to this meeting was read by which itt appears that the P. meeting is att present in debt on acct. of the Poor & the Charges of repairing Downing (Downham) meeting house & that they request the assistance of this meeting towards paying the same.

Ordered that the Clerk do write to the sd. Mo. Meeting & acquaint them that wee have only 2/ of the poor Stock now in hand notwithstanding an Additional Collection for that purpose was Lately ordered & only finished att this meeting & that the Charges of the Poor are of Late grown very heavy in severall of the Monthly Meetings in this County & that one Monthly meeting is now out of near Four pounds on that account which they Requested of this meeting but could not for the reasons before given have their request complied with.

In spite of these heavy financial burdens we read of generous collections for various other purposes, including one for the Friends in Scotland who suffered from the Rebellion of 1745, and another for the loss some Friends sustained in a fire at Wellingborough in 1742. There is a minute of 1731 directing a collection to be made for the relief of a Friend at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, who had "lost all his substance by fire". This appeal was supported by the Monthly Meeting of Swavesey, to which he belonged, and it is interesting to contrast its reception with that accorded to an appeal for the rebuilding of Swavesey Meeting House twelve years previous to that date.

Read an Epistle from the Quarterly Meeting of Friends in the County of Cambridge, requesting the assistance of this Meeting towards rebuilding their Meeting-house at Swasey, which is burned down. Richard Ashby is requested to write to the friends of the said Meeting, & acquaint them that we judge it not proper for one Quarterly Meeting to apply to another in Cases of this Nature, but to apply for assistance to the Yearly Meeting at London.

Questions regarding the settlement of Friends almost invariably arose from an uncertainty as to which Meeting should be responsible for their relief. Where the dispute arose between Meetings within the area of the Quarterly Meeting, these were usually settled without much difficulty, but in one instance, in 1712, the problem seems to have been somewhat perplexing, and the following solution was therefore arrived at.

Whereas there hath been for some time past divers Controversies about the settlement of John Sharpin and there not appearing any clear Settlement on any Monthly Meeting, this Meeting Conclude and Agree (for preventing future Controversies) that the County be att two thirds of the Charge and Norwich Monthly Meeting att one third part of the Charge of his Maintainance.

Norwich Meeting, whilst it contained some Friends of substance, included amongst their membership a large proportion of Friends in necessitous circumstances, and in 1714 they made application to the Quarterly Meeting for help, with special reference to one particular case.

The Friends & Brethren of ye City of Norwich laying before this Meeting, the great & growing Charge of their Poor, whom they have been liberal in providing for, but now they are necessitated to Desire this meeting's Assistance the more Especially because our Antient Frd. Jno. Cady, who has been Supported by ye particular Charity of some Frds. but is now become ye Care of ye mo: meeting: who cannot be suitably provided for, without great Charge, & the Charge of

their other Poor being so great, that they are already much in debt, by doing for them what is necessary in a Common way, therefore this meeting tenderly recommends a Collection to be made to help our sd. Brethren, who have not been backwards in such good works upon every Occasion, that our Liberality may Encourage them to doe ye like for us when Occasion offers.

A collection amounting to £5 2s. 8d. was made for the use of Norwich Friends, but the next year the Monthly Meeting made a further request for some assistance towards the burden of relieving their poor, " which they cannot reasonably support without the Quarterly assistance of this Meeting, to the value of five pounds per Quarter". A further collection was therefore ordered, and to relieve the minds of divers County Friends the following minute was passed at the next Meeting.

This Meeting taking into Consideration the minute made the last Quarterly meeting Relateing ye quarterly assistance of Norwich frds. give an uneasiness to divers Meetings for want of explaining ye particular intent viz. for ye subsistance of John Cady wch. this meeting declares to be ye true meaning thereof & no other.

Before turning from matters of finance mention may be made of the National Stock, now known as the Yearly Meeting Fund, and it is interesting to find that even in those days, considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting a satisfactory amount on this account, as the following minutes illustrate.

29.10.1731. Edmund Gurney brought to this Meeting a Letter from Lascelles Metcalf by order of the Meeting for Sufferings respecting the Collections of Friends towards the Nationall Stock by which it appears that our last Collection was only £14. 13s. 6d and that the former was £32. 17s. 0d and Earnestly recommending Friends to make an Additionall Collection In order to make up the last mentioned Sume: It is therefore ordered that a Copy of this Minute be sent to every Mo. Meeting and What they collect for that end is desired to be brought to the next Quarterly Meeting.



It is also ordered that in the said Minute the Clerk do Send an Account of what Each Monthly Meeting brought in towards the last Collection.

28.4.1736. Ordered that a Collection be made throughout this County towards Increase of the National Stock the whole being Expended & the Yearly Meeting in debt & as In the Last Collection our County was very diminutive in proportion to other Countys, itt is Earnestly recommended that Friends may appear more generous than heretofore in this respect.

26.1.1746. This Meetg. observing with Concern that the Mo. Meetg. of Lynn have sent in only Two Pounds Collection towards the National Stock, It is ordered that the Clerk send a Copy of this Minute to them wch. it is hoped may incite them to a more liberal One suitable to the Occasion.

A further sum for three pounds was received at the next Quarterly Meeting from Lynn.

Friends travelling in the Ministry were expected to carry with them a certificate from their home Meeting, and in cases where this was not done, Friends were warned against giving the travellers any assistance, as a minute dated 1748 will show.

This Meeting, being informed that some Persons going under our Name, are or have been lately travelling in this County out of the Unity of Friends, or not having Certificates from the Monthly Meeting to wch. they belong ; Desires that Friends every where be very careful how they receive any such, & that they do not appoint them any Meetings ; That nothing may be encouraged by any that is contrary to the good Order & wholesome Discipline established amongst us : And the reproach that such bring upon our Society be thereby as far as in us lays prevented.

In 1743, the Meeting was informed that John Rumbelow, who had been disowned by Wells Monthly Meeting for immoral conduct, was travelling " to some remote parts of this Kingdom or Scotland ", accompanied by two women Friends of Wymondham Monthly Meeting, who had not

obtained Certificates for their journey. A warning was therefore sent to Robert Barclay of Ury, Thomas Enskin of Edinburgh, Charles Ormiston of Kelso, and others, " that Friends may know he is not of our Society ". At the close of the following year we find the following minute.

This Meeting being informed that the two Women Friends are returned, that accompanied John Rumbelow, . . . : it is requested that ye Monthly Meeting of Wymondham, to wch. they belong, do acquaint them with ye Discipline of our Society in yt. respect That, thro' Inadvertency they may not do ye same thing again.

A journey to North America was a very great undertaking at that time and when, in 1742, Edmund Peckover (1695-1767) of Fakenham laid his concern for this service before the Quarterly Meeting, supported by a minute from his own Monthly Meeting, he was granted a certificate signed by forty-five Men Friends.

The following Certificate to our Frd. Edmd. Peckover now near embarking for his intended Journey & Visit to Frds. in America was read approved & signed in this Meeting.

Our Frd. Edmd. Peckover having in a solid & weighty manner laid before this Meeting his Concern wch. for some time past had & still doth remain upon him to visit the Churches in America & he also acquainted this Meeting that he had settled his Affairs in such a manner that he expected shortly to embark for that purpose & also that he had acquainted ye Monthly Meeting of Fakenham to which he belongs therewith & had obtained from them a Certificate . . . wch. was read & approved of by this Meeting.

And we think proper further to declare that we have good Unity with our Frd. in this great Undertaking being well satisfied that nothing less than being in ye Way of what he believes to be his duty to GOD & his Church & People could induce him to leave his Family his Relations & his Friends to whom he hath been a great Comfort & with whom he hath lived in good reputation.

We sincerely recommend him as worthy of your christian Fellowship & desire it may please the divine Being to take him into his holy & heavenly Protection, may he prosper his Labours amongst you & may he graciously permit him safely to return back to his native Country with ye reward of Peace & Comfort in his own Breast.

On his return in 1744, the following minute was recorded.

Our dear Frd. Edmund Peckover being thro ye merciful Providence of Almighty God returned from his visiting of Frds. on ye Continent of America and ye Island of Barbadoes, brot. to this Meeting sundry Certificates from Yearly Quarterly & Monthly Meetings yt he visited relating to his Service and Conversation when with ym. wch. were read to ye great Comfort & Satisfaction of this Meeting.

There are, in the minutes, several Testimonies to deceased Friends ; some of these are very brief, but three are selected as containing matters of exceptional interest. The first was actually drawn up in the Quarterly Meeting held 1st month 1719, and records the services of George Gibson of Thetford, who died at the early age of 48 years. A short extract from the Testimony may be cited.

He was born of Believing Parents, who were taken from him when he was but Young, yett he was Educated among Friends; . . . and it pleased God to endue him (in a good Measure) with a Spirit of Wisdom, and of a sound Mind, whereby he was enabled to stop the Mouths of Gainsayers, while he was yett but Young.

And it pleased the Lord who saw the Sincerity & Uprightness of his Heart, to call him to the Work of the Ministry in or about the Twenty fifth Year of his Age, which he entered into with great Fear and Humility. He was slow of Speech, and not hasty to deliver what was upon his Mind, and notwithstanding his Voice was Low, the savour of life attended his Ministry, which he was very careful to wait for, and thereby was made Beautifull, as well as serviceable & Honourable in the

Church, and a Godly care was constantly upon him, to adorn his Doctrine by a Conversation suitable thereto, by which he obtained a good Report in the Parts where he dwelt, among those who made not Profession with us : He travelled pretty much in the Work and Service of the Ministry in this Nation, he was in Ireland and Scotland, and his Service was well accepted among Friends and others where he came.

And we have this further to observe of him that when he was not Employed in the Service of the Ministry he was very diligent and Industrious in his outward Business, thereby endeavouring to maintain his Family, and bring up his Children decently ; and it pleased the Lord so to bless his Labours, that the End thereof was answered.

John Gurney, " the Weavers' Advocate", friend of Sir Robert Walpole, died in 1740, and the Quarterly Meeting appointed six Friends to prepare a Testimony to be forwarded to Yearly Meeting. A second Testimony was subsequently drawn up by Norwich Monthly Meeting, which begins, " As our Friends in the County have given you a large & particular Acct. Concerning our dear decd. Friend John Gurney, we therefore only send you the following short Acct." The Quarterly Meeting document is of great interest, and, with its long and involved periods and curious expressions, is an excellent example of an eighteenth century Testimony.

