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OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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(For 1940)

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(King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne)

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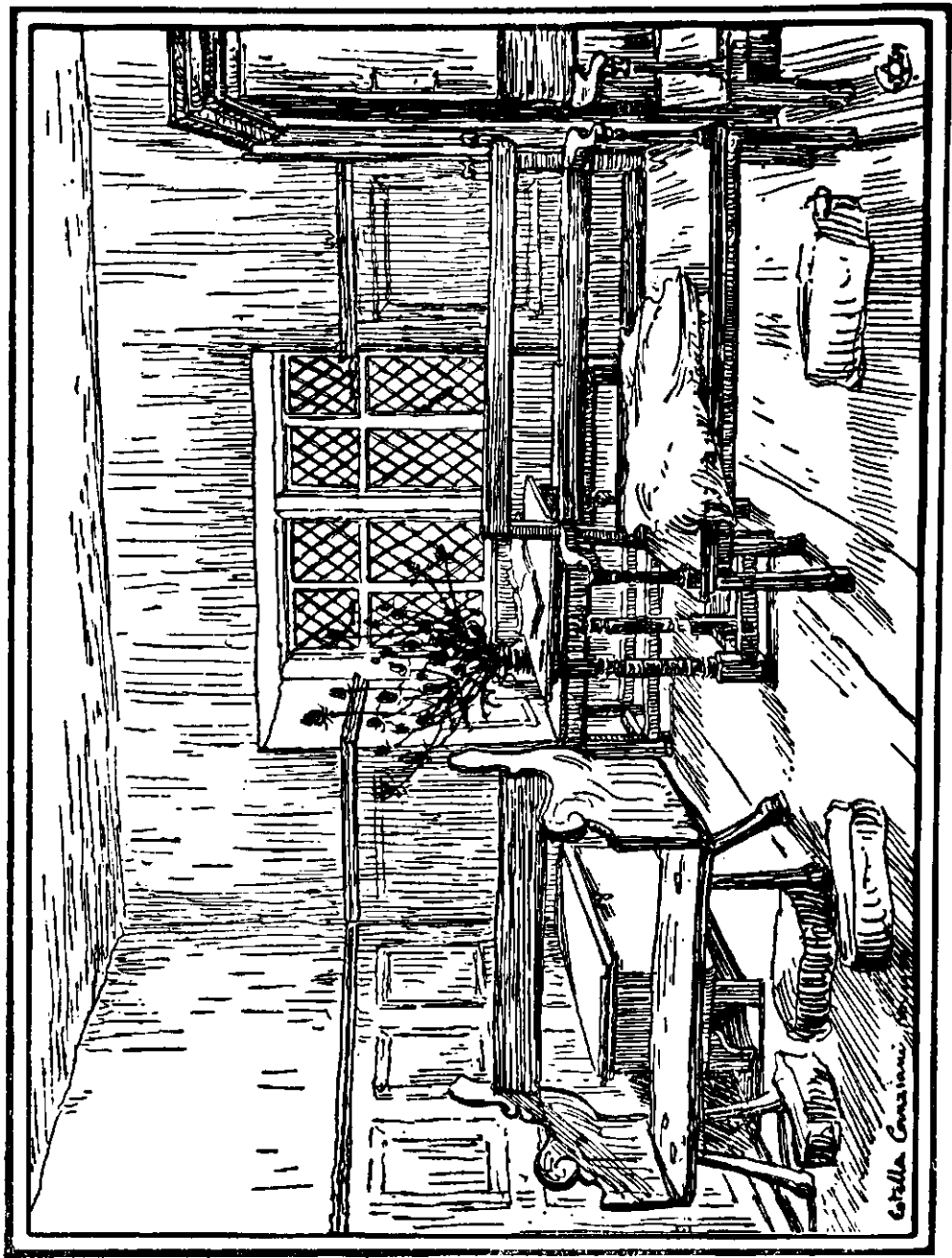
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NAILSWORTH MEETING HOUSE

(From the drawing by Estella Canziani, by kind permission of the artist. See article, page 31).

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Friends House.

Alfred Neave Brayshaw

SINCE our last issue the Friends' Historical Society has suffered, in the passing of Neave Brayshaw, the loss of one who has supported it from its earliest years. He was President in 1910 and parts of his address on the Study of Quaker History are printed in this *Journal*, Volume VIII, 1911. He was a devoted researcher into Quaker record and an able exponent of our history. His books, *The Personality of George Fox* and *The Quakers : Their Story and Message*, have each seen three editions and the latter is probably now the most widely read Quaker history. It was Neave Brayshaw's habit to support his theme with plentiful and apt illustrations and quotations and to be always on the look out for fresh instances or telling passages. He never seemed to regard a book as finished, but almost from the time of its publication he looked forward to its improvement in a future edition. In fact his anxiety to have his work as perfect as possible combined with his wandering life to make him sometimes the despair of editors working to go to press by a given date.

The travelling ministry which occupied the latter half of his life brought him often to London and he was a constant visitor and faithful friend of the Society's Library, of whose treasures he made a historian's use. Here it was his habit to ask for any books or MSS. of special interest recently acquired, and then to peruse a volume or two of seventeenth century tracts or perhaps some old volumes of *The Friend*, in any of which his knowing eye would often find some gem

of teaching or a fresh gleam of light on Quaker history. He would annotate a library copy of each of his principal works in preparation for the next edition ; and a copy of George Fox's *Epistles* also bears in its margins hundreds of his cross references to recurring elements in Fox's teaching. But although Fox was his great love, every period of Quakerism had a living interest for him and he was probably more familiar than anyone else with the significant detail of the life of Friends in three centuries. His knowledge was not kept for private enjoyment because his calling was to interpret our spiritual heritage and his understanding was cultivated for the growth of others into understanding. He was therefore widely beloved not only in this country but among Friends in America, where he travelled several times.

The little book entitled *A. Neave Brayshaw, Memoir and Selected Writings*,¹ will be welcomed by the wide circle of those who knew and loved him and valued his message and service. It has been compiled to give in handy form at a price within the reach of all a brief memoir of the man and a representative selection of his writings, with special attention to teaching of permanent value or of special significance at the present time. It is better to have this book now than to have waited longer for a bigger and more careful life history at a higher price. Some, however, will hope to see some day a fuller account of a Friend whose influence was so widely felt and highly valued for a generation.

A list of his published writings is printed later in this *Journal* and if the Memoir is reprinted it might be worth while to give it a place there. An index would also be useful.

J.L.N.

¹ Friends Book Centre, Friends House, London, 2s. 6d.

Editorial Note

WAR conditions have further curtailed such activities as historical research or editing its results. It has been thought better, however, to bring out the present issue as it now is than to wait longer. There are already several papers offered for the next *Journal*, which will be put in hand as soon as possible. Contributors who have Quaker historical papers based upon original sources and likely to be of general interest are invited to submit them to the Editor, c/o The Library, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

A. R. Barclay MSS.

Extracts. Continued from vol. xxxv., p. 100.

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 use of capital letters has been reduced and the punctuation and paragraphing adapted where necessary in the interests of clarity. The A.R.B. MSS. are in the Library, Friends House, but are temporarily stored out of London for safety.

LXI

FRANCIS HOWGILL to GEORGE FOX and JAMES NAYLOR. *Corke*, 18.xii.1655.

Deare bretheren : and Fathers, whome I love & honour in the Lord our strength & keeper for ever. I owe unto you my life and am subjecte unto you in the Lord, as unto fathers who takes care of all the familie of God and layes up for the children and guides for them every one their portion in deue season, and brings it out of the everlasting treasure house in deue season. . . .

Much of the love and power of the lord have we seen since we came into this desolate land, which is altogether a refuge of lies : and the arme of the Lord hath been with us in much power else we had faynted. Through much labour & travill have we pased & in great peralls and dangers, yet trouly nought at all hath fayled which the Lord hath spoken : as of our cominge hither and since I went from my deare E[dward] B[urrough]. In the cross acording to the motion of the Lord at present the spirite of the Lord hath been dubbed upon us ; and all hath been as a playne before us : acording to the Lord's promise : and them that hath withstode us hath been many but in the wisdome of the Lord we have been preserved and they have been all confounded they themselves being judges and hath been cutt downe as grasse by the moier, glory for ever. But now they seeke our life and acuses us for Jesuites and sayth they will sweare it agaynst us. But we rest in peace in his armes, who caries us under the shadow of his wings into secrete places of holinese, wher we rest under the shadow of the almighty glory. . . .

Heare is a remnante that is found worthy to receive the testimony of the lambe & mighty hath the Lord's hand been with us in preserving us thus longe to sow the seed. And the word of the Lord we have sowne all along about 100 [&] 20 miles In the principall towns and cities; from Dublin west and in the hearte of the nation; and much is done in so litle a time. And truely Bretheren lett your heartes be enlarged with prayse to our God in our behalfe. . . . And there is some in Dublin metes together and grows, and att another citie caled Kilkeney another meting, and att anothor citie caled Waterford many prety people, att Youghall a sea porte towne their is a few that metes, att the citie of Corke wheir I am at present their is many will hear. I have had great liberty often in publicke, and great contests with baptists and the head of beaste: and heare is many pretiouse and is moved in the Lord's power to beare witnese dayly agaynst the prestes. . . .