He was descended of Worthy Parents, who recd. the Truth in the Love of itt, as professed by the despised People called Quakers, Soon after their first Appearance in the City of Norwich, & whose Father had no small Share, In Sufferings, for Bearing Testmony theretoo, in the most Severe Persecutions which Friends underwent in those Early Times, continuing faithfull therein to the End of days. They took particular Care, in the Religious Education of all their Children, And had the Satisfaction to find the blessed Effects thereof answer'd in most of them, Amongst whom (this) our dear Friend did not make the least Proficiency, Who having seen into the Follies & Vanities of Youth, did Set his Heart to Seek the Lord

in his Young and tender Years, and by Submitting to the Guydance of his holy Spirit, He was indued with a Good Understanding in the Misteries of the Gospell, and at about the 22d. Year of his Age, his Mouth was opened to speak in the Assemblies of his Friends, as a Minister thereof, much to their Edification & Comfort, and as he advanced in Years, So was that Excellent Gift more plentifully bestowed upon him, Being an Eloquent Man, and mighty in the Scriptures, His Ministry having the demonstration of the Spirit & Power of Life attending it, being delivered with much Plainness Coherence Copiousness, and so Suitably adapted as Generally reach'd the meanest Capacities, and Answer'd to the Witness of God in the Auditors, which made him very Acceptable to all Persons, who for the Most Part delighted to sitt under the Same, & Sought for Opportunities So to do, In most if not all Places where he was, tho' it may be said, He endeavour'd to hide himself and choose rather to be obscure, than to appear to Gratify the Curious, In the Pursuit of Satisfying their itching Ears, being very Exemplary in attending to Immediate Pressure on his Mind, before he Enter'd at any Time thereon, and often gave Way to many Others, far Inferiour to Him in all Respects which still added Lustre and Beauty to Him, and made his Service more available & better Accepted ; His Life & Conversation well Corresponded with his Doctrine, Living in ye Fear of God, a Pattern of Sobriety, Chastity Moderation and Temperance, as well as of most other Christian Virtues thereby adorning the Gospell of Christ, therefore without Flattery we have this Testimony to give of Him—He was a Workman, that needed not to be ashamed rightly dividing the Word of Truth. He often travel'd to visit the Churches in this Nation and was well reced. where he came, and many are the Seals of the Powerfulness of that Living Virtue which attended his Labours of Love for the Good of Souls.

He was a constant Attender of our Religious Assemblies, Scarce ever missing, either On the first Day, or on the Meeting Day in the Week (If his Health permitted) As allso those of Discipline, Highly Esteeming

the Good Order Established In our Society, the Rules whereof he was well acquainted with, and great Regard was paid to his Judgment, not only in Mo. & Quarry. Meetings, But also in the Yearly Meeting at London.

He was a great Lover, & Promoter of Peace & was frequently Instrumentall In healing Many Wounds & Breaches, which have hap'ned in the Churches, He has been often heard to Express himself, that he Believed our Constitution respecting discipline &c. was preferable to any other (now Subsisting) in the whole World.

He was no less remarkable in the Body Politick, His depth of Judgment, Ripeness of Understandg. & Quickness of Apprehension, joined with a Solid & Grave deportmt. Soon made him conspicuous to Persons of the most Exalted Stations, being willing to serve Mankind Therewith when it Lay in his Power, which was very frequent, And not only those of his own Society, but Likewise other Parts of the Commonwealth, reaped no Small Benefit thereby, which rendred him Generally Belov'd & Esteem'd ; Yet was he not puffed up therewith, shunning the Opportunities of Applause, which frequently offer'd where his Lott was cast. . . .

His Removall is an Irreparable Loss to his Family, in which he was a most Loving and Affectionate Husband, an Indulgent & Tender Father and a Kind Master, To his Brothers & other Relations a Faithfull Overseer, a Worthy Counsellour & a Steady Friend, Which was not restricted to them only, for that he was no Less so to all his Friends & Neighbours, under the diversities of Circumstances, which In Course attend the Severall Situations, Mankind is Placed In, Many reaping no small Advantage, from those free & Candid Intelligences, which as Application was made to Him, He Generally & In a Christian Spirit Communicated.

All these Virtues Meeting together in One Person, mixed with a free & affable disposition, cou'd not but draw great Love and Respect from all Sorts of People towards him, and much more so from us Who were joined in the same Communion, Professors of the same Religious Principles, and Partakers in some degree of the Like precious Faith with himself, We Say our Love

and Esteem for Him is such, having had that Particular Right & Intrest in him, That we cou'd not hold our Selves Excusable, had we not said some few Hints, of what might be enlarged upon respecting Him, For it is a Fruitfull, tho' sorrowfull Subject, Who being Well known in the Society; We have this Testimony further to give of him, That He finished his Course In Unfeigned Love & Unity with [his] Brethren therein And allso We doubt not but in perfect Charity with all Men.

His Body was attended to the Grave by some Thousands (as was supposed) of his Friends & fellow Citizens, Great many of whom, were in the highest Offices of Magistracy in the City, and of most affluent Fortunes; And a very Solemn Meeting it was, His Death being universally regretted.

We shall conclude with our hearty desires and Prayers, that the Great Lord of the Harvest will be pleased to raise up and send forth More faithfull Labourers Into his Vineyard, to Supply the Places of those Worthy's Who are removed out of Itt, for as our Blessed Saviour most justly remarked, The Harvest is truly Great, but the faithfull Labourers are Few.

Edmd. Peckover

After this date, with few exceptions, the usual practice of accepting the Monthly Meeting Testimony was carried out. Of these, one of the most interesting is that to Catherine Peckover, the daughter of Anne Long of Norwich, for it includes an account of her appearance before Judge Hollaway at the Norwich General Sessions of 1683, after she had been in prison for nearly eight months.

A Testimony from the Monthly Meeting of Wells in ye County of Norfolk, concerning their worthy Frd. Catherine Peckover deceased.

We think it incumbent upon us, to say something in Commemoration of ye Memory of so good and valuable a Woman, counting it no small Blessing to the Churches in these parts, that her Lot was cast in this Corner, wherein she continued from abt. ye 20th Year of her Age to her Departure out of this Life, and was all along

a very serviceable honourable Member amongst us. Her many Excellent Qualifications attended with a meek humble reverential Deportment in all respects rendered her very near & dear to us. It pleased God to bestow upon her a Gift in ye Ministry, which she was faithful to & very exemplary in waiting for, delivering the matter she had to say with much Plainness & Brevity, being always attended with great Power to ye no small Edification & Comfort of ye Churches. Her Life & Conversation well corresponded with her Doctrine & was much respected by People of other Societies. She was very Charitable & full of good works her Delight was to be found in Practices agreeable to & as became ye Gospel, & was an Eminent Pillar amongst us, a worthy Mother in Israel & a great Ornament to ye Society.

She received ye Truth as profess'd by us, whilst she was very young, & with her honourable Mother, was imprison'd for her Testimony thereto before she was Sixteen Years of Age, & undauntedly pleaded for it & confessed the same in her Examination before ye Judge & ye Court, being first called to answer to their Indictment, tho there were upwards of 60 Persons then present on the like good Cause & she ye youngest of them all, where she behaved with such Modesty giving pertinent reasons for her joyning along with her Friends in assembling together to worship God in Spirit &c, and refusing her Liberty on terms inconsistent with her religious Disposition, As drew from ye Court no small Attention & Surprize, yet was it so ordered that she with her fellow Prisoners were then set at Liberty—which she would afterwards often mention with great sweetness of mind, & gratitude of Soul, to that divine hand, By which she was supported to hold out to ye End of her Days in a constant dependance, on that Arm of Power; which gloriously visited & wrought upon her in her young Years, so that when old Age came upon her, she retained ye Sense and Savour of Truth in as precious & lively a manner as in ye beginning, It being very frequent for her to express the same in her living Ministry amongst us: much more might be said concerning this our worthy Friend,



but we study brevity, being nearly affected by her removal from us, wch. tho' it be our unspeakable Loss we doubt not but is her great Gain & that she is center'd in the holy Mansions, with Saints & Angels, & ye Spirits of ye just made perfect. She departed this Life at her own dwelling house in Fakenham in ye sd. County on ye 1. 8 mo. 1741 & was attended to ye Grave by great Numbers of Frds. & others.

Born abt. ye Year 1666

Dyed in ye Year 1741

was a Minister about 46 Years.

(Signed by 14 Men Friends.)

*(To be concluded.)*

## Laythes MSS.

**T**HOMAS LAYTHES (1628-1701) of Dailhead in Cumberland was convinced of Friends' principles in 1659 and became one of the pillars of Quakerism in that county. Though he suffered for his faith more than once he is not mentioned in Besse nor in most of the other sources of biographical information like *Piety Promoted* or *Whiting's Memoirs*. Fox mentions being at his home in 1663. Heretofore our principal knowledge of him has come from two small spiritual autobiographical pieces published fifteen years before his death.

There is in existence a leather bound quarto letter book filled in a small hand from cover to cover with pieces which Thomas Laythes has copied into it. The pagination (322 pages) and the elaborate table of contents are also in his hand. The time of writing is indicated by this colophon, "And now this 9 day of 7th month 1700 I am come to the end of my Booke which I began with in 1689 being about 11 years Time." The volume shows no signs of its transmission in private hands or through dealers, except the name on the inside front cover, "Joseph King Murray." This Friend was born in 1836, the son of Lindley and Mary Ann (King) Murray of Flushing, L.I. He died First Month 13, 1916. The book was disposed of by his heirs about 1934 to a book dealer in New York City who courteously allowed me to examine it. The volume has since been purchased by Friends House Library in London.

The contents resemble in form and thought much of the usual seventeenth century Quaker writing. There are letters addressed by T.L. to priests and "great men" often with the usual formulation of numbered queries. There are "the examples", i.e. instances of local persecutors of Quakerism visited by divine judgments. There are testimonies to deceased Friends, epistles to or from Friends' meetings, and short essays on religious subjects. One of the most interesting parts is the second, containing letters to Thomas Laythes from persons better known than he is in Quaker history, including Thomas Dockray and Thomas Salthouse, who write of events at Lancaster or Swarthmore, John Banks,

John Burnyeat, James Dickinson, Richard Richardson. Of American interest are the letter of James Dickinson written from Barbadoes, 14th of 8th month, 1691, a time of severe distemper on the island (p. 223) and an undated " Loving Salutation to all the Churches of God and Faithful Brethren in England " from Friends in Maryland, a " darke corner of the Earth and remote place where the Lord hath scattered us and where some of us have had our natural birth ".

Little of the volume has appeared in print, even among the printed pieces of Thomas Laythes. But the account of Fox's death circulated from the Second Day Morning's Meeting was printed with his Journal and about forty-five pages at the end of the MS. include pieces of Edward Burrough that were printed.

Among the biographical facts we learn that Thomas Laythes was born " on or before the 26th day of August 1628 as doth appear by the register at Crostwhaite ". Richard Richardson was his last schoolmaster. He married in 1651 and was convinced at Swarthmoor on the 2nd day of 8th month, 1659, where he attended his first Friends' meeting. He was imprisoned in 1660 and again in 1664. His wife died in 1691 and in 1699 he married Esther Huntington of Keswick. Evidently the marriage was criticized in some quarters. Thomas Laythes enters carefully the meeting minutes and the marriage certificate.