The Gouvvrner is a moderate man and his familie is prety; many captans and majors & oficers hath heard and doth dayly. Att Bandon Bridge, another markett towne, their is a constant meting of sume pretiouse; at Kingsayle the Govorner is loveing and divers their is convinsed and sum souilders. I have had many meetings In the garison; and the prestes are all on a rage and postes up and downe with lies and informers against the oficers who have received us and all is on fire. And they rode 100 mile: and gatt an order from the Counsayle at Dublin, the eleventh month, to examin me and send me bound up to Dublin; but the Justeses unto whom it was derected sent for me to Corke in love. And after a weeke time I went as I was moved, but notheing they will doe in it, and the prestes hath sent up agayne to inform against them; and so it is expected to comand us all up to before their judgment seate.

E[dward] B[urrough] is at Waterford. I was moved to write to him to come to me with speed and so, if we have our liberty, to passe to another citie caled Limbricke within the nation. And I hope the Lord will limite the devill till then, and so a sound is over all this parte of the nation, their is 6 in preson at Dublin, James Lancaster, E. Morgan, Robert Ward, Rich: Stiricke, and tow Dublin freinds. E. Fletcher is at Youghall with E. Smith, deare hearts and pretiouse. Deare bretheren pray for us, that if the Lord

give us that fovour to se your faces, it may be with Joy. Its now 5 monthes or aboute it since I saw E[dward] B[urrough]. And since the face of an Isarellite had been pretiouse, as you are fre lett us heare from you ; glad I am with a holy rejoycing : at the prosperity of the Lords worke in that citie and over the nation. In England, the garden of God, although many wild beasts be in it, salute me to all the bretheren their and to all the beloved familie of God in that citie. . . .

Your Deare Brother In the worke of the Lord acording to my mesure. In this blessed seed time.

Francis Howgill

Corke In the Province
of Munster : the 18 of 12 month

(55)

[addressed] For the hands of my Deare Bre: G: F: or
J:N: to be delivered to both or ither of them
In London or else where in England : with
care.

[endorsed by George Fox] F. Hougell to G.F. & J.N.
1655.

LXII

GEORGE ROFE to RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.
Barbados, 18.ix.1661.

Deare Bro: R.H.

Often have I felt my love flow towards thee since I saw thy face ; & thou hast been often in my remembrance as thou art at this time ; and though I have not written to thee in particular it was not for want of love & tenderness towards thee but some times want of oppertunity in sending, for my love is towards thee, which in me is an unfaillable Testimony that thou abides in thy Lamblyness & pretious service for the Lord. . . .

Deare bro: though I have not written to thee, yet I doubt not but thou hast hearde of y^e service of truth in these parts which I have bene exersized in, as at Bermudas to y^e convincing many & settling severall constant meetings which continues to this day. For there is a pretious seede in y^t people through which they have stood in y^e day of tryall & endured many tryalls, though noe one hath bene

with them ; in y^e ministry since I came away, which is above a yeare since. Y^e last winter I wintered in Maryland & Virginia in great service ; for y^e establishing many, & bringing others into the truth.

Many friends are in those parts in whom y^e pretious life is. From thence I saild in a small boate, with onely two friends, to New Nether Land, & soe to New England, haveing good service amongst both Dutch & English ; for I was in y^e cheife citty of the Dutch, & gave a good sound ; but they forced me away, soe we got meetings through y^e ilands, in good service, & came in at Road Iland, & wee apoynted a genrall meeting for all friends in those parts, which was a very greate meetinge & very pretious & continued 4 dayes together. And y^e Lord was with his people & blessed them, & all departed in peace. There is a good seede in y^t people but y^e enemy keepes some under through their cruell persecution; yet their honesty preserves them, & the seede will arise, as way is made for y^e vissitation of y^e power of good to have free libberty amongst them.

From thence I came about 4 monthes agoe to this iland, where the truth hath good dominion ; and friends are very pretious, & growes in y^e feeling & senceableness of the the power of God, & the Lord is with them & all things are in good order here touching the truth, & this place growes as a fruitfull garden and a nursery to all places Round aboute it, & a dayly encrease here is of y^e number of y^e flock, whom God will bless and make ettenally happy.

Deare bro my life is with thee, & salluts thee & all y^e brethren whom I love in y^e truth, even as my owne life ; fare well I am in greate hast at present

Thy truely loveing bro. G. Rofe

Barbados 18 9th m. (61)

[addressed] For his deare Brother Richard Hubbertorne where he is
England

[endorsed
in another hand] G. Roff Letter severall Antient friends papers of Sufferings not Engrossed in the great book

1661

Looked over.

*Cf letters of Early Friends 1826. p. 2
Bowden's History I, p. 230.*

LXIII

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

Deare and everlastingly beloved, in y^e Lord, whom I dearly love and honour in my soule, and y^e streams of my precious life reacheth unto thee ; and in the measure therof which from the Lord I have receved, doe I dearly and humbly salute thee whom y^e Lord God of Life hath made a nursing father unto his babes and children and truly deare George I feell thy Life in measure fresh in mee. . . .

And my spirit rejoyseth in y^e God of my salvation whos gloryous person is with mee, and by his power doth accompanie mee in his worke, into which he hath caled mee, whos will I am freely given up to fullfill eyther by life or by death according as his good will and pleasure shall bee, knowing that y^e recompence of reward is sure.

And now deare George, conserning pasayes heare, I wrote to the not long since therfor I have not much to say at present, only I was somewhat pressed in my spirit to write thes lines to thee. But what the end therof may bee I know not. But by this thou may know that our meettings heare are very presious and peacable and a great conviction is in the harts of many and I doe beleieve that in y^e Lords time heare is much to bee brought forth yeat in this island, but it will bee through much laboure, friends are very fresh in y^e truth generally. Heare is of y^e Ministry on this island at present deare Robert Mayling and George Roff, and Jane Gore, Elizabeth Houton, and Joune Brock-sopp, and John Burden, and one more frend. They came about one weeke since conserning theyr being set free out of Boston prison. I believe they will give thee information, who can doe it more perfectly then I can ; therfor I shall leave it to them.

Deare Ann Clayton is heare alsoe and is intended for Boston as way is made for her. Her deare and unfeigned Love is to thee. Richard Pinder is expected heare dayly from New England. For my own part, I beegin to feell my selfe pretye cleare of this island, and as opertunity presents I expect to pass for Virginia wher I heare y^e rage of y^e enemyes of Gods truth is very greate ; and persecution

ther increaces. But that is litle to mee, for my life is not deare to mee to part with for the testimony which I have receved to beare forth in the midst of this adulterous generation.

And deare George heare is severall families of frends that intends to goe and setle at Jamayco, they intends to pass a long with R. M. For my part I have nothing agaynst it, and doe beleewe it may be for good if theyre minds bee kept out of earth which is like to bee the greatest snare. I shall heare inclous a paper which a frend wrote consarning theyr goeing. Hee is an inhabitant heare and one of y^e first men in the Island. He himselfe intends to goe [] or [] at [] over the rest in London to bee a stay to them []

Soe deare George lett thy prayers bee for me, that I may bee kept in y^e dreade and power of y^e Lord, that I may finish my testimomony with Joy, in thes part of ye world, that my retorne in y^e Lords time may be in peace which is the utmost that I expect or desire as a reward of all my labours, travels, and suferings, and soe in my quiett habitation in y^e Lords power I rest thyne

Josiah Coale

Deare John Rous doth dearly salute thee

Barbados this 12th of the 6th mo 1661

[addressed] Thes for the hands of deare G.F. to bee
Delivered with Care wher hee is

[Endorsed

by George Fox] Josia Coul
to G.F.
barbadus
1661

LXIV

JOSIAH COALE to GEORGE FOX. *The Darkehous in Lanston, [Cornwall].*

12.xi.1664.

Deare George

In y^e Covenant and powre of an endless life, in which our peace, and unity standeth with y^e Lord and one with another dooe I dearely reach unto thee. . . . But I dout not,

nor doe I question, but that thou hast a sence and knowledge of my love and state beyond all expresions, wherefore I shall omitt to enlarge on this pertikuler, And give thee hearby to understand y^t I am every way well in y^e worke and serviss of y^e Lord, which doth prosper, and y^e truth gayns ground dayly, and flourisheth in thes parts, and many have desires after it, and adhears to it.

In this county of Cornwell I have had figne serviss for y^e Lord, as alsoe all y^e way down from London, by way of Portsmouth, and Southampton, and Waymouth, and soe doune by y^e south sea. I know not y^t I left above one meeting unvisited between London, and y^e Lands end, but had every day a meeting or two: for severall weeks together, to y^e refreshing of frends. And great comfort, and satisfaction I have had in my Journy heathertoe, and was upon leaving this county, being returned as farr as Lanston, wher I had this small Company together on y^e second day last of this weeke, being y^e 9th instant, at which time y^e mayor of the town with his officers, and others, cam in, and tooke us prisoners and that night comited us to the town prison caled y^e darkehous. And on y^e morow caled me alone to y^e town hall, before y^e Mayor, and y^e rest of y^e majestrats, and examined mee of my place of abode and of my busnes heare, to which I gave them answer acordingly, and tould them my busnes heare was to vissit my frends, &c. Soe they tould me I was a very dangerous person, and suspisious, and caused my pockets to be searched in y^e opne coart, and found in it a paper y^t wass written by thee, to y^e Ministers, and prophets, and angels, to sound y^e tru[m]pte of y^e Lord, &c. ; about which they made a great stirr, askeing mee if I knew thee &c. Soe after above an hours discours, they sett mee by and caled Ben: Laurence, who travels with mee for company, and examined him in like maner, and then caled y^e rest of frends together and comited them (for refusing to pay 40^s apees figne), tell they shall be delivered by due cours of law.

And they tould Ben: and I that they proceeded agaynst us by y^e law made in the 13 of Charles the (2^d) agaynst Quakers, and figned us 5 lb a peece for being at meeting and intended to have takne away our horsess for y^e figne and to send us away with a pass. Which when frends understood, they conveyed our horsess out of towne whill I was

before y^e majestrates. And when they saw our horsess was gon (for y^e preest went to looke for them as is suposed to bye them, but not finding them) theyr rage was soe kindled agaynst us, viz Ben, and I: that they sent us away alone to y^e darkehous, with out any mitimas and gave strict charge y^e non must com at us but only to bring in our victuels, and y^e keeper must hear what wee say, and see y^t wee do not write (though way is made for this contrary to theyr knowledge). And ye prison wee are confined to doth not aford us the benefite of a chinny, nor a hous office, which is som anoyance.

But y^e powre of y^e Lord God almighty is above it all, and over all, in which we are well, content, and are at peace, and rest, and this prison is to mee as a palass of plesure. Though wee are as haveing nothing, yeat possesing all things through him that hath loved us and gave him selfe for us, by whos bloud we are ransomed to serve y^e Lord in y^e new covenant of life forever, glory be unto the Lord God almighty forever.

And now deare George, what they may be permitted to doe farther with us, I doe not yeat know, though this I know the rage of some of them is very great and are bent to doe wickedly they talked to us of y^e oath, but if they can finde our horsess, I suposs they will take them, and send us out of town, but if not, I cannot tell (neyther doe I believe are they yeat resolved) what they will doe with us, but however much is stiring in y^e minds of most people, agaynst theyr soe cruell and inhuman dealing with us to put us soe clouse in such a could smokey place, att such a season of y^e yeare, for they will not alow us to be in a room where a chimny is though it be not otherways made use of, but lyes voyde over our heads.

I heard y^t one of y^e Majestrats of the town did profer y^e mayor to be bound body for body for us y^t we might be at som chamber in the town fitt for men, but it would not be accepted. But wee are content, and well over it; I had intentions and desires to have seen thee, after short time, had I not ben on this wiss hindered, but I cannot tell now how longe it may be. Nevertheless if thou write anything to mee, and convey it to Margery Chipsham for mee, shee will be carfull to send it to mee. and indeed I should be glad to heare from thee, and I desire thee to salut mee

kindly in the Lord to M[argaret] F[ell] and y^e rest of thy
felow prisoners ; and in y^e love, and peace of God I remayne

Thine to serve thee

Josiah Coale

Loveday Hambly and her sisters with Tho. Lower and his
mother desired me to give the salutation of theyre love unto
thee, alsoe Ben: Laurens saluts thee dearly.

Heare is a town clarke that is y^e mayne caus of theyre
present rage and hee stirs them up, and even keep them all
in awe, but yesterday night after they had held counsell
about us, one who is a present captayne som way fell out
with him and asked him if hee could not lett his neybour
live quittly by him, and hewed and wounded him and beat
him till, they say, hee is almost kild, soe hee hath a part
of his reward, which I sayd hee should receive.

[addressed] To his frend Thomas Greene thes with
Care at his shopp.

In Lanckester

For George Fox thes with Care deliver
without any farther opening
Lanckester Prison

[endorsed

by George Fox] Josia Cole
to G.F. from
Lanson 1664

Cf Letters of Early Friends 1836 p. 95.

LXV

FRANCIS HOWGILL to MARGARET FELL. *Bandon.*
1655.

Oh virgine daughter of Zion, who hath layd downe thy
crowne at the fette of the lambe and hath folowed him
through tribulation . . . long have I wayted in
patience to heare from the and now the desire of my hearte
is come and I am refreshed as with new wine : and I am
as fresh as one anoynted with oyle in this desolate ile
of Pathmos, wher I cannot but say the Lord hath taken

me often up in the spirite in this his day: . . . yett all bosting is excluded: what we are we are unto him & in him. . . . From Dublin a 100 [miles] west through most parte we have sounded & dread and feere; and all the hoastes runes togither agayne us: but wee march in his power and breakes not our rankes all though they shutt hard at us. . . . Heare is a few who are found worthy to receve his testimony, att Dublin a few, att Kilkeney a few, att Waterford many will heare. My nouble yoke fellow E. B: is their & I beleve their will be a prety many att a towne caled Youghall by the sea. I rode from this parte, and sume freinds with me, their is a few will heare. Att the citie of Corke their will many heare, and is convinced, I have had greate fredome in publicke and private their to declare the counsayle of our God and his liveing word. but now their rage begines to be high, baptistes and all maner joynes in. . . . Their was sum asesers, Colenells and Captans and Majors often heard me, was moderate. I stouped to them as low as I could and not dishonor the royall ofspring. The Governer is a moderate man, I wrote to him, he receved it kindly. his wife and divers of his familey will heare wilingly. A Major of the towne came to me att Youghall who is gone for England: and desired me to make bould at his house. he is loveing but darke. Their hath been divers metings their and these things are of go[o]ld reporte. Their is many convinced and will mett a prety many when I am not their, in silence, att Kingsayle a good porte towne. Major Stoding the governer of the forte is loving. I have been much their, but he is full of corapt knowledg. All his soulders and some of the towne will heare, but we preach the Crose; and them that cannot owne us their we lay noe hand on. Att Bandon a great markett towne heare is not many, but they are pretiouse. One Cornett Cooke and his wife, the most emenent house in the towne: and they are of the treue seed. She was a baptiste & they cast her out for heresy: as they say; a nouble woman: she is, the declared agaynst the prest in publicke and was moved to declar agayne the baptistes and one Day, the markett day, take a load of books of the higest prestes in the nation and burnett them in the streett. And these things are a good smell. Many more is moved to thresh the prestes glory for ever. . . . their is arived att

Dublin 7 freinds out of England, 2 from London, galant women and sune other I know not, 4 of them is gone towards the north, the desire of my soule is come ; I long wayted to hear some was moved thither we have the land before us Babilon shall be taken at both ends Lord hasten it : that our king may reign in the nation which hath been a place for dragons. Within the nation their is nothing, but only one citie caled Limbricke ; and if the Lord give me my deare E[dward] B[urrough] we shall beseige the Philistians their. But in God's dread and counsayle I stand single. And in our parting we have lost noe ground nor noe time and I beleive it is so with us both; our spirite is dubled, which was spoken to me when we parted. Elisabeth Fletcher I brought downe hither from Youghall and one Elisabeth Smith, neare Bristoll, who is pretty and ministers unto thee others weaknesse. Yett she is well as I have seen her long without. And their is great fredome, heare att Bandon and freinds is pretiouse in this little time, glory unto the Lord for ever. But oh my deare ; it was above a quarter of a yeare before I heard one word, but one letter from London, since I came from E.B. And the face of an Isarelite I could not se for all was giantes wheir I past but God acording to his everlasting love comforted me by the Coming of Will Simpson which was in the later end of the 10 monthe who showed me of the prosperity of you all every wheir and brought me a litle note from George Fox which refreshed me not a litle and showed me the afayres of the gospel in the regens of England the gardin of God. . . . Glory be to the Lord who hath comforted my hearte and mad me to rejoyse to heare of you all, & of London, the glory of it. Thy 2 letters I received both at once, which was that time the heathens call Christmas, which I was glad of, yea more glad then of the gould of opher. . . .

Thy deare brother in the Lords worke, in the Lords house wheir we keep holy day and his sonns rejoyse together

Francis Howgill

Since I wrote this leter hell hath conspired together agaynst me, and a company of prestes hath gone up : and, procured a warant or an order from Dublin and sent it to

the governor of Kingsayle and another to Colonel Phayr governor of Corke and sent downe divers questions to aske me. And the order was generall to take up all Quakers; and send them to Dublin: which is 100 [and] 20 mile of wheir I was. And I was att Kinsayle at one of the governors houses when it came; and the governor of Corke sent a leter privatly to come thither, seing he judged the order had been into all partes of the nation. I am at this citie at present but none I thinke will medle unto whome the comission was sent, Mayor Stoding is turned out of comission of peace upon this acount, and itt is like they will doe so with Colonel Phair, but he is nouble and sayth more is done by the Quakers then all prestes in the County hath done a 100 yeare: and now many is moved dayly to beare witnesse agaynst the prests and the worke of the lord is great, glory for ever. E[lizabeth] Fletcher is heare but goes to another town if the[y] send us not up. E[dward] B[urrough] I have nott heard of this 6 weke. I hear they impresen all at Dublin, but I know not who their is. For ever farwell, whether I am bound or free: E.B. is yet at liberty, glory for ever. We are preserved yett. James Lancaster, R[], E. Morgan, R. Ward, and 2 of Dublin frends is in preson at Dublin.

[addressed] For my deare sister Margrett Fell att Swarthmore in the County of Lancaster In England, theese d.d.

[endorsed] From Frances Howgill to M.F.

1655

Cf "Letters of Early Friends" 1836, p. 107.

LXVI

WILLIAM BAYLY. n.d.