HENRY J. CADBURY

## Jacob Boehme's Influence in England

THE influence exerted or supposed to have been exerted by one writer over another is a fascinating subject for the *anima naturaliter critica*. But it has many pitfalls for the unwary. So much is inevitably guess work, though guess work often of a most suggestive kind. Dr. Wilhelm Struck of Rostock University has recently published, as a prize dissertation, an imposing volume of 260 pages tracing out the proved or suspected influence of Jacob Boehme, perhaps the greatest of Protestant mystics, upon English literature for the first hundred years and more after his death in 1624.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto we have only had much briefer treatments of this surprisingly big subject in a chapter of Rufus Jones's *Spiritual Reformers* (1914), more elaborately in Margaret L. Bailey's *Milton and Jakob Boehme* (1914), and in Howard Brinton's *Mystic Will* (1930). To the first two of these books the writer's debt in parts of the present work is apparent.

The plan of the book is an ambitious one, carried out with considerable success. (Dr. Struck's style will not, I think, be found particularly easy for the English reader.) After a long introduction dealing with the Silesian mystic's specific doctrines and his commanding influence in Germany, we have a systematic exposition of the known or probable impact of his writings upon the general theological and religious outlook of various groups of English writers. Two further parts deal with the treatment during the same period, so far as Boehme's ideas may have influenced them, of the problems of evil and free will and of the relationship of God and Nature.

In one of the most important sections the points of contact are set out at length between Boehme (and the English Behmenists) and the early Quakers. The few explicit references, whether favourable or hostile, in Friends' writings are duly recorded; the only new example, added to those cited by Rufus Jones and M. L. Bailey, being one in the Stephen Crisp correspondence.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Einfluss Jakob Böhmes auf die englische Literatur des 17 Jahrhunderts*. By Dr. Wilhelm Struck. Berlin, 1936.

Beyond the striking but not conclusive parallels quoted by Rufus Jones no further evidence is produced of George Fox being *directly* influenced by Boehme. What W. C. Braithwaite wrote in 1912, as to direct contact not having been proved here, still remains true.

Quotations cited from William Smith, George Keith, and Robert Barclay are assumed by Wilhelm Struck to show the influence of Boehme. But natural mystical metaphors, such as those of the inner light, the living seed, the holy birth, the divine pearl, have clearly a much older and wider history. Indeed in most cases their occurrence in different writers can be explained simply through the independent study by kindred minds of texts of the Bible which all Christians have in common.

Moreover it seems to be incontestable that different periods in the history of human thought are accompanied by distinct "zones of ideas", which form so to speak a spiritual climate or atmosphere, inhaled without the necessity of any direct contact in the form of one writer reading the works of another. It is no doubt most important, as Dr. Struck continually reminds us, to remember that many volumes of Boehme's works were published intermittently in Sparrow's and Ellistone's admirable translations between the years 1647 and 1663—years which were so formative to the Quaker movement, and it is quite likely that one or more of these fell into the hands of Fox and others. Nevertheless in the absence of direct quotations it is unwise to assume any borrowing from the printed page.

In the case of some writers for whom it has been elsewhere claimed, e.g. Peter Sterry, John Webster, and the poets Milton, Henry Vaughan and Traherne, Dr. Struck observes commendable caution in his estimate of the probabilities of direct contact with Boehme's works. In other cases, such as those of Henry Vane, Gerard Winstanley, Henry More, he seems to me to be rash in his inferences of a direct influence on their thought.

Apart from these minor criticisms there is a great deal of valuable and interesting material in the volume before us. The author's industry in reading has been immense. Quotations and references abound. Misprints and errors of detail appear to be few. (Work on the book was, I understand, chiefly done in London some five years ago.)

Dr. Struck is particularly good when on the firm ground of tracing out the interpretations of Boehme in the works of his English followers or admirers, such as the translators of his writings, the spiritual alchemists, and the Philadelphians. His able analysis of the Behmenist theology of John Pordage, for instance, is something which no critic, so far as I know, has attempted. In the course of his final chapter, which carries us on into the eighteenth century, he gives a suggestive and original sketch of the development of William Law's thought under Boehme's influence. One admirable feature of the treatment of Boehme's writings is that, in contrast to many critics who are more interested in him as a metaphysician, he often stresses the centrality to the Silesian mystic's thought of Jesus Christ and the redemption of the soul through union with Him.

Perhaps the chief value of a book of this kind is in its rich display by quotation and otherwise of the manifold ways in which the human mind has sought for a solution of the fundamental problems in the mysterious relationships of God, the soul, and nature, and has sought also to bring to itself and to others encouragement in climbing the steep path which leads to peace and wisdom and the power to choose the highest goods of life.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

## A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxxii., p. 64.

*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.*

### XLI

MARY HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX, 1656.

Dearely beeloved George my deare life<sup>1</sup> my livinge Joy who beegat me into the liveinge life & put life<sup>2</sup> where none was & turned me towards an endles Kingdome whose Kingdome endures for ever & stablisht me on him yt was beefore the world was . . . Deare life<sup>3</sup> I desire thee to pray for me whose words is life & as sweet to me as pretious oyntment that I may be kept out of all visible thinges in my measure & led up to god who is the end of all thinges. . . .

A prisoner of the lord at Lancaster

Mary Howgill

[endorsed by George Fox] M. howgill to G.F. 1656.

### XLII

T[HOMAS] L[AWSON) to GEORGE FOX. *Great Strickland*, 20.ii.1689.

Dear George

Whom I have & do love without Eclipse, & I can truly say, the remembrance of thy first comeing, in power & innocency & thy perseverance therein hath often sweetly tintured & strengthen'd me in hours of temptations. [Acknowledges receipt of a request from G.F. to go to London but cannot come] I follow my ancient employment of

<sup>1</sup> "life" corrected in George Fox's hand to "frend".

<sup>2</sup> "put life" deleted.

<sup>3</sup> "life" corrected in George Fox's hand to "frend".

schooling, & makeing conscience thereof fear to minister offence by ouer long absence, many souldiers draw into these parts & though they are pretty civill yet many become much straitned, & more thorough want of provision then men. . . . I am sometymes thinking if Way were made answerable to my minde it were better I were in or near London in order to complete somethings I have travel'd<sup>1</sup> about, I have by me Manuscripts of many subjects, relateing to the primitive order & how it came to be lost, & then what fopperies & fooleries externals borrowed from & extracted out of the idolatry of paganism, as also from Judaism, entred & how the same or great resemblance thereof is continued in Churches pretending to Reformation, That about the Witnesses, mention'd to Tho. Robartson, I have done nothing therein, except by way of Meditation . . . being driven out of my course by the enormous irregularity of some. Dear George, I shall say no more, but conclude with y<sup>e</sup> near & dear unfeigned affection to thee begotten in us y<sup>t</sup> day when thorough thee, a furnished & polished Instrum<sup>t</sup> in Gods hand, where his stars are, we were brought to waite at Wisdoms gate.

T.L.

Remember me to Williã Mead, Williã Pen, John Rous, & their wives, George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, James Parke &c.

[addressed] For George Fox in London this.

[endorsed] This is to be Read in ye 2<sup>d</sup> dayes Meeting.

### XLIII

THOMAS JORDAN to GEORGE FOX. *Chucatuck*,<sup>2</sup>  
18.ix.1687.

Dear & Honorable Geo: Fox

I received thy letter & Papers of yo<sup>r</sup> Yearly Meetings servis for truth & I have Read them in our Monthly Meeting & if please y<sup>e</sup> Lord may be Read in our Yearly Meeting wch is on ye 2<sup>d</sup>: 5<sup>th</sup> day of ye 7<sup>th</sup> mo that they may have other servis And I desire that yo<sup>r</sup> yearly meeting papers may be

<sup>1</sup> i.e. travailed.

<sup>2</sup> To the S. of James River, Virginia. This M.M. was established as early as 1683.



conveyed to us if possible against our Yearly Meeting it may be opportunity may present by way of Barbados if no other way As to y<sup>e</sup> Increase of truth it hath bin but Littell sence Frances Denson and hir tribe went out from us & Caused such a scattering from ye truth y<sup>e</sup> few hath com in sence & yet she will not condem hir worke, but cryes out what Evell have I don & will not clear gods truth Many ther be y<sup>t</sup> are Convinced of ye truth & will com to meetings when frends of ye ministri from other Cuntries Come amonst us but few will com & sett & waight wth us when they are gon to know an Increase of it & ther are but very few ancient frends left amongst us & y<sup>e</sup> most of them are weak in buisnes except John Porter who hath not bin amongst frends near this two or 3 yeares and John Copland & sam Nuton who is mad[e] as useles amongst us by reson of ther Misdemeniors so we have Need of viseting if y<sup>e</sup> Lord please to send faithfull Labourers amongst us I beleeve that many might be gathered to us & Dear Georg I hope the Lord will put it into thy harte to wright to John Porter to stir him up to Com amongst us againe & not to sett at Home & hide his tallant & I hope frinds will be stird up to wright unto your yearly meeting from oures soe wth my dear Love & wifes to thee & all frends in y<sup>e</sup> truth I bid y<sup>ee</sup> farwell in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde

Tho Jordan.

[addressed] To John Edridge in Love Lane Lane Neare Billings Gate these delir In London for G.F.

[endorsed] Tho: Jordans Letter to G.F. Virginia 8:9 mo:87.8. Answered by G.F.

#### XLIV

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX. *Barbados*, 12.iv.1661. G.F.

My Deare and welbeeloved in the Lord whom in the Measure of Life wch I have receved I dearly and tenderly Salute, as y<sup>e</sup> dearly Beeloved of my Soule . . . [reports the work great there, many convinced daily, Friends fresh and living, meetings large and precious, the Lord attends his labours, to which his life is given up; of Virginia, left three months before, he writes] I left frends generally very well

and fresh in y<sup>e</sup> truth . . . & frends at Liberty, [believes he will return to Virginia again ; on the island are Robert Maylins, and Ann Clayton who cam with John Rous, R.M. is to go to Jamaica and Ann Clayton to New England].  
I remayne Thine in the Lord

Josiah Coale

If thou have anything to verginia Ann James of London knows to send it I should be glad to receve a few words from thee.

[no address, endorsed by George Fox] J. Coull to G.F.  
1661.

## XLV

OLIVER HOOTON to GEORGE FOX. *Barbados*, 8.ii.1682.

Deare George

I have now received thine in Answer to mine formerly sent, & though but answered in part, yet am very well satisfied therewith [speaks of the tone of his former letter, of his complaint of "much more violence than ought to be amongst christians", hopes that] more moderation will be used in time to com amongst us for such proceedings has but produced hardness in those whom tenderness would have overcom [Solomon Eccles, John Rous mentioned as peacemakers. William Rogers's books but little known in the island & do little harm.] I am now going to see y<sup>e</sup> new Countreys of New Jarsey and Pensilvania, I cannot say to setle there but hope if y<sup>e</sup> Lord plese to be back before y<sup>e</sup> yeare Expires [desires preservation in the fear of the Lord "while I have a beinge heare below".] I allwayes Remayne thy truly loving Friend & hope I shall never change

Oliv<sup>r</sup> Hooton

[addressed] For my deare Friend George Fox these present p Chrisop<sup>r</sup> Newham who is desired to gett it Safely Convayed as abov sd.

[endorsed by George Fox] Oliver Houten to G.F. from  
barbadus 1682.

## XLVI

JOHN ROUS to GEORGE FOX. *Barbados*, 30.xi.1681.

Dear Father

I lately writ a letter to thee G[eorge] W[hitehead] & A[lexander] P[arker] wherein I gave you an acct of my rec<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>r</sup> Answer to the quarterly meeting's paper<sup>t</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> it was read at our last Quarterly Meeting at Ralph Fretwell's . . . & y<sup>t</sup> the paper was taken out of the booke & your Answer put in the place . . . Jno Weale proposed the giving forth of a paper of Condemnation, . . . for R.F. who drew y<sup>e</sup> paper. I doe under stand y<sup>t</sup> some freinds in England have judged that he hath been hardly dealt with . . . [Describes means taken to have John Weale reconciled with Friends, proposal to transfer a meeting to his house, etc., all unavailing; reference to Thomas Crisp's *Babel's Builders Unmasking Themselves* and to John Rous's enclosed answer to it, see XLVII below. Ralph Fretwell intends to return to England, possibly preceded by his wife and children, his son Ralph to remain in Barbados.] Since the proposing of a general unitie meetings are much fresher y<sup>a</sup> they have bin . . .

John Rous.

[Letters "about any public concerns of truth" may be directed to Joseph Borden, "who is a very honest friend".]  
[addressed] For my Dear Father George Fox this in London.

[endorsed by George Fox] John Rous to G.F. & frendes  
for advice to be given & sent to Barbados  
1681 anesered

## XLVII

JOHN ROUS. *Barbados*, 28.xi.1681.

Paper written in answer to *Babel's Builders unmasked* & sent with foregoing to G.F.

Envy and prejudice displayed in their proper Colours as appears in a booke falsely called as intended *Babel's*

<sup>t</sup> This episode, a significant one in the growth of the Quaker conception of authority in Church Government is dealt with in Braithwaite: *Second Period of Quakerism*, 348-50, but this MS. is not mentioned. See also the next four letters.

*Builders unmasking themselves* [long title, followed by foreword "To the Reader" and text of the paper, 4 closely written folio pp.].

# XLVIII—XLIX

JOHN ROUS to GEORGE FOX, GEORGE WHITEHEAD & ALEXANDER PARKER. *Barbados*, 25.x.1681.

Deare Father, & Deare Freinds G.W. & A.P. who are truly honourable in the Lord . . . even in the Ilands afarre of, to whom your love & tender care in the Lord is extended, in your comfortable advise, & tender reproofes where things are amisse, the effects whereof hath been manifested in your severall epistles to freinds in this place.

[The writer acknowledges receipt of G.F's. paper in answer to their Quarterly Meeting's paper (see XLVI and XLVII above) which he and his wife somewhat unwillingly signed. Recounts the discussions that took place in the meeting, the condemnation of the first paper by some, more from disunity with Friends than from unity with George Fox's admonition. Refers to Oliver Hooton's paper defending his not signing the first. Regrets that such matters are dealt with in large open meetings in the presence of "diverse boyes & young unsettled people" instead of by seasoned Friends, and that his opposition to the inopportune reading of G.F's. paper has been misunderstood as a slight on his love. A copy of the paper had been read at a Six-Weeks Meeting in the island, unfortunate effect of some copyist's errors, question whether they were malicious. Thinks there are some ill-disposed who try to get copies privately of such epistles. References to John Weale, Walter Benthall, Edward Hunt, Mary Weale, Richard Ford.]

. . . Friends have used many endeavours to gaine John Weale, & are willing to pass by & forget all that is past, & if any thing still rests y<sup>t</sup> cannot be buried & forgiven to discourse it in coolnes. I have much laboured with him divers times to gain a reconciliation & after he had abundantly eased his minde, I told him y<sup>t</sup> when he had said all y<sup>t</sup> he could, the ballance of the account must be this, y<sup>t</sup> we must forgive one another, as God for Christ sake had forgiven us, but as yet I doe not see y<sup>t</sup> anything doth prevaile.

[Describes further attempts to reconcile John Weale, disaffection of Alice Butcher in spite of efforts made "in the love of God".]

Deare freinds these things were in my minde to acquaint you with knowing your naturall care for the truth, & that knowing what the grief is you may according to the wisdom of God in you apply a suitable remedie for we have found by experience (of which I could give divers evidences) y<sup>t</sup> Epistles from you who are Elders have been of great service here.

[Speaks of his long concern] to know what was the occasion of the great deadnes & dulnes y<sup>t</sup> hath been in our meetings in Generall, even when the best of freinds amongst us have been gathered together, & it opened in me y<sup>t</sup> it was want of love & y<sup>t</sup> the only remedie wil be a promoting of love in generall. [He has propounded to a meeting of Friends in the ministry] that differences & strifes be wholly laid aside . . . which at present is under the consideration of that meeting & when it is fully closed with they may goe to the quarterly & six weekes meetings & from thence to the particular monthly meetings, & from thence to each particular, even the apostates themselves, y<sup>t</sup> as many as truly embrace the offer of Gods love to them may be gathered, but those who reject it may remaine excluded, which I believe will reach where anything of sinceritie & honestie is.

And as to our meetings I think it necessarie to give you an account y<sup>t</sup> when yee write any epistles you may direct them to those meetings you would have them read at, & then there will be noe controversie but your directions followed. We have four quarterly meetings which are at four freinds houses in the Country which hold 3 daies apiece two daies for meetings of worship and the third day for busines, only we cannot yet bring them to their full service because divers intrude who are not fit to be at such meetings. I have often desired y<sup>t</sup> it might be ordered y<sup>t</sup> none should come to quarterly meetings but such as are either chosen or well approved of by the particular meetings, but some frends fearing it may give severall offence, have not yeilded to it, so y<sup>t</sup> we are forced many times to wave busines necessarie & some times weake freinds hear disputes which are not for their benefit in which case your Advice might be serviceable.

We have also between every quarterly meeting two generall monthly meetings at the bridge towne, which continues two days, the first day of which meeting used to be for busines, & till they were altered proved great meetings of Contention, but now we meet the men apart from the women about two or three hours, where if any generall epistles come (having only relation to doctrine) are read, & ordered how to be dispersed among freinds, & a collection made, & then both men & women goe downe into the publick meeting, & there have a meeting of worship.

To the men & womens meeting marraiges are sometimes brought after they have passed the particular meetings, & because there is little comes to this meeting which may admit disputes there are invited to it young convinced freinds, & freinds children who are growing towards years of discretion, & since meetings have thus altered, they have been very peacable, though some who consented to the altering of them, are not now well pleased with y<sup>m</sup>.

The second day of this generall meeting in the morning, freinds in the ministry meet for the supplying of the first daies meetings for a fortnight, & afterwards there is a publick meeting for worship, & between the generall meeting & the quarterly we have a meeting on the 3<sup>d</sup> day of the weeke, where in the morning freinds in the ministry meet, & where things are treated of in relation to the publick service of truth, but soe many presse on us y<sup>t</sup> often times we cannot speake to things necessarie. After this meeting there is a publick meeting for worship, where are most of freinds in the ministry in the Iland, but many coming a great way, & our time being short we are streightened y<sup>t</sup> we cannot goe through things necessarie, & soe we were glad dear father of thy advice to have y<sup>t</sup> meeting on the second day which we have not had time yet to settle.

We have also six weekes meetings not soe much from the time as busines there treated on, answering the busines of the six weekes meeting at London & to these meetings we would willingly have none come but established freinds, such as are sound in their minds & Judgments & free from contention, though we cannot alwaies have it soe, but some weake freinds, & those y<sup>t</sup> are in contention will come, to the hurt of our meetings.

And having 6 Divisions we have in every division a particular Monthly meeting to which all that are convinced & walke honestly doe come, & on first daies we have 5 or 6 publick meetings which at meetings of freinds in the ministry we take care to supply, which doe soe fall in turnes that once in 5 weekes there is a publick meeting on first daies to which any y<sup>t</sup> desire may come in any part of the Iland, & for the further information of freinds I doe intend to send my brother Meade a plat of y<sup>e</sup> Iland with the several division lines drawne in it, & an account of all settled meetings in the Iland . . .

I have been the more large . . . y<sup>t</sup> knowing how it is with us you may yeild us [your] assistance & prayers, y<sup>t</sup> the unseemly practice of contention . . . may be [en]ded . . . your dear Freind in the Everlasting truth.

Barbados y<sup>o</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> of the 10th moth 1681.

John Rous.

[addressed] For my dear Father/George Fox/and/my  
Dear Freinds George/Whitehead &  
Alexander/Parker this in/London.

# L

BARBADOS FRIENDS to [GEORGE FOX, AND OTHERS].  
14.xi.1681.

Dear & Honoured Friends in the Precious Truth of our Good God.

[Acknowledges receipt of their epistle touching the paper issued from the Quarterly Meeting at Ralph Fretwell's, which was sent abroad without the knowledge and consent of the meeting. This distribution was condemned by the meeting, 1 mo. 1681, several months before any remonstrances from Friends outside were received. It was again declared against at a Q.M., 13.x.1681, and ordered to be taken out of the book and "your testimony unanimously submitted unto". One contentious Friend disliking the paper justified sending copies abroad, though both obtained and sent without authority. Speaking of church government, the writer continues] helps of Government we believe y<sup>e</sup> Lord doth continue in his church whose place it is to be Healers (as some translations have it) or peace makers, & for y<sup>e</sup> Edifying

of y<sup>e</sup> Body to bring y<sup>m</sup> to oneness in y<sup>e</sup> Truth . . . . Also we should have hinted (as in Justice to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting we should) of y<sup>e</sup> great love, freedome, tenderness, brokenness & liberty y<sup>t</sup> was in y<sup>t</sup> said Meeting expressed & y<sup>t</sup> when any thing of hot zeal, or constraint appeared in any particular, how Friends were desired to forbear anything of that kind, to which there was a loving submission, & again repeating, for as much as it was a day of Love & liberty & choice, & not of constraint, & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of Love & Truth went over every individual to their great refreshment & acknowledgment from Jangling or opposing.

[Referring to the criticized statement by the Barbados Friends he states it was too short, ill expressed, especially for any not at the meeting. The private judgment of the meeting was intended to be only that of those who had "come unto a loss in themselves". It was in their hearts only "to be helpful to y<sup>e</sup> dimsighted, Lame, maimed, or strayed"] . . . . All judgment in this thing out of y<sup>e</sup> Light or against y<sup>e</sup> least measure of true Light in any particular or particulars [i.e. individuals] is wrong and Judged by us: And with y<sup>e</sup> universall Spirit of God which seekes y<sup>e</sup> good of all Friends & Enemies & is one with everie true measure of Light in each particular y<sup>t</sup> believes in y<sup>e</sup> Light do we desire to be one with, & not wilfully to grieve & oppose. . . . Even so Amen.