This is for them that doe nourish up . . . and blasphemed y^e Lord who is King . . . the whole earth before whom all Nations tremble. . . .

[This consists of six and a half folios of very small handwriting, much of it now illegible; apparently a paper of warning to the wicked.]

LXVII

JAMES PARKE to GEORGE FOX. *Kings Lynn*,
19.vii.1687

Deare G.F.

My deare love is to thee ; and in that which never doth change but is the same for ever do I greatly esteeme and honner thee ; truly remembering thy works for God and thy constant service for his truth and amongst his people, and to the world that they might be gathered to God and come to have life by his sonne Christ Jesus.

This may let thee knowe that since I left the city I have passed through Hartfordshire and Cambridgshire where I had many good meetings and good service for the Lord in divers places where noe publick freind hath been for many months, and many come in to heare, and apeare tender in meetings. I came to Well in Northfolk last 5 day and had a larg meeting in a barne ; and people have desires in most places to heare the truth and the Lord hath been with me in his power and presence, all along to fitt me for the work he caled me unto, and hath made my service in this Journey successfull for the good and benifitt of many, to him be glory for ever.

I found Tho. Lecock in A very dangerous condition as to his health by reason of a fall down a pere of stayres, where his life was in great jepardy. Itt was att a Justices house where he used much to be and some think to much. His kidneys are bruised and itt said his bladder is broke ; but he was some what better and remembred his deare love to thee. His wife hath much lost her condition that once she had but they were both loving to me and glad to see me, and indeed soe are freinds everywhere where I have come. Yesterday I had tow very good meetings in this towne, which was larg. Many of the world's people came to them and were open and reached with the word of life preached amongst them and to them.

To-day I hory off to goe to Stoake to a meeting there tomorrow, the 4 day at Snare hill and so on towards Norwich, where I do intend to be next first day if God permitt. And should be very glad of a few lines from thee or deare G[eorge] W[hitehead] or A[lexander] P[arker] whom my deare love

is too. And direct to Anthony Alexander's house, a Tanner in Norwich for me. If any of you visit next 5th day or the 7th next itt may reach me there and truly I do long to heare of your affayres and the wellfare of friends there, that all may be preserved to God in righteousness and true holynesse, that peace may be within our walls and that truth may prosper every where where itt is made knowne, that all may live and walk in itt. My deare love is to Benjamin Antrobus, and his wife & Abigail his sister. I desire Benjamin would go and see my wife whom I left som what distressed for want of trade. We have felt some lack of thee in towne upon that acount, and my deare love is to her and the children which at present is all.

From thy constant true freind

JA. PARKE

Linn the 19th of : 7^{oo} : in th : 87.

I purposs to return through Suffolk and Essex and my deare love is to dear [Stephen] C[risp] and all the brethren. Freinds heare remember there deare love to thee, and was glad to heare of thy wellfare.

[addressed] For deare G.F. this To be left at Benjamin Antrobus house Linnin draper at the signe of the Plowe and harrow in Cheape side to be given as above
London

[endorsed] Ja Parks letter to be read in 2^d days Morning Meeting.

read 3.8^{mo}, 87.

LXVIII

JOHN ARCHDALE to GEORGE FOX. *North Carolina*, 25.i.1686.

Deare & Highly esteemed Friend

I have written unto y^{ee} formerly but as yett have received no answer, which makes me doubt y^e miscarriage of mine. And indeed for y^e present wee have not immediate opportunities to send to England by reason there is no settled trade thither, which notwithstanding may conveniently bee effected in its proper season, here being commodities as

Tobaccoe, Oyle, Hides & Tallow to transport thither. And Hollands Busses may come in safely of about 150 Tunn drawing about 9 foot water. The Cuntry produces plentifully, with as little labour as any I have knowne, all things necessary for y^e life of man. It wants only industrious people fearing God.

Wee at present have peace with all y^e nations of y^e Indians. And the great Hat King of y^e Tuskiroroes was not long since with me, haveing had an Indian slaine in these partes. Hee was informed it was by the English but upon inquiry I found out y^e murtherer who was A Chewan Indian, one of their great men's sons, whom I immediately ordered to be apprehended; but y^e Chewan Indians bought his life of y^e Tuskiroroes King for a great quantity of Wamp & Bage. This Tuskiroroe King was very desirous to cutt of a nation of Indians called y^e Matchepungoes, which I have at present prevented, & hope I shall leave y^e country att peace with all y^e Indians & one with another. Y^e people are very fearfull of falling in to some troubles againe if I should leave y^m before my Bro: Jothell returns which makes my stay y^e longer.

This Tuskiroroe King seems to be a very wise man as to naturall parts: some of y^e Indians neare me are so civilized as to come into English habits and have cattle of their owne, and I looke upon their outward civilizing as a good preperation for y^e Gospell which God in his season with out doubt will cause to dawne among them.

I wish all y^t had knowne itt had benn faithfull, then had y^e day broken forth in its spendor as itt began. I am sure God forsakes none butt the unfaithfull: who by disobedience are cutt of, wheras y^e obedient come to bee grafted into the true stocke through y^e growth of y^e holy seed in their minds and hearts. O y^t my spiritt were throughly purged & established by y^e power which is y^e rocke of ages, y^e foundation of all generations. But blessed bee God I possess more yⁿ I have deserved, & desire patiently to waite for y^e accomplishment of his inward worke of regeneration, which is a word easily writt or expressed but hardly attained. What I writt unto y^{ee} in my former I cannot butt againe repeat, which is a desire to bee had in remembrance by y^{ee} haveing a faith in y^e power y^t was by y^{ee} in this last age of y^e world first preached, & convinced mee in y^e beginning & separated

mee from my fathers house, y^e sense of which love I desire may for ever dwell upon my spirit & in the end bring forth the true fruit of regeneration.

I wish these partes had binn more visited by friends if itt had binn y^e will of God. However y^e imediate sense & growth of y^e divine seed is encouragement to all y^t witness the same. Thus with my true & reall love to thee in my measure of y^e truth, I rest

thy Loveing Friend

JOHN ARCHDALE

North Carolina, 25.1mo.1686.

My love to all friends as thou findest freedome & to Geo: Keith whose booke of y^e way to y^e Citty of God hath binn very serviceable unto mee, my love also to Geo. Whitehead & William Mead.

[addressed] For George Fox.

[endorsed] From Carolina by John Archdale.

read 27 4mo. '86.

LXIX

PIETER HENDRIKS to GEORGE FOX. *Amsterdam*,
17.iv.1690.

George Fox

Dear and very Loving Friend. My unfeigned Love in the Truth does Salute thee very dearly. I could not wel omitt by this occasion to lett thee know the welbeing of Friends here; we had the last week our quarterly meeting, and that to the comfort and refreshment of one another; the Lord was with us, blessed be his name, all things were well, and in unity amongst us.

And as for the general, it is well with Friends, for as much I know, at Rotterdam, Haarlem, Alikmaar, Waterland, Vriesland, Emaden, Hamborough and Frederikstatt. At Dantzic have 3 friends laide down their bodies in some months time. They are as yet not molested by the Magistrates, blessed by the Lord.

Upon the last quarterly meeting is ordered, that a Letter of account should be send to the next yearly meeting at

London, etc, which I hope that in due time shall be done. Thy Letter concerning spreading of friends books, is again read in the meeting ; we have found out a way to send not only books to Switzerland, but hope to send also to Piemont amongst the Albigenes & waldenses. In a week [or] 2 or 3 we intend to send thither a good percel of Friends bookes in the french tongue which is most usual amongst them. I hope thou hast received a pack of german and Deens Fr: books, which I have send to S. Crisp, it seems they were taken by the searchers, but for as much we have heard, may books of other Languages, except in the English freely come in.

Many Friends have desired their dear Love to be remembered to thee, and so is also my and my dear wifes Love to thee ; and of B: v Tongeren, John Roelofs, John and Jacob Claus and their wives, our neighbour that carrys herself very friendly towards us, desired also to be remembered to thee. So dear Friend, finishing, I say with all my heart, farewell, be pleased to remember us in thy prayers ; Salute Friends that make enquiry of us.

From thy Loving Friend,

Pieter Handriks

[Addressed] For George Fox, London. .

[endorsed] Read in Meeting for Sufferings y^e 16 3/mo. 1690.

[endorsed] Read this in the Morning Meeting & Meeting for Sufferings :

LXX

THOMAS ALDAM to GEORGE FOX. 1652.

deare Bro. G. ff. thou art A father to y^e faithfull in heart, beefore whome noe iniquitie can stand. To thee who art in the fa~~xy~~ wisdome of God, by whose spirit thou art guided, of y^{ee} I ask Counsell. To y^t eternall spirit which in thee raignds, with which I am one, & doe apeale to judge of this thinge ; which hath beene of weight to mee, how : to order this thinge. These three who are now comed beefore thee : Agnes, Barbara & Nanne Nick have bought new cloathes. Agnes, hath bought A goone & she & y^e other two : did receive 20^s of Will Coltsworth ; & as they to mee doe declare

there was 23^s leyed out about y^e goune, & two wastcoates was Bought for the other. And they are all left at Judee Reyer house. Let mee here from thee ; what y^e spirit of wisdome doth derect to do in this matter, whether I shall give them to them three, or sell them, or other wayes despose of them. It is much of mee y^t I must see or heare, Will: Coltsworth to have his money againe, & soe turne dust & y^e lust together under the condemnation, wich y^e light cast out from y^e children of y^e Light, y^t y^t of God in all wee may have union with, & no thinge else. Let mee here from thee by Bossee [Boswell] Middleton who returns back to yorke.