14th 11th month 1681

This is a Copie of ye Originall Examined

Rich: Forde.

## LI

BARBADOS FRIENDS to GEORGE FOX and others.  
14.xi.1681.

[Acknowledges receipt of advice from London and its being recorded in their Quarterly Meeting minute book, the former paper being removed. If they have fallen short still they hope to answer to satisfaction. Signed by John Rous and fourteen others.]

[address] For G.F., G.W., &c.

[endorsed] A letter from Barbados 14.xi.81 about y<sup>e</sup> subscribing \*the order\*. [\* \* these two words struck out.]



## Meeting for Sufferings

## An Eighteenth Century Criticism

The document printed below was recently given to the Library Friends House, by Rachel and Catherine Braithwaite.<sup>1</sup> The MS was sealed and addressed to the Clerk of Yearly Meeting. No reference to the matter has been found in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting or of the Meeting for Sufferings. The writer, whose identity is unknown, writes under some concern, with what justification we do not know, but the period was one when the discipline of the Society was weak.

[Address]

To

John Willson Clerk

to the Yearly Meeting for the year 1743.

The State of the Meeting for Sufferings in London humbly submitted to the serious Considerations of the Yearly Meeting.

Tho' the Meeting for Sufferings, in London, was, at the Institution thereof, absolutely necessary, & still continues so to be in a lesser Degree ; yet since its Members, as Correspondents for Counties, &c. esteem themselves Deputies of the Yearly Meeting, & regular members thereof, & as, for many Years, sundry worthy Elders, of the first Rank, deceased, whose Memories are precious, & Others, who still survive, have expressed great Uneasiness with the Speeches & Appearance of some Correspondents for Counties, &c. both in the Meeting for Sufferings, & in the Yearly Meeting, as being inconsistent with that of Gravity, Humility and Plainness which adorned our worthy Elders in the Beginning, & so far deficient that some remain yet unconvinced of our Christian Principles in particular Points, & have not conformed their Practice thereto ; who, by unsavoury Discourses, protract Time in both Meetings, & instead of alleviating the conscientious sufferings of faithful Friends, do, both by plea & Practice, aggravate them : For, 'tis rational to suppose that he who solicits for the Enlargement of Prisoners for non-payment of Tythes, for the Relief of such as suffer

<sup>1</sup> MS. Vol. 101. (6)

for refusing to take up Arms, or for such who can't, in Conscience, actually comply with the Laws in other Respects, can do it with the same Zeal & Sincerity as if he had been, or probably might, in time, be One of the Number. Nor can such Solicitation be expected to be as successful in the Hands of a Person apparently deficient, as in his who is faithful in his Testimony, when the Person applied to, knows, & can distinguish the One from the Other.

Moreover, when the Trade & Commerce of a Correspondent is dishonourable, & his Conversation reproachful, he is certainly unsuitable for a Member of the Yearly Meeting.<sup>1</sup>

'Tis apprehended, that such unqualified Correspondents in London, have often been Traders to & Travellers in the Country, & have sometimes persuaded those they deal with, who have influence on their Quarterly Meeting to Nominate them for Correspondents, which Meetings sometimes have, too precipitately, & without due Enquiry into their Qualifications, assented to & approved of such Nominations. 'Tis likewise evident, that some Correspondents who, at the Time of their Nomination, were qualified, may, in a series of years, thro' Declension of Zeal, of Substance, or of Health, become otherwise. Others, for private Reasons improper to be divulged, may desire to be excused. And, another Class, for their Remissness & Non-attendance, ought to be discarded.

For the Remedying of these Inconveniences & to prevent Umbrage to particular Persons, it is, with a sincere Desire for the Good of the whole Community, humbly offered, that the present Meeting for Sufferings be dissolved & that the Business thereof, for the Time being, be transferred to the Men-ministers & Elders belonging to the Morning-Meeting of London, to be, by them, & the Clerk to the present Meeting for Sufferings, managed with such Assistants as they may find necessary to call in.

For the new Election of Members properly qualified to act in the Meeting for Sufferings & for the better regulating the same, it is proposed, that each Quarterly, or other, Meeting, which has a Right of Nominating Correspondents in London, do write, or depute a Committee to write to the Monthly

<sup>1</sup> Y.M. was not at that time attended by the membership at large.

Meeting, the Friend intended to be nominated as its Correspondent is a Member of, for a Certificate recommending him, under the Qualifications hereafter inserted ; which Certificate let such Meeting immediately send to the Quarterly Meeting, or its Deputies, that the next ensuing Quarterly Meeting may send the Name of its intended Correspondent, to the Meeting for Sufferings, constituted as aforesaid, for the Time being, in Order that, in a New Book, for that purpose provided, under the Title of the Correspondent Book, it may be entered ; or, otherwise, that the said Quarterly Meeting may have Time to present the Correspondent to the ensuing Yearly Meeting, & have his Name inserted as above.

In case the Monthly Meeting can't justly certify the Person to be so qualified, then that the said Meeting, without Delay, send a negative Answer to such Quarterly Meeting, or its Deputies, wherein let all due Tenderness be used to the Credit & Character of the Person so certified of, & all particular pointing out of any Deficiency, or Default of his be wholly avoided, & upon the Receipt thereof, let the Quarterly or other Meeting, proceed to a fresh Nomination, in like Manner as proposed before.

The Certificate is proposed to be signed by a competent Number of reputable Friends, as the Yearly Meeting may direct, & to contain Articles of like Import with the following :

1. That the Person nominated is of good Conversation & Character, both among Friends & Neighbours.
2. That he is a constant Attender of Meetings of Worship, & a zealous Promoter of the Discipline of the Monthly, & Quarterly Meeting to which he belongs.
3. That he keeps his Family, as much as possible, in Humility & Plainness of Speech & Habits, & is sound in the Persuasion of our Christian Principles.
4. That he stands faithful in his Testimony against receiving, or paying Tythes, &c.

If the Yearly Meeting don't see meet at this juncture, to dissolve the Meeting for Sufferings, it is hoped, a Minute may be made recommending these, or such like Qualifications, as necessary for Correspondents in Future Appointments, & that such who are not qualified as aforesaid, may be placed by their Constituents, & the preceeding Method, of requiring Certificates, be put in practice in every future Choice of Correspondents.

# Marriage Certificate, 1673

## Fothergill of Wensleydale

**T**HE 12 day of y<sup>e</sup> 4 month 1673. In the feare of y<sup>e</sup> Lord & accordinge to his holy Institution & ordinance.

And accordinge to y<sup>e</sup> Law and y<sup>e</sup> practice of y<sup>e</sup> holy men of God in y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures of truth did Alexander Fothergill son of John Fothergill of Carr end in Whensladall take to wife Ann Langton Daughter of John Langton of side in Sedburgh And she consented to him And further did take Alexand Fothergill to be her husband for y<sup>e</sup> Assembly for y<sup>e</sup> people of God at Brigflats in the aforesaid Sedbergh And he is her husband & she is his wife sollemly : promissinge to live faithfully together man and wife soe long as they Live And we are witnesses of y<sup>e</sup> same whose names are hearunto subscribed

John Fothergill  
John Langton  
Oswald Routh  
Thomas Metcalfe  
Alexander Metcalf  
Joseph Paine  
James Thompson  
Tho: Thompson

John Blayklinge  
Michael Pratt  
Francis Blayklinge  
Richard Speight  
Lawrence Routh  
Marmaduke Walker  
John Thompson  
James Guy  
John Holmes  
John Fothergill.

Elsabeth Fothergill was borne on the eighteen't day of the first month and in the yeare 1673[/74].

This marriage certificate is now in the possession of Bertram Fothergill Crosfield who has kindly presented a facsimile copy to the Library, Friends House.<sup>1</sup> It presents several features of interest in common with the two other early marriage certificates printed in the last two issues. Like them it is not recorded in the digest of marriage registers at Friends House ; it does not record the words of the declaration made by the two parties ; nor do the parties themselves set their hands to it. In this case there is no reference to " Quakers " though clearly Briggflatts meeting is meant as the place of marriage.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Vol. 101.(9).

The first two signatures are those of the fathers of the parties and there is no woman's signature. Inability to write can hardly have been the reason for this because the names of three of the witnesses have apparently been written for them by the bridegroom's father, who also wrote out the certificate.

The record of birth of the first child of the marriage has been added to the certificate. It occurs also in the Yorkshire register at Friends House. The dating well illustrates the confusion that may arise if old style dates are misread. Translated to new style the date of the marriage is 12th June, 1673, and of the birth of the child, 18th March, 1674.

The original is on paper and measures 11½"—7½". Alexander Fothergill was the grandfather of Dr. John Fothergill.

ED.

## Bristol Friends in 1715

The Quakers of Bristol "are generally well affected to the present government, large traders and very rich. Their number may be supposed about 2,000 and upwards; and their wealth not less than £500,000." MS written in 1715 by John Evans, minister of Hand Alley Presbyterian Church, Bishopsgate Street, London, preserved at Dr. Williams Library, London and quoted in E. D. Bebb's, *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life 1660-1800*, 1935, p. 52.

H.J.C.

## From Whitby Parish Register

Fisher, Rachel, a quaker. born 1 Nov. 1657.

Lotherington, George son of Benjamin a quaker b Sept. 3 1703.

Walker, John son of Tho. & Eliz. quakers. born Oct. 11 1703.

Walker, Mary dau. of John & Hester Q born 30 Oct. 1703.

Smales, Elizabeth da of Tho. Smales his wife being a quaker was buried Nov. 13 1703.

Foster, Alice da of Benjamin & Sarah Quakers born Nov 18 1703.

Sewales, Isabella a quaker, born 26 Feb. 1728-9.

Close, James s of Jacob, a quaker, was bo privately 8 Feb. 1736-7.

## Some Anti-Quaker Sallies

From notebooks of a 17th Century Clergyman

**A**BOUT a century ago were found in the Medical Society of London the extensive memoranda of a medically minded clergyman of the English Church written 1648-79, and selections were published in a book (*Diary of the Rev. John Ward, A.M., Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon*. Arranged by Charles Severn, M.D., London, 1839.) The chief interest was in the references to Shakespeare and his circle, but the selections include several references to Quakers which are not so familiar as those in the better known diarists of the period. The author had a facetious turn of mind and his references are not complimentary. They are of interest as showing how our forebears' ideas and writings were regarded.

The Lady Conway<sup>1</sup> hath something like the Irish ague; she is a great philosopher, Henry Moor, of Cambridge, allmost perpetually with her in her chamber. (p. 100.)

Severall levellers settled into Quakers. The late unhappie times had piled up such materials, as itt was easie for the Quakers to arise as the scumme of all. A Quaker debtor replied to his creditor, "Tis reveald to mee that I owe thee nothing." (p. 141.)

Other books doe gratifie a man with some knowledge or some good notion or other, but so doe not the Quakers' books, which are flatly and dully written. (p. 149.)

"Anima suilla pro sale," a swine's soul serves for salt to keep the bodie sweet, and a Quaker's does no more. Quakers need a second revelation to ascertain them of the truth of the first, and a third to ascertain the second. (p. 149.)

I have heard a storie of a Quaker that came to Sir Henry Vane, to persuade him that he was to bee

<sup>1</sup> Anne Finch, Viscountess Conway (1642-78), noted for her learning, joined herself to Friends in 1677. Henry More the Cambridge Platonist was one of her intimate friends.—ED.

the Lord's anointed, and powred a bottle of stinking oil upon his head, which made Sir Henry shake his eares; Mr. Ffenwick. (p. 51.)<sup>1</sup>

Says Van Cane, "I have never seene anything, for the text and context, that doth more neerly resemble Mahomet's Alcoran, than a Quaker's book."<sup>2</sup> (p. 283.)

Charles Bayley fell a stroaking, thinking to doe some miracles that way, and Richard Anderson fell a cursing,—and a certaine quaking woman pretended to raise a dead corps, which when her follie appeard, was interr'd. (p. 287.)<sup>3</sup>

If uncharitable censurers may hereticate all that differ from them, the Quakers shortly may have as fair a title as the papists. (p. 296.)

Whether more references are to be found in the unpublished parts of the seventeen volume MS., I do not know.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast the letter of James Naylor quoted in Webb, *Fells*, p. 121: "He (Sir Henry Vane) is very loving with Friends, but drunk with imagination."

<sup>2</sup> A French writer on Quakerism held a similar opinion. Philip Naudé in *La Religion des Kouakres en Angleterre*, 1692, says in his first chapter that George Fox is like a resuscitated Mahomet.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the notorious case mentioned in *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 391, and *The Short Journal*, p. 375, of Susanna Pearson and her unsuccessful attempt to bring to life "William Pool an apprentice and a known Quaker near Worcester."

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#### FOR GENERATIONS TO COME!

"... this superb work will be of unprecedented value and interest to YOU for generations to come."

From an advertisement of a recent genealogical reference book.  
[Capitals ours.]

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### Anthony Benezet: a Correction

The letter of Anthony Benezet to John and Henry Gurney printed in our last issue, pp. 42-6, was stated to be hitherto unpublished. Henry J. Cadbury has pointed out that it was printed in *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, vol. II, 1831, where it occurs on pp. 324-5. This periodical was published at Bristol, with agents also in London, and ran for two years.

## Force Forge

There are references in the *Swarthmoor Hall Account Book*, in Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmore Hall*, (1865 ed., 326, 330, 335) and in a number of Fell family letters to a forge or iron furnace belonging to the Fell family. Force Forge, as the locality is still called, is situated not at Swarthmoor as has been commonly stated, but some 8 miles to the north-east in the Rusland Valley (1 mile above Rook How Meeting House) halfway between lakes Coniston and Windermere. A ship would be chartered by the Fells to carry iron from the forge, which was loaded at Greenodd, and grain from the Swarthmoor farmlands, which was loaded at Conishead. There is an account of the forge in Alfred Fell's *Early History of the Furness Iron Industry*.

For these facts we are indebted to E. Mitford Abraham of Ulverston, through whose good offices we have also been able to examine the deed belonging to Mr. Alfred Fell, of sale of the furnace when it passed in 1681 from the ownership of Thomas and Mary (Fell) Lower of Marsh Grange to that of Thomas Rawlinson of Graythwaite. No price is named. This deed shows also that it was conveyed by George Fell, son of Judge Fell and Margaret Fell, to his sisters Sarah, Mary, Susan and Rachel in 1666. Thomas Rawlinson is several times mentioned in the *Journal of George Fox*, whom he visited at Launceston and with whom he travelled in Scotland. He was also imprisoned at Exeter.

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## From Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, Parish Register

A daughter of John and Ann Halsey named after the manner of Quakers Ann, January ye 06th 1723.

A son of John and Faithful Fisher named Matthew after the manner of Quakers Aprill ye 22 : 1723.

A daughter of Robert and Lidia . . . named Lidia named after the manner of Quakers December the 19th 1723.

The above entries from Whitby and Wells parish registers have been kindly furnished by Mr. J. Harvey Bloom.

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## E. Warder: an Addition

Henry J. Cadbury sends the following information about this Friend, whose letter about Joseph John Gurney in America was printed in our last issue, pp. 38-9. The writer was Elizabeth A. Warder (1810-50) the daughter of Jeremiah Warder (1780-1849) and grand-daughter of John Warder of London from whose funds the Friends school in Amsterdam was built. Her mother was Ann Aston (1784-71) who married Jeremiah Warder in 1805. The family moved from Philadelphia to Springfield, Ohio, in 1830.



## The Annual Meeting

THIS was held at Friends House on 5th March, 1936, and was attended by about a hundred members and visitors. The retiring President, J. Travis Mills, delivered his presidential address on "An Orator's Library", a lecture on John Bright and his use of books. The paper was one whose living interest has not been exceeded in any recent meeting of the Society. With a skilful use of quotation, now from Bright's speeches, now from the authors he read, we were enabled to see the statesman's close familiarity with many of the greatest writers of all periods from the ancient classics till his own times, and to appreciate how well he lived out his own view that a well-educated man needs not so much to read widely as to read of the best. Yet in Rochdale Public Library there are 1,200 volumes he both owned and used. The seventeenth century was his favourite period and Milton the major formative influence on his own style. He knew also the works of the leading Quaker writers from Fox to Whittier.

William F. Harvey was appointed President and Arthur Raistrick Vice-President for the ensuing year. Anna L. Littleboy acted as chairman to the meeting.

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## Friends' Historical Society

Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1935

RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand,				Petty Cash and Postage	8	0	0
31st Dec., 1934	74	15	3	Annual Meeting Cards			
Subscriptions ..	71	1	11	and stationery ..	1	6	0
Sales ..	5	17	7	Book Centre: Postage			
				on parcels to Michigan			
				Library		11	4
				Headley: 425 "F.H.J."			
				vol. xxxii. ..	55	14	9
				Headley: Reprint			
				"William Penn and			
				English Politics" ..	1	18	6
				Balance in hand, as at			
				31st Dec., 1935 ..	84	4	2
	£151	14	9		£151	14	9

Examined with Books and Vouchers and found correct,  
20.ii.1936.

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND.

# Current Literature and Additions to the Library

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*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.*

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William I. Hull : *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*. Swarthmore College, Pa., 445 pp., illus. Dr. Hull here gives us the second volume of his series on Dutch Quakerism. It is based upon original sources, American, Dutch and German, built up into a full narrative of three stages in the relations of Dutch with American Quakerism. First come Penn's visits to Holland and Germany in 1671, 1677 and 1686, second, the mystical communities on the continent both before and after the visits of Penn with Fox, Barclay and other leading Friends, and lastly the history of the Dutch and German groups of Friends, Mennonites and others who migrated from persecution in Europe to freedom under Penn's Holy Experiment. Both the Krefeld and Krisheim contingents receive ample treatment.

The volume contains useful biographical notices of both Friends and others who influenced early continental Quakerism. Many of these have hitherto lacked any adequate portrayal in the pages of Quaker histories. Mention must be made of the account of Roger Longworth of Lancashire and laterly of Pennsylvania, a devoted traveller and preacher in Europe and America; also of Jacob Telner of Krefeld, one of the founders of Germantown.

There are many illustrations, admirable footnotes and index. A map or maps showing all the European places of origin would have added to the reader's grasp of the movements described.

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R. Umbdenstock : *William Penn, Théoricien du Pacifisme, ses devanciers, ses imitateurs*. Saint Dizier, 1931, 247 pp., was written for a doctor's thesis at the University of Dijon. After brief outlines

of the pacific systems of Erasmus, More, Bacon, Campanella, Crucé, Grotius and Leibniz, the author discusses briefly in some twenty pages Penn's own "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe." This is followed by a fourth chapter on eleven subsequent writers on the project of a peacefully governed world of states, from Saint Pierre to Baronne de Krüdener. An appendix gives a French translation of Penn's essay and there is a full bibliography.

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*Mary Dyer, Quaker. Two letters of William Dyer of Rhode Island 1659-1660*, reproduces in facsimile, with letterpress version, letters which Mary Dyer's husband wrote to the Court at Boston, first protesting against the cruel conditions in which she was imprisoned and the second appealing for her life to be spared. These reproductions, printed in 1902 have recently been added to the library.

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Carl Heath: *Social and Religious Heretics in Five Centuries*. London, 1936, 158 pp. This book sets before us the lives and testimonies of that succession of companies of obscure people who have kept alive in Europe, against oppression of the world and the official churches, the experience of the gospel as a living power, transforming individual life and putting human relationships on a new level. There are chapters on the mediaeval heretics, Wyclif, Anabaptists, the Diggers and the early Quakers, with a consideration of to-day and its needs.

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Ronald Matthews: *English Messiahs, Studies of Six English Religious Pretenders 1656-1927*. London, 1936, 230 pp., portraits. The first study is of James Nayler. The other five are all extremer examples of aberration from normality. The author views his subjects with the sympathetic detachment of a psychologist seeking to explain rather than to condemn. Naylor is included as an example of a certain type of mind, and the chapter entitled "Conclusion" is of interest as a contribution to the study of Naylor's character. The author has consulted the life by Mabel Brailsford but not apparently that by Emilia Fogelklou.

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*The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony, Quaker Laws of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Blue Laws of New York, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, etc.* Hartford (Conn.), 1838, 336 pp. This book reprints laws and court orders on moral and religious matters, and accounts of cases before the colonial courts, taken from colonial records and other sources. The first forty pages concerns anti-Quaker orders and cases, nearly all in the Commonwealth period. There is an

account at the end of the sect known as the Shaking Quakers compiled by their own committee of publication ; also some cases relating to witchcraft.

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L. E. Elliott-Binns : *Religion in the Victorian Era*. London, 1936, 526 pp. The author surveys English religious life during the greater part of the nineteenth century, with attention to many diverse points of view. He has refrained from criticism to a very large degree and has allowed spokesmen of many opinions to express their own case. Religious life has been considered not as a series of sectarian movements but in its interaction with intellectual life, social problems and changes, the press, the arts, and education. There are also sections on the Oxford Movement, on worship and on the revival and deepening of religion. A valuable and fully documented history. There are occasional references to Quakerism in its relation to the characteristic movements of the time.

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Margaret Taylor MacIntosh : *Joseph Wright Taylor, founder of Bryn Mawr College*. Haverford, Penna. 1936, 211 pp., 10 illustrations. Born in 1810 in New Jersey, J. W. Taylor trained as a physician. After a voyage to India as a ship's doctor he joined his brother in a training business at Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1849 he visited Europe with a letter of introduction from Stephen Grellet to leading English Friends. Descriptions of London Yearly Meeting, of social life among English Friends and his observations on those whom he met are quoted from his diary. A second European visit took place in 1861 and 1862. The crowning work of his life was the building and endowing of Bryn Mawr College for women not far from Haverford. He died in 1880 almost at the time of its completion and left his whole fortune to endow it. He never married. Rufus Jones contributes a foreword and remarks on the fact that three great places of learning should have been founded at about the same period by American Friends : Ezra Cornell ; Johns Hopkins and Joseph W. Taylor.