T.A.

[no address.]

[endorsed] from Tho. Aldam to G.F. 1652.

LXXI

THOMAS ALDAM to GEORGE FOX. *no date.*

Geor: Fox

Deare Brother in the Eternall truth of the father, my Life is with thee ; I am drawne into thee in to that ever lastinge beinge of which thou art possess[ed] of. I am one with thee in the measure wherein I am growne up, one in the unitie of that ever lastinge beinge which liveth out of the world, not known to the world, therefore hated of the world. Wee are rejoyceinge to gether, tramplinge uppon them like dust, which are noe other, and what the world feeds uppon, praises, praises bee unto him for ever & ever, who is heweinge downe all the tall cedars & highe okes of Bashan ; . . .

Deare brother pray forr mee that I may bee kept faithfull unto the end, that I may ever bee readie to give up this bodie to death rather than denie the Lord before man, for I am made to see throughe his Love to mee but what soever lookes forth for libertie of this outward flesh bringes the spirit of god into bondage, but standnige forth of this fleshlie bodie, as to give up to death, therein is my freedome in the Eternall Love of the Father which doth carry mee above the world or sense of sufferings. Deare brother salute mee to my deare brother in the Eternall truth Richard Farnsworth, & my brother James Nayler, if thou outwardly doe see them.

Wee are one thoughe absent in the flesh, yet present written in one anothers hearts.

Deare brother I have sent up other four bookes which my deare brother Richard Farneworth did send to mee; I have sent them to London, & I doe expect some of them shortly & I would have thee to write as often as thou canst to mee for what bookes freinds would have. They are bookes which will bee & very servisable for weake frends & convinceinge the world. I have passed many bookes abroad in these parts; & they are very & servisable in convinceinge the world. My deare brother Roger Hepton of Marston, & divers Frends which was with us at the Assize doth salute thee. The power of the Lord doth abundantly appeare, in the breakeinge forth of his divine Love in divers places. My deare Freinds at Balby & my wife doth salute thee. All my fellowe prisoners doth salute thee in Love. Farewell, with whome is my Life, one & but one.

Tho: Aldam

[Endorsed] Tho Aldam to G.F.

„ in George Fox

At a Meeting of the Midwives in Barbadoes 11.xii.1677

AT the said Meeting it was then propounded that in God's fear we stand over all Gifts in our places, excepting the Father & Mother of the Child, which they shall think us worthy of, & if poor not to take any thing, but rather help their necessity as the Lord shall enable us, & this was approved of by all then present.

And it was farther proposed, that if it shall please God to deliver any Woman by us, for we are but handmaids to do his work, & instruments in his hand, that then the Woman being well & the Child, we with those Women then present do sit down & waite upon the Lord, & if the Lord shall raise a word of prayer or praise it may be serviceable, & if not to wait upon him in the silence of our spirits, that so the Lord may have the praise of all, & a faithful testimony may be born, against the World and their ways, who as soon as the Woman is delivered, do run into eating and drinking & foolish talking & jesting to the grieving of God's spirit, instead of returning praise to God, who hath extended such a Mercy to us, as the deliverance of a woman, that so in God's fear we may give cause to the world to say, that we do fear God & are made willing to return the praise & Glory of all unto him that we take in hand, & that we take heed to letting in their spirits, or joining in their talk, but exhort the Woman to return praise to God for her deliverance, & that she may not forget his mercy, that remembered her in time of need, & not to let his mercy slip out of her mind, & that we bear our testimony against sprinkling of any that we are with, faithfully, & all women agreed.

And it was further agree'd that if we should be in any place & they should bring us laced linen to put upon the Child, that then we call for plain & if they have none, that then we put on the head cloaths & blanket, & what is necessary to keep it warm & bear a testimony against all superfluous ribbands & lace in Gods behalf, unto w^{ch} we did all consent.

9 mo. 4th 1678, It was taken into consideration, that if it should please God, that we should, any of us be with a

Woman, that should have such difficult labour, that we should need help, that in God's fear we do not go to the World for help, but take advice one of another, in God's fear & counsel we wait on him for his assistance & Wisdom in our distress, who is able to deliver in this our day, as in days past without our going to Egypt for help, & we did all agree to this.

11 mo. 13. 1678, At this Meeting as we were waiting upon the Lord it was laid before the Meeting, that in God's fear, we may take heed of speaking more than one at a time, but if the Lord shall raise a word of service in one, then the rest to wait in Gods fear & patience till that have had its service, & then the other to speak, as the Lord shall raise, that so our Meetings may be kept in the heavenly awe of God to his honour, & out of the disorderly manner of speaking, more than one at a time, thereby the Lord's service is hindered, & the comely order of our Meeting broken, & the Lords spirit grieved thereby, & our service hurt, that so our Meetings may do the service, for which they were given us, & God may have the Glory & the honour of all, then shall we have the comfort. Amen, said our Souls.

12 mo. 24. 1678. If any accident or distemper befall any woman, that we are with, or may be sent for to, that then we require the help one of another, in the fear of the Lord, for the speedy help of the woman, or any that we may be concerned with, but if near the Meeting, then to lay it before the Meeting, & after our waiting to God upon that first & to wait upon the Lord for counsel & advice, & what we do receive.

Also concerning Negroes, if any should send for any of us to the help of their Negroes, that we may have freedom to take what the Master or Mistress shall think us worthy of, for the labourer is worthy of his hire, but not to take any thing of the Negroes, but rather help the poor creatures, as the Lord shall enable us, & open our hearts thereunto.

2 mo. 7. 1679 If we shall be with any that shall stand in need of more help by reason of hard or difficult labour, 1st we are to advise for friends, but if they shall refuse, & desire the help of an Apostate, then in such case that we endeavour to perswade to the contrary, but if they will not be perswaded then we may clear ourselves to the Woman, & so be as one unconcerned, for we cannot joyn with them, yet it may be

convenient to stay & see the end of the work, for how do we know whether the Lord may put the delivery of the Woman into our hands.

Also concerning the people of the world, if the party concerned shall desire their help, that we may, so far as the truth may be answered in us, join with them for the help of the Woman.

The foregoing paper, received from Isabel Grubb, is taken from a very neat and clear copy in 18th century handwriting found among Munster Quarterly Meeting papers in 1938. There is another less perfect copy in the Historical Library of Dublin Yearly Meeting.

American Visitors in Ireland

Some Reminiscences, 1784-1852

The following quotations are from two sources. Those in the first series are from the diary of Mary Leadbeater, of Ballitore (1758-1826), and are incidental contemporary impressions. The second group come from a manuscript written in 1907 by Deborah Martin (1824-1908), daughter of Edward Alexander of Limerick (1788-1836), and are personal recollections. Mary Leadbeater also gives many interesting summaries of the addresses of these Friends. I only include two quotations from these, and they must not be considered in any way typical.

I

From Mary Leadbeater's Diary

27TH 3rd mo: 1784. *Patience Brayton*¹ and *Rebecca Wright*² came to dinner. Their looks inspire awe & veneration & seem to bear the stamp of their high commission. Patience is the elder—is a lusty woman of a fair complexion—Rebecca is several years younger, slender, & though very dark complexioned, has a pleasing countenance. Before Patience left home, 2 or 3 months before, she lost her second eldest son in his 21st year—seven months married—& her second daughter in her 19th year of violent fever. She has herself not had the small-pox. Thus these devoted ones come so far as with their lives in their hands—O shall their labours be in vain. Before dinner Patience appeared beautifully in supplication.—After dinner they both bore their testimony against the frequent use of wine, & shew of bottles & glasses.

3rd 5th mo: 1791 [In Dublin]. Most of our family dined at John Dawson's in company with *William Roche*,³ a venerable figure and a highly respectable character. The chief person I suppose of the Island of Nantuckett, he solicited from the court of England encouragement for some families from that island to settle in that kingdom, but their foolish policy was so long in determining that he applied to the court of France & from the excellent Neckar presently obtained all that he desired & accordingly some families have

settled at Dunkirk. William Roche is taking home his daughter from Clonmel school, a fine girl, sweetly adorned with the graces of humility and modesty, & an apparent unconsciousness that her father is yet rich, though having lost 'tis said £100,000 by the American war—has we hear when called on to relieve the distressed given a handful of uncounted gold from his chest.

16th 4th Mo: 1797 [At Ballitore]. We supped at Brother's with *Benjamin Rotch* a very agreeable friend, son to William Rotch, he was at Dunkirk during the siege, having there established the whale fishery, he suffered for the cause, & seemed more than once in danger of his life. He is quite the gentleman as well as the friend. His visit to Ireland he professes only to be to see the country, its inhabitants, & curiosities.

1784 [At London Yearly Meeting]. *Samuel Emlen*⁴ is a little man, his sight bad but very bright otherwise.

1st 1st mo: 1793 [At Carlow Quarterly Meeting]. Samuel Emlen's text today on which he beautifully enlarged was, "Now therefore ye are no more strangers & foreigners". . . . When he stood up in the gallery he pulled off his coat, saying, "I must take off this coat, it is borrowed, & don't fit me," or to that effect, which rather surprised us, yet as the dear creature acts so according to right direction, it might have its use, perhaps some mind present might wonder why he took off the coat, & think that he wanted to use bodily exercise.