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*The Cupola*, The Ackworth School Magazine, vol. vi, 1935, issued a *Fothergill* Supplement of 32 pp., describing the efforts of John Fothergill which led to the founding of Ackworth School. It is written by H. R. Hodgson, who for the work prepared and printed the pedigrees of John Fothergill and William Hird. The booklet contains an account of Gildersome School established by Brighthouse M.M. in 1772, which ran till 1815. A list of many of its scholars is given. John Fothergill visited it in 1777 and viewed it as a model for the larger undertaking which he wished to see established. Woodhouse

Manor, the home of Dr. William Hird, with whom Fothergill stayed on the occasion of his visit, is also described and illustrated.

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Norman G. Brett-James : *The Growth of Stuart London*. London, 1935, 556 pp., maps, illus. This is an admirable history of London's development during the seventeenth century, and will help any student of the rise of Quakerism to understand the city in the days of early Friends. The reader may follow the eastward, northward and southward growth as well as the westward expansion which closed the gap between London and Westminster. There are also chapters on fortifications, restoration after the great fire, open spaces, population, and foreigners. Besides many contemporary maps and plans there are three maps by the author, based on contemporary authorities, which show London in 1603, 1660, and 1700.

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Henry J. Cadbury has presented his *Negro Membership in the Society of Friends*, Philadelphia, reprinted from "The Journal of Negro History", xxxi, 1936, pp. 151-213. This is a historical survey of the comparatively small negro membership in the Society in America.

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William Y. Tindall : *John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher*. New York, 1934, 309 pp. This book is not another life of Bunyan but a study of several aspects of his work. The author's purpose has been to show him as one of many mechanick-preachers in the seventeenth century, differing from the rest rather in degree than in kind. The Appendix contains an account of a lost anti-Quaker tract by Bunyan on Quakers, witches and horses of Cambridge, whose title may have been *A Paper touching Witchcraft given forth to your Wonderment*. Evidence about it comes from the tracts that opposed it, one by James Blackley and the anonymous *Strange and Terrible Newes from Cambridge*, 1659.

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Bernard Thistlethwaite : *The Bax Family*. London, 1936, 417 pp., illus., maps. This volume deals very fully with the early Quaker Baxes of Capel and Ockley in Surrey and with their descendants and allied families, among which may be mentioned those of Barrow, Beck, Bisshopp, Burlingham, Cadbury, Capper, Chandler, Clark, Dann, Dixon, Fothergill, Fox, Fry, Gibbins, Gill, Gillett, Hack, Holmes, Howard, Hunt, Kidd, Marsh, Mennell, Moline, Naish, Newman, Payne, Prichard, Pumphrey, Richardson, Southall, Stackhouse, Standing, Swan, Taylor, Thistlethwaite, Tuke, Wallis, Wigham, Wilson. There are thirteen pedigrees, a number of fine illustrations of residences and an admirable arrangement of three different maps as end-papers. The book is carefully prepared and beautifully

produced and will be valuable to researchers into family history. Kindly presented by Geraldine Cadbury.

Thomas Ellwood : *Dauides, The Life of King David*. A reprint of the 1st edition, 1712, edited by Walther Fischer. Heiderberg, 1936, 248 pp. This is one of the series of English texts published in connection with Heidelberg University. The author has painstakingly compared the first with later editions. That of 1749 appears to owe its extensive variations to the work of John Fry of Sutton Benger, Wilts. In his introduction Dr. Fischer finds in *Dauides*, besides an interesting example of typical literary tendencies of the early eighteenth century, a poem full of life and individuality, a narrative racy and realistic with a quaint charm worthy of the author of *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*. Copy kindly presented by Dr. Fischer.

L. V. Hodgkin : *A Little Book of Quaker Saints*. London, 1936, 289 pp., reprints in pocket size without illustrations but with map end-papers, the first eighteen stories in the well-known and loved volume, *Quaker Saints*, which first appeared in 1917.

William C. Dunlap : *Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings*. Phila., 1936, 574 pp. This is a fine fully documented account of the development of Quaker education from its beginnings to the present time. The educational care of Friends for Negroes and Indians is fully and interestingly described ; and the rebuilding of education in the South after the Civil War is also dealt with. There are many illustrations of schools and a number of facsimile documents in the sections on Indians and Negroes, notably some deeds of manumission of slaves.

Albert J. Crosfield (1852-1931). London, 1935, 36 pp., portrait. In this brief memoir Gulielma Crosfield sketches her husband's long life of service to the work of foreign missions and to the interests of the Society of Friends both at home and abroad.

H. W. Schneider : *The Puritan Mind*. London, 1931, 301 pp. A study of the theological outlook, social and political, which made the New England colonies, the changes that befel it there through the eighteenth century, and its later decline. The significance of its conflicts with Quakerism are touched upon.

Mabel Leigh Hunt : *Lucinda a Little Girl of 1860*. New York, 1934, 234 pp., is a story of a Quaker child in Indiana who grew from ten to fifteen during the American Civil War.

*Bootham School Register.* 1935, 462 pp. This new and revised edition of the register issued in 1914 has been compiled under the direction of the Old York Scholars' Association by Edgar B. Collinson. It contains 2,853 names with biographical particulars, and is illustrated by a number of photographs.

L. C. Jauncey : *The Story of Conscription in Australia.* London, 1935. This is a fully documented account of the military service question. It deals with the introduction of compulsory military training in 1911, the growth of opposition to it until 1914, the growth of the conscription issue during the war, the referendum of 1916 which rejected compulsion, the second attempt of 1917, with its increased "No" majority. The Society of Friends and individual members taking part in these campaigns find repeated reference in the history. It is illustrated with a number of newspaper cartoons.

William Fryer Harvey : *We Were Seven.* London, 1936, 241 pp. This year's President of the Friends' Historical Society offers us here a delightful picture of Quaker family life in the period of his childhood, towards the end of last century. History in disguise, the story is alive and true to life. We feel again the certitudes of that comfortable late Victorian age which now seems so remote, as we follow the author's remarkable remembrances of juvenile adventures, hopes, fears and imaginations, all vividly expressed in a style that to know is to love.

Albert J. Edmunds : *Buddhist and Christian Gospels, now first compared from the originals, being "Gospel parallels from Pāli texts".* Reprinted with additions. 4th ed. Philadelphia and London, 1908 and 1935, 2 vols. In this study in comparative religion Albert J. Edmunds had the help of the Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Tokyo with Chinese versions of the Buddhist gospels. The purpose of the work is to provide a comparison of the oldest and purest documents of two great religions, regarded by each as the inspired oracles of its founder, in order that each may learn to respect the other.

Lowell Harris Coate : *The Conscription of Conscience.* From the author. Los Angeles, 1934, 127 pp. This book is concerned with the interpretation placed by the Supreme Court upon the obligation in the constitution of the United States of America, requiring citizens to defend the constitution. By that interpretation defence must include defence by force of arms. A number of pacifist applicants for naturalization have been rejected. The same requirements in effect operate on all public servants in the United States.

S. Hutchinson Harris : *The Doctrine of Personal Right*. Barcelona, 1935, 593 pp. This study received the prize at the thirteenth Congress founded by Paxtot J. Ferrer in 1920 for the study of historical and social questions. The theme is that of "Justification for regarding human personality as the origin in society and the foundation of a public right in agreement with natural right." After a preliminary exposition of some views of the earlier origins of right, and with many references and quotations outside, the book is in the main "an outline of the development and decline of the doctrine of Personal Right in . . . the history of England since the Norman Conquest". The significance of Quakerism in this connection receives the attention of the author, to whose kindness the library is indebted for a copy of this work.

Clyde A. Milner : *The Dean of the Small College*. Boston, 1936, 151 pp. A contribution to the growing professional literature of higher education by means of the smaller colleges by the President of Guilford College, North Carolina, one of the colleges founded and maintained by Friends. Copy kindly presented by the author.

Henry W. Nevins : *Fire of Life*. London, 1936, 448 pp., contains scattered references to Friends and occasional judgments on their ways, some favourable, some not. The author's contact with members of the Society have mainly been in connection with Portuguese slavery in West African islands, and later over war relief work.

Nellie Shaw : *Whiteway, a colony on the Cotswolds*. London, 1935, 238 pp., illus. This is an account of a land colony founded on Tolstoyan principles in 1899 which still continues. Its early members included besides Tolstoyans, Anarchists, a Bahaist, a Zoroastrian, a number of Friends.

J. Rendell Harris : *The Migration of Culture*. Oxford, 1936, 60 pp., maps. Two essays in which Dr. Harris brings together evidence, based largely on the philology of place names, for the colonization of Central and South America by ancient Egyptians, Celts and Basques.

Luke Howard : *The Climate of London, deduced from Meteorological Observations made in the Metropolis*. 2nd ed. London, 1833, 2 vols. A copy of this early work on meteorological science by a London Friend has recently been acquired by the Library.

Thomas Paine : *The Political and Miscellaneous Works*. London, 1819, 2 vols., has been added to the Library.



Janet Whitney has just published in America the life of Elizabeth Fry upon which she has been engaged for some time past. This is the most considerable biography of Elizabeth Fry for many years. It is written in a racy style and is well illustrated. We look forward to an English edition shortly and the opportunity for a fuller notice.

To Henry J. Cadbury we are indebted for a photostat copy of Edward Wharton's *New England's Present Sufferings under Their Cruel Neighbours the Indians, Represented in two letters lately written from Boston to London*. London, 1675. Smith: *Catalogue*, II, 878. The copy was made from that in the John Carter Brown Library.

Elisabeth Rotten has written a short life of *Jane Addams*, (1860-1935), published at Zürich.

Walter J. Edwards has published a brief history, *Wandsworth Meeting House*, London, in which he traces its story from the rise of the meeting in the seventeenth century, until to-day.

Dorothea Gibb has re-issued parts of *The Complaint of Peace* under the title *Erasmus on War*. London, 1936, 28 pp.

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## Early Friends in Finance

### THE BANK OF ENGLAND

The Charter of the Bank of England, 1694, contains provisos for affirmation by Quakers in the case of two of the many oaths prescribed by the charter. These are the oaths to be taken by those entitled to vote at the election of governor, deputy governor and directors, and at general courts of the company. All such voters had to be owners of at least £500 of the bank's capital stock. There were about six hundred such investors at the foundation of the bank. It is not at present known how many were Friends, but clearly some must have been.

Information kindly supplied by L. J. Cadbury and by the Librarian at the Guildhall Library, London.