[*Job Scott*⁵ died in 1793 at Elizabeth Shackleton's house in Ballitore where Mary Leadbeater was residing. She devotes many pages of her diary to him and to the details of his last illness. He was often impelled to testify against the Clergy, even in their presence. A favourite phrase that "The Clergy were the Grand Eclipse between God and the souls of men". At a meeting at Athy, he] revived this text in Zephaniah, when, personating the Lord, the prophet said, "I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, & the name of the Chemarims with the priests." The word chemarims, he said, signified Black coats, but as the priestshad the translating of the Bible they did not care to expose themselves so left the word untranslated.

This dear & precious friend was cheerful & pleasant in conversation, when not oppress'd, as he often was, with the weights of his burden ; his understanding naturally I believe remarkably bright, & what his example was let his peace upon his death bed testify, as also how faithful a servant he had been. . . . His countenance was lively & pleasant, his eyes bright, his stature of the middle size. . . . His manners were engaging, & had a natural courtesy, very becoming a meek follower of the Lamb.

9th 9th mo: 1795. *Thos. Scattergood*⁶ struck me with a resemblance to dear Job Scott, not so much in his features as in the air of his countenance.

25th 10th mo: [In Dublin]. *Thos. Scattergood* . . . was led mostly to those not in profession with us, in much love, particularly to those young in years, & of bright capacities ; he seemed to think there were seeking minds present ; he touched with great delicacy on the subject of dress, which in itself he accounted little of, but remarked that among all denominations those who were concerned for the welfare of their souls, were less solicitous about outward adorning. He mentioned the distresses of the poor, especially in a neighbouring land, where he has eaten brown bread, as he went from place to place, & understood that some of the great men of the earth did so from principle, he lamented that the precious grain, the weighty wheat, should be used to adorn the person, tho' many did it without thought, having been educated so, but a powder-headed Quaker was abominable.

10th 10th mo: 1795. In the evening *David Bacon*⁷ & *Nicholas Walne*⁸ arrived from Athy. 11th. *Nicholas Walne* . . . address the children, recommending the perusal of the scriptures, especially of the New Testament. . . . David is not in the ministry, he is a fine old man about 67, father to *Thos. Scattergood*'s first wife ; *Thos.* called him his venerable father. He is cheerful & pleasant. *Nicholas* very agreeable also in conversation. *Nicholas* is a lawyer, a scholar & a gentleman ; is rather delicate in health.

25th 12th mo: 1811. *John Haughton* brought the dear interesting friend [*Stephen Grellett*⁹] here to tea. He is a native of France, 'tis said he was a page to the Queen ; he

fled at the time of the Revolution to America where he was convinced of Friends' principles through the ministry of Deborah Darby. He has a very pleasing french countenance, & speaks with the French accent, though he speaks English fluently.

23rd 10th mo: 1820. [*Nathan Hunt*¹⁰]. The friends came from Carlow, notice having previously been given the meetinghouse was very full. . . . I dined at the Mill. . . . Those strangers were exceedingly pleasant. Nathan told us that he was 12 years old when his father¹¹ left home, that they had a letter informing of his welfare & hope of returning—the next was of his death, the widow survived him 6 years. She had 8 children, his present number. No one he thinks could be more desirous of learning than he was, he has sate up till near morning, after the business of the day, reading, but circumstances of the family prevented their getting school education. After dinner Nathan spoke encouragingly to the widows (4 present). . . . He addressed the young men. . . . After supper . . . Nathan that overflowing vessel, poured forth again of his excellent oil, strongly recommending to watchfulness.

28th 12th mo: 1820. *Huldah Seers*¹² & Anne Ecroyd arrived at E. Barrington's. . . . Huldah is a sweet looking woman, advanced in years & her mouth sunk in. She is in delicate health, having lately recovered from illness. No one she knew was with her on shipboard, 3 women were there, who were civil, but the men passengers were kind, used to assist her to go on deck, & walk with her there for she was ill all the passage. One of these she understood to be a Roman Catholic Irish priest who had never seen one of our society before, & who asked her several questions about our faith, seeming satisfied with her answers.

II

From Deborah Martin's manuscript

*Jonathan Taylor*¹³ is the first American Friend whom I remember. He did not lodge at my father's, but took a meal with us. I recollect he placed me on his knee & told me he had a little grandchild like me in America. I remember too

about his death, & the pretty & pathetic story connected with it. His death occurred at Kilnock, Co. Carlow, the home of Mary James Lecky, the story is this:—As his peaceful remains lay extended in death, a Robin redbreast flew into the room, perched on the foot-rail of the bedstead, sung a sweet little song, & flew out again ; this is perfectly true.

Neither *Christopher Healy*¹⁴ nor *Charles Osborne*¹⁵ came to Limerick, but I have never forgotten hearing the latter spoken of as very tall & thin, “ a bag of bones.”

Stephen Grellet attended Waterford Q.M. in 1833 & I remember him very well ; as he stood in the gallery preaching, I thought he was like an eagle ! with his hooked nose, deeply set, penetrating eyes. . . . At the conclusion of the Q.M. it was the practice to hold a meeting at the school, which we used to call the “ opportunity ” ; on this occasion Stephen Grellett attended it ; he was seated close in front of us little girls & he preached to us calling us “ petites moutons ” (tho’ I think he managed to say “ muttons ”) but he did speak most kindly & tenderly to us, of the inward monitor in “ our breasts.”

I recollect *Anna M. Thorne*¹⁶ very well—foolish child that I was, I was admiring her lovely, snug cape, instead of attending to what she was saying as she stood preaching in the gallery ; she was the first “ plain ” friend I had seen wearing fur, & we thought it very grand ; doubtless she needed it very much in our damp chilly climate.

*Lindley Murray Hoag*¹⁷ was a very fine speaker & was followed about and made a sort of idol by some persons ; he was a young man then, and though hardly good looking was well enough in a way ; he wore his hair long, almost on his shoulders.

*George and Susan Howland*¹⁸ had a look of wealth about them. She was a dainty little lady, & possessed herself of a lot of beautiful kid gloves ; we concluded that they were not common in America.

*Thomas Arnett*¹⁹ from Indiana . . . was very little acquainted with the refinements of our daily life, but a kind thoughtful lady kindly initiated him in their use, & by the time he arrived in Cork he was much improved. He was a good and powerful minister ; his mission closed with the publication of an address to Friends, & the acquisition of a wife ; at least he became engaged to Hannah Hudson, who

subsequently went to America & married him, & was not only a good wife, but useful in improving the standard of domestic life about her, & also in her meeting.

*Eli and Sybil Jones*²⁰ paid their first visit to Europe in 1852. They were remarkable both as individuals & ministers. Sybil Jones was almost beautiful; lovely dark eyes, eyes which easily suffused with emotion; just more than middle-aged, with long neck & shoulders, & she always wore a black silk "stock" closely round her throat. I was in Dublin at Yearly Meeting that year & remember the beauty & solemnity of Sybil Jones's opening prayer, it was thus—"Oh Thou before Whom angels bow, & archangels veil their faces while they adore." Some weeks after they were guests in the home in which I was then residing, & we had a lively time of it & very interesting.

ISABEL GRUBB

Notes

- ¹ 1733-1794, of Rhode Island.
- ² c. 1737-1811, of New Jersey.
- ³ William Rotch, 1734-1828, master whaler.
- ⁴ 1730-1799, of Philadelphia.
- ⁵ 1751-1793, of Rhode Island.
- ⁶ 1748-1814, of Philadelphia.
- ⁷ of Philadelphia.
- ⁸ 1742-1813, of Philadelphia.
- ⁹ 1773-1855, then of New York.
- ¹⁰ 1758-1853, of North Carolina.
- ¹¹ William Hunt, who had been in Ireland in 1772. Shortly before his death in England.
- ¹² Huldah Sears of Virginia.
- ¹³ 1768-1831, of Mount Pleasant, Ohio.
- ¹⁴ 1733-1851, of Rhode Island.
- ¹⁵ of North Carolina.
- ¹⁶ 1766-1838, of Nine Partners, N.Y.
- ¹⁷ c. 1808-1880, of Iowa.
- ¹⁸ 1781-1852 and 1794- , of New Bedford, Mass.
- ¹⁹ 1791-1877, of Indiana.
- ²⁰ 1807-1891 and 1808-1873, of Maine.

Records from Nailsworth

THE old established meeting of Nailsworth in Gloucestershire is fortunate in having a seventeenth century meeting house of Cotswold stone and tile which has been altered hardly at all from the early days of its building. It contains, moreover, several pieces of the original furniture, the forms and table shown in Estella Canziani's drawing of the interior being contemporary with the meeting house.¹ Of special interest is the old oak chest which has housed the books through the centuries. "Friends are of Opinion it will be more proper to keep ye Register Book in ye Coffe," states an early Minute, "and the Book being here bro^t is now Put Therein."

The meeting is fortunate also in having a complete set of records of its early life, bound in their original leather and in very good condition. From 1670 dates "Ye Booke belonginge to the frends of the quarterly meeting within the County of Glocester,"—Nailsworth for many years being the leading "particular meeting"; and from 1701 an account book of extreme detail supplements the information. From these two books it is possible to form a very complete picture of the working of this little community of west country Friends in the first fifty years after their establishment, as they endeavour to follow out in actual practice the Advices written by Fox in 1669 and carefully copied on to the front page of their Minute Book the next year. "Friends' fellowship must be in the spirit, And all friends must know one another in the spirit and power of God." . . .²

The group was to pass through a considerable amount of persecution in the early years, and much of their business from 1670-1685 deals with the collection of "sufferings" to send to London, and the "supplying of the necessities of our deare friends who are prisoners for the blessed truth, and the discharge of their room rent in ye prison." In 1683 "it is agreed that ye gaoler in Gloucester Castle should be given 1 pound for his kindness to friends." At practically every Assize, two Friends were appointed to lay the sufferings of their brethren before the Justices, and in 1684 both these Friends were women. They were not content, moreover,

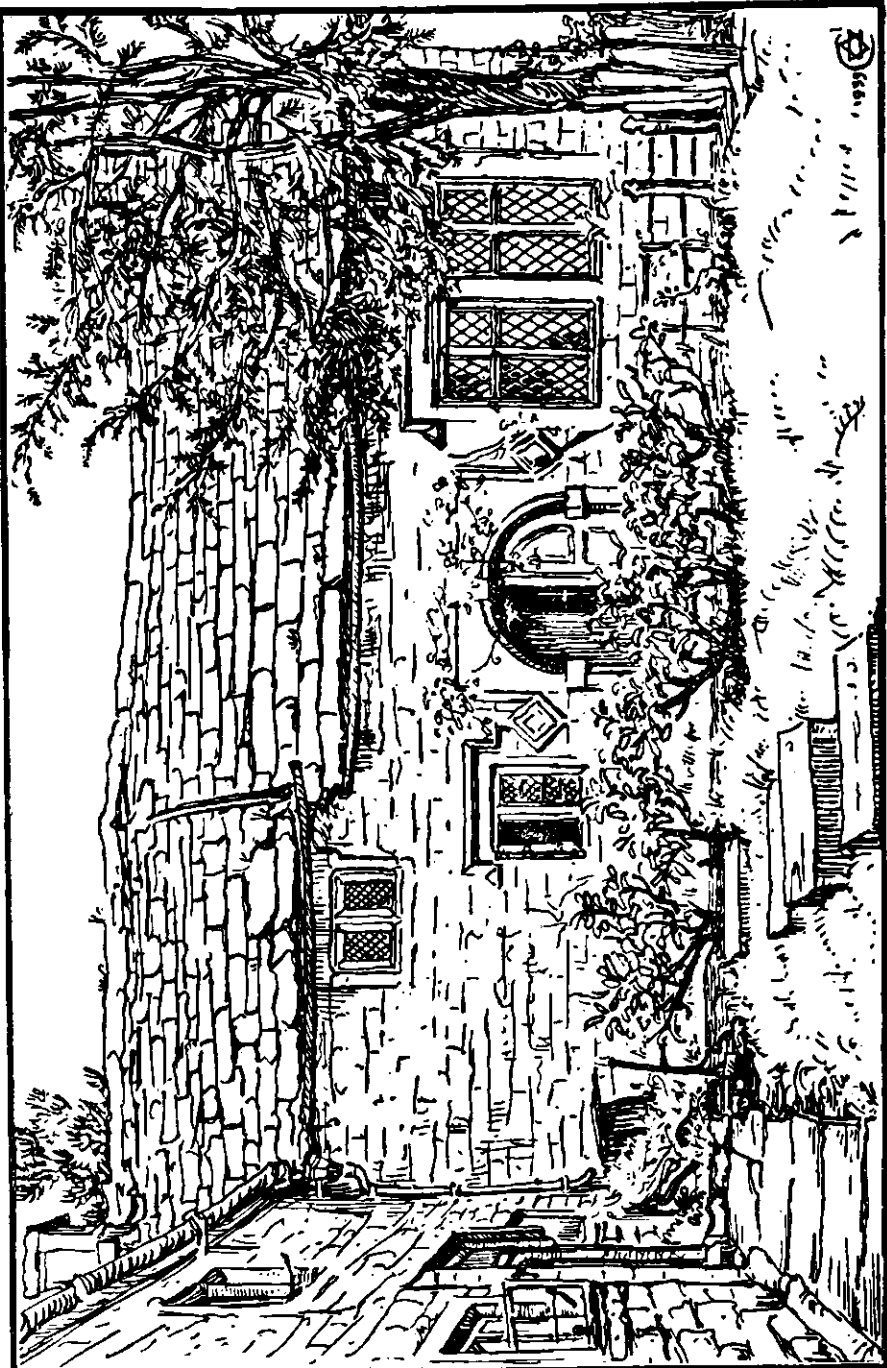
¹ See frontispiece.

² Second Period of Quakerism, p. 256.

with the mere spoken appeal. "The Cry of Oppression and Cruelty . . . being a Paper directed to the Judges of the late Assize in Gloucester" (1676), boldly states: "We do believe it is not to the King's mind that we should be ruined and destroyed, who are his Peaceable subjects and desire his good."

In 1686 comes a welcome intermission of sufferings, and the Minute "Agreed that an Adresse be drawne and assigned to ye King to acknowledge his kindness in stopping our persecutors from their further persecuting of friends." Difficulties arise again, however, with regard to taking the oath, and a Quarterly Meeting held at Nailsworth in 1692 approves that "letters be writt to the parliament men, to be assistant to friends in the bill that is drawne up to take off that law which would force friends to take an oath. The letter to the knights of the shire to be signed by Giles Fettiplace, Thos. Sturdge, and Richard Smith on behalf of the county." The choice of the signatories to this letter perhaps shows that Friends were developing a certain worldly wisdom. Giles Fettiplace, the father-in-law of John Bellers, was the only Quaker in the county of the rank from which the knights of the shire themselves were drawn. Thomas Sturge was a leading professional man from the Olveston district, and Richard Smith represented the still important body of master clothiers. It was from him that George Fox in 1678 had purchased some scarlet cloth for Margaret Fell. "I did buy as much as would make thee a mantle . . ." his letter ran, "I had it of Richard Smith of Nailsworth and it is fine." (*Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 519, note.)

"And if there happen to be any difference between friends and friends," wrote Fox in his 13th Advice, "lett half a dozen friends be ordered to put a speedy end thereunto" . . . and it is an interesting study to trace through the Minutes just how these early difficulties were met. Kindliness seems always apparent, but there is invariably firmness alongside. "Whereas a controversie was laid before friends between Thos. Kite the father, and Thos Kite the son," states a Minute of 1683, "it hath been the judgment of friends that Thos. Kite Jun^r. should be left to do with his father according to the freedome of him ye said Thos. Kite the son: but notwithstanding it is ye expectation of friends that in his freedome he will do by his father like a Christian,



NAILSWORTH MEETING HOUSE

(From the drawing by Estella Crasiani, by kind permission of the artist)

and so ye meeting will expect an account thereof at the next quarterly meeting." At times this firmness becomes quite dictatorial. Five Friends appointed in 1692 to settle a land dispute "give Judgment" that one of the parties "should have her life in the land." The re-opening of a settled controversy was not allowed. "It is ye Judgment of this meeting that ye said Arbitration shall be a finall End betwixt them," is the verdict in 1694, when such an attempt had been made.

When a difficulty arose in Gloucester meeting in 1700, "Concerning some speakeinge in meetings out of unity," as many as fourteen Friends were chosen to deal with the affair, and their realization that discussion among local members could only prolong the matter is shown by their "heartly desire and advice that all differances betwene them may be Rehearsed no more." At times those attempting to pour oil upon the troubled waters show a modest caution in stating the result. In 1706, "the Friends appoynted Last meeting to Endeavour to reconcile some differances in Cheltnam, report that they accordingly used their Endeavour and left things in a good way of accomadation and likely to doe prety well." On very rare occasions differences were settled *in camera*, for a Minute of 1709 decrees "That some friends should be Chosen to discourse of Some Things being not thought fitt that all the meeting should be made privie to it . . ."

A strong line is taken when any conform to the world in the matter of paying tithes. "It's the sense of this meeting (1697), that Benjamin Power ought not to impose his testimony on friends till the gives satisfaction Concerning his paying Tythes." Even more frequent are the reprimands for "Disorderly taking a wife" who was not of the Society. In 1699, "this meeting is acquainted that John Engly of Gloster meeting did sum time since disorderly take a wife, and the monthly meeting is to show him the Evill thereof and also those that encouraged him therein. . . . This meeting expects that Daniel Dobings and his wife who Countinanced John Engly disorderly taking a wife, shall Cleare the truth of the same by a few lines under their hands" . . . and the episode closes by an actual written apology in the book of the Quarterly Meeting, "I Daniell Dobings declare that as to what I Counseled John Engly in

His Disorderly taking his wife I am sorry for what was done and shall take more care for the future." From a later period come reproofs to Friends who buy and sell smuggled tea. In 1723, "We Rec^d an Epistle from London Yearly Meeting against Running of Goods and defrauding ye King of any of his Custom Duties or Excise." This evidently set local meetings enquiring, for in 1725 appears the entry : "Having examined Stephen Jeffery concerning his Buying and Vending of Runn Tea, we doe report that he acknowledges himself to have erred and promises never to doe the like againe."