### SPECULATION

Westminster M.M., 1.xii.1720, passed the following minute:—  
A Paper from the Quarterly Meet. Dated the 11th of the 11th mo. 1720 Adviseing friends to stand Clear of Stock Jobbing & Bubbling and have a Due Regard to truth in themselves whereby they may be preserved from such Evil & Vile Practices . . . was Read and Agreed to be Read Again att our Next . . .

## Periodicals

*The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1936, contains several articles of historical interest. Anna L. Littleboy contributes a paper on Margaret Fox (pp. 109-23); Dr. Heinrich Otto collects the evidence for William Penn's friendship with John Locke (pp. 135-43); M. Christabel Cadbury sketches the life of Mary Cadbury, 1839-96 (pp. 168-76). Edward Gregory contributes to Quaker educational history in his account of Richard Durban's School at Yatton, Somerset, established in 1729, based upon the original Trust Book of the school (pp. 177-88). Helen Carpenter places before English readers Wilfred Monod's valuable and original preface to the French edition of *George Fox's Journal* (pp. 218-32). Sibford Meeting in the seventeenth century is the subject of a note by Joshua Lamb (pp. 312-15). Quaker child life in the sixties of last century is the subject of two papers, one by Maude Robinson on life in Sussex (pp. 334-45), the other by Bedford Pollard on life at Croydon School (pp. 375-80).

*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, (Philadelphia). Vol. xxiv., 2 (1935) contains (pp. 83-93) a bibliographical article by Henry J. Cadbury. This deals with Wilhem Sewel, Jonathan Dickenson's *God's Protecting Providence*, Benjamin Franklin's work on Sewel's *History*, Thomas Ellwood's *Dauids*, three works of Benezet not listed in Joseph Smith's Catalogue, and establishes also the certainty of George Fox's authorship of *A Vision concerning the Mischievous Separation among Friends in Old England*; Philadelphia, 1692, a work hitherto attributed to George Keith (Smith, *Cata.* ii., 26). Anna B. Hewitt lists (pp. 94-8), the Quaker names in volumes ix. to xvi. of the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Isabel Grubb contributes three letters, by Morris Birkbeck, 1773, Sarah Hall, 1772, and Thomas Chandler, 1812. Sarah Hall's letter is notable for a detailed account of John Woolman's attire when the writer saw him shortly before his death. The manuscripts belong to Friends' Historical Library, Dublin. Vol. xxv., 1 (1936) contains a number of features dealing with the poet Whittier, Edward D. Snyder's address on J.G.W.'s connections with Haverford College and thirteen Whittier letters now in the College Library are printed, with notes. Arthur J. Mekeel writes of Haverford Quakeriana; Joseph McCadden contributes an article on Roberts Vaux (1786-1836), Philadelphia Friend, a promoter and supporter of many associations for education, temperance, emancipation of negroes, better treatment of Indians, of the insane, of criminals, and various other causes. A fine portrait of Vaux illustrates the article.

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, lx. (1936). "Slavery Reform in the Eighteenth Century: An Aspect of Transatlantic Intellectual Co-operation" (pp. 53-66) by Michael Kraus, is a well documented survey of the anti-slavery campaign. The part played by Friends in the growing movement and the inspiration and exhortation which came from America, where the effects of slavery were a daily experience, are both given place. Many of the MSS. quoted are in the Library at Friends House. In another article by the same author, "Eighteenth Century Humanitarianism: Collaboration between Europe and America" (pp. 270-86), the movements for penal reform, temperance in the use of alcohol, and international arbitration, as a substitute for war are treated of in a similar manner.

In "The Punishment of Crime in Provincial Pennsylvania" (pp. 242-69), by Herbert W. K. Fitzroy, the initial influence of Quakerism on Pennsylvanian justice and its decline in the eighteenth century are discussed, with ample documentation. The Quaker view of the value of the individual, the teaching of George Fox, the thought of Bellers, of Penn, and the liberal influence of Locke upon his constitution, all went to the making of an enlightened criminal code for the colony. The author states however that "with the passage of the Criminal Act of 1718 even a partial critic must conclude that the Quaker ideal had dimmed, and that the 'Holy Experiment' in so far as it concerned itself with penal reform, had failed. The only reason given for making the laws more harsh was that the milder laws had not successfully deterred crime. This would not have been sufficient for Fox or Bellers. A part of their ideal had been the redemption of criminals." The author goes on to suggest that the underlying causes for the declension from the first ideal may be found in the arrival in the colony as indentured servants of social misfits of various kinds from England, including transported criminals, the presence of groups with widely differing social traditions as Welsh, German, Scotch-Irish, and the disordering tendency of frontier conditions. The administration of justice however was less severe than the law allowed, though it tended to become more severe until the establishment of the republic.

A paper by James Logan of Philadelphia, with an introduction on the life of the author by Joseph E. Johnson is printed on pp. 97-131. It is entitled "Of the State of the British Plantations in America: A Memorial," and was written in 1732. Never printed before, the only MS. copy known is in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin and is in the University of Pennsylvania.

*Palimpsest* for November, 1935, the organ of the State Historical Society of Iowa, U.S.A., is devoted entirely to Friendly elements

in Iowa history. The articles deal with the founding of Salem as a Quaker community, with Reuben Dorland and his Academy, and David Sands Wright, one of the early principals of Whittier College, Salem, long since closed.

In *English Publicity Broadside for West New Jersey* (New Jersey Historical Society, vol. liv., no. 1, Jan., 1936) Fulmer Mood reprints with notes on the occasion of their publication two rare items whose originals are at Friends House.

The first is *A Testimony against John Fenwick concerning his Proceeding about New-Cesaria or New-Jersey in the Province of America*, from the People of God called Quakers, in London, to which is appended *John Fenwick's Letter of Condemnation sent to Friends, upon their Testifying Against his Proceedings*. Broadside, 1675.

The second is *The Description of the Province of West-Jersey in America: as also, Proposals to such who desire to have any Propriety therein*. Broadside [5th mo: 1676]. This is attributed to William Penn.

*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Elihu Burritt* is the subject of an article by Merle E. Curti in *American Literature*, vol. vii., no. 3, Nov., 1935. Thirteen letters between the two men are printed, between 1840 and 1878, mainly dealing with Burritt's anti-slavery and ocean penny postage campaigns. On November 22nd, 1853, he wrote: "Do you know that you are a special favourite among the Quakers in England? They eschew *singing* as belonging to one of the vanities of this world, but there are thousands of them that will repeat your poems by the hour."

*Quakeriana Notes*, No. 6, Spring, 1936, describes a rare anti-slavery tract, one of the earliest Quaker tracts on the subject. It is John Hepburn's *The American Defense of the Christian Golden Rule, or an Essay to Prove the Unlawfulness of Making Slaves of Men*, 1714. Only two known copies exist, in the British Museum and in Boston Public Library. A photographic film reproduction of the whole work is now in the Haverford College Library.

Dr. Thomas E. Drake, Ph.D., newly appointed Curator of the Quaker Collections at Haverford College, in succession to the late Rayner W. Kelsey, describes this recently developed process of "micro-photography". It will prove of great service in making rare books and MSS. available at a slight cost to many students who cannot go to the originals. The pages are photographed in order on cinematograph roll-film, about twice as wide as an ordinary postage stamp. They are either read through a magnifying glass or projected on to a screen.

A long letter in the Haverford Collection is also printed, from Charles Perry to Thomas B. Gould in 1845, which throws light on the feelings which existed between different view points at the time of the "Wilburite" separation. Rufus Jones contributes an account of Mary Allen's admission to a Presbyterian Church in Maine in 1767, when she had to renounce eighteen distinct errors of doctrine which are set forth and stated to be "standing articles" with Friends.

*The Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* for January, 1936 is largely devoted to the memory of the late M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935), the first Dean of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, its President from 1894 to 1922, and a great pioneer of the higher education of women in the United States.

In *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, xii, 5, (April, 1935) on pp. 213-17, Dr. W. T. Whitley writes on "Schools in the Diocese of York in 1743" an article in which he summarises the acts then in force affecting freedom in education and also gives briefly the results of an enquiry into schools set on foot by Archbishop Herring in that year. The elaborate questionnaire the archbishop sent out covered a wide range of subjects relating to religious matters and furnishes material for an estimate of the number of Friends and of meeting houses at that time. The questionnaire and the replies in full, are printed in *Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Record Series*, lxxi., 1927-31, 5 vols. There is much on dissenting schools. Vol. xii, 7, for August, 1936, has an article on Dr. Samuel Johnson and Nonconformists in which remarks about Friends appear with other expressions of his opinions of Dissenters, their ways and their works.

An article in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, xxxi. 2, (1936) discusses the claim of William Nuthead of Virginia to priority over William Bradford of Philadelphia as the first established printer in protestant America south of Massachusetts. The evidence adduced favours the Virginia printer.

*William and Mary College Quarterly*, xxxi., 2 (1936) describes a Quaker contribution to education in Alexandria, Va. Through the boarding school founded by Benjamin Hallowell in 1824, where a wide curriculum for the times was early established.

*The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, vol. x., no. 1, in *Some Religious Pacifists of the Nineteenth Century* discusses briefly the works of Jonathan Dymond, and four American pacifists, Noah Worcester, William E. Channing, David L. Dodge, Adin Ballou.

*Baptist Quarterly*, viii. (1936). J. H. Rushbrooke (pp. 18-31) contributes an article on Roger Williams (16\*\* -83) of New England, founder of Providence, defender of the supremacy of conscience over all other loyalties. His extreme individualism led him to separate from the Baptists and become a Seeker, a course he held for forty years. The following instances show how much in advance of his day he was and how near he was at heart to Friends, although he made a fierce onslaught on their peculiarities in his book *George Fox Digged out of his Burrows*, 1676, now a great rarity. He adopted on the whole a fair and generous attitude to the Indians and held that settlers should buy their land, whatever royal patents from England might say. Though he disagreed with Friends, he would not persecute them. He held woman to be a responsible person with a right to her own opinions, whatever those of her husband. He also influenced Cromwell in favour of the free admission of Jews to settle in England, and refused to take an oath. These all nobly instance his claim for the supremacy of human personality.

*The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. vi., 2 (Oct. 1936) contains the first instalment (pp. 130-47) of a study of Thomas Firmin, Unitarian philanthropist (1632-97). His attitude to poverty and his work for the poor are of special interest, for he antedated John Bellers, whose work may perhaps have been inspired by some knowledge of Firmin's practical efforts.

We beg to acknowledge also the following exchanges received :—

*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society.*

*Journal of the Wesley Historical Society.*

*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (U.S.A.)

## “Quakers” as a Trade Term

**QUAKERS.** This is a term used only for roasted coffee. It refers to those berries which, without being absolutely “pale”, yet will not by any amount of roasting become of the requisite brown hue which is desired.

When *cracked*, they leave an unpleasant odour, and one berry in a cup is sufficient to materially reduce the value.

Extract from *Coffee*, by B. B. Keable; chapter on “Technical Terms.” Information from Samuel Graveson. Is this usage an indication of the Quaker reputation for pertinacity?

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