That Fox's instructions as to a "speedy ending" of differences was sometimes literally carried out is well shown by a case in Gloucester in 1726/7. "Being Informed of a difference between ye Widdo Humphris and Thos. Monington, this meeting doth appoint (five Friends) . . . to meet at Ye Crown and Septre in Gloster at ye 6th hour this evening." The Quarterly Meeting then adjourned till next day and the first minute of the following morning states : "The friends appoynted Met accordingly and they have drawn up a paper and Delivered it to ye Widdo Humphris as Followeth :

Respected Friend

Elizabeth Humphris : We the committee of the quarterly meeting this day held at this Citty, appoynted to hear a difference betwixt Thos. Monington and thyself Relateing to ye Bounds of Certaine Tenements . . . having heard thy Son on thy part and Thos. Monington for himself, are fully persuaded in our Judgements and it is our oppinion that thou hast already of him as much as thou Bought which with Salutation of Love unto thee we Concludes Thy Loving Friends"

Far different, however, was the procedure in more serious matters such as papers or testimonies being "given against" those who departed from the Truth. In such cases it seemed that no time was too long to weigh up, and consider, and to interview the delinquent. As much as fifteen months elapsed in 1683-4 from the first hint of a difficulty between Cheltenham Friends and a certain Jacob Daves, and the final Minute "That a testimony should be given against

the spirit of Jacob Daves who separates from the spirit of Truth and is following the imaginations of his owne brayne."

A fact which emerges from the records is the breadth of the sympathies of Friends in early days. In 1679, Gloucestershire, in common with most other counties, collected sums towards the £800 sent out for the ransom of the Friends who were captive in Algiers. In 1685, they in their turn receive £14 as their share of the money given by "our deare friends in the kingdom of Ireland towards the relief of suffering friends in England." Individual cases of need aroused particular sympathy. "Ye sufering condition of George Embry of Southampton who lately suffered a great loss by fire" led to as large a sum as £45 13s. 7d. being collected in 1672. It was not only Friends who were the recipients of the sums collected. In 1703, £1 10s. "is given to buy bread to give away to the poore Distressed people that are flooded at this time in this Cuntry." Of interest too is the fact that in 1708 Nailsworth apparently took part in the public collections or "briefs" subscribed to by all the parish churches of the day. Sums totalling £2 11s. 9d. were raised for fire losses in Ely, Shadwell, Lisburn and Bewdley, and the whole handed over to the Public Collector, a receipt being given by him to the "meeting of the People Called Quakers att Nailsworth."

"And when you have heard," Fox had written, "that there is more poore belonging to one meeting than to another, lett the rest of ye meetings assist and helpe them." In 1699, Gloucestershire "Rec^d a letter from friends of Worcester concerning John Pace and his wife, being dead, and left a great Charg. of Children behind them, and desires our assistance. It's left to the mo. meeting at Naylesworth to lett them have £5 towards their relief."

"And also widdowes," Fox continued, "if they have many children to putt oute Aprentices . . . lett friends take care to ease them by putting of them forth as may be meet." Alongside the arrangements of Friends for their poor in early days, it is a useful study to place the contemporary records written up by the churchwardens and parish overseers of the same district. One fact which appears is that in the matter of apprenticeship Friends seem more than others to have appreciated the point of view of the young apprentice: and this in days when children were

regarded as having practically no "rights". Minutes such as the following in 1676 show a sound common sense which augurs well for the future bond between master and man. "Friends do approve that James Collins of Luckinton may goe to Nicholas Wastfeild on tryall and if they like and approve of Each Other, friends do conclude to add their assistance towards the binding him an apprentice." There is human kindness also in the Minute of 1685 which reads, "Whereas Walter Powell hath taken as an apprentice one Ruth Birch, and shee not being well he hath also undertaken to cure her . . . four pounds is to be paid to the said Walter Powell for the present, and if he goes beyond the sea and shall take with him the said Ruth Birch, then he is to have four pounds more." Far less successful are many cases recorded by the local parish overseers. "To speak with James Gardner, he having beat his apprentice out of doors," is only too typical. Significant, also, is the fact that the parish frequently hands over as little as one pound only with each apprentice. Friends maintain the dignity of the bond by invariably giving five.

In the period of sixty years covered by the Minute book, there is only one instance noted of an unsatisfactory partnership, that of a girl from the Forest of Dean apprenticed to one of the leading Gloucester Friends. In 1699, the Quarterly Meeting notes "a letter from the Widd. Phillips wherein she acusethe a friend of Gloster very seriously abt. abusing her Child which upon Examination proves generally false." Before Friends could adequately "inspect into the acusatation" the girl had run away, and the next Minute suggests "That the friends of the Forest monthly meeting should speake with the Widd. Phillips and her daughter Concerning her goeing from her master and her mother seeming to take her part, and that they may give them some Just reproofe for their ill behaviour." When matters had gone thus far, Friends wisely did not insist on the girl returning and the bond being maintained—contrary to the usual practice of the day which so often had unhappy results for the returned apprentice. The final entry "Counsels Henry Engly if he sees convenient to release Mary Phillips his apprentice by Delivering their Indentures."

The actual administration of Friends' funds for poor relief is of considerable interest, for cases can be followed

up in detail over many years in a way rarely possible in the records of the parish, where relief is often both indiscriminate and intermittent. "Luke Smith is to have 1s. 6d.", state the overseers of a parish near Nailsworth, "provided he does not come again for a good while . . . he can have 2s. 6d. more later if he behaves himself to his wife and family." In contrast to such random payments, the policy of the early Friends seems most enlightened. They view each case with sympathetic scrutiny and plan, if possible, for an independent future. This is clearly shown by a Minute of 1671 which concerns a hand-loom weaver of Painswick. "Lent to Walter Humphris 24 pounds for ye redeeming of his Loom and other goods that so he might be put in a beter capacity for maintaining of his family and paying of his debts." That their policy was at times justified is evident by this particular case, where the weaver, after much difficulty in England, departed to Pennsylvania. There he appeared to prosper, and it must have been with deep satisfaction that the meeting which had helped him so constantly over many years recorded in 1701 "a Certain sume of 32 pounds that Walter Humphris Deceased gave to pay his debts heare in England."

Simple and personal, then, as are often these local records of the Society, they are yet the material out of which our greater histories have been written. And they link us with a bond, akin to friendship, with these earlier folk who also knew our meetings as their own.

RUTH G. BURTT

Periodicals Exchanged

Receipt of the following periodicals in exchange is gratefully acknowledged :—

Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association (Philadelphia).

Quakeriana Notes.

Wesley Historical Society, Proceedings.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Proceedings.

Presbyterian Historical Journal (U.S.A.).

Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions.

Mennonite Quarterly Review.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.

An Inventory of Household Goods, 1696

THE Bowly family were well known Friends of the Cirencester district for over two hundred and fifty years. William joined Friends in the early days of persecution, and Besse in his *Sufferings* records several occasions when he was imprisoned for refusing the oath, and his goods distrained upon for tithes. In 1684, for example, "on the first of the month called February", the family "being asleep in Bed about nine at Night, Officers broke the door open and two of them staid in the House all Night, and the next Day carried away Barley and Malt to the Value of 30 Pounds."¹

The following inventory shows a typical simple household of the yeoman class. The "fether bedde" is still the most valuable single item in the house, as appears in all wills and inventories from the mediæval period onwards.

INVENTORY OF ALL AND SINGULAR GOODS, CHATTELS, AND HOUSEHOLD STUFF OF WILLIAM BOWLY, LATE OF CIRENCESTER, MALTSTER, 1696.

In the Hall a table board and frame, one joynd forme, four old chairs, one dresser board, one fire shovel, and tongs, one pair of Bellows and a looking glass, all valued at	17/-
Item in the Parlour one bedstead and curtains and vallens, one chest of drawers, one chest, four boxes, one trunk, silver spoons, one silver Taster ..	£3-2-6
In the Kitchen, one little table, one iron spitt, and a smoothing iron, two pair Andirons, one pair tongs, a dizen of henchers, a trencher racke, some earthenware, twenty-eight pounds of pewter, thirty-two pounds of brass, a spinninge wheele and some tin ware	£3-11-0
At the Backside, one old malt mill, brewing vessells, wood and lumber	£1-8-6

¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, I, p. 225.

AN INVENTORY OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS

39

In the Sellar, five barrels, three old wooden horses, powdering tub	18/6
In the Stable, two old horses and a little hay, two shovels, a bridle, saddle, and old pommell ..	£2-16-6
In the Malt Loft, fifty quarters of malt, one bushel, one old coffer, malt dust, some old bagg, and a hanging press	£51-6-0
Item Bedding. One fether bedde wayed three score and seventeen pounds and one feather bolster, two feather pillows weighed four and forty pounds ..	£4-0-8
Two flock bedds, and a flock bolster	£2-6-8
Item, one sett of old curtains and vallens, two old Coverlid, three old ruggs, three old blanketts ..	£1-15-0
Item, thirteen sheets, seven bolster cases, twelve pillow cases, three table cloathes, twelve napkins, three Cupboard Cloths, two towells	£5-4-0
Item in debts abroad (supposed to be good)	£18-7-6
Item in bad debts	£28-1-7
Item Money in the house	£14-6-0
Wearing apparell	£3-0-0
Totall	£141-1-5

RUTH BURTT

List of the Writings of A. Neave Brayshaw

FOR the most part this consists of pieces which were separately published. It contains few of his contributions to periodicals unless they were reprinted.

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2. HISTORY

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